

Running to Recovery: A Carnal Sociologically Inspired Study
of Change in Substance Use

Stephanie Bogue Kerr

Doctoral dissertation submitted in
partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work

School of Social Work
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ottawa

Résumé

Cette thèse traite d'une exploration incarnée des expériences des personnes ayant intégré la course à pied dans leur processus de rétablissement des troubles de consommation. Cette étude d'inspiration ethnographique, menée à Vancouver (Canada) combine un cadre sociologique charnel à des entrevues mobiles. Ainsi, le corps de la chercheuse a servi d'outil de recherche et les entrevues semi-dirigées (n=22) ont été réalisées en courant avec les personnes participantes. Les six Ss de Wacquant (2015) ont servi de catégories conceptualisantes pour l'analyse déductive: 1) sachant-faire (« *skilled* »); 2) souffrant ; 3) sensible ; 4) située; 5) symbolique ; et 6) sédimentée. Cette thèse comporte trois articles : 1) le premier article a trait à une recension des écrits de la portée sur la place du corps en travail social ; 2) le second article, d'ordre méthodologique, est une réflexion sur les approches méthodologiques possibles (les entrevues mobiles en courant) au regard du cadre théorique de la sociologie charnelle et; 3) Le dernier article est empirique et présente les résultats de notre recherche et notamment l'importance de la course à pied au sein du processus de rétablissement des personnes participantes et la place du concept d'habitus dans Cette thèse se termine par une discussion portant sur : 1) les tensions entre le corps déviant et le corps sportif et la place de cette étude entre les deux ; 2) des réflexions portant sur la course à pied comme outil d'intervention psychosociale et ; 3) les implications de nos résultats de recherche pour la discipline et la pratique du travail social.

Mots clés : sociologie charnelle ; entrevues mobiles ; course à pied ; sport comme outil d'intervention psychosociale ; addiction ; troubles de consommation ; rétablissement; Vancouver

Abstract

This dissertation represents an embodied investigation of the experiences of those who have integrated running into addiction recovery processes. This ethnographically inspired study, conducted in Vancouver (Canada), combines a carnal sociological framework with mobile interviews. Thus, the researcher's body served as a research tool, and the semi-directed interviews (n=22) were conducted while running with the participants. Wacquant's (2015) Six S properties served as conceptual categories for the deductive analysis of corporal experiences, namely: 1) skills; 2) suffering; 3) sentient; 4) situated; 5) symbolic; and 6) sedimented. This dissertation is comprised of three articles: 1) The first article provides a scoping review on the role of the body in social work literature; 2) The second article focuses on the methodological considerations stemming from the use of running interviews within a carnal sociological theoretical framework; and 3) The final article, which is empirical, presents the findings of this study, emphasizing the significance of running in the participants' recovery process and the role of habitus in this context (Bourdieu, 1978). Finally, the dissertation concludes with a discussion that addresses: 1) the tensions between deviant and athletic bodies, and the place of this research between them; 2) considerations for running-based psychosocial interventions; and 3) implications for the discipline of social work.

Keywords: carnal sociology; mobile interviews; running interview; sport-based intervention; embodiment; addiction; recovery; Vancouver

Dedication

To Freddo,

As promised, long words, many pages.

*I hate that you embraced such a radical way
of avoiding all the reading this would have entailed for you,*

but I get it.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation has prompted me to think deeply about the trajectory that has led to this study. This particular stretch of my life has been a strange one, and I am grateful to the many people who have supported me in ways large and small over the course of this project. I never would have begun such a project were it not for the support of my husband, Fred, who truly believed me capable of anything. I am thankful to my Indian parents, who welcomed me into the family as their own. The lessons that I have learned through you are invaluable, and I thank you for believing in me. Mama, I thank you for your endless support, your openness, and your encouragement.

I am deeply appreciative of my parents for having instilled in me the joy of movement and of language, both of which have shaped this study and, more broadly, my life. I am grateful to my brothers for the connections we forged by running, climbing, throwing, hitting, kicking, and gliding together. Thank you to Travis for weathering so many storms with me and to my *belle-soeur*, Jung Eun, for jumping right into the messy stuff with us.

I am fortunate to have many ostensibly unshakeable friendships: Thelma and Andrea have been like sisters, seemingly since the beginning of time. Simona, who is so deeply embedded in my Montreal that she is part of its root system. I am thankful that circumstances brought Carrie back into my life, though we could have done with a much more dialed-down version of the catalysts. I'm so thankful to her, to Tyler, and to their family for so generously welcoming me into their home at a time when the world was shutting down. Thank you to Lori for her careful review of this dissertation and her continued embrace of our shared educational philosophy. Alors qu'Anéli a eu peu de corrections à ajouter à cette thèse anglaise, je suis très reconnaissante des révisions qu'elle a portées sur d'autres textes, mais encore plus de nos

discussions qui entrecouperont le personnel avec la théorie. I appreciated the opportunity to once again live closely to Luke, but this time not so closely that we shared a living room fridge. Our beachside chats were fodder for my reflections about life in Vancouver, but more importantly, helped to solidify a very shaky foundation.

Thank you to those who made my time in Vancouver what it was. It would have been a different experience without my evenings on The Drive with Lois; days lazing about on Third Beach with Nouria; running around Point Grey with Lucas; hanging out in North Van with Behrouz or revisiting my popcorn-scooping days with Joe in Gastown. I am grateful to my former colleagues/friends at the Jewish General Hospital who have been present in different ways throughout this project. Thank you to Jackie, for her real-world addiction guidance that helped to situate me in relation to the field of practice. I am grateful to Brahms for the consistency of his encouragement and his gift for always finding the right things to say. Thank you to Julien and Helen for their generous sharing of space that allowed for quiet productivity on both ends of the country.

À bien des égards, cette thèse n'aura jamais été réalisée sans le soutien et l'accompagnement de mon directeur, Nicolas Moreau. Merci de m'avoir encouragée, d'avoir été présent quand il fallait, d'avoir laissé la place à mon processus, et surtout, de m'avoir rejointe là où j'en étais. J'espère que ce projet n'est que le début de nos collaborations.

This study required me to trust the care of my body and mind to people who could keep me going. I would like to acknowledge all that Christine Ury did to keep my brain (mostly) working. I thank Simon for the role he played in my integration into the running world and Michael for getting me moving in the first place. This study would not have been possible

without the structured, supportive coaching of Kevin O'Connor. I am thankful to him and to the Vancouver Falcons Athletic Club, which briefly made me part of their team.

My research trajectory has been shaped by earlier collaborations with Dr. Lorraine Bell, and I remain grateful for the privilege of having worked with her. Je suis très reconnaissante du soutien de Marguerite Soulière quant au développement de ma capacité d'analyse. Je tiens également à remercier Brice Favrier-Ambrosini, qui a enrichi mon orientation théorique en sociologie du sport.

J'exprime ma reconnaissance aux professeur.es Dahlia Namian et Baptiste Brossard pour leurs contributions à l'évolution de ce projet en tant que membres de mon jury d'examen de synthèse et de mon projet de thèse. Des remerciements s'adressent également aux membres de mon comité de thèse, Dahlia Namian, Jean-Daniel Jacob, Christine Dallaire et Céline Bellot, qui ont accepté de s'engager dans une lecture et une discussion sur le contenu de ce qui suit.

Finally, I would like to thank those who participated in this study. Thank you for trusting me with your stories and inviting me to run alongside you in places that are important to you. I hope that what follows honours your processes and your experiences.

I am fortunate to have benefited from the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). There is no question that this research would not have been feasible without it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

RESUME	II
ABSTRACT.....	III
DEDICATION.....	IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
LIST OF TABLES.....	XIII
LIST OF PHOTOS	XIV
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.....	XV
CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTION	3
1.2 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION	4
CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH PROBLEM	8
2.1 THE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF SUBSTANCE USE.....	9
2.2 HISTORY OF ADDICTION	10
2.3 DEBATES & ISSUES IN DEFINING RECOVERY	12
2.3.1 Terminology	13
2.4 ETIOLOGY, TREATMENTS & RECOVERY	15
2.4.1 Moralistic Model.....	15
2.4.1.1 Definition & Treatment.....	17
2.4.2 Disease Model.....	20
2.4.2.1 Definition & Treatment.....	22
2.5 ADDICTION AND SOCIAL WORK	25
2.5.1 Recovery in Social Work	28
2.6 RELATIONAL MODEL.....	29
2.6.1 Definition and Treatment.....	31
2.7 THE SOCIAL ROLE OF SPORT	34
2.7.1 Sport in Social Work	36
2.7.2 Sports-Based Intervention.....	38
2.7.3 Physical Activity and Substance Use	41
CHAPTER 3 (ARTICLE 1)	
FOR A CARNAL SOCIAL WORK: A REVIEW OF THE BODY IN SOCIAL WORK	
LITERATURE	44
ABSTRACT	44
TEASER TEXT.....	45
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	46
3.2 METHOD	47
3.3 RESULTS.....	51
3.3.1 Relationship to Oneself (n=19).....	52
3.3.2 Interpersonal Relationships in Health, Illness & Disability (n=8)	53

3.3.3 Systemic & Structural Concerns in Health, Illness and Disability (n=17)	53
3.3.4 The Body in Therapeutic Relationships (n=42)	54
3.3.5 The Body in Intervention (n=31)	55
3.3.7 The Body in Social Work Education (n=27)	56
3.4 DISCUSSION	57
3.4.1 Carnal Social Work	59
3.4.1.1 Carnal Social Work in Practice	60
3.4.2 Limitations	62
3.5 CONCLUSION	62
3.6 REFERENCES	64
3.7 SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL	72
3.7.1 Tables	72
3.7.2 Full list of studies included in the scoping review	80
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH CONTEXT	
EMBEDDED & EMBODIED IN VANCOUVER, CANADA.....	93
4.1 A SNAPSHOT OF CURRENT SOCIAL ISSUES	94
4.2 NATURE & SPATIAL ORGANIZATION	99
4.2.1 Planned Separation.....	100
4.3 BECOMING LIVABLE AND EMBODYING LIVABILITY	102
4.3.1 Embodying Citizenship	103
CHAPTER 5: EPISTEMOLOGY	107
5.1 POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER	107
5.1.1 A First-Person Dissertation	110
5.2 A CARNAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL WORK.....	111
CHAPTER 6: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	112
6.1 CARNAL SOCIOLOGY	112
6.1.1 Wacquant's Six Ss	114
6.2 SUPPORT FOR THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	115
CHAPTER 7: (ARTICLE 2)	
RESEARCH ON THE RUN: A CARNAL SOCIOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF EMBODIED INTERVIEWS	117
ABSTRACT	117
7.1 MOBILE METHODS	119
7.1.1 Running Interviews	120
7.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CARNAL SOCIOLOGY	121
7.2.1 Six S Properties.....	123
7.3 RESEARCHER POSITION AND HABITUS	124
7.3.1 Emotion in Fieldwork	125
7.4 RAPPORT WITH PARTICIPANTS	127
7.5 RECRUITMENT.....	128
7.6 CONSIDERATIONS FOR RUNNING INTERVIEWS	129
7.6.1 Interview Structure.....	129

7.6.2 Data.....	130
7.6.3 Care For The Runner-Research Habitus	131
7.6.4 Safety.....	132
7.6.5 Weather & Seasons	134
7.6.6 Technical.....	136
7.6.7 Confidentiality.....	139
7.7 CONCLUSION.....	140
7.8 REFERENCES	141
CHAPTER 8: METHODOLOGY.....	148
8.1 METHODOLOGICAL SHIFT FROM IMMERSIVE ETHNOGRAPHY TO MOBILE INTERVIEWS.....	148
8.2 USE OF HABITUS: IMMERSION AND EMOTION IN FIELDWORK	152
8.2.1 Use of Habitus.....	154
8.2.2 Care skills for my Runner-Research Habitus	156
8.3 DATA COLLECTION	159
8.4 DATA ANALYSIS	159
8.4.1 Skills	161
Definition.	161
Specific Properties.	161
Conditions of Existence.	161
8.4.2 Suffering.....	161
Definition.	161
Specific Properties.	161
Conditions of Existence.	162
8.4.3 Sentient.....	162
Definition:	162
Specific Properties.	162
Conditions of Existence.	163
8.4.4 Situated	163
Definition.	163
Specific Properties.	163
Conditions of Existence.	163
8.4.5 Symbolic	164
Definition.	164
Specific Properties.	164
Conditions of Existence.	164
8.4.6 Sedimented	164
Definition.	164
Specific Properties.	164
Conditions of Existence.	165
CHAPTER 9 (ARTICLE 3)	
RUNNING TO RECOVERY: A CARNAL SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF CHANGE IN	
SUBSTANCE USE	166
ABSTRACT	166
9.1 INTRODUCTION.....	167

9.2 OVERVIEW OF ADDICTION	167
9.3 RUNNING AND RECOVERY	170
9.4 RESEARCH QUESTION	171
9.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	171
9.6 METHOD	172
9.6.1 Recruitment.....	174
9.6.2 Data Collection.....	175
9.6.3 Participants.....	176
9.6.4 Analysis	177
9.7 RESULTS.....	178
9.7.1 Skills.....	179
9.7.2 Suffering.....	181
9.7.3 Sentient.....	183
9.7.3.1 Senses.....	183
9.7.3.2 Body in Movement.	184
9.7.3.3 Sensations of the Body.....	187
9.7.4 Situated	188
9.7.5 Symbolism	190
9.7.5.1 Healing Through Running.	190
9.7.5.2 Races & Goals.....	192
9.8 DISCUSSION	192
9.9 CONCLUSION.....	195
9.10 REFERENCES	197
CHAPTER 10: RESEARCHER HABITUS.....	202
10.1 VANCOUVERITE <i>HABITUS</i>	202
10.2 SUFFERING & HABITUS	203
CHAPTER 11: DISCUSSION	209
11.1 DEVIANT BODIES OF THE DOWNTOWN EASTSIDE.....	210
11.2 EMBODYING VANCOUVERISM	212
11.2.1 <i>Running in Vancouver</i>	213
11.3 ADDICTION BEYOND VANCOUVER.....	217
11.4 CONSIDERATIONS FOR RUNNING-BASED INTERVENTION	218
11.4.1 <i>Habitus-Related Considerations</i>	220
11.4.1.1 Sociodemographics of the Running Community.	220
11.4.1.2 Habitus and Recovery Capital.....	221
11.5 INTERDISCIPLINARY CONSIDERATIONS	223
11.6 LIMITATIONS.....	224
<i>Pandemic-Related Limitations</i>	224
<i>Recruitment</i>	224
<i>Sample</i>	225
<i>Researcher Habitus</i>	226
11.6 FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK	228
11.6 IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK.....	229
11.8 CONCLUSION	231
11.9 REFERENCES	235

APPENDIX A	258
CERTIFICAT D'APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS APPROVAL...	258
APPENDIX B	259
RECRUITMENT TEXT	259
APPENDIX 3:.....	260
INTERVIEW GUIDE	260

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Relationship to Oneself.....	72
Table 2: Interpersonal Relationships in Health, Illness & Disability.....	73
Table 3: Systemic & Structural Concerns in Health, Illness & Disability	74
Table 4: Therapeutic Relationship (Intersubjective)	75
Table 5: Therapeutic Relationship (Sensate & Situated Practice)	76
Table 6: Body in Intervention	77
Table 7: Embodied Structures	78
Table 8: Social Work Education (Mindfulness & Alternative Approaches)	78
Table 9: Social Work Education (Exercises of Power)	79
Table 10: Participant Profiles.....	177

LIST OF PHOTOS

Figure 1: PRISMA Flowchart	49
Figure 2: Process of Analysis.....	95
Figure 3: Map of Downtown Eastside	97
Figure 4 & Figure 5: Contrasting Neighbourhoods	98
Figure 6: Spinning Chandelier	100
Figure 7: Lululemon's Local Omnipresence.....	106
Figure 8 & Figure 9: Skating and Splashing Through a Skatepark	135
Figure 10 & Figure 11: Zan's Special Spot.....	138
Figure 12 & Figure 13: Pre-Winter Wonderland	139
Figure 14 & Figure 15: Shades of Winter	155
Figure 16: River Overlooked by Clouded Mountaintop	184
Figure 17: The Proud Youth.....	186
Figure 18: Emily's Bar.....	189
Figure 19: Researcher's Shoes.....	191
Figure 20 & Figure 21: Aubrey's Run for Safe Supply	206

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

This dissertation is comprised of three articles that have been submitted for publication in peer-reviewed journals. Since these articles are still in the review process, the final versions may differ from those that appear in this paper. Please refer to the websites of the journals below for the finalized articles.

Bogue Kerr, S. (submitted). For a Carnal Social Work: A Review of the Body in Social Work Literature. *British Journal of Social Work*.

Bogue Kerr, S. (submitted). Research on the Run: A Carnal Sociological Adaptation of Embodied Interviews. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*.

Bogue Kerr, S. & Moreau, N. (submitted). Running to Recovery: A Carnal Sociological Study of Change in Substance Use. *Sociology of Health & Illness*.

Chapter 1: General Introduction

In recent years, the scale of the opioid crisis has brought a good deal of media attention to the issue of substance use, which on a global scale engages 60,000,000 people (The Lancet, 2023) in a struggle with opiates alone. The international drug trade is valued at approximately 400 billion dollars US, which suggests that after 51 years (Leduc & Lee, 2003), it may be time to declare that the war on drugs has been lost. The criminalization of the production and distribution of these substances has not been effective in stifling their flow but has rather created complex, powerful networks that constitute a dominant force in precarious places around the world (Paoli et al., 2009). Even worse, the nebulous distinctions between legal and illegal drugs are themselves charged with power dynamics that are left largely unpacked. Perhaps most shockingly, despite the global, intertwined web of factors that shapes substance use (Paoli et al., 2009), and thus the problems arising from it, the prevailing theoretical models that shape policy and treatment continue to individualize the problem (Mekonnen & Lee, 2022). Responsibility is placed squarely on the shoulders of those who are already struggling with the effects of the substance itself.

Social work, located at the intersection of the individual and society, is well situated to contribute to the discussion on this multifaceted issue. Indeed, most professional addiction interventions are conducted by social workers, who seemingly rely on literature from other fields to do so, as there is very little published within the discipline (Mekonnen & Lee, 2022). This gap between research and practice hinders the development of effective ways of analyzing and responding to the social problem of addiction.

The humanistic influences of the discipline materialize in the creative strategies employed by many social workers to meet people where they are, both physically and

intersubjectively. Social work thus involves movement, as workers travel to meet people (Ferguson, 2016; Muzicant & Peled, 2018) in their homes, in schools, in cafés, in shelters, in hospital rooms, or in the street. Once there, they employ creative strategies in their interventions (Ferguson, 2018), which might include anything from cleaning together and sharing food to creating art or running alongside one another. Despite this, if we were to rely on the literature, we could be forgiven for conceiving that the practice of social work would be limited to the confines of an office, with two people sitting across from one another. Social work may be undervalued in part because the depth and breadth of these interventions are often not documented anywhere but in the worker's own case files.

Twenty years ago, a social worker at a recovery centre in New York City started a running group based on an intuitive appreciation for its potential advantages to those living with substance use disorders (Odyssey House Inc., 2021; Ratey, 2008). This program continues to this day, offering everything from walking and learn-to-run groups (A. Matthews, personal communication, July 2021) to training for the New York City marathon. Although Run for Your Life has been the subject of news articles and documentaries, there has been no published research on it. But for a mention in a lay book on the neuroscience of exercise (Ratey, 2008), there seem to be no academic traces of this social work-initiated program that has supported more than 600 people in recovery to run one of the most prestigious marathons in the world (Odyssey House Inc, 2023). Once again, this exposes the gap between research and practice evoked above.

This doctoral dissertation was inspired by the Run for Your Life program. The telephone conversations that I had with the organization reinforced my interest in this subject. Incidentally, I found myself in the midst of a major life transition as this research was taking shape. Not

knowing what to do with myself, I had followed an impulse to move. Running structured my days: it pushed me out of bed in the morning, compelled me to eat, and occupied some of my suddenly ample free time. It did not quiet my mind, but if it was going to race anyway, I thought my body may as well race along with it. Before long, I began to feel stronger, allowing me to appreciate other aspects of what running may offer me over time.

The pandemic circumstances made a collaboration with Run for Your Life impractical, but it sparked my curiosity about how running could facilitate transformative processes in an individual's relationships with themselves, others, and the world. It also drew my attention to the wide range of creative strategies that social workers employ to connect with others and how little these are recognized if a program of this prominence has garnered no research attention. This also revealed little-explored questions on the use of sports-based interventions and the relative silence of the discipline on issues related to the body (Bogue Kerr, submitted).

1.1 Research Objectives and Question

Considering the above, this dissertation seeks to:

- Investigate how the body is defined, situated, and conceptualized within social work literature;
- Bogue Kerr, S. (submitted) For a Carnal Social Work: A Review of the Body in Social Work Literature. *British Journal of Social Work*.

- Implicate the researcher's *habitus* in the study through the adoption of embodied methods;
 - Bogue Kerr, S. (submitted). Research on the Run: A Carnal Sociological Adaptation of Embodied Interviews. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*.
- Explore the transformative process of recovery through the individual's relationship to running;
 - Bogue Kerr, S. & Moreau, N. (submitted). Running to Recovery: A Carnal Sociological Study of Change in Substance Use. *Sociology of Health & Illness*.
- Contribute to the limited literature on the body and on addiction in social work.

These intentions are guided by the following research question:

The inscription of substance use within the individual's *habitus* suggests that recovery may be a process of reappropriating one's body through changing relationships to self, to others, and to the environment. With this in mind, we sought to answer the question: In what ways does running influence shifts in these relationships and in the social disposition of those in recovery?

1.2 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is comprised of 11 chapters, including three articles that have been submitted for publication.

This first chapter aims to outline the structure of the dissertation and present the relevance of the question it poses.

The second chapter will present the research problem, which intersects substance use with sports-based interventions in social work. This entails: 1) a brief history of the problem of substance use; 2) an overview of the debate surrounding terminology; 3) a presentation and

discussion of three theoretical models that shape, to varying degrees, policy and treatment; and;
4) a concise synopsis on the use of sports interventions and their place in social work practice.

Chapter three builds upon the context of this study with an article consistent with the first objective; to explore how the body is situated and conceptualized within social work literature. This first article, entitled, “For a Carnal Social Work: A Review of the Body in Social Work Literature”, has been submitted to the British Journal of Social Work. It entails a review of the literature on the body in social work, ultimately noting that the limited literature on the subject means few studies examined the same issues and that many bodies were altogether absent. The limitations of the discipline’s theoretical conceptualizations are discussed, and an argument is made for the adoption of carnal approaches to social work.

The fourth chapter aims to provide geographic, historic, and sociocultural context for this research, which was conducted in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. The construction of the city’s reputation as one of the world’s most livable cities is contrasted with those who occupy the streets of Canada’s poorest neighbourhood. In this context, implications for citizenship, embodiment, and community are discussed in relation to the influences of a local world-renown clothing brand.

While the previous chapters situate the research in relation to existing practices, debates, and social contexts, the fifth chapter will position the researcher relative to this study. In this chapter, the researcher’s epistemological position is presented, and incidentally, the decision to write in the first-person is discussed.

Chapter six presents carnal sociological theory (Wacquant, 2015) and discusses the decision to apply it in this study and how the *habitus* is mobilized as a research tool, compelling the vulnerable engagement of the researcher’s body.

Chapter seven consists of this dissertation's second article, entitled "Research on the Run: A Carnal Sociological Adaptation of Embodied Interviews" which has been submitted to *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*. This methodological article: 1) illustrates how the researcher retained the embodied and embedded qualities of carnal sociological through the use of mobile interviews; 2) considers the place of emotion in research, and; 3) discusses methodological considerations specific to running interviews.

Chapter eight serves as a complement to the methodological article that comprises the previous chapter. As such, this chapter will: 1) address the methodological adjustments prompted by the pandemic; 2) discuss the place of emotion in fieldwork in relation to the *habitus*; 3) situate the use of the researcher's *habitus* within this study, and; 4) consider the care skills necessary to support the use of the researcher's *habitus* as a methodological tool. While a number of the methodological details of the study are presented in the article (Chapter 7), the present chapter concludes with an elaboration of the process of data analysis beyond what is included in the article.

Chapter nine presents this dissertation's third article, entitled "Running to Recovery: A Carnal Sociological Study of Change in Substance Use" which been submitted to *Qualitative Sociology*. This article presents the outcome of the mobile interviews and the exploration of the transformative process of recovery through the runner's *habitus*. For the participants of this study, running provided an organizing structure that supported changes in substance use, presented here through Wacquant's (2015) Six Ss, which served as conceptual categories.

Chapter ten entails a brief overview of the findings specific to the researcher's *habitus*, which: 1) discuss the embodiment of tensions and shifts in adapting to life in Vancouver; and 2)

elaborate on the insight gleaned from the researcher's own *suffering*, beyond what is discussed in the articles.

Chapter 11 comprises a discussion on the elements discussed within the three articles, including a discussion on deviant and normative embodiment as they materialize in Vancouver. Tensions between the two are considered, as are the different rhythms experienced within the city's residents. These are examined in relation to the city's running community, along with their implications for running-based social work interventions. Finally, this dissertation concludes with the identification of directions for future research and practice.

Chapter 2: Research Problem

The human body exists in relation to the world. Not only does it engage with its environment through its reciprocal interactions with it, but the body is also nourished by them. It is fueled by its ingestion of plant and animal life from its environment, which prompts specific biochemical processes within the body. Consuming an intoxicating substance triggers a chain of reactions that can induce altered states of relaxation, excitement, euphoria (Dennis, 2020; Ivsins et al., 2022), or ecstasy (Darcy, 2020). These can foster social connections (Darcy, 2020), instigate profound self-reflections, and support an openness to alternative worldviews (Florêncio, 2023). The catch is that the beauty of these intense experiences is ephemeral, and efforts in defiance of this quality may culminate in a preoccupation with the substance itself rather than with connections to oneself, to others, and to the world.

Over time, the substance takes its toll on the body, stressing the organs (Singal & Mathurin, 2021), rewiring the brain (Ratey, 2008), and fusing itself with co-existing psychological struggles (Małkiewicz et al., 2020). It can seep in where it doesn't belong; appropriating time and attention meant to be allocated to hobbies, work, friends, and family (Adams, 2008; Heilig et al., 2016). These infiltrations unremittingly deepen the chasm between the inaugural lightness of experimentation and the burden of the substance that, over time, can deteriorate the structures of one's life.

This chapter will aim to situate this study in relation to the current theories of addiction. As such, it will begin with a brief overview of the social problem of addiction, the history of substance use, and the debate related to the notion of recovery. Next, the two dominant models of addiction (moral and disease) are presented, along with their conceptualizations of recovery and the interventions each proposes to support this process. Afterwards, the practice of social

work is situated in relation to these models, and challenges for the field are identified. The lesser-known relational model is then presented, and its relevance for social work and sports-based intervention is discussed. Finally, the chapter concludes with an overview of the use of sports-based interventions and their place in social work practice.

2.1 The Social Problem of Substance Use

Valued at 400 billion dollars (Leduc & Lee, 2003), the global illicit drug trade reflects charged geopolitical power dynamics. Much like other consumer goods, poor countries produce while wealthier countries consume (Paoli et al., 2009). The fields of Afghanistan and Burma produce 97% of the world's opium, while citizens of Iran, Pakistan, and Tajikistan absorb the risks associated with its transport (Paoli et al., 2009). There is a spurious distinction, however, between legal and illegal substances. While the former are ostensibly safer, the trillion dollars the United States has spent waging its war against illicit drugs (Pearl, 2018) did nothing to protect its citizens from the profit-driven, highly unethical actions of Purdue Pharmaceutical, whose legally prescribed pain medications are now widely recognized as the root of the opioid epidemic (Gale, 2022).

Canada spends an estimated 7.1 billion dollars a year to counter the effects of the crisis (Canadian Centre on Substance Use and Addiction, 2023) sparked by the practices of this company. Purdue Pharmaceutical is owned by the powerful Sackler family, whose assets are valued at approximately 13 billion US dollars (Au-Yeung, 2020). Despite the company's pleas of guilt on multiple felonies, criminal charges against any individual whose actions have contributed to the loss of many lives remain unfilled (Poitras, 2023), elucidating Arendt's notion of the banalization of evil amongst the world's ultrarich (Namian, 2023). More than 40 000 Canadians have died since the crisis was declared in 2016 (Government of Canada, 2023). In

order to recover some of these costs, British Columbia, the province at the epicenter of the crisis, led a class-action lawsuit on behalf of all provincial, territorial, and federal governments against Purdue Pharmaceutical (BC Government News, 2022). Given the social toll of the company's actions and the impact on the lives of those whose struggles with addiction began with a prescribed opiate, Canada settled for a shockingly low 150 million dollars (BC Government News, 2022).

The complexities of the international drug trade and the nebulous distinction between legal and illegal substances are largely beyond the scope of this paper. Yet acknowledging the dynamics at play underscores the limitations of individualistic theories on addiction, which result in inadequate policies and treatments. This chapter aims to first situate the current study in relation to the literature on substance use and recovery. It begins with a brief history of addiction, followed by a discussion as to the debate related to how recovery is defined. Next, the etiology of substance use according to the leading models is presented, including their conceptions of recovery and their distinctive approaches to treatment. It will be argued that despite the dominance of the moral and disease models in the field, the relational model is of particular relevance to social work. Thus, this dissertation will explore the place of running in recovery through a relational view of substance use. In order to do so, the historic use of sport in social work practice will be presented and discussed, as will contemporary issues relative to sports-based intervention.

2.2 History of Addiction

The history of substance use is traversed by questions about moderation and control. The Latin roots of 'addiction' expose the fear of '*enslavement*', reflecting a concern for the loss of free will in the modern, liberal subject (Seear, 2019). Consideration for the moderated intake of

substances has long reflected values related to care of self and citizenship (Foucault, 1990), which evolve in relation to historical and sociocultural contexts (Seear, 2019). That the alternative meaning of addiction once referred to devotion (Alexander, 2008) is thought-provoking given its current contemporary use; these have seemingly collapsed into one another, along with the fears and values this reflects.

In Western society, concerns about substance use stem from taboos around loss of control, which challenge cultural norms and values related to the rational, autonomous liberal subject (Seear, 2019). A concern for excessive alcohol consumption did not emerge until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Seear, 2019). While alcohol had historically served ritualistic and celebratory purposes, modern industrialization has made it readily available and more potent than ever before (Slingerland, 2021). In this context, social problems related to increased consumption, such as chronic unemployment, family neglect, and domestic violence, began to materialize, causing concerns that prompted women's rights groups to embrace the emerging temperance and prohibitionist movements (Nathan et al., 2016).

These campaigns reflected early conceptions of addiction that attributed the problem to the inherently evil nature of substances themselves (Weinberg, 2002), however, dominant contemporary theories derive from either a moral or disease model (Dennis, 2016; Seear, 2019). These differ in their assessment of the root causes: the first relates it to the individual's moral failings, while the latter regards it as a physical disease. Whether within their body or within their soul, both models offer explanations that situate the problem within the individual.

The following section begins with a brief overview of the concept of recovery in addiction. As we will see, part of the challenge facing addiction researchers, policymakers, and clinicians is a consensus as to what it means to recover from a substance use disorder (Borkman

et al., 2016; White, 2007). This debate will provide context for the presentation of the etiology and treatments of the dominant models of addiction that follow.

2.3 Debates & Issues in Defining Recovery

The history of recovery within substance use diverges from that of the broader recovery movement within mental health. Indeed, Alcoholics Anonymous, defined by its established culture of peer support within its community, has significantly shaped the social construction of addiction. In this perspective, the militant recovery movement that emerged relative to the exercise of biomedical power within mental health (Howell & Voronka, 2012) has decidedly different roots (Kourgiantakis et al., 2022).

The social problem of substance use is complicated by a lack of consensus on the desired outcome, a debate that muddies attempts to define recovery and how it might be achieved. White (2007) identifies ten recovery-related criteria that require consideration, though perhaps the most pressing of these is who has the authority to define recovery, and consequently, according to what criteria is one considered to be recovered?

Under close examination, the definitions of the four leading organizations concerned with substance use in the United States differ quite significantly from one another, each according to its distinctive interpretation of the moral and/or medical models of addiction. The etiology underpinning these frames will be discussed in the following section; however, for our present purposes, it is relevant to highlight some features of these definitions.

Normative discourses create distinctions between what is and is not normal, in the context of which recovery processes can be narrowly defined according to prescriptive steps and outcomes achieved (Barlott et al., 2020). All four definitions compel abstinence, while two go a step further and call for sobriety (Borkman et al., 2016), which refers to deep processes of

personal change. Definitions of recovery that compel abstinence negate the variability of individual recovery paths (White, 2007) and perpetually “other” those who have at one time lived with addiction. While “normies¹” may (over)indulge at times, for those in recovery, even effortlessly moderated consumption would be framed as failure (Paquette et al., 2022; White et al., 2005). Importantly, research suggests that this abstinence-focus is misaligned with the intentions of substance users, half of whom intend to achieve moderated consumption, not abstinence (Berglund et al., 2019). This illustrates how power is exercised within definitions of recovery, how norms are reinforced, and deviations stigmatized (White, 2007), all while failing to respond to the needs as defined by those who live with addiction.

2.3.1 Terminology

The language associated with substance use is evolving, though some of the commonly used terminology carries the normative charge associated with what is considered to be excessive consumption (Slomski, 2021). It is challenging to find language that reflects the difficulties people experience and is free of this stigma, since the struggles themselves are stigmatized. I have carefully considered the language used within this dissertation.

The term “addiction” has a long history and its definition has changed over time. Originally, it had two meanings, referring to: 1) the legal sentencing of a slave to their master; and; 2) devotion, or passionately giving oneself over to a habit (Alexander, 2008). In contemporary use, it is almost as though these different meanings have merged into one. The *Diagnosics and Statistical Manual (DSM-5 TR)* uses the terms “substance use disorder”, as opposed to the term “addiction”, which it now regards as stigmatizing (American Psychiatric Association, 2022). The Canadian Centre on Substance Use and Addiction (2017) has

¹ A term used in AA to refer to people who consume moderately without effort.

recommended a number of changes to language, however, they do not object to the use of the term “addiction”, in so far as it is not used to identify an individual as an “addict”.

I have chosen to use the term “addiction” in this dissertation in part because of the historic evolution of its meaning that from my perspective, captures social shifts that are not unlike the ebbs and flows of substance use. At times, I use the term “active substance use” or “problematic substance use” to refer to periods during which the omnipresence of substances impacts on life. I may also refer to “changes in substance use” to capture shifts within the experience. I consider the medicalized reference to a “substance use disorder” to be more static, particularly given that it refers to the presence of specific diagnostic criteria. Although critical of the normative and biomedical limitations of the psychiatric definitions within the DSM as a whole, this term is used at times in this paper, though I prefer language that I consider to be more nuanced.

The influence of Alcoholics Anonymous and associated 12-step communities on the social construction of addiction is not to be underestimated. It circulates, is exerted, and is reinforced, in part, through the shared language implicit in the secondary socialization of membership (Denzin, 1993). It seems this language has changed little since the group’s founding in 1935 (Kaskutas, 2009). Despite the fact that terms such as “addict” and “alcoholic” are widely considered to be harmful in that they reduce the whole person to their relationship with substances (Zgierska et al., 2021), it is not uncommon for people living with addiction to self-identify in this way (Slomski, 2021). Indeed, for many, these words encompass not only their struggles but also what they have overcome (Slomski, 2021). Although this language was used by several of the participants in this study, I do not consider the mobilization of these terms by a

researcher and an outsider to the community to be appropriate, so they are not used in this dissertation.

2.4 Etiology, Treatments & Recovery

In the present section, the etiology of the dominant moral and disease models of addiction will be presented, along with their associated approaches to treatment and conceptions of recovery. The lesser-known relational model of addiction will also be introduced, as it is of particular relevance both to social work and to the present study.

2.4.1 Moralistic Model

Although the modern concept of addiction is relatively new, concerns about alcohol use are woven through ancient religious texts. Muslim, Buddhist, and Judaic writings prohibit consumption, while the Christian Bible depicts Jesus as approving of moderate drinking (Nathan et al., 2016). Though the use of some substances (ie. alcohol), is normalized and even encouraged (Denzin, 1993), the blurry line between acceptable and pathological consumption remains a source of stigmatization. Owing to the reduced inhibitions associated with alcohol consumption, those who abstain from alcohol are often regarded with suspicion, stemming from concerns that they have something to hide (Slingerland, 2021).

On the other hand, overconsumption is viewed as falling short of who one should (Fraser et al., 2017) or could be (Brook & Stringer, 2005); within Christian doctrine, an inability to exercise self-control is evidence of a fault within one's very soul (Foucault, 2018). This notion echoes the weight attributed to the Christian sacrament of confession; a technique through which the Church shaped and reshaped the individual, focusing on an imperative to truth (Foucault 2005). Defiance of this simultaneously threatened relationships to self, to community, and to salvation through excommunication (p. 364).

Although AA uses the language of disease, its inescapably religious philosophies attribute the root of the problem to the individual's shortcomings (Kurtz, 2002). While recovery is considered to be impossible without giving oneself to a higher power, the individual alone is responsible for their success or failure, the latter of which is explained as an inability to be honest with oneself (Denzin, 1993). In some ways, the sharing within AA meetings and the value accorded to truth are reminiscent of the sacrament of confession; this recalls Descartes' assertion that knowing oneself permitted an access to truth, a declaration that for Foucault (2005) signalled the moment of its disconnect from care of self, which he considered to be of crucial importance. Foucault (2005) argued that this shift redefined the relationship to life, which "ceased being the correlate of a *tekhnē*², to become instead the form of a test of the self," (p. 486) a particularly charged analysis in the context of a narrowly defined process of recovery.

The art of living to which Foucault (1990) was alluding here entailed, (among other things) achieving a balance through a daily regimen that guarded against the dangers of an excessive appetite for food, drink, sleep, exercise, or sexual activity. Wacquant (2002) observed this same attention to moderated activities and consumption in his ethnographic study of a Chicago boxing gym. The sense of refuge found within the gym and the strength of the community achieved through individual and collective processes parallel AA in some ways. While AA attributes addiction to a fault within one's soul (Denzin, 1993), boxers explain failures as slips in pugilistic discipline, which relate to the body/soul connection (Wacquant, 2002).

For some, boxing was a life-saving alternative to substance use (Wacquant, 2002), which suggests that other sports could play a similar role. For those whose paths have included the challenges of addiction, the opportunity to integrate into a running community may offer a

² Techniques of self

stepping stone and a structure from which to rebuild. Running can also be a type of spiritual practice that fosters an engagement with the world that extends out of the body (Stevens, 2013). This is illustrated most significantly by the marathon monks of Japan, whose meditative journeys entail running 85 kilometers a day for a period of 100 days (Stevens, 2013). This form of mobile meditation has been part of the practice of Tendai Buddhism for over 1000 years (Stevens, 2013). The discipline, structure, and community that support a deep engagement with the mind-body connection and an openness to the world feature prominently in this dissertation and will be explored through our embodied running and recovery.

2.4.1.1 Definition & Treatment. First established in 1935, Alcoholics Anonymous has long been the preeminent peer-support program for people living with alcoholism. AA grew out of Christian principles and asserts a membership of over two million worldwide (Steimetz, 2010). Since its early days, AA has played an important role in shaping the way addiction is defined, highlighting the complex entanglement of physical, mental, relational, emotional, and spiritual elements (Kurtz, 2002). The weakness at the root of addiction is thought to prevent the individual from knowing themselves and what they need (Brook & Stringer, 2005), a logic that is incidentally used to justify coercive or court-ordered addiction intervention (Kourgiantakis et al., 2022). Within this model, treatment entails a structured 12-step spiritual process of self-examination that is abstinence-oriented and proposes a new way of living (Borkman et al., 2016).

Over time, the program's 12-step model has been adopted by diverse peer-support communities for people living with all manner of substance and behavioural addictions³. AA calls upon the individual to concede their powerlessness in relation to alcohol and to seek healing

³ Due to the history of Alcoholics Anonymous as the pioneering 12 step program, as well as the prevalence of alcohol abuse relative to other substances, there is more literature on AA than the associated programs it inspired for other addictions. While AA is discussed in this section of the paper, the same structure and principles apply to Narcotics Anonymous and other specific substance abuse support communities.

through their relationship with God by engaging in the 12-step process as outlined below. Despite the program's Christian roots, members today are encouraged to adopt their own definitions of a higher power (Alcoholics Anonymous, 2001). Still, the spirituality inscribed within the program's Big Book⁴ refers inescapably to a God consistent with Judeo-Christian constructions.

The 12-steps involve: 1) admitting one's powerlessness over alcohol; 2) entail believing in, and 3) giving oneself over to a higher power; 4) engaging in a moral inventory; 5) admitting one's wrongs; 6) readying oneself to have God remove shortcomings, and 7) humbly asking him to do so; 8) making a list of those one has harmed and becoming willing to make amends; 9) making amends with those harmed; 10) continuously engaging in one's moral inventory and admitting when one is wrong; 11) praying and meditating to foster closeness to a higher power; and; 12) carrying the message of spiritual awakening to other alcoholics (Alcoholics Anonymous, 2001).

Expanding upon step 12, the strength of the program lies, in part, in the community it fosters (Kurtz, 2002), continuously reinforced through the members' shared experiences and journeys of self-transformation, which promote concern for and insight into the addiction-related struggles of fellow members (Denzin, 1993). New and existing members are continuously reminded that recovery is possible by people who have themselves struggled with addiction (Kurtz, 2002). Given the degree of social disconnection associated with substance abuse, it follows that the newfound community plays an instrumental role in secondary socialization, a process of self-transformation that supports the transition from addiction to recovery (Denzin, 1993).

⁴ The so-called Big Book refers to the foundational texts of Alcoholics Anonymous.

The efficacy of AA as a treatment continues to be a subject of debate amongst researchers (Kaskutas, 2009; Kurtz, 2002). While the spiritual doctrine of AA is among its most contentious elements (Tonigan, 2007), others suggest that for some, the spiritual nature of the program is the key to its success (Kurtz, 2002). It is a ubiquitous peer-support community often offered as a resource following discharge from acute-care programs (Denzin, 1993), though its reputation and its accessibility⁵ also makes it a front-line resource for many (Tonigan, 2007). Further, while AA promotes sobriety as the aim of recovery, the only condition for membership is that one have a *desire* to stop drinking (Alcoholics Anonymous, 2001); meaning one is still welcome in meetings even if they have stumbled in their abstinence. This distinction sets it apart from treatment programs with zero-tolerance policies on substance use that often result in involuntary discharge (Paquette et al., 2022).

AA contends that an alcoholic⁶ will always be an alcoholic, a position that supports the program's definition of recovery as a continuous process and its stance on sobriety. AA recognizes the chronic nature of substance use disorders, and the continuous nature of its process, as suggested by the three final steps. Although the Big Book concedes that there may be alternative paths to recovery (Alcoholics Anonymous, 2001), differences of interpretation may frame the attainment of moderated consumption either as negating the individual's alcoholic identity or as proof that sobriety has yet to be achieved.

Despite its frequent coexistence with the medical model in treatment (Paquette et al., 2022), as scientific knowledge on addiction has evolved, the long-standing tenets of the program have been challenged by pharmacological treatments that defy its notion of sobriety (Schlosser,

⁵ The omnipresence of AA makes it widely accessible in terms of scheduling and geography. Importantly, there are no fees involved and thus no monetary barriers to participation beyond the commitments of time and transportation.

⁶ While I consider that terms such as "alcoholic" and "addict" are stigmatizing, they are applied intentionally here as this is the language still commonly used by Alcoholics Anonymous.

2018). For AA, harm reduction measures constitute crutches that maintain the addiction (Denzin, 1993), placing it in opposition to evolving research (Recovery Research Institute, 2021). As we will see, AA's adherence to its foundational tenets outlined in 1935 is in sharp contrast to the pace of change inherent in biomedical understandings of substance use and the treatments it promotes.

2.4.2 Disease Model

The first whispers of a disease model of addiction date back to the suggestion of a clergyman in the late 17th century, though this seems not to have interested the medical world until 100 years later (Barnett et al., 2018). In the late 18th century, alcoholism was indefinitely described as a “disease of the will” (Barnett et al., 2018), a concern that elicited sufficient attention to merit the founding of the American Journal of Inebriety in 1867 (Jellinek, 1960). For nearly forty years, the journal published articles aimed at the definition of “inebriety (as) a neurosis and psychosis, and that alcohol is both an exciting and contributing cause as well as a symptom of conditions that existed before,” (Crother, 1912 as cited in Jellinek, 1960, p.2). Despite the journal's apparent contributions, it disappeared prior to prohibition, having failed to make an impression outside its academic circle; the disease model lay dormant for some time before being revived, in part by Jellinek's (1960) publication of *The Disease Concept of Addiction* (Barnett et al., 2018; Kelly, 2019). His work identified different phases within addiction, all the while pointing to a number of issues that remain relevant today, including institutional disorganization, “confused thinking and more confused procedures,” and vaguely defined terms (p.6). Perhaps most significantly, however, he argues that the disease movement's most problematic characteristic was its leadership by a small team of doctors, lacking scientists from other disciplines or community members.

Attention to the disease conception re-emerged in the midst of the post-prohibition era and post-war celebrations of the 1950s (Barnett et al., 2018; Kelly, 2019), after Alcoholics Anonymous had increased public awareness and shifted the discourse in the direction of a behavioural disease (Jellinek, 1960). Hence, the emergence of the disease model was contingent upon the groundwork laid by AA, and while these models offer different conceptualizations of substance use disorders, they are not incompatible with one another.

The disease model of addiction situates the problem within the body. Theories regarding genetic predisposition and allergic-type reactions have been theorized (Denzin, 1993), though most recently, the focus has been squarely on the brain disease model (Dennis, 2016). The biomedical perspective on substance-related disorders presented in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual V-TR (known as the DSM-5 TR) points to their activation of the brain-reward system, leading to the pleasurable experience of the “high” (American Psychiatric Association, 2022).

Initially considered to be an acute condition, it is now recognized that the complexity of addiction lies in the challenges it presents over time, extending beyond the period of withdrawal and often encompassing relapses (Dennis, 2016). New research suggests that these may be explained by neurological adaptations secondary to substance use, highlighting the important role neuroscience (Dennis, 2016; Weinberg, 2002) plays in the continuous evolution of how addiction is defined and treated.

Although there is relevance in more deeply understanding the neurobiochemical processes at play, there is concern that the brain disease model may eclipse the many other pieces of the substance use puzzle while limiting debate about its own limits (Heather et al., 2018). A systematic review of the literature, which aimed at uncovering the views held by clinicians on the disease model, revealed that multiple explanations often coexisted for

practitioners and adapted their interventions according to the needs of the individual seeking support (Barnett et al., 2018). However, those who held strongly to a disease model were more likely to impose their own goals, to be abstinence-focused, and to refer to AA (Barnett et al., 2018).

Interestingly, this dynamic that plays out in clinic may also be playing out in the field of addictions on an international scale. Jellinek (1960) noted that the small group of American physicians theorizing about addiction in the late 1800s seemed more adamant in arguing for a disease model than did their British colleagues. It is possible that this trend persists to this day, with researchers observing more nuanced perspectives on social factors amongst Scandinavian clinicians (Barnett et al., 2018), as well as on the brain disease model amongst Australian neuroscientists (Bell et al., 2014).

2.4.2.1 Definition & Treatment. The DSM 5-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2022) defines a substance use disorder as “a cluster of cognitive, behavioural, and physiological symptoms indicating that the individual continues using the substance despite significant substance-related problems,” (section II). As discussed earlier, the definition of recovery is the subject of debate, though once the individual no longer meets the criteria for a clinical diagnosis, they would be considered to be in remission (American Psychiatric Association, 2022), a term that eludes to its sometimes continuous nature (Heather et al., 2018). Though one may deduce a more nuanced stance on abstinence from this definition, in practice, it often remains the goal (Barnett et al., 2018), despite research that suggests many who aim to achieve moderate consumption are able to do so (Paquette et al., 2022).

Some neuroscientists argue that the brain disease model can offer insight into one’s experience of substance use and ease feelings of guilt, while others question the impact of its

fatalistic perspective on processes of recovery (Bell et al., 2014). While the construction of addiction as a disease of the brain is ostensibly free of the moral and sociopolitical charge that underlies conceptions focused on user agency (Fraser et al., 2018, p.62), this argument does not account for the stigma associated with illness, the politics (Fraser et al., 2018) nor the exercise of power at play in biomedicine (Foucault, 1963; Heather et al., 2018).

It follows from the above definition that treatment within this model consists of cognitive-behavioral therapies and pharmacotherapies typically aimed at abstinence, though some of the latter are arguably defiant of this goal. For example, the question of whether or not someone on methadone maintenance treatment is considered to be in recovery would depend on the definition adopted. The incorporation of the moral model's tenets into numerous programs also demonstrates its coexistence with the disease model. Indeed, the Minnesota Model, still the most widely applied treatment model in the United States, combines both models into a program that comprises psychiatric care as well as AA's 12-steps (Paquette et al., 2022).

2.4.2.1.1 Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy. As the name implies, this approach draws connections between how individuals think and how they act; thus, by altering thoughts, behaviours are subsequently modified (Hayes & Hoffman, 2017). Cognitive-behavioral therapies offer strategies and tools to support individuals in their recovery processes. For instance, the SMART Recovery (2021) peer-support network offers an alternative to AA focused on behavioural change with the goal of sustaining motivation, managing thoughts and feelings, and living a balanced life. Although the arrival of so-called “third wave” approaches has introduced more process-oriented methods, traditionally CBT has been characterized by its structured approach (Hayes & Hoffman, 2017) over a relatively short period, often six to twelve sessions.

As one of the leading approaches, CBT is often used with individuals recovering from substance use (Research Recovery Institute, 2021), though research suggests that it is equally as effective as other psychotherapeutic methods (Magill et al., 2019). Studies on the efficacy of psychotherapy consistently suggest that successful treatment is determined by the individual's relationship to the therapist rather than by the approach used (Kozart, 2002). Nonetheless, CBT continues to benefit from a reputation for strong results, in part because its structure lends itself to empirical investigation (Jaimes, Larose-Hébert & Moreau, 2015), in keeping with evaluations that correspond to those applied by the disease model.

2.4.2.1.2 Pharmacotherapy. Pharmacotherapeutic medications have evolved alongside biomedical research into how substances act upon the body and the brain, materializing into effective therapeutic supports for those who seek to alter their use of alcohol or opioids (Recovery Research Institute, 2021). Research suggests these treatments can be effective in supporting recovery, reducing risks associated with substance use (D'Aunno et al., 2019; Recovery Research Institute, 2021) and altering disruptive aspects of lifestyle (Canadian Association of Mental Health, 2024).

Despite their potential to aid the recovery process, few people benefit from these treatments. Under 10% of those with an alcohol use disorder are prescribed one of the four medications that may help to reduce their consumption (Kranzler & Soyka, 2018). Given this, it is unsurprising that the three medications approved for opioid use disorders remain underutilized, even as the opioid crisis carries on (Sharma et al., 2017). These pharmacotherapeutic harm reduction measures face multiple barriers, including financial, regulatory, geographic, and philosophical opposition from physicians (Sharma et al., 2017), once again highlighting the multi-faceted nature of this issue.

Rather than prescribing medication, many doctors refer those with alcohol use disorders to counselling (Kranzler & Soyka, 2018), a support that incidentally, few physicians provide and that is often offered by social workers (Mekonnen & Lee, 2022); many of whom experience distress with the tenets of the individualistic models that structure their practices (Ross et al., 2023). The deferral of physicians to the expertise of other professionals may have several possible explanations beyond the scope of this paper; however, it is relevant to highlight the paradoxical power of this model to diagnose while demonstrating reluctance to offer the treatments available to them.

Some consider that harm reduction measures such as opioid antagonist pharmacotherapies admit defeat in managing addiction (Brook & Stringer, 2005; Fraser et al., 2018). They argue that transitioning from illegal to legal substance use maintains the individual in a life influenced by consumption (Vrecko, 2016), mediated by biomedical authority (Schlosser, 2018). Others argue that if addiction truly is a disease, then those who live with it have the right to appropriate medical treatment (Fafard, 2012). These were the arguments advanced by advocates before the Supreme Court of Canada, leading to the legal establishment of the country's first safe injection site in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (Canada (Attorney General) v. PHS Community Services Society, 2011).

2.5 Addiction and Social Work

As discussed earlier, despite the theoretical dominance of the disease model, in practice, physicians largely refrain from applying the tools at their disposal, preferring to defer to mental health professionals for counselling (Kranzler & Soyka, 2018). While this reflects a degree of recognition as to the expertise of these professionals, many of whom are social workers (Mekonnen & Lee, 2022), there appears to be little attention to the concerns of the latter

regarding how the complexity of addiction could be addressed within a medicalized framework that overlooks the psychosocial to focus on the symptoms of the disorder (Ross et al., 2023).

Despite the important presence of social workers in front-line intervention, the discipline has developed few of its own theories on substance use (Mekonnen & Lee, 2022). Consequently, their practices are influenced by the discourses of the moral and medical models, which are stripped of the richness of social work's relational expertise (Mekonnen & Lee, 2022) and critical perspective (McNeil, 2021). This is concerning on many fronts; among them is the consistent research supporting the importance of the therapeutic relationship in treatment outcomes (Mutschler et al., 2024; Urbanoski et al., 2012).

The neoliberal policies that shape addiction treatment in many settings are often in direct conflict with social work ethics (Mekonnen & Lee, 2022; Ross et al., 2023), leaving workers to navigate the tension between them to the best of their abilities. Neoliberalism is understood as a political and economic philosophy that exerts itself through an adherence to free-market principles within social institutions (Vallier, 2022). In this context, addiction is assessed in terms of its impact on the individual's responsibilities (Ross et al., 2023), not the least of which is their capacity for economic contribution.

Neoliberalism runs through Canadian health and social services, materializing in a relationship to time that is concerned with the ostensible efficiency and accountability within service provision (Church et al., 2018). The unintended consequences of this are exposed in the context of increasingly specialized medical fields and can result in analysis that fails to account for the interactions between the different physiological and psychosocial parts of a person (Bogue Kerr et al., 2018). In the context of addiction, this means the complexity of individual life trajectories is disregarded in the interest of proposing efficient, purportedly evidence-based

solutions ill-fitted to histories charged with traumatic experiences in which substance use is not uncommonly rooted (Ross et al., 2023).

Relationships take time to build, and where time is considered to be money, systemic and structural constraints impoverish connections (Ross et al., 2023). A Canadian study conducted on the perspectives of social workers within the field of addiction, most of whom were employed within institutional contexts, found that 96% experienced barriers in their service provision and 85% stated there were insufficient day programs or services in their communities (Ross et al. 2023).

These neoliberal policies and practices are most prevalent in institutional settings. The ways in which these are experienced by community social workers in addiction are less clear, though given the mobilized resources, there is likely a strong social work presence within the community, though their expertise is little documented. Approximately one million dollars is spent each day on health and social services in the Downtown Eastside (Vancouver Police Department, 2022), provided by approximately 260 agencies (Culbert & McMartin, 2015).

Efforts undertaken in the Downtown Eastside to strengthen harm reduction strategies, bolster addiction supports, and challenge the stigma (Boyd et al., 2017) associated with substance use are of benefit to those far beyond the boundaries of this neighbourhood; these are issues that traverse geographic and socioeconomic lines. Indeed, activists from this neighbourhood successfully argued that if addiction were a disease, they would have the right to be treated for it, thereby paving the way for safe injection sites across the country (Canada (Attorney General) v. PHS Community Services Society, 2011).

What is particularly relevant here is the relational nature of these practices, which materializes in a different position relative to the individuals accompanied. The development of

critical social work research and practice is dependent upon the elaboration of this literature; those who witness the limitations of the dominant abstinence-oriented models are in the best position to counter them.

2.5.1 Recovery in Social Work

While the definition and delimitation of the concept of recovery are contentious, some contend that it is broadly aligned with social work principles and values such as autonomy, personal choice, empowerment, mutual aid, and peer support (Kourgiantakis et al., 2022). Given this, along with the importance of relationships in the treatment of substance use disorders, the dynamic contributions from the relational model (Adams, 2008), and the strong representation of social work in the field, one might expect there to be debate on the concept of recovery within social work. Instead, what one discovers is a very limited body of literature on the subject.

A scoping review on the concept of recovery in mental health and addictions reflected an absence of consensus on the definition and the struggles of working towards a biomedically defined recovery misaligned with social work practice and ethics (Kourgiantakis et al., 2022). While values such as autonomy, empowerment, and mutual aid were identified as social work values, their relevance to practice is unclear, and their presumed universality may be problematic, particularly without a clearly articulated definition of recovery. McNeil (2021) argues that most research on substance use lacks an explicit epistemological position, which compromises the strength of its analysis of the power dynamics at play.

Importantly, very few articles included in this review were specific to addictions (Kourgiantakis et al., 2022), reflecting the concern expressed by some social workers that the specificity of this experience had been subsumed within mental health, contributing to its increased biomedicalization (Ross et al., 2023). While recovery in mental health and addictions

have recently merged to some extent, the histories of these movements are very different (Kourgiantakis et al., 2022), as are these experiences (Ross et al., 2023).

The definition of recovery adopted in this dissertation stems from a participatory research study that undertook to clarify how the process was defined by those who lived it (Borkman et al., 2016). It is applied here based on its coherence with how participants of the study described their experiences as a self-realized *“learning process of growth and self-development... towards becoming a self-aware, responsible, moral and more fully realized human being,”* (Borkman et al., 2016, p. 1124). Importantly, this definition embraces the ebbs and flows of change processes and does not require abstinence.

In this dissertation, at times, changes in substance use are broadly referred to as such, and while they are to be understood as part of the participants’ recovery processes, they are also intended to reflect the blurry classifications of normative substance use. Fluctuations in substance use are not unique to those who have faced addiction. The intention here is to recognize the fine line between normative and pathologized substance use, and to challenge distinctions that “other”. For the purposes of this dissertation, I define recovery as a self-directed, non-linear process of learning and personal growth characterized by changing relationships with oneself, others, and the world.

2.6 Relational Model

Denzin (1993) contends that substance abuse is ultimately a story about the relationships between people and society, a position consistent with relational theories on addiction (Adams, 2016; Alexander, 2008; Graham et al., 2008). The relational model proposed by the social sciences invites us to consider the individual as part of a complex web of relationships (Adams, 2016), either from a micro- or macro-level perspective.

Alexander (2008) points to the ways in which networks have been disrupted by socioeconomic shifts and argues that addiction is an adaptive response to disconnected communities. As a Vancouverite, he points to the city's history of dislocation, beginning with that of the Indigenous peoples through colonialization, but also weaving through the narratives of the Asian and European settlers. Under British rule, those of European origin had the advantage and were bolstered by the economically motivated racist divisions that were built into the social structure. Vancouver, he argues, has been built by businessmen and property owners, and the disconnected settler communities lacked the shared roots on which to build a unifying culture of their own.

Adams (2016) argues that the self constructed in biomedicine is constituted of flesh and blood and in psychology by the thoughts, feelings, and motivations that make up one's inner world. Neither of these, however, accounts for the social self. Adams highlights the dynamic nature of identity, unfolding within the web of relationships in which they exist; in addition, the substance itself constitutes the primary relationship, to which all others are subordinate. While increased attention to the relationships that extend out from the individual is fundamental, the relationship between the aforementioned flesh and blood and the inner world is rarely explored.

It is through the body that the self exists in and relates to the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1945), setting the stage for exploration and engagement with the world (Kemp, 2018). The biomedical and social theories that underlie addiction treatment reflect the ideological separation of body from mind, a dichotomy that overlooks the nuanced network of relationships between the two (Dennis, 2016), neglecting the embodied, interactional, and experiential elements (Weinberg, 2002).

The specificity of one's embodied experience of substance use is a deeply relational phenomenon, inescapably present in one's relationship to self and to the body, situated in a

temporal-spatial rapport with the world (Dennis, 2016; Kemp, 2018). While the initial impact of substance abuse is absorbed by the body, the symptoms of concern (for instance, homelessness and criminal activity) are primarily sociocultural (Weinberg, 2002), perhaps revealing why the body itself is largely overlooked by the two foremost models outlined above (Dennis, 2016).

It follows that a number of researchers have undertaken studies *of* the addicted body, situating it within a network of relationships and reasoning that these connections are key to understanding the experience of substance use (Dennis, 2016; Weinberg, 2002; Zautra, 2015). This dissertation will position itself as an exploration of recovery *from* the body through the adaptation of a carnal sociological framework (Wacquant, 2015), which will be further detailed in the following chapter.

2.6.1 Definition and Treatment

The moral and disease models of addiction are limited by their individualization of a multi-faceted social issue. As such, neither one is suited to the analysis of critical social work practice (Ross et al., 2023), and while each model contributes some pieces to the puzzle, neither one presents it fully. Both of these models propose treatments with relational elements, either in the form of peer-support or as a psychotherapeutic process, which reflects an appreciation of social connection in the treatment of substance use disorders (Adams, 2008). Whether disturbances in relationships are understood as a cause or as a symptom of substance use, relational intervention aims to strengthen these connections, promoting social reintegration (Adams, 2008; Alexander, 2008).

Many people living with substance use disorders have found some form of community, sometimes on the margins of mainstream society. They share a stigmatized existence, lifestyle, purpose, and sense of belonging (Schlosser, 2018). Despite the complex social issues that manifest

in the streets of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, there also exists a strong sense of solidarity (Maté, 2021), a long history of resistance (Kenny, 2016), and a resilient community (Alexander, 2008).

In this perspective, recovery constitutes multiple losses involving not only the substance itself but also support and community (Schlosser, 2018). Weinberg (2002) argues that recovery is a personal and collective project of self-actualization (p.17), one that could be better accomplished by interventions that recognize the relational, embodied nature of substance use and of recovery (Schlosser, 2018). Creating an environment in which people can safely build themselves up through gradual reconnections with the world may contribute to more successful outcomes (Adams, 2008) and is consistent with the value dislocation theory attributes to community (Alexander, 2008). Indeed, this resembles the social model of recovery that developed in California over the course of the 1960s and 1970s (Borkman et al., 2007). These programs have been meaningfully altered by socioeconomic forces that have changed their self-directed philosophies and imposed limitations on their duration (Borkman et al., 2007), which minimizes their community focus.

Adams (2008) argues that since the relationship to the substance gradually becomes the primary connection, healing entails creating or re-engaging other links, thereby prompting a weakening of the undesired primary relationship. He identifies three common sources of transitional replacement: 1) a psychotherapeutic relationship; 2) pharmacotherapeutic support; or; 3) Alcoholics Anonymous. This need for ongoing support structures is consistent with research suggesting that those in recovery express they would benefit from closer contacts with mental health professionals, more activities, and closer post-treatment follow-up (Dennis, 2016;

Nordheim et al., 2018). While these seem to call for structural changes to recovery programs, they may also be understood as a need for sustained social connections that support change.

Processes of transition are often messy and are charged with vulnerability and uncertainty (Bogue Kerr et al., 2018). Nonetheless, many rehabilitation centres enforce zero-tolerance policies that lead to the involuntary discharge of those who relapse while in treatment (Paquette et al., 2022). There seems to be surprisingly little acknowledgement of the inherent contradiction of releasing someone from treatment for experiencing symptoms of the very illness for which they are seeking help (Paquette et al., 2022; White et al., 2005). Not only does this reflect an incoherence between the definition of the disease and its treatment within the medical model, but it also reinforces the experiences of shame (Snoek et al., 2021) and disconnection (Adams, 2008) often associated with addiction.

Considering this, it is little wonder that people living with substance use disorders are, for the most part, uninterested in treatment. Research suggests that this can be explained in large part by a disconnect between the predominance of abstinence-oriented services and the goals of their intended population; many choose not to seek treatment because their intention is to achieve moderated consumption, not abstinence (Berglund et al., 2019). If relationships are at the heart of healing in this model (Adams, 2016), offering services in accordance with the needs of those that these ostensibly aim to support is a crucial starting point (Paquette et al., 2022).

For Adams (2008), the ease of access to Alcoholics Anonymous, the regularity of daily meetings, and its spiritual nature constitute its key strengths as a transitional support. Importantly, several of these qualities have little to do with the program itself and could be found in any number of groups. In this perspective, the potential of other sub-cultures, such as those found within the running community, to support the recovery process is worthy of investigation.

A gradual integration into the running community may foster connections to one's body and to the network of relationships that extends out from it, thereby serving as a stepping stone to re-finding one's place within society (Landale, 2012).

The following section begins with an examination of the social role of sport, recognizing its relationship to citizenship in ancient Greece (Foucault, 1990) and, more recently, its role in the discipline of the body (Bourdieu, 1988). Next, sports-based interventions are situated within social work practices, highlighting tensions in the discipline's navigation of the space between social control and social justice.

2.7 The Social Role of Sport

Long dismissed as a valueless area of research lacking in seriousness, the sociology of sport is an emerging field of study (Parlebas, 2015). While it is not uncommon for its theoretical (Pociello, 2005; Safai, 2016) and practical worth to be overlooked, the role of sport situates it firmly at the heart of social life and tensions, revealing relationships to the body that are part of relationships to the world (Bourdieu, 1988).

The attention paid to bodily discipline within educational, religious and military institutions suggest that bodies obey, even when minds dissent (Bourdieu, 1988). Sport as we know it emerged from the institutional context of elite English boarding schools, where it provided both a controlled temporal structure that dissuaded “idle hands⁷”, and conditions that allowed for safe and contained expressions of aggression (Pociello, 2005). In this context, upper class students participated in a use of the body “as an end to itself” (Bourdieu, 1978, p.823), distinct from a working-class engagement with the body as a means, mirroring the same struggles and divergences observed between these groups in other aspects of society.

⁷ Reference alludes to the English saying, “Idle hands are the devil's playground.”

In some ways, this is reminiscent of exercise as practiced exclusively by the elite male citizenry of ancient Greece, for whom it was part of the art of living (Foucault, 1990). This pursuit involved a rigorous commitment, not unlike military training (Foucault, 2005), to knowledge and mastery of self through a transformative struggle aimed at strengthening and healing both body and soul (Foucault, 1990). It served as preparation for facing life's challenges with greater strength (Foucault, 1990), a conviction now supported by neuroscientific advances in anxiety and stress responses (Ratey, 2008).

The art of living entailed, (among other things) achieving a balance through a daily regimen that guarded against the dangers of an excessive appetite for food, drink, sleep, exercise, or sexual activity (Foucault, 1990). Wacquant (2002) observed this same attention to moderated activities and consumption in his ethnographic study of a Chicago boxing gym. The culture forged within its walls was experienced as a sanctuary by its members, where the disciplined fighting cultivated by the pugilistic *habitus* stood in sharp contrast to the desperate, unpredictable violence of the ghetto outside its doors. For those whose circumstances afforded a sufficiently stable foundation that supported a commitment to this disciplined lifestyle, boxing offered a direction that diverged from the life-limiting paths of substance use or gang-affiliation, unfortunately common in this disenfranchised neighbourhood.

The sense of refuge found within the gym and the strength of the community achieved through individual and collective processes parallel AA in some ways. While AA attributes addiction to a fault within one's soul (Denzin, 1993), boxers explain failures as slips in pugilistic discipline, which relate to the body/soul connection (Wacquant, 2002). For some, boxing was a life-saving alternative to substance use (Wacquant, 2002), which suggests that other sports could play a similar role.

The following section will show that, owing to its benefits of play, competition, and camaraderie, sport has been a part of community social work practice since the discipline's early days in Chicago. Despite recognition of the individual and social benefits of sport from the discipline's inception, its value is widely overlooked in contemporary practice. This section will: 1) situate sport in social work within its sociohistorical context; 2) discuss the specificity of the discipline's contributions to sports-based intervention; and; 3) present an overview of current research on the use of physical activity in addictions.

2.7.1 Sport in Social Work

Although sport has enjoyed a recent resurgence within the field of social work (Corvino et al., 2023), it has been part of practice since the early days of a Chicago-based settlement house (Azzarito et al., 2004; Reynolds, 2017). Hull House was established in 1889 in a densely populated, underprivileged, multi-ethnic, immigrant neighbourhood (Hull House Museum, n.d.) during a time of rapid expansion for the city (Britannica, 2024). Its founder, Jane Addams, is widely recognized as an early, influential thinker in North American social work. She considered social work to be a form of sociology (Franklin, 1986), revealing her analytical approach to the relationship between the individual and society. Addams was a proponent of practices that responded to the needs of the community and aimed at social change (Franklin, 1986). As such, Hull House offered a variety of activities and services, including childcare, community kitchens, grass-roots education projects, a medical clinic, an art gallery (Hull House Museum, n.d.) and sports activities (Reynolds, 2017).

Addams believed that the benefits of sport extended beyond health and well-being and that they promoted a spirit of camaraderie through play and competition, as well as a respectful appreciation for differences upon which to build community (Whelan-Jackson, 2020). Some 50

years before Wacquant (2002) would undertake a carnal approach to the study of a boxing gym in a disadvantaged neighbourhood, Hull House had developed a boxing program aimed at itinerant boys, aimed at lifting them out of poverty (Reynolds, 2017). The successful women's basketball team defied discourses that contended physical activity was a threat to the ostensibly weak female body and compromised their reproductive abilities (Azzarito et al., 2004). Addams conceived of sport as a democratic tool with the potential to foster connections, a particularly important consideration in the context of a rapidly growing city in which people were arriving from all over the world (Whelan-Jackson, 2020). For Addams, play was considered to be an antidote to loneliness stemming from dislocation and urbanization (Whelan-Jackson, 2020, p. 561), and she considered that it was the responsibility of the city to foster structures for democratic participation in recreation (Addams, 1909/1930).

The value that Addams accorded to sport highlights important questions for social work today. Most significantly for our purposes, it speaks to the need for careful consideration as to the values with which sport is charged and, by extension, what it means to intervene through them. Addams's (1912) resounding philosophical reflections on the social function of play amongst children and adults passionately argue that the emotional, psychosocial, and democratic value of sport remains relevant for social work today. On the other hand, as with the practices of physical activity by the free-born male citizens of ancient Greece (Foucault, 1990), there are values of citizenship specific to that moment in history that contradict present social work ethics.

Under Addams, Hull House was promoting the democratic qualities of sport, and the eugenics movement in the United States was advocating for the strengthening and perfection of white, Anglo-Saxon bodies (Azzarito et al., 2004). At that time, the purported scientific validity of eugenic thinking and intervention was supported by many in the emerging field of social

work; among them was Addams, who served as honorary vice-president of the American Social Hygiene Association (Kennedy, 2008). Her writing (Addams, 1909/1930) reflects moralistic concern for the sexual behaviour of young women; she argued for the sterilization of some women deemed “feeble-minded” and in some cases, explicitly praises the eugenics movement for its preventative approach to the “social evil... clearly responsible for race deterioration” (Addams, 1912 as cited in Kennedy, 2008, p.29). In this context, the strengthening of bodies through democratic sports practices takes on a different meaning.

As this suggests, sport, situated firmly at the heart of social life and tensions, reveals relationships to the body that are part of relationships to the world (Bourdieu, 1988). As such, it is important that the values with which sports-based interventions are charged be considered. Assumptions about the purity of sport, or, for that matter, the benevolent objectives of social work, may conceal the values that sports-based interventions promote (Chamberlain, 2013; Coakley, 2011). Thus, programs that operate with a homogenous view of a particular community may reinforce the power structures that contributed to the precarity they sought to address (Coakley, 2011; Hayhurst, Giles & Wright, 2016; Norman et al., 2018).

2.7.2 Sports-Based Intervention

At times, Addam’s (1909/1930) writings reflect an appreciation for the use of sport as a means of experiencing the full range of human emotion and creativity; in appearance, this is aligned with engaging with the body as an end to itself. At other times, it reflects a training of the body as a means of its productive transformation (Reynolds, 2017). These tensions persist today in sport-based intervention, as evidenced by programs whose stated aims are, for example, to create safe contexts for play while transmitting Eurocentric values of citizenship, self-reliance, and neoliberalism through the vehicle of sport (Hayhurst et al., 2016). These contrasting

motivations or values are not necessarily incompatible; however, they highlight the importance of examining how and why sport is applied in intervention, questions that have been minimally explored thus far (Moreau et al., 2018).

Sports-based programs have been instituted in Canada and around the world with the aim of addressing social issues facing new immigrants (Gasparini, 2008), sedentary (Norman et al., 2018), troubled (Moreau et al., 2014; 2018), or criminalized youth (Chamberlain, 2013), as well as those living with challenges related to mental health (Hefferon, Mallery, Gay & Elliott, 2013) and substance use (Van Hout & Phelan, 2014). While governments, NGOs, and humanitarian aid organizations have dedicated significant resources to these programs (Chamberlain, 2013; Kunz, 2009), there has been little research to support or disprove the efficacy of these initiatives (Chamberlain, 2013; Kunz, 2009), or the conditions under which sports psychosocial interventions may lead to positive outcomes (Coakley, 2011; Moreau et al., 2018).

Although sport has been mobilized across disciplines, our focus is on its use as a tool for psychosocial intervention. The dearth of literature in the area of psychosocial sports-based intervention (Chamberlain, 2013) would suggest that programs have been developed on the basis of practical and embodied knowledge of amateur and professional athletes (Coakley, 2011). Existing research seems to suggest that the benefits of these programs cannot be attributed solely to sports themselves, making context a key consideration (Coakley, 2011; Corvino et al., 2023; Moreau et al., 2014; 2018; Parlavecchio et al., 2021). The development of positive alliances with group leaders and between participants can foster a supportive, positive environment that supports personal growth and a sense of community (Chamberlain, 2013; Hefferon, Mallery, Gay & Elliott, 2013; Kunz, 2009; Moreau et al., 2014; 2018). Some studies propose that the impact of the programs can foster a sense of collective pride in the larger community, which in

turn can bring about positive social change (Chamberlain, 2013), particularly in strengthening intra-group social bonds amongst those with similar backgrounds (Coakley, 2011).

This echoes the suggestion of a connection between one's values and long-term commitment to physical activity (Hutchison, Johnston & Breckon, 2012), which supports the contention that a person-centered approach should be adopted in order to meet individual needs and goals (Abrantes, et al., 2011; Chamberlain, 2013). Assumptions about the purity of sport may conceal the values that sports-based interventions promote (Chamberlain, 2013; Coakley, 2011). Thus, programs that operate with a homogenous view of a particular community may reinforce the power structures that contributed to the precarity they sought to address (Coakley, 2011; Hayhurst, Giles & Wright, 2016; Norman et al., 2018).

Moreover, as we have just seen, the values with which these interventions are charged may differ according to the program's aims and the position taken by those in leadership. Roessler (2016) observes that sports-based interventions conducted in clinical settings, for instance, may be led by multidisciplinary professionals who have not been trained to recognize the importance of affect and group dynamics. Interventions within social work that are built upon a professional code of ethics and consider the values of diversity and inclusivity (Newman et al., 2022) may differ considerably from programs developed by other disciplines. Social workers are trained to analyze the interplay of many psychosocial factors (Newman et al., 2022), and the relational expertise that this entails can bolster the benefits of the activity itself (Corvino et al., 2023).

Physical activity is not a simple, universally beneficial engagement; there are numerous micro, meso, and macro-level considerations that shape individual relationships to and experiences of exercise (Abrantes et al., 2011; Chamberlain, 2013; Williams & Streat, 2006) and

that appear to be predictive of a long-term commitment to it (Hutchison, Johnston & Breckon, 2012). If the literature on sports-based intervention is limited to begin with, there is also a need for research that reflects the specificity of social work expertise in this area (Corvino et al., 2023; Newman et al., 2022).

Despite the historic importance of sport to social work practice, it has paradoxically little presence in the training and toolkits of today's social workers. Though sports-based training was integrated into early social work education (Reynolds, 2017), this axe seems to have been dormant for some time, though it re-emerged in the United States through the establishment of the Alliance of Social Workers in Sport in 2015 (2016). Despite increased interest in sports-based interventions and the role of social workers within these programs, there is a dearth of empirical articles within the literature (Corvino et al., 2023; Newman et al., 2022). Indeed, the scoping review of the body in social work (Chapter 3) identified very few articles on sports-based interventions.

2.7.3 Physical Activity and Substance Use

Run For Your Life, the New York based running intervention program that inspired this study has been “*turning addicts into athletes*” (personal communication, A. Matthews, July 2021) for over twenty years (Odyssey House Inc., 2021; Ratey, 2008). According to the program coach, between 35 and 50 people train towards different goals each season. They remain connected to a continuum of support services through the recovery centre and return to support others as mentors (personal communication, A. Matthews, July 2021). Importantly, the group leaders have themselves integrated running into their recovery from addiction (personal communication, A. Matthews, July 2021), further solidifying the group's social bonds through these shared experiences (Parlavecchio et al., 2021). The qualities of this running group seem to

mirror, in some ways, those of 12-step programs. It is a structured and continuous peer-supported group with shared goals and, likely, a common language specific both to running and recovery. Despite its apparent successes, this program does not appear to have been the subject of any published research.

This is not surprising given the findings of a Swiss study that found over 90% of participating rehabilitation clinics offered exercise programs, though none collected data (Colledge et al, 2018). The limited literature notwithstanding, a few existing studies have applied randomized control or quasi-experimental methodologies (Giesen et al., 2015; Patterson et al., 2022), focusing primarily on measurable outcomes such as physiological responses, and though some studies hinted at shifts in embodiment, this was not further explored (Giesen et al., 2015). An intervention study in a residential recovery program noted that participants experienced running as supportive of the early stages of recovery and that training for a race fostered a sense of accomplishment and belonging (Dai et al., 2020). Studies such as these, which consider the experience of working towards a shared goal, appear to be rare.

There appears to be evidence to suggest that exercise may help in reducing substance use (Patterson et al., 2022) and may support identity-related processes (Carless, 2008), learning, and socialization (Colledge et al., 2018; Landale, 2012). Little research has been conducted on the subject, however, particularly outside a clinical setting (Colledge et al., 2018), or extending beyond the end of formal addiction treatment (Patterson et al., 2022). This is particularly limiting in light of the importance of context in sports-based research (Coakley, 2011; Moreau et al., 2014; 2018; Parlavecchio et al., 2021) and research suggesting that engaging in exercise that is not experienced as enjoyable may not carry the same benefits (Ratey, 2008). Thus, randomized controlled trials may not provide the conditions that allow the secondary benefits of sports

participation to unfold, namely the social aspects that have been highlighted by some researchers (Corvino et al., 2023; Moreau et al., 2018), nor questions related to embodiment, which have received little academic attention.

In his case study of the rebuilding of a lost athlete identity in the process of recovery from schizophrenia and substance use, Carless (2008) identified the embodied experience of running as an important area for future investigation. A psychodynamic study focusing on affect and interpersonal dynamics over the course of a running intervention program found that participants experienced their bodies differently than before, specifically noting an increased awareness of the sensations from within (Roessler, 2016). This limited exploration reveals that the body, rarely explored in addiction research (Kemp, 2018; Weinberg, 2002), seems to have paradoxically little presence in the literature on sports-based intervention as well (Carless, 2008).

In the interest of situating this study in relation to existing research in social work, a scoping review was conducted of the body of literature produced within the discipline. The findings of this review are presented in the following chapter. Importantly, no articles on addiction met the inclusion criteria for this review. Further, though several considered the use of mindfulness-based interventions, few examined other body-based approaches, and those that did tended to focus on yoga. Thus, the findings of the review identify several gaps in the literature on the body and reinforce the contributions of the present study.

Chapter 3 (Article 1)

For a Carnal Social Work: A Review of the Body in Social Work Literature

Bogue Kerr, S. (submitted). For a Carnal Social Work: A Review of the Body in Social Work Literature. *British Journal of Social Work*.

Abstract

Social work practice is charged with concerns related to the body; health, age, gender, sexuality, race, abuse, and violence, to name a few. Despite this, the body itself is strangely invisible in social work literature, its experiences often indirectly addressed. The present scoping review seeks to explore how the body is situated and conceptualized within the peer-reviewed social work literature between 2012 and 2022. The wide scope of this review captures a range of articles (n=148) in many different journals (n=56), with few tackling the same questions. Moreover, the stories of many bodies are not yet represented in social work literature. Seven broad relational categories were identified: relationship to oneself; interpersonal concerns in health; systemic and structural concerns in health; therapeutic relationships; the body in intervention; embodied structures; and the body in social work education. The results point to the need for a framework through which to see and interpret the body, promoting a more central position in research and practice. Wacquant's carnal sociology (2015) is proposed as an appropriate scaffold for bringing the body into view within social work practice and research.

Keywords: social work, body, embodied social work, mind-body intervention, scoping review, carnal sociology

Teaser Text⁸

Social workers work with all kinds of people, facing a wide range of difficulties in their lives. Many of the challenges people face involve their bodies in some way. For example, sexism, racism, illness, and violence are all experiences that involve the body. Despite this, the body is not something that we always think about in social work. Bodies might be thought of as male, female, or transgendered; Black and White; young and old, but often without looking at how these labels relate to people's actual bodies. This article investigates how the body has been written about in social work articles between 2012 and 2022. It found that social workers are concerned with many different relationships to the body; sometimes about the relationships people have to their own bodies, how those influence relationships with others, or how bodies are considered in different systems where social workers practice. Many articles also studied how social workers pay attention to what their own bodies do to help them connect with others. This article ends with a discussion about gaps in the literature on the body and suggestions about how and why it should be more present in social work research and practice.

⁸ This article appears with a teaser text, as it was a specific requirement of the journal which was not required of the others. Thus is the only article with a teaser text.

3.1 Introduction

The separation of body and mind is deeply entrenched in Western culture, conceptualizing individuals as *having* bodies rather than *being* bodies (Hayles, 1999). While there is consideration for how life experiences shape our psychology, our behaviour, and, to some extent, our social context, there is far less awareness that the body has lived all that the mind has. As a practice concerned with human experience, social work is charged with issues related to the body and the inequalities stemming from the position and treatment of diverse bodies.

Despite the omnipresence of the body in everyday social work practices, it is also strangely invisible; its presence is assumed; a black box. As a discipline with multiple theoretical influences, positioned at the juncture of the individual and society, when the body is considered, the question becomes more specifically about *what* body is represented. Incidentally, social work practice is shaped not only by the values and ethics of the discipline, but also by the forces of neoliberalism that have come to structure the encounter between professionals and those they accompany (Phillips, 2019).

For the moment, I propose no definition of the body in social work, preferring for this to emerge through a presentation and analysis of the literature. Is it a biomedical body, the sensations of which are translated into quantifiable data, such as body mass index and glucose levels? A critical body, charged with the inequalities it experiences? An interpretive body, reflecting the subjective experiences of what it is like to live within it? A sensuous body, interacting with the world through sounds, sights, and sensations? From this perspective, the question that is the subject of this review emerged: *How is the body defined, situated, and conceptualized within social work literature?*

Considering the broad nature of the question, a scoping review was determined to be the most appropriate structure for this purpose, particularly since no prior review articles were found. This review aimed to examine how the body is defined, situated, and conceptualized within social work literature as related to clinical practice and education and to identify gaps within this knowledge, with the interest of suggesting future directions for research.

3.2 Method

Arksey & O'Malley's (2005) five-stage framework for scoping reviews guided this investigation. Scoping reviews are useful in examining the nature and range of an area of research and in identifying gaps in the literature. Unlike systematic reviews of the literature, these do not undertake to answer a specific question, nor do they assess the quality of the included studies. The researcher began by 1) identifying the research question, after which began 2) the identification of relevant studies, 3) study selection, 4) charting the data and 5) collating, summarizing, and reporting results.

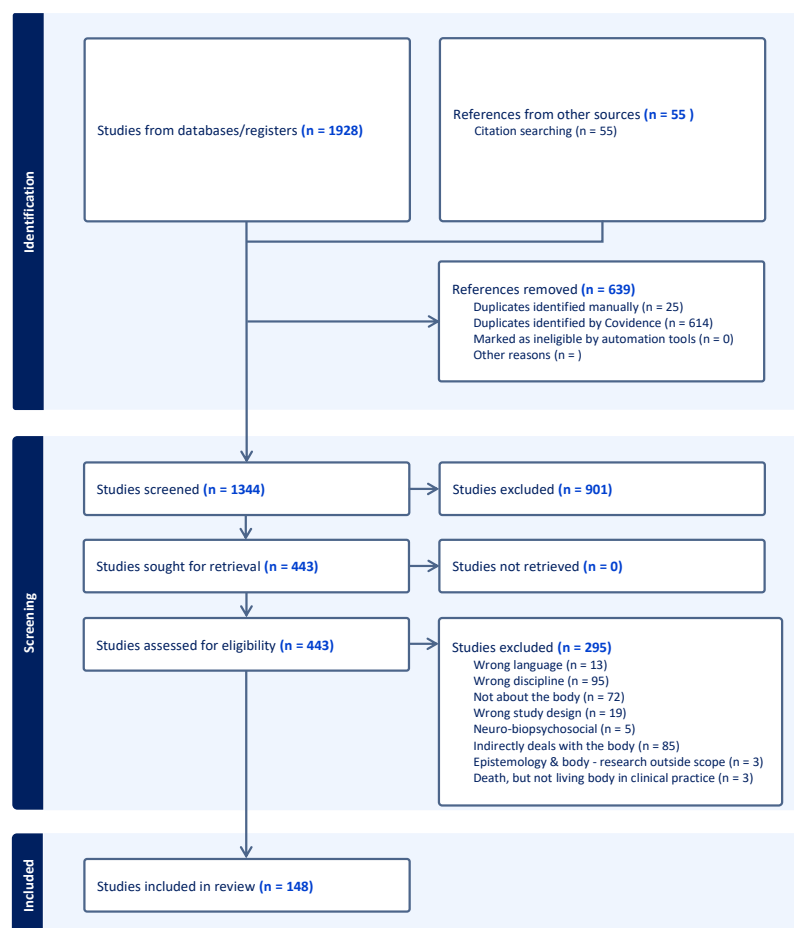
This scoping review investigated the presence of the body in social work literature, including all study designs between 2012 and 2022. This process was aided by Covidence, software that facilitates such reviews. The inclusion criteria were: a) peer-reviewed English language articles published between 2012 and 2022; b) either in social work journals or on which a social worker was the first or second author; c) including any study design, with the exception of published interviews; and c) directly addressing the body. Articles were excluded if they a) related to questions of epistemology and embodied research methods in order to focus more closely on the field and education, areas that are often interconnected given the practical nature of many social work programs, or; b) analyzed the body from a neurobiochemical perspective. While recent advances in this area are certainly relevant and promising to whole-person care,

neuroscience is a field in and of itself, and the complexity of its developments was determined to be outside of the scope of social work.

The terms “clinic”, “intervention”, “practice”, “social work”, and “body” or “bodies” were searched for in abstracts in Social Service Abstracts, Academic Search Complete and Google Scholar. These searches yielded 1928 articles, which were uploaded to Covidence for screening on June 30, 2022. Another 55 were added through searching the bibliographies of retained articles. 639 duplicates were removed, leaving 1344 studies to screen, of which 901 were deemed irrelevant, leaving 443 screened for eligibility, 295 of which were excluded, most commonly because the publications were determined to be unrelated to or indirectly related to the body (n=160) or were publications from related disciplines (n=95). Ultimately, 148 articles were retained for this investigation. The full references for these studies are available in the Supplementary Material. A PRISMA flowchart on the following page illustrates the study selection process.

Since all human experience unfolds from within bodies, arguably all experience involves the body. The body itself, however, is often assumed or taken for granted. Although experiences of race are embodied, most often it is the labels affixed to these bodies (such as white or Black) that are the subject of discussion, rather than the bodies themselves. In this way, issues of health, gender, sexuality, life, and death become detached from the embodied sites where they unfold. This echoes a critique of discourses on the body within the social sciences as focusing on what happens to the body while overlooking what the body does (Crossley, 1995). Few engage with the flesh and blood of the human body, recognizing the symbolic, situated, sensate, suffering, and skilled knowledge embodied within (Wacquant, 2015).

Figure 1

PRISMA flowchart

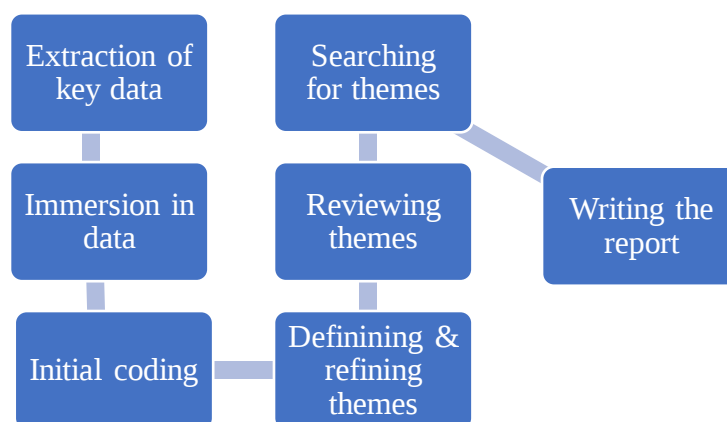
The question as to whether an article was about the body, or rather about a label we affix to the body, guided the screening process. When this was ambiguous, the article was searched for the words “body”, “embodiment”, “senses” and “sensate” to help determine how the body was situated in the study. It was not relevant how many times a word appeared; rather, attention was paid to how these were used. The metaphorical use of these terms was not sufficient to retain an article; rather, a connection needed to be made between the body and where it lives. Data was selected by the researcher, who, at times consulted with her thesis supervisor as a “critical

friend” to offer another perspective on the inclusion of certain articles (Smith & McGannon, 2018).

Data analysis was facilitated by the use of NVivo software. The charting of descriptive data (Step 4) provided an overview of the data, drawing attention to geographical, theoretical, and methodological trends in publication. Step 5 (collating, summarizing and reporting the results) was undertaken through a combination of narrative review (Arksey & O’Malley, 2005) and thematic analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006). First, key data was extracted (Pawson, 2002), specifically: 1) authors; 2) year of publication; 3) journal; 4) place of research; 5) methodology; 6) study population.

Next, a six-phase approach (Braun & Clark, 2006) was undertaken, involving 1) *immersion* in the data; 2) *initial coding* relative to the article’s position between the individual and society, the conceptualization of the body and key findings; 3) *search for themes* through categorization and use of mind maps; 4) *thematic review*. Organization of findings by methodology or conceptualization of the body were deemed inadequate due to the broad scope of the review. Ultimately, the position identified between the individual and society led 5) to the *definition and refinement* of relational categories and sub-categories. Analysis within each of these continued through the 6) *writing* of the present article.

Figure 2

Process of Analysis

There were many articles on mindfulness, which could have constituted a category on its own. Instead, these articles were integrated into the seven themes to reflect its use throughout the field. Similarly, articles that overlapped multiple categories (for example, articles on health issues amongst ethnic minorities), were grouped on the basis of their consistency with the major themes identified.

3.3 Results

Nearly a third of the retained articles appeared in three journals, namely: the Journal of Clinical Social Work (n=16), the British Journal of Social Work (n=15), and the Journal of Australian Social Work (n=14). Most of these were based on studies conducted in Western Anglo-Saxon countries (n=132), mainly the United States (n=81). Articles were divided into seven broad relational categories: 1) relationship to oneself (n=19); 2) interpersonal relationships in health, illness, and disability (n=8); 3) systemic and structural concerns in health, illness, and disability (n=17); 4) the body in therapeutic relationships (n=42); 5) the body in intervention (n=31); 6) embodied structures (n=4); and 7) the body in social work education (n=27).

This section provides an overview of each of these categories, discusses major themes, and highlights how the body was conceptualized. Articles did not always include a clearly articulated epistemological position (McNeil, 2021), the absence of which required a certain interpretation on the part of the author of this review. While this section presents the findings of this review, it simultaneously draws from Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociology to illuminate how this framework could enrich consideration for the body within social work, an argument that will be further developed in the discussion.

3.3.1 Relationship to Oneself (n=19)

19 articles undertook to analyse relationships to self, either examining this from a perspective of body image (n=11), or relative to an illness experience (n=8). The majority of the articles in this category adhered to a biopsychosocial conception of the body, analyzed from a positivist or post-positivist epistemological position. While most sought to measure different aspects of body image amongst cisgendered female participants, others called into question how social work practice approaches gender norms (Gibson, 2016; O'Brien et al., 2016), and some specifically highlighted issues related to intersectionality and gender performances (Beckmann Al Wazni, 2015; Feinson & Hornik-Lurie, 2016; Smoyer et al., 2021).

Eating and somatoform disorders were the most common illnesses represented (n=5), and from a psychodynamic perspective, these were attributed to a disconnect between mind and body, manifesting in an inability to put words to feelings (Barth, 2014; 2016). The epistemological position of many of these articles often rendered the intersubjective, social quality of emotions (Tamminen & Bennett, 2017) outside their scope, while the critical article adopted a feminist position in the interest of emphasizing their intersubjective nature.

3.3.2 Interpersonal Relationships in Health, Illness & Disability (n=8)

Eight articles highlight how illness or injury shaped relationships with others. The visibility of an illness or disability was observed to influence how stigma was internalized within one's sense of self, shaping interactions and relationships (Abrams et al., 2018; Kattari et al., 2018; Rich, 2014). It is relevant here to evoke a carnal sociological (Wacquant, 2015) interpretation of these relationships, which are understood as extending out to the world from the body, and which are therefore shaped by the subjective and social forces that act upon it. This builds upon Merleau-Ponty's (1945) contention that the intensity of sensations within some bodies can prevent the extension of one's consciousness beyond it, challenging the ability to engage with others. The importance of an intersectional analysis was highlighted in regard to the recognition of the experiences of women in situations of handicap facing domestic violence, as the specificity of their vulnerability appeared to be lost within a wider feminist scope (Rich, 2014).

3.3.3 Systemic & Structural Concerns in Health, Illness and Disability (n=17)

This relational category elaborates on the visibility of sick bodies by widening the scope to examine, for example, how ableist (Vick, 2012) and Eurocentric policies (Terare & Rawsthorne, 2020) and practices (Linton & Rueda, 2015) contribute to inequality. Half of these articles (n=8) tackled the ill-fit between society and differently-abled bodies (DePoy & Gilson, 2015), of which members of the same research team contributed several articles (Linton et al., 2015; Linton & Rueda, 2014, 2015; Rueda et al., 2014; Rueda et al., 2017). While the biopsychosocial articles identified a number of systemic and structural issues, some also seem to reflect a conformity with the biomedical perspective (Depoy & Gilson, 2015) that contributes to the discipline's under-appreciation for ableist concerns (Vick, 2012). The possible devaluation of

alternative perspectives on the body in relation to the dominance of biomedicine speaks to the need for a strong theoretical basis for the body within the discipline particularly given that the responsibility for analyzing physical well-being is within the scope of practice for some social workers, and that they presented lack guidelines through which to do so (Hultman et al., 2015).

3.3.4 The Body in Therapeutic Relationships (n=42)

The wide epistemological scope of this relational category is likely a reflection of the differing conceptualizations of what it means to do social work. Understood from a carnal social work perspective, this category draws attention to the sentient and situated qualities that Wacquant (2015) believes to be inescapable considerations in accessing the knowledge embodied within the *habitus*. Taken together, the interplay of these elements within social work practice begins to trace how this concept may be applied as an intervention tool in much the same way as Wacquant (2015) has advocated for its use within research.

Most of these articles (n=26) undertook to focus on the relational, intersubjective nature of practice, bringing the practitioner's body into intervention through an awareness of their experiences (Broadhurst & Mason, 2014; Daly, 2016; Keesman & Weenink, 2020). These explored practitioner's self-reflective processes, use of mindfulness and other postures indispensable to embodied practice (Ferguson, 2018a; Katz et al., 2021; Keenan, 2021; Le & Shim, 2014; van Rhyn et al., 2021). Some also address the limitations to reflective practice, namely that it is contingent upon a number of variables related to self-protective strategies (Ferguson, 2018a), while others point to the construction of professionalism (Keesman & Weenink, 2020; Søberg Bjerre & Nissen, 2021) and the absence of a frame within social work to account for the body and the emotions that arise within it through fieldwork (Mensinga, 2017).

The remaining articles (n=16) either sought to examine the specificity of practice in environments outside of a traditional office (n=10), primarily in the context of home visits, or the oft overlooked sensate aspects of practice were further explored in studies specific to smell and touch (n=6). Social workers thus enter into and move throughout these intimate settings (Ferguson, 2016; 2017; 2018b), which engage their senses, affective responses, and require adaptation to the unexpected

As a whole, this category drew attention to the intersubjective nature of social work practice, highlighting the complexity of the stimulus that the social worker's body responds to in the field and contemplating the influence on intervention. From a carnal sociological perspective (Wacquant, 2015), this category pointed to consideration for the situated position of the body in its spatial context; the sentient experience arising both in relation to external stimuli and within the social worker's own body, as well as; the suffering involved in being witness to the distress of others, while wrestling with institutional and professional demands.

3.3.5 The Body in Intervention (n=31)

Half (n=16) of the 31 articles in this category were theoretical in nature and presented embodied interventions with service users. Although social workers are exploring a wide range of strategies to address the mind-body split (Duros & Crowley, 2014; Nowakowski-Sims & Kumar, 2020), yoga (Spence, 2021; Strauss & Northcut, 2014), and mindfulness (Cacciatore et al., 2014; Cacciatore & Flint, 2012; DeUrquiza, 2014; Northcut & Kienow, 2014; Siegel, 2014; Thieleman et al., 2014; Unrau & McCormick, 2016) were most commonly represented in the literature. Whilst these practices may have largely been divorced from their religious roots in the West, the discipline's longstanding concern for spiritual matters may be revealing itself through its embrace of these Eastern practices. Incidentally, reminders of the discipline's faith-based

roots emerged through language that advocates for healing of the spirit (Boynton, 2014; Nowakowski-Sims & Kumar, 2020), and as Mensinga (2021) suggests, it may be relevant to consider the influence of these on the conceptualization of the body within social work.

3.3.6 Embodied Structures (n=4)

A few articles addressed structural issues, either relating to embodied experiences associated with constructs of race (n=2) or the relationship between the body and the natural environment (n=2). Surprisingly, only a couple of articles addressed racism as an experience of the body, revealing a paradox of visibility associated with the burden of black skin, making it either highly visible and thus subject to surveillance (Gatwiri, 2021; Knipp & Stevenson, 2022), or completely invisible, obscuring the individual through the presumption of a single, stereotyped story (Gatwiri, 2021).

Two articles widened the scope beyond bodies themselves to argue for a re-engagement of ties with the natural world, presently imbued with exploitative power dynamics (Alston, 2013; Houston & Gray, 2016), thus making analysis of environmental issues an inescapable concern for the field of social work (Alston, 2013).

3.3.7 The Body in Social Work Education (n=27)

There were two divergent themes within education. Half of the articles tackled questions relating to the body within social work education and professional practice, primarily regarding the use of mindfulness and alternative approaches (n=13). The remaining 14 articles mainly explored exercises of power within social work education, pointing to structural exercises of power including the entrenched whiteness in academia (Gatwiri, 2018; Lerner, 2022; Mak et al., 2021; Rajan-Rankin, 2015), materializing in recurrent microaggressions for racialized students and teachers (Mak et al., 2021). Some argue these are perpetuated by a social contract of silence

that curtails the emancipatory potential of recognizing the embodied power dynamics (Gatwiri, 2018; Mak et al., 2021) that hold the potential for a Freirean sense of learning, growth and liberation (Gatwiri, 2021, p. 182; Mak et al., 2021).

Together, these categories show the preoccupation of social work for the convergence of structural forces with subjective life experiences, further supporting my proposal for a carnal approach to social work. Although social work practice requires ongoing cognitive, emotional, social and physical engagement, classroom learning typically focuses disproportionately on the former (Le & Alefaio, 2020). Alternative approaches to learning can challenge dominant ways of knowing, bringing new perspectives and broader understanding of different ways of being in the world (Boddie, 2021; Raheim & Lu, 2014; Sunderland et al., 2020; Washington Sy, 2013), which in turn, fosters unique practice skills (Walter & Shenaar-Golan, 2019; 2022; Whiting, 2021, p. 13).

3.4 Discussion

While the presence of the body may be implicit in the work of often-cited thinkers in the social sciences, such as Foucault, Goffman, and Bourdieu, the experiences that are part of everyday social work practice are largely absent from the literature. Incidentally, this reflects the criticism that the discursive focus on the body within the social sciences eclipses consideration for its flesh and blood experiences (Crossley, 1995; Pink, 2011; Wacquant, 2015).

This review, which set out to explore how the body is situated, conceptualized, and defined within social work, revealed a wide breadth of the literature, with few publications tackling the same questions. This makes it challenging to situate the body within social work scholarship, particularly given the discipline's eclectic theoretical influences (Bell, 2012; Smeeton & O'Connor, 2020). The studies included in this review mobilized a wide range of

methodologies and theoretical frameworks, which may be an indication of the discipline's own challenges as to how it navigates the space between the individual and society and how it situates itself in relation to psychology, sociology, and its religious roots. Researchers and practitioners within social work adopt different positions relative to the tensions that arise from the paradox of social workers as agents of the state, whose professional values and ethics entail the defense of human rights (Phillips, 2019). In light of this, it is perhaps unsurprising that so many conceptions of the body were identified in the literature.

Many bodies were also absent or poorly represented within the literature. There was little representation of bodies living outside Anglo-Saxon countries. Studies from Nigeria (Omorogiuwa, 2020), and Ethiopia (Woldegiyorgis & Scherrer, 2012) revealed very different embodied experiences in these sociocultural and economic contexts. There was little research on the embodiment of racism and colonialism, with few proposing approaches consistent with the worldviews of Indigenous communities (Terare & Rawsthorne, 2020). Only one article tackled the embodiment of linguistic power dynamics and the dominance of the English language within social work practice (Belliveau, 2021). Interestingly, differences emerged in this review as to the types of research conducted between the Anglo-Saxon countries, perhaps suggesting distinctive qualities to social work research and practice, making research in other cultural contexts all the more relevant. Although a number of studies integrated spiritual elements, very few undertook to examine the relationship between religious practices (Beckmann Al Wazni, 2015; Feinson & Hornik-Lurie, 2016) and structures (Flynn, 2022). A gendered gap was also revealed, with few articles examining the experiences of the body amongst cisgendered men (O'Brien et al., 2016) or LGBTQ peoples (Smoyer et al., 2021). More research is required (Cacciatore et al., 2014; Lee et al., 2018; Nowakowski-Sims & Kumar, 2020; Strauss & Northcut, 2014; Thieleman et al.,

2014) to ensure that the bodies within the literature are reflective of their diversity within society (Hutchison & Bressi, 2018; Ramseyer Winter et al., 2018; Wretman, 2017). Since many of the issues of concern for social work relate to the divergent experiences of different bodies in the world, from an anti-oppressive standpoint, the embodiment of these distinctions points to important considerations for the discipline.

Social workers are known to mobilize embodied strategies in interventions. The literature, however, does not reflect the depth or breadth of these efforts: There is a noted silence relative to how social workers involve the body, formally and informally, within their work. While divides between research and practice are not uncommon across disciplinary boundaries, the relative silence of practitioners is particularly limiting for social work. Bodywork requires a solid therapeutic relationship to contain strong emotions that may unexpectedly arise (Crooks & Mensinga, 2021; Duros & Crowley, 2014), so it is essential that their application result from clinical analysis (Northcut & Kienow, 2014; Nowakowski-Sims & Kumar, 2020; Strauss & Northcut, 2014). At present, there are no standards within social work for the integration of bodywork (Kimmell & Gockel, 2018; Mensinga, 2021; Spence, 2021), an absence that places more responsibility on practitioners and, as such, may discourage embodied practice.

3.4.1 Carnal Social Work

In light of the above, it can be said that there was not *one* clearly defined body but rather several diffuse bodies within the literature. The following definition is proposed to encompass the complex nature of the body within social work:

The body is the material site within which forces and experiences culminate, building upon and in relation to one another over time, entailing physiological, sensate, cognitive, intersubjective, sociocultural, systemic, structural, and environmental dynamics.

At present, the discipline's leading paradigms are unable to account for all of these elements, let alone for the dynamics between them. Despite the widespread use of the person in the environment approach within social work and the ease with which the body could be incorporated (Stensland & Sanders, 2018), it is omitted from this conceptualization. In this review, Merleau Ponty's (1945) phenomenology of the body coursed through analysis of lived experiences (Abrams et al., 2018; Kattari et al., 2018; Linton & Rueda, 2014) and inspired paths for engaging with embodied intersubjectivity in the therapeutic relationship (Smeeton & O'Connor, 2020). Meanwhile, critical theories pointed to the impact of social forces, illustrating how inequality lives within bodies. Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociological thinking, referenced by a single article in this review (Green, 2021), was less prevalent. However, his calls for a vulnerable, embodied engagement that considers affect, action, and power in social life are highly relevant to conceptualizations of the body within social work.

For this thinker, humans are "*sensate, suffering, skilled, sedimented, and situated creature[s] of flesh and blood*" (p. 1), within whom social forces are embodied through material and symbolic engagement with the world (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Thus, while a focus on the body within social work may initially be understood as a focus on the individual, a carnal social work would embrace the interplay of tensions that materialize at the juncture of the individual and society. In this perspective, the body offers a material site from which to understand, analyze, connect, and, gently, intervene.

3.4.1.1 Carnal Social Work in Practice. Reflective practice has come to be understood as an inescapable foundation for social work. Despite the importance accorded to reflective practice, it is underresearched, and as it relates to the body, it is also undertheorized (Ferguson,

2018a). Social workers are taught to analyze complex psychosocial situations, but they are rarely taught to attend to and interpret their own bodily responses to them (Ferguson, 2018a).

The ways in which Bourdieu's (1972/2005) concept of *habitus* is mobilized as a methodological tool within carnal sociology (Wacquant, 2015) could be adapted as a framework for social work practice. For Wacquant (2010), the implication of his *habitus* within his research allowed him to gain insight into the convergence of micro- and macro-level factors while serving as a tool to objectivize and examine what arises within the body. The *habitus* is an embodied, relational concept derived from phenomenological, structuralist, and constructivist influences that encompasses the subjective formation of the individual through their continuous experiences of the world within an objectively shared social reality (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The body is not separate from the individual; the individual is the body (Merleau-Ponty, 1945), the experiences of which are internalized through their participation in the social context in which they exist and participate (Bourdieu, 2005).

A carnal social work would look outward from the bodies of both social workers and service users, extending out to social relationships and into the world, situating these within their sociocultural, geographic, and environmental context. It would compel the social worker to engage in an analysis of the experiences and forces embodied within their own *habitus*, while proposing a structure through which to account for their own active, embodied presence in intervention and all that unfolds in the encounter between bodies. There is an intimacy to this framing that humbly acknowledges what is at stake in the therapeutic encounter and, perhaps more broadly, what plays out in interactions between bodies throughout the world. What is happening within and between these bodies reflects not only their subjective experiences, but also the exercise of social forces, including the neoliberal policies and technologies that have

come to shape practice (Phillips, 2019). In this perspective, how might these encounters between bodies serve to bring awareness to, bolster, soften, change, or challenge what has been internalized?

3.4.2 Limitations

Despite the contributions of this review, there are limitations that must be acknowledged. Inclusion and exclusion criteria are important in delimiting the scope of a study, and this review involved determining which articles were and were not about the body. In some cases, the allusion to bodily experiences challenged the continuous process of defining the body within social work. The reliability of this review was reduced by the limited involvement of other reviewers, as it was primarily conducted by one researcher, in consultation with her thesis supervisor as a “critical friend” (Smith & McGannon, 2018). While articles with ambiguously present bodies were revisited and discussed with him, the distinction between what did and did not meet the inclusion criteria was not necessarily evident. Furthermore, the search strategy may have missed relevant articles depending on the authors’ choice of keywords. It is possible that authors who mobilized theoretical frameworks within which the body is implicit did not overtly identify their work in this way. It is also possible that articles by social workers published in journals not specific to the discipline were missed.

3.5 Conclusion

To conclude, a wide range of questions are explored in the social work literature on the body. Rarely, however, is the same question explored by multiple researchers. There are also many bodies that are not represented in the literature; those whose bodies have been racialized, those whose experiences unfold outside the boundaries of Western countries, and those working through the complexities of sexual and gender identity. The extent to which embodied

interventions are applied in social work practice is not reflected in the literature. This review advocates for increased attention to the body in social work research and practice and proposes the mobilization of Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociology within social work as a promising framework from which to situate and see the body.

3.6 References

- Abrams, T. E., Ratnapradipa, D., Tillewein, H., & Lloyd, A. A. (2018). Resiliency in burn recovery: A qualitative analysis. *Social Work in Health Care*, 57(9), 774–793. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00981389.2018.1503213>
- Alston, M. (2013). Environmental Social Work: Accounting for Gender in Climate Disasters. *Australian Social Work*, 66(2), 218–233. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2012.738366>
- Arksey, H., & O'Malley, L. (2005). Scoping studies: Towards a methodological framework. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8(1), 19–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1364557032000119616>
- Barth, F. D. (2014). Putting It All Together: An Integrative Approach to Psychotherapy with Eating Disorders. *Psychoanalytic Social Work*, 21, 19–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15228878.2013.865245>
- Barth, F. D. (2016). Listening to Words, Hearing Feelings: Links Between Eating Disorders and Alexithymia. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 44(1), 38–46. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-015-0541-6>
- Beckmann Al Wazni, A. (2015). Muslim Women in America and Hijab: A Study of Empowerment, Feminist Identity, and Body Image. *Social Work*, 60(4), 325–333.
- Bell, K. (2012). Towards a Post-Conventional Philosophical Base for Social Work. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 42(3), 408–423.
- Belliveau, M. (2021). The Embodiment of “English-only” in Social Work Education and Practice in the United States. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 210–221.
- Boddie, S. (2021). Education From a Gardener’s Perspective. *Social Work and Christianity*, 48(3), 234–258. <https://doi.org/10.34043/swc.48i3.244>
- Bourdieu, P. (2005). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.) University Press. (Original work published 1972).
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. University of Chicago Press.
- Boynton, H. M. (2014). The HEALTHY Group: A Mind–Body–Spirit Approach for Treating Anxiety and Depression in Youth. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work*, 33(3/4), 236–253.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>

- Broadhurst, K., & Mason, C. (2014). Social Work beyond the VDU: Foregrounding Co-Presence in Situated Practice-Why Face-to-Face Practice Matters. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 44(3), 578–595. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcs124>
- Cacciatore, J., & Flint, M. (2012). ATTEND: Toward a Mindfulness-Based Bereavement Care Model. *Death Studies*, 36(1), 61–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07481187.2011.591275>
- Cacciatore, J., Thieleman, K., Osborn, J., & Orłowski, K. (2014). Of the Soul and Suffering: Mindfulness-Based Interventions and Bereavement. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 269–281. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-013-0465-y>
- Crooks, A., & Mensinga, J. (2021). Body, Relationship, Space: Dance Movement Therapy as an Intervention in Embodied Social Work With Parents and Their Children. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 250–258.
- Crossley, N. 1995. Merleau-Ponty, the Elusive Body and Carnal Sociology. *Body & Society*, 1(1), 43–63. <https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.1177/1357034X95001001004>
- Daly, S. B. (2016). The Intersubjective Experience of the Physical Body in the Clinical Setting of Eating Disorders. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 44(1), 47–56. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0475-4>
- DePoy, E., & Gilson, S. (2015). Disability as Disjuncture: A Theory to Guide Social Work Practice. *Social Work Chronicle*, 4(1). <https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/disability-as-disjuncture-theory-guide-social/docview/1738728990/se-2?accountid=14701>
- DeUrquiza, E. F. (2014). Mindfulness, Body Scan, Narrative, and Mentalization in the New York City Schools. *Children & Schools*, 36(2), 125–127.
- Duros, P., & Crowley, D. (2014). The Body Comes to Therapy Too. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 237–246. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0486-1>
- Feinson, M. C., & Hornik-Lurie, T. (2016). Body Dissatisfaction and the Relevance of Religiosity: A Focus on Ultra-Orthodox Jews in a Community Study of Adult Women. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 44(1), 87–97. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-016-0574-5>
- Ferguson, H. (2016). Researching Social Work Practice Close Up: Using Ethnographic and Mobile Methods to Understand Encounters between Social Workers, Children and Families. *British Journal of Social Work*, 46(1), 153–168. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcu120>
- Ferguson, H. (2017). How Children Become Invisible in Child Protection Work: Findings from Research into Day-to-Day Social Work Practice. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 47(4), 1007–1023. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcw065>

- Ferguson, H. (2018a). How social workers reflect in action and when and why they don't: The possibilities and limits to reflective practice in social work. *Social Work Education*, 37(4), 415–427. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2017.1413083>
- Ferguson, H. (2018b). Making home visits: Creativity and the embodied practices of home visiting in social work and child protection. *Qualitative Social Work*, 17(1), 65–80.
- Flynn, S. (2022). Discourse and religious doctrine: Professional social work and the moral regulation of the body in Roman Catholic Ireland. *Sexualities*, 25(3), 267–283.
- Gatwiri, K. (2018). Leaning into the discomfort and embracing the disruption: A Freirean approach to (de)colonised social work teaching in Australia. *Whiteness and Education*, 3(2), 182–197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23793406.2019.1573644>
- Gatwiri, K. (2021). Racial Microaggressions at Work: Reflections from Black African Professionals in Australia. *British Journal of Social Work*, 51(2), 655–672. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcaa145>
- Gibson, G. (2016). “Signposts on the journey”; medication adherence and the lived body in men with Parkinson’s disease. *Social Science & Medicine*, 152, 27. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.01.023>
- Green, L. (2021). Investigating the Sense of Smell and Its Relevance to Embodied Social Work Practice: Exploring the Literature. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 222–234.
- Hayles, N. 1999. *How We Became Posthuman*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Houston, S., & Gray, M. (2016). Falling in love outwards: Eco-social work and the sensuous event. *Journal of Social Work*, 16(4), 412–428. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017315581531>
- Hultman, E., Cederborg, A., & Magnusson, K. F. (2015). Social Workers’ Assessments of Children’s Health When Arguing for Children’s Needs: C & A. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 32(4), 301–308. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-014-0371-3>
- Hutchison, C. A., & Bressi, S. K. (2018). MDMA-Assisted Psychotherapy for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Implications for Social Work Practice and Research. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-018-0676-3>
- Kattari, S. K., Olzman Miranda, & Hanna, M. D. (2018). “You Look Fine!” *Affilia*, 33(4), 477–492. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109918778073>
- Katz, E., McPartland, S., & Rines, J. (2021). Exploring micro-skills as the underpinnings of effective social work practice. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 35(2), 177–190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650533.2020.1737514>

- Keenan, E. K. (2021). Re/Un/Discover: An Embodied Heuristic for Uncertainties in Social Work Practice. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 159–171.
- Keesman, L. D., & Weenink, D. (2020). Bodies and emotions in tense and threatening situations. *Journal of Social Work*, 20(2), 173–192.
- Kimmell, A., & Gockel, A. (2018). Embodied connections: Engaging the body in group work. *Qualitative Social Work*, 17(2), 268–285.
- Knipp, H., & Stevenson, R. (2022). “A Powerful Visual Statement”: Race, Class, and Gender in Uniform and Dress Code Policies in New Orleans Public Charter Schools. *Affilia*, 37(1), 79–96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08861099211010026>
- Le, T. N., & Alefaio, D. (2020). Mindfulness Training for Social Service Providers in Hawaii: Context and Considerations. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 46(4), 524–537. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2019.1606758>
- Le, T. N., & Shim, P. (2014). Mindfulness and the Aloha Response. *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, 3(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.125/33280>
- Lee, M. Y., Wang, X., Liu, C., Raheim, S., & Tebb, S. (2018). Outcome Literature Review of Integrative Body–Mind–Spirit Practices for Mental Health Conditions. *Social Work Research*, 42(3), 251–266.
- Lerner, J. E. (2022). Social work the ‘white way’: Helping white students self-reflect on a culture of whiteness in the classroom and beyond. *Social Work Education*, 41(4), 605–624. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2020.1868422>
- Linton, K. F., & Rueda, H. A. (2014). Experiences with Pregnancy of Adolescents with Disabilities from the Perspectives of the School Social Workers Who Serve Them. *Health & Social Work*, 39(2), 92–100. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1093/hsw/hlu010>
- Linton, K. F., & Rueda, H. A. (2015). Dating and Sexuality among Minority Adolescents with Disabilities: An Application of Sociocultural Theory. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 25, 77–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2014.947465>
- Linton, K. F., Rueda, H. A., Rankin Williams, L., Sandoval, A., & Bolin, S. (2015). Reproductive and Sexual Healthcare Needs Among Adults with Disabilities as Perceived by Social Workers. *Sex Disabilities*, 34, 145–156. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11195-015-9416-6>
- Mak, C., Mucina, M. K., & Ferguson, R. N. (2021). Wrestling the Elephant: Teaching as a Racialized Body in the Social Work Classroom. *Advances in Social Work*, 21(2/3), 545. <https://doi.org/10.18060/24082>

- McNeil, S. (2021). Epistemology, Social Work and Substance Use. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 51(1), 357–374. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcaa128>
- Mensinga, J. (2021). A Narrative Inquiry Exploring Social Workers' Understanding of Yoga and Its Application in Professional Practice. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 134–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2020.1828957>
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1945) *Phénoménologie de La Perception*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Northcut, T. B., & Kienow, A. (2014). The Trauma Trifecta of Military Sexual Trauma: A Case Study Illustrating the Integration of Mind and Body in Clinical Work with Survivors of MST. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 247–259. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0479-0>
- Nowakowski-Sims, E., & Kumar, J. (2020). Soul work in social work. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, 39(2), 188–203. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15426432.2019.1706694>
- O'Brien, J. E., Burton, D. L., & Li, W. (2016). Body Disapproval Among Adolescent Male Sexual Offenders: Prevalence and Links to Treatment: C & A. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 33(1), 39–46. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-015-0400-x>
- Omorogiwa, T. B. E. (2020). Troubling Childhood: The Physical and Health Issues Experienced by Child Labourers. *Social Work in Public Health*, 35(8), 679–688. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2020.1823928>
- Pawson, R. (2002). Evidence-based Policy: In Search of a Method. *Evaluation*, 8(2), 157–181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1358902002008002512>
- Phillips, C. R. (2019). The Computer Social Worker: Regulatory practices, regulated bodies and science. *Qualitative Social Work*, 18(3), 443–457. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325017723700>
- Pink, S. (2011). From embodiment to emplacement: Re-thinking competing bodies, senses and spatialities. *Sport, Education and Society*, 16(3), 343–355. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2011.565965>
- Raheim, S., & Lu, J. J. (2014). Preparing MSW Students for Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit Practice. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 288–301. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0484-3>
- Rajan-Rankin, S. (2015). Anti-racist social work in a “post-race society”? Interrogating the amorphous “other.” *Critical and Radical Social Work*, 3(2), 207–220. <https://doi.org/10.1332/204986015X14286590888439>

- Ramseyer Winter, V., Teti, M., Koegler, E., Brett, A., Moore, A., & Landor, A. (2018). "What you see in the mirror": Community mental health practitioners define body image. *Social Work in Mental Health*, 16(1), 93–104.
- Rich, K. (2014). "My Body Came Between Us": Accounts of Partner-Abused Women With Physical Disabilities. *Affilia*, 29(4), 418–433. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109914522626>
- Rueda, H. A., J Bolin, S., Linton, K. F., Williams, L. R., & Pesta, E. (2017). Social Workers' Roles in Supporting the Sexual and Relational Health of Children with Disabilities: C & A. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 34(5), 493–505. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-016-0469-x>
- Rueda, H., Linton, K. F., & Rankin Williams, L. (2014). School Social Workers' Needs in Supporting Adolescents with Disabilities toward Dating and Sexual Health: A Qualitative Study. *Children & Schools*, 36(2), 80–90. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cs/cdu006>
- Siegel, J. P. (2014). The Mindful Couple. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 282–287. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0489-y>
- Smeeton, J., & O'Connor, P. (2020). Embodied Social Work Practice Within Risk Society. *Journal of Social Work*, 20(5), 673–691.
- Smith, B., & McGannon, K. R. (2018). Developing rigor in qualitative research: Problems and opportunities within sport and exercise psychology. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 11(1), 101–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1750984X.2017.1317357>
- Smoyer, A. B., Divita, D., & Perrault, A. (2021). Masculine Embodiment Among Sexual Minorities in a Women's Prison. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 172–185.
- Søberg Bjerre, L. & Appel Nissen, M. (2021). Does it feel right?—Emotional and embodied processes as a 'shadowy epistemology' in difficult child protection cases. *British Journal of Social Work*, 51(2), 600–616. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcaa172>
- Spence, J. (2021). Social Work and Yoga: The Evolution of Practice From Talking to Moving. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 235–242. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2020.1849334>
- Stensland, M. L., & Sanders, S. (2018). "It has changed my whole life": The systemic implications of chronic low back pain among older adults. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 61(2), 129–150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01634372.2018.1427169>
- Strauss, R. J., & Northcut, T. B. (2014). Using Yoga Interventions to Enhance Clinical Social Work Practices with Young Women with Cancer. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 228–236. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-012-0430-1>

- Sunderland, N., Woods, G., & Dorsett, P. (2020). Making the Invisible Visible: Applying Digital Storytelling for Immersive, Transformative and Anti-Colonial Learning. *British Journal of Social Work*, 50(2), 483–505. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcz161>
- Tamminen, K. A., & Bennett, E. V. (2017). No emotion is an island: An overview of theoretical perspectives and narrative research on emotions in sport and physical activity. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 9(2), 183–199. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2016.1254109>
- Terare, M., & Rawsthorne, M. (2020). Country Is Yarning to Me: Worldview, Health and Well-Being Amongst Australian First Nations People. *British Journal of Social Work*, 50(3), 944–960. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcz072>
- Thieleman, K., Cacciatore, J., & Hill, P. W. (2014). Traumatic Bereavement and Mindfulness: A Preliminary Study of Mental Health Outcomes Using the ATTEND Model. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 260–268. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0491-4>
- Unrau, Y., & McCormick, M. (2016). The Environment-Within-Person Perspective: Integrating a Mindfulness Framework into Social Work Practice. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 43(4), 1. <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.15453/0191-5096.4043>
- van Rhyn, B., Barwick, A., & Donnelly, M. (2021a). Embodiment as an Instrument for Empathy in Social Work. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 146–158. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2020.1839112>
- Vick, A. (2012). Theorizing Episodic Disabilities: The Case for an Embodied Politics. *Canadian Social Work Review/Revue Canadienne de Service Social*, 29(1), 41–60.
- Wacquant, L. (2010). L’habitus comme objet et méthode d’investigation: Retour sur la fabrique du boxeur. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 184(4), 108. <https://doi.org/10.3917/arss.184.0108>
- Wacquant, L. (2015). For a Sociology of Flesh and Blood. *Qualitative Sociology*, 38, 1–11. <https://doi.org/DOI 10.1007/s11133-014-9291-y>
- Walter, O., & Shenaar-Golan, V. (2019). The Potential Role of a Focusing Invitation in Social Work Education. *Spirituality in Clinical Practice*, 6(2), 124–134. <https://doi.org/10.1037/scp0000166>
- Walter, O., & Shenaar-Golan, V. (2022). Modified focusing as a contemplative pedagogy in an MSW research course. *Social Work Education*, 41(4), 472–484. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2020.1850671>
- Washington Sy, F. (2013). The Artist, the Activist, the Academic: Building a Critical Pedagogy of Embodied Knowledge. *Reflections : Narratives of Professional Helping*, 19(3), 7–20.

- Whiting, R. (2021). Compassion through intercorporeality: The value of the phenomenological philosophy of David Michael Levin to social work education. *Social Work Education*, 40(2), 206–218. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2020.1771299>
- Woldegiyorgis, B. A., & Scherrer, J. L. (2012). Replacement Feeding Experiences of HIV-Positive Mothers in Ethiopia. *Journal of Community Practice*, 20(1–2), 69–88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10705422.2012.648123>
- Wretman, C. J. (2017). School Sports Participation and Academic Achievement in Middle and High School. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, 8(3), 399.

3.7 Supplemental Material

3.7.1 Tables

Table 1

Relationship to Oneself

Publication	Journal	Country	Methods	Body in SW	Population
Barth (2014)	Psychoan. SW	USA	Theoretical	Psychoanalytic	Eating disorders & alexithymia
Barth (2016)	Clinical SW	USA	Theoretical	Psychoanalytic	Eating disorders & alexithymia
Beckmann Al Wazni (2015)	Social Work	USA	Interviews	Critical Phenomenology	Hijabi cisgendered women
Catrone (2021)	Psychoanalytic SW	USA	Theoretical	Psychoanalytic	Alexithymia & psychosomatic
Cook et al., (2020)	Health & SW	USA	Standardized scales	Biopsychosocial	Cisgendered women
Ellis (2012)	SW in Health Care	USA	Questionnaire	Biopsychosocial	Mothers with HIV/AIDS
Feinson et al., (2016)	Clinical SW	Israel	Survey /Interviews	Biopsychosocial	Cisgendered Jewish women
Gibson (2015)	SW Practice	Canada	Theoretical	Critical	Cisgendered women
Lev-Wiesel et al., (2022)	Child Sexual Abuse	Israel	Eval. Assessment tool	Biopsychosocial	Children - abuse & somatic dissociation
Moulding (2016)	Affilia	Australia	Interviews	Critical	Cisgendered women with eating disorders
O'Brien et al., (2016)	Child Adolescent SW	USA	Standardized scales	Biopsychosocial	Boys convicted of sex crimes
Omorogiuwa (2020)	SW in Public Health	Nigeria	Interviews	Phenomenological	Child laborers
Ramsayer Winter et al., (2014)	Body Image	USA	Standardized scales	Biopsychosocial	Social workers
Ramsayer Winter et al., (2017)	Health & SW	USA	Standardized scales	Biopsychosocial	Cisgendered women
Ramsayer Winter et al., (2018)	SW in Mental Health	USA	Survey	Biopsychosocial	Social workers
Ramsayer Winter et al., (2019)	Health Psychology	USA	Standardized scales	Biopsychosocial	Cisgendered women
Seelman et al., (2017)	Gay Lesbian Soc Serv.	USA	Interviews	Biopsychosocial	LGB people over 65 years
Smoyer et al., (2021)	Australian SW	USA	Interviews	Critical	Sexual minorities in women's prison
Starkman (2016)	Clinical SW	USA	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial	Cisgendered women with eating disorders

Table 2

Interpersonal Relationships in Health, Illness & Disability

Publication	Journal	Country	Methods	Body in SW	Population
Abrams et al., (2018)	SW in Health Care	USA	Interviews	Phenomenology	Burn survivors
Gerstein et al., (2016)	Clinical SW	USA	Case studies	Biopsychosocial	Eating disorders & family dynamics
Kattari et al., (2018)	Affilia	USA	Interviews	Critical Phenomenology	Adults with invisible disability
Murshid et al., (2016)	Int. J. Social Welfare	Bangladesh	Analysis secondary survey data	Biopsychosocial	Women of childbearing age
Rich (2014)	Affilia	USA	Interviews	Critical	Abused women w/disabilities
Schwaber et al., (2012)	SW in Health Care	USA	Grounded theory	Biopsychosocial	Epilepsy YouTube Content
Silverman (2013)	Aging Studies	Canada	Microethnography	Critical structuralist	Caregivers
Stensland et al., (2018)	Gerontologica l SW	USA	Interviews	Phenomenology	Older adults with back pain

Table 3

Systemic and Structural Concerns in Health, Disability & Illness

Publication	Journal	Country	Methods	Body in SW	Population
Bekken (2017)	Children & Society	Norway	Interviews	Biopsychosocial	Children with disabilities
Choi et al., (2022)	Cultural Diversity in SW	USA	Systematic review	-	Latinx in USA
DePoy et al., (2015)	SW Chronicle	USA	Theoretical	Critical	Disabilities
Hultman & et al.,(2015)	Child Adolescent SW	Sweden	Discourse analysis	Biopsychosocial	Child welfare case reports
Kaye et al.,(2016)	SW in Health Care	USA	Case presentation to illustrate SW role	Biopsychosocial	Clinical snapshot
Larkin et al.,(2014)	SW in Public Health	USA	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial	Human Development
Linton et al., (2014)	Health & SW	USA	Interviews	Phenomenological	Social workers
Linton et al., (2015)	Human Behavior	USA	Interviews	Biopsychosocial Sociocultural theory	Social workers
Linton et al.,(2016)	Sex Disabilities	USA	Interviews	Phenomenological	Social workers
Melius et al., (2016)	SW in Health Care	USA	Secondary data analysis	Biopsychosocial	Hispanic children
Nadal et al., (2017)	Ethnic & Cultural Diversity of SW	USA	Standardized scales	Critical Biopsychosocial	Ethnic minorities
Rueda, et al., (2014)	Children & Schools	USA	Interviews	Ecosystemic	Social workers
Rueda et al., (2017)	Child Adolescent SW	USA	Interviews	Phenomenological	Social workers
Terare et al., (2020)	British J. of SW	Australia	Theoretical	Indigenous knowledge Critical	Indigenous people
Vick (2012)	Canadian Social SW	Canada	Theoretical	Structural Critical	Episodic disabilities
Wiewel et al. (2021)	Clinical SW	USA	Literature review	-	Homelessness and trauma
Woldegiyorgis et al., (2012)	Community Practice	Ethiopia	Ethnographic	Critical	Feeding amongst HIV+ mothers

Table 4

Therapeutic Relationship (Intersubjective)

Publication	Journal	Country	Methods	Body in SW	Population
Bell (2012)	British J. of SW	Australia	Theoretical	Critical	Social workers
Broadhurst (2014)	British J. of SW	UK	Ethnographic	Constructivist	Social workers
Cheung (2017)	European J. of SW	Hong Kong	Theoretical	Constructivist	Social workers
Daly (2016)	Clinical SW	USA	Theoretical	Psychoanalytic	Eating disorders
Ferguson (2018a)	SW Education	USA	Ethnographic	Psychoanalytic	SWs in child protection
Herland (2022)	Qualitative SW	Norway	Theoretical	Constructivist	Researcher
Katz et al., (2021)	SW Practice	Canada	Theoretical	Phenomenological Biopsychosocial	Social workers
Keenan (2020)	Australian SW	USA	Theoretical	Critical Biopsychosocial	Social workers
Keesman et al., (2020)	J. of SW	Netherlands	Interviews	Phenomenological Constructivist	Social workers
Kong et al. (2022)	British J. of SW	UK	Secondary analysis qualitative data	Sensual Body	Social workers
Le et al. (2014)	J. of Indigenous Social Development	USA	Theoretical	Indigenous	Social workers
Lynn et al., (2015)	SW Practice	Australia	Narrative	Constructivist	Social workers
Mensinga (2017)	Children Australia	Australia	Narrative	Constructivist Sensual Body	Social workers
Mensinga et al., (2021)	Australian SW	Australia	Commentary (Theoretical)	Systemic	Social workers
O'Connor (2020)	Qualitative SW	UK	Lit review	-	Social workers
Phillips (2014)	British J. of SW	Canada	Theoretical	Critical/Constructivist	Social workers
Phillips (2019)	Qualitative SW	USA	Autoethnographic	Critical	Social workers
Quillman (2013)	Clinical SW	USA	Theory	Biopsychosocial	SWs/service users
Smeeton et al., (2020)	J. of SW	UK	Theory	Phenomenological	SWs/ service users
Sodhi et al., (2012)	Adult & Continuing Ed.	USA	Interviews	Critical/Somatic	Social workers
Søberg Bjerre et al.,(2021)	British J. of SW	Denmark	Ethnographic	Constructivist Cultural Psychological	Social workers
Stewart et al., (2021)	Australian SW	Australia	Survey & interviews	Critical/Structuralist	Early career SWs health care
Van Rhyn et al., (2020)	Australian SW	Australia	Theoretical	Phenomenological	Social workers
Whiting (2015)	Ethics & Social Welfare	UK	Theoretical	Constructivist/Human ist	Social workers
Wiegmann (2017)	Sociology & Social Welfare	USA	Theoretical	Structuralist /Critical	Social workers
Wong et al., (2021)	Australian SW	Canada	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial Embodied cognition	Social workers

Table 5

Therapeutic Relationship (Sensate & Situated Practice)

Publication	Journal	Country	Methods	Body in SW	Population
Green (2017)	British J. of SW	UK	Theoretical	Sensual Body	Social workers
Green (2021)	Australian SW	UK	Systematic review	-	Social workers
Green et al., (2021)	Qualitative SW	UK	Theoretical	Sensual Body	Social workers
Ferguson (2016)	Applied Mobilities	UK	Ethnographic/Mobile	Sensual Body	Social workers
Ferguson (2017)	British J. of SW	UK	Ethnographic	Systemic Psychoanalytic	Social workers
Ferguson (2018b)	Qualitative SW	UK	Ethnographic	Sensual Body	Social workers
Ferguson et al., (2022)	British J. of SW	UK	Interviews	Sensual Body	Social workers
Jeyasingham (2014)	British J. of SW	UK	Theoretical	Critical	Social workers
Jeyasingham (2016)	Child & Family SW	UK	Ethnographic	Constructivist	Social workers
Jeyasingham (2017)	Child & Family SW	UK	Ethnographic	Constructivist	Social workers
Jeyasingham (2018)	Qualitative SW	UK	Ethnographic	Critical	Social workers
McKinney et al., (2012)	Social Work	USA	Commentary (Theoretical)	Biopsychosocial	Social workers
Morris (2017)	Qualitative SW	UK	Editorial (Theoretical)	Sensual Body	Social workers
Muzicant & Peled (2018)	British J. of SW	Israel	Interviews	Sensual Body Constructivist	Social workers
Roy (2016)	Applied Mobilities	UK	Ethnographic/Mobile	Constructivist	Itinerant organizations /service users
Steckley (2012)	British J. of SW	UK	Interviews	Critical	Staff/youth residential facilities

Table 6

Body in Intervention

<i>Publication</i>	<i>Journal</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Methods</i>	<i>Body in SW</i>	<i>Population</i>
Bruno et al., (2017)	Advances in SW	USA	Mixed methods	Biopsychosocial	Workplace wellness
Boynton (2014)	Religion & Spirituality	Canada	Theoretical	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Anxiety/depression
Cacciatore et al., (2014)	Clinical SW	USA	Theoretical	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Bereaved
Cacciatore et al., (2012)	Death Studies	USA	Theoretical	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Bereaved
Crooks et al., (2021)	Australian SW	Australia	Theoretical	Psychosocial/Critical	Families
DeUrquiza (2014)	Children & Schools	USA	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial	SW students
DiLauro (2018)	Health & SW	USA	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial	Hospital SW
Duros et al., (2014)	Clinical SW	USA	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial	Trauma
Greyber et al. (2015)	Child Ado SW	USA	Pre-posttest	Biopsychosocial	Adolescent cisgendered girls
Hutchison et al., (2020)	Clinical SW	USA	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial	PTSD
Jones et al., (2016)	Affilia	USA	Theoretical	Critical	Feminist self-defence
Jude (2016)	Practice Teaching & Learning	UK	Theoretical	Systemic/Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Social workers
Kimmell et al., (2018)	Qualitative SW	USA	Interviews	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Mental health professionals
Lee et al., (2018)	SW Research	USA	Literature review	-	Mind-body techniques
Mensinga (2021)	Australian SW	Australia	Narrative Methods	Constructivist	Social workers
Morano et al., (2013)	Health & SW	USA	Standardized surveys	Biopsychosocial	Mind-body intervention ethnically diverse elderly
Northcut et al., (2014)	Clinical SW	USA	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial Integrative	Military sexual trauma
Nowakowski-Sims et al., (2020)	Religion & Spirituality	USA	Theoretical	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Social workers
Øien et al., (2015)	Qualitative Studies on Health & Well-Being	Norway	Content analysis	Phenomenology	Social workers
Pizzanello (2016)	Sociology & Social Welfare	USA	Interviews	Critical	Cisgendered women with anorexia
Ramseyer Winter et al., (2019)	SW in Public Health	USA	Interviews post-intervention	Biopsychosocial	3D avatar & body image
Ramseyer Winter et al., (2019)	Mental Health & Prevention	USA	Experimental Pre & posttest	Biopsychosocial	3D avatar & body image
Reinsmith-Jones et al., (2014)	Religion & Spirituality	USA	Theoretical	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	People with body dysmorphic disorder
Siegel (2014)	Clinical SW	USA	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial Integrative	Couples
Sirs et al., (2021)	Australian SW	USA	Theoretical	Sensual Body	Social workers/service users
Spence (2021)	Australian SW	USA	Reflection on Practice	Phenomenological	Social workers/service users
Strauss et al., (2014)	Clinical SW	USA	Case study	Integrative Mind-Body	Cancer
Thieleman et al., (2014)	Clinical SW	USA	Quasi-experimental	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Mindfulness for grief
Unrau et al. (2016)	Sociology & Social Welfare	USA	Theoretical	Ecosystemic	Mindfulness
Wretman (2017)	Society of SW & Research	USA	Standardized surveys	Biopsychosocial	Middle/high school students
Yee Lee et al., (2017)	Interpersonal Violence	USA	Randomized controlled trial	Biopsychosocial	Cisgendered women survivors of violence

Table 7

Embodied Structures

Publication	Journal	Country	Methods	Body in SW	Population
Alston (2013)	Australian SW	Australia	Theory	Critical	Humanity
Gatwiri (2021)	British J. of SW	Australia	Interviews	Critical	Black African Immigrants to Australia
Houston et al., (2016)	J. of SW	UK	Theory	Phenomenological Critical/ Indigenous	Social work practice
Knipp et al., (2022)	Affilia	USA	Content Analysis	Critical	High school students

Table 8

Social Work Education (Mindfulness & Alternative Approaches)

Publication	Journal	Country	Methods	Body in SW	Population
Boddie (2021)	SW & Christianity	USA	Theoretical	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	MSW students
Gockel et al., (2013)	Mindfulness	USA	Mixed methods	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	MSW students
Gockel, et al., (2013)	Religion & Spirituality	USA	Interviews	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	MSW students
Katz et al. (2017)	Teaching in SW	Canada	Mixed methods	Constructivist	MSW students
Le et al., (2020)	Social Service Research	USA	Surveys & content analysis	Phenomenological	Social workers
Marlowe et al., (2015)	SW Education	New Zealand	Content analysis	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit Critical	BSW students
Raheim et al., (2014)	Clinical SW	USA	Surveys	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	MSW students
Sewell (2020)	SW Education	Canada	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Social work students
Walter et al., (2018)	SW Education	Israel	Content analysis	Sensual Body Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Social work students
Walter et al. (2019)	Spirituality in Clinical Practice	Israel	Content analysis	Sensual Body	Social work students
Walter et al., (2022a)	SW Education	Israel	Content analysis	Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit	Social work students
Walter et al., (2022b)	SW Education	Israel	Content analysis	Sensual Body	Social work students
Whiting (2020)	SW Education	UK	Theoretical	Phenomenological	Social workers/students

Table 9

Social Work Education (Exercises of Power)

Publication	Journal	Country	Methods	Body in SW	Population
Belliveau (2021)	Australian SW	USA	Theoretical	Critical	Social workers
Berzoff et al., (2015)	Clinical SW	USA	Theoretical	Biopsychosocial	Social workers
Elkchirid et al., (2020)	Studies in Social Justice	Canada	Theoretical	Critical	Immigrant settlers
Flynn (2022)	Sexualities	Ireland	Theoretical	Critical	Irish Catholics
Gatwiri (2018)	Whiteness & Education	Australia	Autoethnography	Critical	Researcher-self
Johnson (2014)	International Body Psychotherapy	USA	Theoretical	Critical	Social workers
Lerner (2022)	SW Education	USA	Theoretical	Critical Psychosocial	Social work educators
Mak et al. (2021)	Advances in SW	Canada	Theoretical	Critical	Social work educators
Rajan-Rankin (2014)	British J. of SW	UK	Interviews	Phenomenological	Social work students
Rajan-Rankin et al., (2015)	Critical & Radical SW	UK	Interviews	Critical	Social work students
Richter (2019)	Teaching in SW	USA	Theoretical	Critical	Social work educators
Satur et al., (2021)	Australian SW	Australia	Reflection on Practice & Teaching	Decolonization Indigenous knowledge	Social work educators
Sunderland et al., (2020)	British J. of SW	Australia	Mixed methods	Decolonization Indigenous knowledge	Social work students
Washington Sy (2013)	Reflections	USA	Autoethnographic	Critical	Researcher-self

3.7.2 Full list of studies included in the scoping review

- Abrams, T. E., Ratnapradipa, D., Tillewein, H., & Lloyd, A. A. (2018). Resiliency in burn recovery: A qualitative analysis. *Social Work in Health Care*, 57(9), 774–793. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00981389.2018.1503213>
- Alston, M. (2013). Environmental Social Work: Accounting for Gender in Climate Disasters. *Australian Social Work*, 66(2), 218–233. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2012.738366>
- Barth, F. D. (2014). Putting It All Together: An Integrative Approach to Psychotherapy with Eating Disorders. *Psychoanalytic Social Work*, 21, 19–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15228878.2013.865245>
- Barth, F. D. (2016). Listening to Words, Hearing Feelings: Links Between Eating Disorders and Alexithymia. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 44(1), 38–46. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-015-0541-6>
- Beckmann Al Wazni, A. (2015). Muslim Women in America and Hijab: A Study of Empowerment, Feminist Identity, and Body Image. *Social Work*, 60(4), 325–333.
- Bekken, W. (2017). Decision-Making in Paediatric Rehabilitation: Exploring Professionals’ and Children’s Views on Decision-Making Involvement. *Children & Society*, 31(6), 486–496. <https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12218>
- Bell, K. (2012). Towards a Post-Conventional Philosophical Base for Social Work. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 42(3), 408–423.
- Belliveau, M. (2021). The Embodiment of “English-only” in Social Work Education and Practice in the United States. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 210–221.
- Berzoff, J., & Drisko, J. (2015). What Clinical Social Workers Need to Know: Bio-psycho-social Knowledge and Skills for the Twenty First Century. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 43, 263–273. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-015-0544-3>
- Boddie, S. (2021). Education From a Gardener’s Perspective. *Social Work and Christianity*, 48(3), 234–258. <https://doi.org/10.34043/swc.48i3.244>
- Boynton, H. M. (2014). The HEALTHY Group: A Mind–Body–Spirit Approach for Treating Anxiety and Depression in Youth. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work*, 33(3/4), 236–253.
- Broadhurst, K., & Mason, C. (2014). Social Work beyond the VDU: Foregrounding Co-Presence in Situated Practice-Why Face-to-Face Practice Matters. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 44(3), 578–595. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcs124>

- Bruno, D. G., Brown, J. R., & Holloway, E. D. (2017). Participants' Perspectives of a Worksite Wellness Program Using an Outcome-Based Contingency Approach. *Advances in Social Work, 18*(2), 595.
- Cacciatore, J., & Flint, M. (2012). ATTEND: Toward a Mindfulness-Based Bereavement Care Model. *Death Studies, 36*(1), 61–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07481187.2011.591275>
- Cacciatore, J., Thieleman, K., Osborn, J., & Orłowski, K. (2014). Of the Soul and Suffering: Mindfulness-Based Interventions and Bereavement. *Clinical Social Work Journal, 42*(3), 269–281. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-013-0465-y>
- Catrone, C. (2021). An Integrated Treatment of Psychosomatic Symptoms and Disorders of the Self: The Role of Alexithymia. *Psychoanalytic Social Work, 28*(1), 25–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15228878.2020.1809475>
- Cheung, J. C.-S. (2017). Practice wisdom in social work: An uncommon sense in the intersubjective encounter. *European Journal of Social Work, 20*(5), 619–629. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2016.1255592>
- Choi, S., Clark, P. G., Gutierrez, V., Runion, C., & Mendenhall, R. (2022). Racial Microaggressions and Latinxs' Well-being: A Systematic Review. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work, 31*(1), 16–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15313204.2020.1827336>
- Cook, M., Winter, V. R., & O'Neill, E. A. (2020). Body Appreciation and Health Care Avoidance: A Brief Report. *Health & Social Work, 45*(1), 47–53.
- Crooks, A., & Mensinga, J. (2021). Body, Relationship, Space: Dance Movement Therapy as an Intervention in Embodied Social Work With Parents and Their Children. *Australian Social Work, 74*(2), 250–258.
- Daly, S. B. (2016). The Intersubjective Experience of the Physical Body in the Clinical Setting of Eating Disorders. *Clinical Social Work Journal, 44*(1), 47–56. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0475-4>
- DePoy, E., & Gilson, S. (2015). Disability as Disjuncture: A Theory to Guide Social Work Practice. *Social Work Chronicle, 4*(1). <https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/disability-as-disjuncture-theory-guide-social/docview/1738728990/se-2?accountid=14701>
- DeUrquiza, E. F. (2014). Mindfulness, Body Scan, Narrative, and Mentalization in the New York City Schools. *Children & Schools, 36*(2), 125–127.
- DiLauro, M. D. (2018). Examination of an Integrative Health Care Model for Social Work Practice. *Health & Social Work, 43*(4), 261–268. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hsw/hly028>

- Duros, P., & Crowley, D. (2014). The Body Comes to Therapy Too. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 237–246. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0486-1>
- Elkchirid, A., Anh Phung Ngo, & Kumsa, M. K. (2020). Narrating Colonial Silences: Racialized Social Work Educators Unsettling our Settlerhood. *Studies in Social Justice*, 14(2), 287–305. <https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v14i2.2215>
- Ellis, W. L., PhD. (2012). Perceived Stress Levels Among HIV/AIDS-Infected Mothers: The Role of Over-the-Counter Products. *Social Work in Health Care*, 51(9), 850.
- Feinson, M. C., & Hornik-Lurie, T. (2016). Body Dissatisfaction and the Relevance of Religiosity: A Focus on Ultra-Orthodox Jews in a Community Study of Adult Women. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 44(1), 87–97. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-016-0574-5>
- Ferguson, H. (2016). Professional helping as negotiation in motion: Social work as work on the move. *Applied Mobilities*, 1(2), 193–206. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23800127.2016.1247523>
- Ferguson, H. (2017). How Children Become Invisible in Child Protection Work: Findings from Research into Day-to-Day Social Work Practice. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 47(4), 1007–1023. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcw065>
- Ferguson, H. (2018). How social workers reflect in action and when and why they don't: The possibilities and limits to reflective practice in social work. *Social Work Education*, 37(4), 415–427. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2017.1413083>
- Ferguson, H., Pink, S., & Kelly, L. (2022). The Unheld Child: Social Work, Social Distancing and the Possibilities and Limits to Child Protection during the COVID-19 Pandemic. *British Journal of Social Work*, 52(4), 2403–2421. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcac055>
- Flynn, S. (2022). Discourse and religious doctrine: Professional social work and the moral regulation of the body in Roman Catholic Ireland. *Sexualities*, 25(3), 267–283.
- Gatwiri, K. (2018). Leaning into the discomfort and embracing the disruption: A Freirean approach to (de)colonised social work teaching in Australia. *Whiteness and Education*, 3(2), 182–197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23793406.2019.1573644>
- Gatwiri, K. (2021). Racial Microaggressions at Work: Reflections from Black African Professionals in Australia. *British Journal of Social Work*, 51(2), 655–672. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcaa145>
- Gerstein, F., & Pollack, F. (2016). Two Case Studies on Family Work with Eating Disorders and Body Image Issues. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 44(1), 69–77. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-015-0566-x>

- Gibson, M. (2015). Analysis of Social Work Practice: Foucault and Female Body Image in Therapy. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 29(3), 287–299.
- Gockel, A., Burton, D. L., James, S., & Bryer, E. (2013). Introducing Mindfulness as a Self-Care and Clinical Training Strategy for Beginning Social Work Students. *Mindfulness*, 4, 343–353. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12671-012-0134-1>
- Gockel, A., Cain, T., Malove, S., & James, S. (2013). Mindfulness as Clinical Training: Student Perspectives on the Utility of Mindfulness Training in Fostering Clinical Intervention Skills. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, 32, 36–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15426432.2013.749146>
- Green, L. (2017). The Trouble with Touch? New Insights and Observations on Touch for Social Work and Social Care. *British Journal of Social Work*, 47(3), 773–792. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcw071>
- Green, L. (2021). Investigating the Sense of Smell and Its Relevance to Embodied Social Work Practice: Exploring the Literature. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 222–234.
- Green, L., & Moran, L. (2021). Covid-19, social distancing and the ‘scientisation’ of touch: Exploring the changing social and emotional contexts of touch and their implications for social work. *Qualitative Social Work*, 20(1–2), 171–178. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325020973321>
- Greyber, L., Dulmus, C., Cristalli, M., & Jorgensen, J. (2015). A Single Group Pre-posttest Examination of a Health and Wellness Intervention on Body Mass Index for Adolescent Females with Severe Emotional Disorders and Histories of Trauma. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 32(2), 187–198.
- Herland, M. D. (2022). Emotional intelligence as a part of critical reflection in social work practice and research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 21(4), 662–678. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14733250211024734>
- Houston, S., & Gray, M. (2016). Falling in love outwards: Eco-social work and the sensuous event. *Journal of Social Work*, 16(4), 412–428. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017315581531>
- Hultman, E., Cederborg, A., & Magnusson, K. F. (2015). Social Workers’ Assessments of Children’s Health When Arguing for Children’s Needs: C & A. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 32(4), 301–308. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-014-0371-3>
- Hutchison, C. A., & Bressi, S. K. (2018). MDMA-Assisted Psychotherapy for Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: Implications for Social Work Practice and Research. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-018-0676-3>

- Jeyasingham, D. (2014). The Production of Space in Children's Social Work: Insights from Henri Lefebvre's Spatial Dialectics. *British Journal of Social Work*, 44(7), 1879–1894. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bct053>
- Jeyasingham, D. (2016). Open spaces, supple bodies? Considering the impact of agile working on social work office practices. *Child & Family Social Work*, 21(2), 209–217.
- Jeyasingham, D. (2017). Soft, small, malleable, and slow: Corporeal form and movement in social workers' and police officers' talk about practice in a Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hub. *Child & Family Social Work*, 22(4), 1456–1463. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12367>
- Jeyasingham, D. (2018). Place and the uncanny in child protection social work: Exploring findings from an ethnographic study. *Qualitative Social Work*, 17(1), 81–95. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325016657867>
- Johnson, R. (2015). Grasping and Transforming the Embodied Experience of Oppression. *International Body Psychotherapy Journal*, 14(1), 80–95.
- Jones, A. L. E., & Mattingly, K. (2016). Empowerment, Social Justice, and Feminist Self-Defense: The Benefits of Incorporating Embodied Empowerment Skills in Social Work Practice. *Affilia*, 31(2), 263. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109916634164>
- Jude, J. (2016). Seselelame: Reflective team approach to practice. *The Journal of Practice Teaching & Learning*, 14(1), 73.
- Kattari, S. K., Olzman Miranda, & Hanna, M. D. (2018). "You Look Fine!" *Affilia*, 33(4), 477–492. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109918778073>
- Katz, E., McPartland, S., & Rines, J. (2021). Exploring micro-skills as the underpinnings of effective social work practice. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 35(2), 177–190. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650533.2020.1737514>
- Katz, E., Serbinski, S., & Mishna, F. (2017). Taking the Show on the Road in Holding Academic Classes in Community Agencies: Exploratory Study Findings. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 37(4), 353–368. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08841233.2017.1325434>
- Kaye, A., MD, & Lybrand, S., LMSW, LCSW. (2016). The cleft team social worker. *Social Work in Health Care*, 55(4), 280–295. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00981389.2016.1145168>
- Keenan, E. K. (2021). Re/Un/Discover: An Embodied Heuristic for Uncertainties in Social Work Practice. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 159–171.
- Keesman, L. D., & Weenink, D. (2020). Bodies and emotions in tense and threatening situations. *Journal of Social Work*, 20(2), 173–192. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017318795726>
- Kimmell, A., & Gockel, A. (2018). Embodied connections: Engaging the body in group work. *Qualitative Social Work*, 17(2), 268–285.

- Knipp, H., & Stevenson, R. (2022). "A Powerful Visual Statement": Race, Class, and Gender in Uniform and Dress Code Policies in New Orleans Public Charter Schools. *Affilia*, 37(1), 79–96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08861099211010026>
- Kong, S.-T., Noone, C., & Shears, J. (2021). Social Workers' Sensual Bodies during COVID-19: The Suspended, Displaced and Reconstituted Body in Social Work Practice. *The British Journal of Social Work*, bcab207. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcab207>
- Larkin, H., Felitti, V. J., & Anda, R. F. (2014). Social Work and Adverse Childhood Experiences Research: Implications for Practice and Health Policy. *Social Work in Public Health*, 29(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2011.619433>
- Le, T. N., & Alefaio, D. (2020). Mindfulness Training for Social Service Providers in Hawaii: Context and Considerations. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 46(4), 524–537. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2019.1606758>
- Le, T. N., & Shim, P. (2014). Mindfulness and the Aloha Response. *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, 3(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.125/33280>
- Lee, M. Y., Wang, X., Liu, C., Raheim, S., & Tebb, S. (2018). Outcome Literature Review of Integrative Body–Mind–Spirit Practices for Mental Health Conditions. *Social Work Research*, 42(3), 251–266.
- Lerner, J. E. (2022). Social work the 'white way': Helping white students self-reflect on a culture of whiteness in the classroom and beyond. *Social Work Education*, 41(4), 605–624. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2020.1868422>
- Lev-Wiesel, R., Ramot, O., Hagar Niv, Einav, D., Gosh, Y., Dahan, A., & Weinger, S. (2022). Physical Versus Sexual Abuse as Reflected in Adolescents' Self-Figure Drawings: A Preliminary Study. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 31(1), 33–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538712.2020.1856993>
- Linton, K. F., & Rueda, H. A. (2014). Experiences with Pregnancy of Adolescents with Disabilities from the Perspectives of the School Social Workers Who Serve Them. *Health & Social Work*, 39(2), 92–100. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1093/hsw/hlu010>
- Linton, K. F., & Rueda, H. A. (2015). Dating and Sexuality among Minority Adolescents with Disabilities: An Application of Sociocultural Theory. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 25, 77–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2014.947465>
- Linton, K. F., Rueda, H. A., Rankin Williams, L., Sandoval, A., & Bolin, S. (2015). Reproductive and Sexual Healthcare Needs Among Adults with Disabilities as Perceived by Social Workers. *Sex Disabilities*, 34, 145–156. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11195-015-9416-6>

- Lynn, R., & Mensinga, J. (2015). Social Workers' Narratives of Integrating Mindfulness into Practice. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 29(3), 255–270. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650533.2015.1035237>
- Mak, C., Mucina, M. K., & Ferguson, R. N. (2021). Wrestling the Elephant: Teaching as a Racialized Body in the Social Work Classroom. *Advances in Social Work*, 21(2/3), 545. <https://doi.org/10.18060/24082>
- Marlowe, J. M., Appleton, C., Chinnery, S.-A., & Van Stratum, S. (2015). The Integration of Personal and Professional Selves: Developing Students' Critical Awareness in Social Work Practice. *Social Work Education*, 34(1), 60–73. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2014.949230>
- McKinney, K., & Kempson, D. (2012). Losing Touch in Social Work Practice. *Social Work*, 57(2), 189–191. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/sws036>
- Melius, J., PhD, LCSW, & Cannonier, C., PhD. (2016). Exploring U.S. Hispanic parents' length of time in the United States: Influences on obesity outcomes among U.S. Hispanic children. *Social Work in Health Care*, 55(10), 826–842. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00981389.2016.1223259>
- Mensinga, J. (2017). 'No Coughing for Me, but I'm Okay!': A Human Service Worker's Narrative Exploration of Her Own and Other Workers' Body Stories Told in a Domestic Violence Service. *Children Australia*, 42(2), 87–92. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cha.2017.16>
- Mensinga, J. (2021). A Narrative Inquiry Exploring Social Workers' Understanding of Yoga and Its Application in Professional Practice. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 134–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2020.1828957>
- Morano, C., Giunta, N., Parikh, N. S., Panuska, S., Fahs, M. C., & Gallo, W. T. (2013). Mind-Body Techniques, Race-Ethnicity, and Depression among Urban Senior Center Participants. *Health & Social Work*, 38(3), 167–172. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hsw/hlt010>
- Morriss, L. (2017). Multisensoriality and social work research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 16(3), 291–299.
- Moulding, N. T. (2016). Gendered Intersubjectivities in Narratives of Recovery From an Eating Disorder. *Affilia*, 31(1), 70. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109915576519>
- Murshid, N. S., & Ely, G. E. (2016). Intimate partner violence and use of contraceptives in Bangladesh: Results from a national sample. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 25(4), 331–338. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijsw.12204>
- Muzicant, A., & Peled, E. (2018). Home Visits in Social Work: From Disembodiment to Embodied Presence. *British Journal of Social Work*, 48(3), 826–842. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcx033>

- Nadal, K., Griffin, K., Wong, Y., Davidoff, K., & Davis, L. (2017). The Injurious Relationship Between Racial Microaggressions and Physical Health: Implications for Social Work. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 26(1–2), 6–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15313204.2016.1263813>
- Northcut, T. B., & Kienow, A. (2014). The Trauma Trifecta of Military Sexual Trauma: A Case Study Illustrating the Integration of Mind and Body in Clinical Work with Survivors of MST. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 247–259. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0479-0>
- Nowakowski-Sims, E., & Kumar, J. (2020). Soul work in social work. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, 39(2), 188–203. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15426432.2019.1706694>
- O’Brien, J. E., Burton, D. L., & Li, W. (2016). Body Disapproval Among Adolescent Male Sexual Offenders: Prevalence and Links to Treatment: C & A. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 33(1), 39–46. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-015-0400-x>
- O’Connor, L. (2020). How social workers understand and use their emotions in practice: A thematic synthesis literature review. *Qualitative Social Work*, 19(4), 645–662. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325019843991>
- Øien, A. M., & Solheim, I. J. (2015). Supervision of professionals: Interdependency between embodied experiences and professional knowledge. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health & Well-Being*, 10, 1–N.PAG.
- Omorogiwa, T. B. E. (2020). Troubling Childhood: The Physical and Health Issues Experienced by Child Labourers. *Social Work in Public Health*, 35(8), 679–688. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2020.1823928>
- Phillips, C. R. (2014). “Seeing the Child” beyond the Literal: Considering Dance Choreography and the Body in Child Welfare and Protection. *British Journal of Social Work*, 44(8), 2254.
- Phillips, C. R. (2019). The Computer Social Worker: Regulatory practices, regulated bodies and science. *Qualitative Social Work*, 18(3), 443–457. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325017723700>
- Pizzanello, H. C. (2016). Evolving From an Illusionary and Self Destructive Quest for Power to a State of Empowerment: The Curative Potential Yoga May Hold as a Vehicle to Reclaiming Bodily Empowerment for Women with Anorexia. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 43(4), 1.
- Quillman, T. (2013). Treating Trauma Through Three Interconnected Lenses: Body, Personality, and Intersubjective Field. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 41(4), 356–365. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-012-0414-1>

- Raheim, S., & Lu, J. J. (2014). Preparing MSW Students for Integrative Mind-Body-Spirit Practice. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 288–301. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0484-3>
- Rajan-Rankin, S. (2014). Self-Identity, Embodiment and the Development of Emotional Resilience. *British Journal of Social Work*, 44(8), 2426. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bct083>
- Rajan-Rankin, S. (2015). Anti-racist social work in a “post-race society”? Interrogating the amorphous “other.” *Critical and Radical Social Work*, 3(2), 207–220. <https://doi.org/10.1332/204986015X14286590888439>
- Ramseyer Winter, V., Landor, A., Teti, M., Morris, K., Schliep, E., Pevehouse-Pfeiffer, D., & Pekarek, E. (2019). Is body appreciation a mechanism of depression and anxiety? An investigation of the 3-Dimensional Body Appreciation Mapping (3D-BAM) intervention. *Mental Health & Prevention*, 14, 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mph.2019.200158>
- Ramseyer Winter, V., O’Neill, E. A., & Omary, A. (2017). Exploring Relationships between Body Appreciation and Self-Reported Physical Health among Young Women. *Health & Social Work*, 42(2), e62–e67. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hsw/hlx006>
- Ramseyer Winter, V., & Satinsky, S. (2014). Body appreciation, sexual relationship status, and protective sexual behaviors in women. *Body Image*, 11, 36–42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2013.08.004>
- Ramseyer Winter, V., Teti, M., Koegler, E., Brett, A., Moore, A., & Landor, A. (2018). “What you see in the mirror”: Community mental health practitioners define body image. *Social Work in Mental Health*, 16(1), 93–104. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15332985.2017.1350615>
- Ramseyer Winter, V., Teti, M., Landor, A. M., & Morris, K. (2019). “On a Journey to Appreciate What My Body Does for Me”: Qualitative Results from a Positive Body Image Pilot Intervention Study. *Social Work in Public Health*, 34(7), 637–645. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19371918.2019.1635951>
- Reinsmith-Jones, K., Adedoyin, C., & Zipkin Campbell, E. (2014). Spiritually Based Treatment for People with Body Dysmorphia Disorder: The Reinsmith-Jones Model as a Proposed Model of Treatment. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work*, 33(3–4), 300–316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15426432.2014.930633>
- Rich, K. (2014). “My Body Came Between Us”: Accounts of Partner-Abused Women With Physical Disabilities. *Affilia*, 29(4), 418–433. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109914522626>
- Richter, R. A. (2019). Reflections of an Online Social Work Professor: Illuminating an Alternative Pedagogy. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work*, 39(4–5), 344–360. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08841233.2019.1636925>

- Roy, A. (2016). Learning on the move: Exploring work with vulnerable young men through the lens of movement. *Applied Mobilities*, 1(2), 207–218. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23800127.2016.1245097>
- Rueda, H. A., J Bolin, S., Linton, K. F., Williams, L. R., & Pesta, E. (2017). Social Workers' Roles in Supporting the Sexual and Relational Health of Children with Disabilities: C & A. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 34(5), 493–505. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-016-0469-x>
- Rueda, H., Linton, K. F., & Rankin Williams, L. (2014). School Social Workers' Needs in Supporting Adolescents with Disabilities toward Dating and Sexual Health: A Qualitative Study. *Children & Schools*, 36(2), 80–90. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cs/cdu006>
- Satur, J., & Goldingay, S. (2021). Experiencing Aboriginal Perspectives Through the Embodied Concept of the Tree of Life: Implications for Developing a Teaching Resource. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 198–209.
- Schwaber Kerson, T. (2012). Epilepsy Postings on YouTube: Exercising Individuals' and Organizations' Right to Appear. *Social Work in Health Care*, 51(10), 927–943. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00981389.2012.712634>
- Seelman, K. L., Lewinson, T., Engleman, L., Maley, O. R., & Allen, A. (2017). Coping strategies used by LGB older adults in facing and anticipating health challenges: A narrative analysis. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 29(3), 300–318. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10538720.2017.1310644>
- Sewell, K. M. (2020). Examining the Place of Emotions, Affect, and Regulation in Social Work Education. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 56(1), 5–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2019.1627262>
- Siegel, J. P. (2014). The Mindful Couple. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 282–287. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0489-y>
- Silverman, M. (2013). Sighs, smiles, and worried glances: How the body reveals women caregivers' lived experiences of care to older adults. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 27(3), 288–297. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2013.06.001>
- Smeeton, J., & O'Connor, P. (2020). Embodied Social Work Practice Within Risk Society. *Journal of Social Work*, 20(5), 673–691.
- Smoyer, A. B., Divita, D., & Perrault, A. (2021). Masculine Embodiment Among Sexual Minorities in a Women's Prison. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 172–185.
- Soberg Bjerre, L., & Appel Nissen, M. (2021). Does it feel right?—Emotional and embodied processes as a 'shadowy epistemology' in difficult child protection cases. *British Journal of Social Work*, 51(2), 600–616. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcaa172>

- Sodhi, M. K., & Cohen, H. L. (2012). The Manifestation and Integration of Embodied Knowing Into Social Work Practice. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 62(2), 120–137. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713611400302>
- Spence, J. (2021). Social Work and Yoga: The Evolution of Practice From Talking to Moving. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 235–242. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2020.1849334>
- Starkman, H. (2016). An Integrative Group Treatment Model for Women with Binge Eating Disorder: Mind, Body and Self in Connection. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 44(1), 57–68. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-015-0571-0>
- Steckley, L. (2012). Touch, Physical Restraint and Therapeutic Containment in Residential Child Care. *British Journal of Social Work*, 42(3), 537–555. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcr069>
- Stensland, M. L., & Sanders, S. (2018). “It has changed my whole life”: The systemic implications of chronic low back pain among older adults. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 61(2), 129–150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01634372.2018.1427169>
- Stewart, C., & Fielding, A. (2021). Exploring the Embodied Habitus of Early Career Social Workers. *Australian Social Work*, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2021.1980070>
- Strauss, R. J., & Northcut, T. B. (2014). Using Yoga Interventions to Enhance Clinical Social Work Practices with Young Women with Cancer. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 228–236. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-012-0430-1>
- Sunderland, N., Woods, G., & Dorsett, P. (2020). Making the Invisible Visible: Applying Digital Storytelling for Immersive, Transformative and Anti-Colonial Learning. *British Journal of Social Work*, 50(2), 483–505. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcz161>
- Terare, M., & Rawsthorne, M. (2020). Country Is Yarning to Me: Worldview, Health and Well-Being Amongst Australian First Nations People. *British Journal of Social Work*, 50(3), 944–960. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcz072>
- Thieleman, K., Cacciatore, J., & Hill, P. W. (2014). Traumatic Bereavement and Mindfulness: A Preliminary Study of Mental Health Outcomes Using the ATTEND Model. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 42(3), 260–268. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-014-0491-4>
- Unrau, Y., & McCormick, M. (2016). The Environment-Within-Person Perspective: Integrating a Mindfulness Framework into Social Work Practice. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 43(4), 1. <https://doi.org/doi.org/10.15453/0191-5096.4043>
- van Rhyn, B., Barwick, A., & Donnelly, M. (2021). Embodiment as an Instrument for Empathy in Social Work. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 146–158. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2020.1839112>

- Vick, A. (2012). Theorizing Episodic Disabilities: The Case for an Embodied Politics. *Canadian Social Work Review/Revue Canadienne de Service Social*, 29(1), 41–60.
- Walter, O., & Shenaar-Golan, V. (2018). Sensory language (SDM) to foster empathy in social work students. *Social Work Education*, 37(5), 633–651.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2018.1451505>
- Walter, O., & Shenaar-Golan, V. (2019). The Potential Role of a Focusing Invitation in Social Work Education. *Spirituality in Clinical Practice*, 6(2), 124–134.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/scp0000166>
- Walter, O., & Shenaar-Golan, V. (2022a). Modified focusing as a contemplative pedagogy in an MSW research course. *Social Work Education*, 41(4), 472–484.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2020.1850671>
- Walter, O., & Shenaar-Golan, V. (2022b). Sensory language (SDM) as a tool in the creation of a body cognizant social worker. *Social Work Education*, 41(1), 63–76.
- Washington Sy, F. (2013). The Artist, the Activist, the Academic: Building a Critical Pedagogy of Embodied Knowledge. *Reflections : Narratives of Professional Helping*, 19(3), 7–20.
- Whiting, R. (2015). Gestures of Mutuality: Bridging Social Work Values and Skills through Erasmian Humanism. *Ethics & Social Welfare*, 9(4), 328.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17496535.2015.1022900>
- Whiting, R. (2020). Compassion through intercorporeality: The value of the phenomenological philosophy of David Michael Levin to social work education. *Social Work Education*, 40(2), 206–218. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2020.1771299>
- Wiegmann, W. L. (2017). Habitus, Symbolic Violence, and Reflexivity: Applying Bourdieu's Theories to Social Work. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 44(4), 95.
- Wiewel Brenda, & Hernandez, L. (2022). Traumatic Stress and Homelessness: A Review of the Literature for Practitioners. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 50(2), 218–230.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-021-00824-w>
- Woldegiyorgis, B. A., & Scherrer, J. L. (2012). Replacement Feeding Experiences of HIV-Positive Mothers in Ethiopia. *Journal of Community Practice*, 20(1–2), 69–88.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10705422.2012.648123>
- Wong, Y.-L. R., & Vinsky, J. (2021). Beyond Implicit Bias: Embodied Cognition, Mindfulness, and Critical Reflective Practice in Social Work. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 186–197.
- Wretman, C. J. (2017). School Sports Participation and Academic Achievement in Middle and High School. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, 8(3), 399.

Yee Lee, M., Zaharlick, A., & Akers, D. (2017). Impact of Meditation on Mental Health Outcomes of Female Trauma Survivors of Interpersonal Violence With Co-Occurring Disorders: A Randomized Controlled Trial. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 32(14), 2139–2165.

Chapter 4: Research Context

Embedded & Embodied in Vancouver, Canada

The previous chapter explored the place of the body in social work research; considering the dearth of literature on the subject, it highlighted several limitations. Among them was that despite the discipline's widespread use of person-in-environment models, which seem to allude to a body situated within its ecosystem, there is little presence of either body (Stensland & Sanders, 2018) or environment within the literature (Alston, 2013).

The present section aims to provide geographic, sociocultural, and historical context for the place where this research was conducted and, by extension, for how these are embodied within its inhabitants. Like any sport, running reveals something of the life and the tensions specific to the society where it is practiced (Bourdieu, 1988). As we will see, life in Vancouver has been fraught with many of the same issues since settlers first arrived on these Indigenous lands. Running involves charting routes through these spaces, making the physical environment a particularly salient consideration for this study.

This chapter endeavors to paint a picture of the city of Vancouver that considers the forces that shape life in this place and how these relate to its running community, beginning with an examination of Canada's poorest neighbourhood (Krausz & Jang, 2015). Although this study does not undertake an investigation of addiction specific to the problems of the infamous neighbourhood of the Downtown Eastside, it is fertile ground for analysis, particularly since it exists in a city reputed to be among the world's most livable (Krausz & Jang, 2015). The social norms stemming from the contrasting profiles of the city's inhabitants will be further discussed in relation to the study's findings (Chapter 10). Next, the relationship to nature and the city's spatial organization are briefly discussed to provide context for some of the city's tensions and

social issues. The process through which Vancouver became a livable city is discussed, and consequent strains related to citizenship and community are considered. Finally, we will examine Vancouver's running community within this context and illustrate how it has been shaped in part by the influence and omnipresence of a local, world-renown clothing brand.

4.1 A Snapshot of Current Social Issues

This research unfolded on the unceded ancestral lands of the Coast Salish people, which encompasses many nations, each with distinctive cultural practices and languages (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2019). Since the arrival of European settlers, the monetary value attributed to the lower mainland of British Columbia has shaped the lives of its inhabitants. The announcement of the expansion of the Canadian Pacific Railway through the mountains to the ocean sparked a land rush, which arguably continues to this day (Smedman, 2008). So too does the story of substance use; the founder of Gastown, the city's oldest neighbourhood, opened a saloon just 24 hours after arriving in town with a canoe full of whisky (Davis, 2011), a few hundred meters from the present epicentre of the country's opioid epidemic.

While the Downtown Eastside conjures images associated with its unfortunate distinction as the poorest neighbourhood in the country (Krausz & Jang, 2015), its much-contested boundaries comprise an expansive area, including historic Gastown (Proudfoot, 2011). In its early days, the predominance of pubs, brothels, and opium dens catering to the workers of the nearby lumber mill earned it a reputation as a rough part of town (Proudfoot, 2011). The area's working-class roots have shifted in recent decades, however, as transient and ever more marginalized populations increasingly came to inhabit the neighbourhood, including a disproportionately high representation of continuously displaced Indigenous people (Proudfoot, 2011).

The history of this traditionally working-class area is one of resistance and social activism, involving race riots (Davis, 2011), labour protests (Proudfoot, 2011), and more recently, legal action that paved the way for safe injection sites across Canada (Canada (Attorney General) v. PHS Community Services Society, 2011). In the words of poet Sandy Cameron (2004), “*the history of the Downtown Eastside is a history of the struggle for human rights*,”; it has long been home to the most vulnerable inhabitants of Vancouver, who have fought for the right to be here.

The phrase “Main and Hastings” is a reference to the intersection that sits at the epicentre of the Downtown Eastside and serves as a shorthand for Vancouver’s struggles with poverty, homelessness, violence, and substance use (Rymhs, 2018). Not only does this negate other important aspects of the community, but there is also something quite static in locating these social issues precisely at this juncture; as though the problems with which the phrase is associated do not evolve or change. Moreover, this stigmatized territory (Wacquant et al., 2014) charges the bodies connected to this place with the problems within it (Smith, 2010), impeding their ability to occupy other spaces in the city (Fast, 2023).

Figure 2

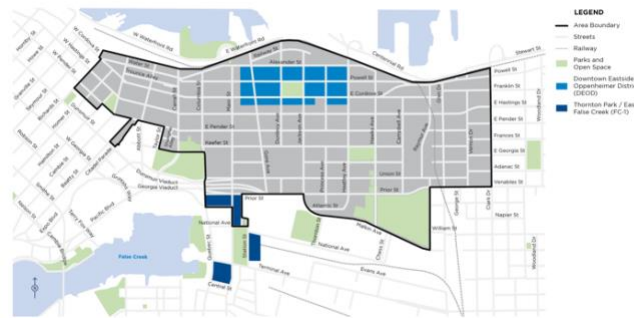
CRAB Park tent encampment (centre), 650 m from Main and Hastings



The scale and visibility of homelessness in the neighbourhood are unmatched by other Canadian cities, with tent encampments small and large dotting the streets. The deteriorating situation is reflected in a recent report that revealed an increase of over 30% in this population since 2020 (Homelessness Services Association of BC, 2023). The COVID-19 pandemic was overlayed onto the pre-existing public health overdose crisis, further destabilizing the lives of its inhabitants. Access to health resources was compromised, there were changes to the drug supply (Foreman-Mackey et al., 2023) and a new Montreal-based gang began establishing itself in the neighbourhood, subverting the increasingly precarious community ties (Bolan, 2023).

Although Main and Hastings are just four blocks from Vancouver Harbour, few would associate the shocking images of this neighbourhood with the waters of the Burrard Inlet or views of the North Shore mountains. Its proximity to the place where cruise ships dock has given rise to the phenomenon of poverty tourism here. Trendy restaurants are marketed as experiences in “adventure dining”, trumpeting the gentrification of the neighbourhood (Burnett, 2014). For a time, tourists paid 185\$ a piece for guided walking tours of the area, ostensibly intended as an educational tool to learn about the neighbourhood’s rich history. These tours, which legitimized the invasion of the community (Skand, 2020) and reduced the complexity of these lives for the “othering” purposes of profit and spectacle (Puri, 2016), were ended in 2016 due to protests by residents (Skand, 2020). Not only does poverty tourism reveal the disturbing dehumanization of the residents of this community and the transformation of suffering into spectacle, but it also highlights disparities in mobility. While the bodies of the wealthy move freely about the world, those confined to the corner of Main and Hastings are continuously displaced (Rymhs, 2018); they have nowhere to be.

Figure 3

Map of Downtown Eastside

Boundaries of Downtown Eastside with Hastings Corridor in blue

(source: City of Vancouver, 2022a)

The presence of these deviant bodies at the intersection of these two major streets contests normative uses of public spaces as places of capitalistic consumption (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015). Streets are assumed to be places of movement (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015); people experiencing homelessness may be most visible here in their stillness, as others hurry past them *en route* to their destination. This divergence of rhythms is absent, however, from the sidewalks of the Hastings Corridor, where tent encampments have taken over the space. This is not an area to pass through; these sidewalks are a living space.

While the images of this area remain fresh in my mind, there are no photos in this dissertation. The scene is shocking and has been much documented by outsiders, many of whom have participated in the spectacularization of the lives lived by the residents of this community, all the while suspending analysis of the power dynamics at play (Namian, 2023). These images are charged with the viewers' projected narratives and judgements of victimhood, criminality, substance use, and unproductivity, but what is often unobserved is the relationship between spectators and performers (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015). Neighbourhood activists employed subversive strategies to call attention to this dynamic, for a time turning up at the picture window

of an expensive Hastings Street restaurant with signs inviting residents to come “see the rich! 5¢!” (Hearty & Dave, 2013). “The stigmatized and the normal are part of each other,” (Goffman, 1963, p. 135), and in the context of the present relational examination of substance use, these dynamics cannot be overlooked; nor can the lesser told story of this neighbourhood’s long-standing fight for human rights. Thus, rather than capturing images of the neighbourhood, this dissertation will consider what its existence reveals about Vancouver itself.

Messages inscribed on the cityscape stress the divergent lives lived by residents of downtown Vancouver. As original structures were torn down to make space for condos and office towers, the words, “Unlimited Growth Increases the Divide” were emblazoned across a building at the edge of the Downtown Eastside as a public art piece in 1989 (Walter, 2012). In a wealthier area nearby, the words “A place of economic behavior” appear on a glass wall that overlooks a marina, where moored yachts dip along with the tides.

Figure 4 & Figure 5

Contrasting Neighbourhoods



*Unlimited Growth Increases the Divide (Downtown Eastside)
/ A Place of Economic Behaviour (Yaletown)*

4.2 Nature & Spatial Organization

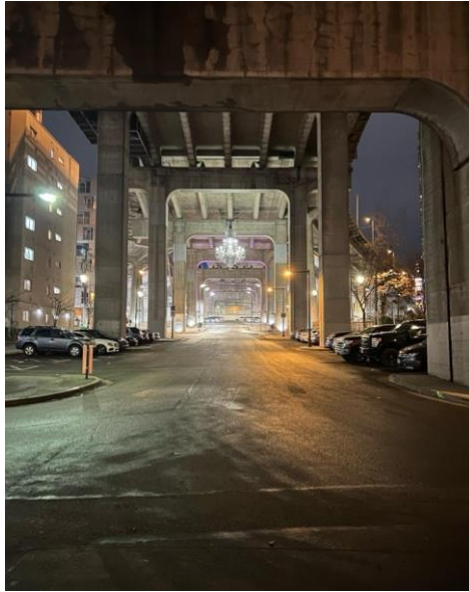
Vancouver embodies a complex relationship with nature; it is the reason people live here, but there is little natural about any modern, major city. It endures through human efforts to construct a livable space amidst powerful elements. The city's "crown jewel", a 28km seawall was initially built to protect against the erosion of the shores of Stanley Park (Mutukistna & Nieto, 2022). This 1000-acre temperate rainforest on the edge of downtown is widely regarded as a pristine old-growth forest, an illusion contingent upon its continuous maintenance (Kenny, 2016; Kheraj & Wynn, 2013).

Interestingly, the use of Vancouver's shoreline has long been the subject of contentious political debate. The undeniably beautiful path along the ocean is arguably also an uninspired use of space, a walking path that barely tolerates runners and cyclists after failed efforts to ban them completely (Lee, 2023). It is lined by more luxury condos than gathering spaces or restaurants, and sections of it are poorly lit, if at all (Lee, 2023).

Nonetheless, residents of "*no fun city*" (James & Kroll, 2010, 3:10) are resistant to change. An eventually successful proposal to transform a dilapidated concession into a restaurant went all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada, as residents of the area insisted a beach-side restaurant would "*despoil a magical beach, lead to beer swilling in a public place, cause light and noise pollution and increase traffic congestion,*" (Hume, 2005, para. 6). This, even though Vancouver has no shortage of magical spots to sit in quiet contemplation of nature. It does, however, experience pressing social issues related to its use of space (Kenny, 2016).

Figure 6

“Spinning Chandelier” by artist Rodney Graham



Spinning Chandelier alit under the Granville Street Bridge

4.2.1 Planned Separation

When I first arrived in Vancouver and completed my inaugural run of the seawall, I paused for a moment to take in the expansive ocean with the mountain backdrop, just as a woman passed by on the street, chastising me for standing on the bike path. Though she was right, the signage was easily missed by someone unfamiliar with the area. More importantly, I wondered why it mattered when she and I were the only ones in sight; surely there was enough space here for both of us.

Another incident transformed into somewhat of a ritual, wherein a friend and I were repeatedly hurried off the beach by police at 10pm. While we sat staring at the ocean on an otherwise empty beach, a police car drove towards us along the bike path with lights flashing. My friend stood and readied himself to leave, while I sat confused. It was unconceivable to me

that two people enjoying the quietness of the beach at night merited police intervention, complete with flashing lights. I wondered what that meant for those who inhabited less advantaged neighbourhoods and for those whose bodies were not white, able-bodied, or middle-class. How often must those bodies be told that they were not to be where they were?

Space-related rules seemed to matter in Vancouver in a way they didn't other places I had lived. I struggled to identify the cultural sources from which these social conventions sprung. European, Chinese, Japanese, and Indian settlers disembarked on these ancestral lands of the Indigenous peoples in close succession around the time of the Gold Rush in the 1860s (Davis, 2011). Despite the multicultural nature of this settlement, concerted efforts were made by the Canadian government to suppress the presence of the Asian communities (Gilmour, 2014).

Traces of the city's early preoccupations with segregation persist today in its structure and design. Rigid and restrictive bylaws govern the use of space in Vancouver and can be traced back to the city's first urban planner, an American by the name of Bartholomew (Morah, 2022). At the time, American design policy allocated space for standard purposes, and any other use was to be understood as impossible (Morah, 2022), a detail that elucidated my experiences of being reprimanded for failing to adhere to space-related social conventions on the seawall. Bartholomew explicitly stated that these restrictive zoning laws would thwart the movement of racialized people into wealthy, white communities (Morah, 2022, p. 16); the city was designed to keep people apart.

Considering this, it is perhaps unsurprising that Vancouver has a reputation for being a lonely and disconnected place (Arvanitidis, 2023). In 2012, researchers were surprised when a study that sought to identify the primary concerns of the city's residents revealed that loneliness beat out housing costs and homelessness (Vancouver Foundation, 2012). Vancouver is

experienced as a hard place to make friends, and though interactions with neighbours are polite, they lack depth (Vancouver Foundation, 2012). This is consistent with research that suggests regional characteristics are predictive of subjective experiences of loneliness; rapid social change is one of these factors (Buecker et al., 2021).

From a relational perspective, the profound dislocation of Vancouver's residents set the stage for the current addiction crisis, which quietly extends far behind the confines of the infamous East Hastings Corridor (Alexander, 2008). British Columbia reports the highest consumption rates per capita of marijuana, cocaine, crack, ecstasy, and heroin (Canadian Addiction Survey (CAS), 2007). A report commissioned by the Sumas First Nation in the wake of the 2021 Abbotsford floods (brought on by a devastating forest fire season) found high levels of cocaine and painkillers present in the water samples, prompting concern from Indigenous communities (House, 2022). Intoxicants, it seems, course extensively through human, animal, and aquatic bodies in this area.

In the following section, these thoughts are considered in relation to the constructive processes of Vancouver as a highly livable city, the embodiment of citizenship, and the suggestion that these may materialize in a sense of belonging fostered by a local, world-renowned clothing brand with a quiet omnipresence in the running community.

4.3 Becoming Livable and Embodying Livability

Expo '86 is widely regarded as a turning point in shaping Vancouver as it is known today (Kenny, 2016). The event put the city on the world stage, and the impact was immediately felt in the Downtown Eastside as longtime residents lost their homes to make space for the event (Kenny, 2016). In 1988, the course of the city's real estate market was dramatically altered by geopolitical shifts dating back to the First Opium War. In the 1830s, the British attempted to

transport opium from India through the ports of China, who enforced their ban on the trafficking of the substance and ultimately lost the territory of Hong Kong as a result (Reuters, 2007). As Hong Kong prepared to return to Chinese rule after 150 years under British rule, wealthy residents became concerned about the potential economic and political instability that may follow (Proctor, 2016). A Hong Kong-based real estate company bought one-sixth of the land in downtown Vancouver, prompting the rapid development of foreign-owned condos that came to dominate the skyline (Proctor, 2016), while remaining largely unoccupied (Kassam, 2016).

The Coast Salish Indigenous peoples have a long history in this area, but they were displaced by settlers who, in a relatively short period of time, have erected the aesthetically beautiful, expensive “*city of glass*” (Coupland, 2001). Vancouver has made itself into a livable city in the world by building upon its image as a city without a past, a future still to be written, prepared to transform itself into a resort town (Kenny, 2016). It is difficult, however, to build a sense of community based on a denial of shared history (Kenny, 2016). It is even harder when there is a prohibitively high bar for entry into the community, let alone the cost to participate in its offerings.

4.3.1 Embodying Citizenship

A retrospective investigation of the 2011 Stanley Cup riots noted a vanishing sense of municipal identity amongst participants, which they attributed to gentrification (Arvanitidis, 2023). When tensions were high in the wake of the riot, however, social media analysis exposed opposing perceptions of “true Vancouverites” versus “bridge and tunnel people”, the latter referring to residents of lower socioeconomic neighbourhoods who were presumably responsible for the destruction (Arvanitidis, 2023; Schneider & Trottier, 2013).

In the lead-up to the 2010 Olympics, the promotion of physical activity became integral to the city, as this criterion has become increasingly determinant of winning bids (Derom & Lee, 2014). The *Healthy City for All* was adopted, comprising policies and programs ostensibly aimed at promoting what its title suggested it did. Analysis reveals, however, that these were rife with internal contradictions (Derom & Lee, 2014). Advertising campaigns cheered the benefits of physical activity, and some programs allowed low-income people one-time access to health facilities, but nothing was done to address obstacles that complicate participation or to promote lifestyle change (Derom & Lee, 2014).

A *Healthy City for All* likened inactivity to smoking and drunk driving, constructing exercise as a public health initiative that compelled responsible citizens to do their part, but it failed to adopt a social ecological approach that accounted for social inequality (Derom & Lee, 2014). Unsurprisingly, these measures were ineffective in promoting sustained shifts in physical activity (Perks, 2015). Meanwhile, the campaign sought to improve the visual aesthetic of the Downtown Eastside, in part, by enlisting artists as “culturepreneurs”, tasked with realigning its deviant bodies (Veal, 2017). An imperative to physical activity was increasingly inscribed within Vancouver’s identity and within the bodies of its disciplined, self-managing citizens (Veal, 2017).

It was within this context that Vancouver-based Lululemon emerged as a lifestyle brand, now valued at approximately 55 billion dollars (Macrotrends, 2024). The spiritual values associated with yogic practice had already been commercialized in the West, setting the stage for the emergence of the brand’s strong following (Lavrence & Lozanski, 2014). At its inception, healthism and exclusion were built into the brand, with the founder candidly proclaiming it was

intended exclusively for fit (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2013), mostly white⁹ (ABC News, 2015) women. The company has since distanced itself from him and has expanded their product range to be more inclusive of different body shapes (Thayaparan, 2024).

The slow, gentle qualities associated with traditional yoga practices are at odds with the neoliberal values that Lululemon sought to transmit. Accordingly, the company shifted to hiring runners to lead their in-store yoga classes, whose quick pace, self-discipline, and competitiveness were more on-brand (Lavrence & Lozanski, 2014). Lululemon began hiring “run ambassadors” and around 2010 launched the city’s first run crew¹⁰, groups that have since become a defining feature of Vancouver’s vibrant running community (Couture, 2021). Although the company’s run crew was discontinued in 2015, Lululemon maintains a strong presence in the community it helped develop through event sponsorship and affiliations with the owners of the city’s largest speciality running store (Couture, 2021). In fact, members of many of the city’s run crews sweep through the streets with the Lululemon logo emblazoned on their custom apparel, fostering feelings of belonging (Couture, 2021).

While Lululemon’s athleisure style extends far beyond the bounds of metropolitan Vancouver, its ubiquitous envelopment of the bodies of its residents is hard to miss. The style is well-suited to the city’s active, laid-back image, and it seems to be considered suitable dress for nearly any context. In little over a decade, the Lululemon brand has built upon Vancouver healthism to create a community of consumption that has become deeply entrenched within the city. Lululemon’s capillary occupation was not restricted by segregationist zoning laws or an exorbitant real estate market; it was bolstered by values of citizenship and belonging specific to

⁹ An interpretation based on his statement that he named the company Lululemon because it would be funny to hear Japanese people pronounce it (ABC News, 2015)

¹⁰ Run crews distinguish themselves from traditional running clubs, in that they are non-competitive social groups and are often affiliated with stores or breweries (Couture, 2021).

the city. Lululemon emerged as a connective lifestyle brand whose neoliberal values (Lavrence & Lozanski, 2014) are consistent with those of the city's most desirable residents, the world's ultra-rich.

Figure 7

Lululemon's Local Omnipresence



*Homepage of billionaire founder of Lululemon, his name hovering prominently above Vancouver.
(source: Wilson, 2024)*

Chapter 5: Epistemology

The previous chapters have served to situate this study within the fields of addiction and sports-based intervention, the discipline of social work, and, finally, within its geographic and sociocultural context. The present chapter serves to situate myself as a researcher within this investigation and lays the groundwork for discussion about the embodied nature of this study, in which I am inescapably present.

Social work can mean many things, depending on how practitioners and researchers choose to tackle their awkward yet strategic place between the individual and society. In this context, McNeil (2021) stresses the importance of a clearly articulated epistemological position in social work research on addiction. This chapter serves its purpose. It begins with a discussion of my position as a researcher and concludes with a brief return to the question of the body within social work, which lays the groundwork for the theoretical elements that follow in Chapter 6.

5.1 Position of the Researcher

Social work practice and research are guided by ethical codes, though these are not the sole, nor arguably the most present, principles that shape them. As will be elaborated on and argued throughout this paper, I consider both research and practice to be inescapably relational. This study is thus shaped by who I am and how I relate to the world through the questions that I ask, my analysis of what I read and hear, and the conclusions that I draw (McNeil, 2021). This research is oriented by my critical and constructivist positions.

Research presents a challenge in that it can be difficult to know the other; our physical distance allows an outside view while at the same time preventing us from knowing the other as we know ourselves (Goffman, 1959). Of course, in this context, it is precisely the other's

experience that I seek to discover. If interactions in everyday life constitute intersubjective encounters (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), it follows that exchanges between myself and participants are no different. It follows that I consider research to be a collaborative construction of knowledge.

The nature of this intimate discovery of another necessitates a certain distance from myself. As will be elaborated in the following chapter, Bourdieu's (1988) *habitus* will be mobilized as a methodological tool, at once promoting an understanding of the other while providing a structure that supports analysis. The use of my body as a tool for research, including its situated, sentient, symbolic, suffering, and skills, means that I am undeniably a part of this study.

Analysis and discussion regarding my *habitus* are interwoven throughout this dissertation. I approach this research as an able-bodied, cisgendered woman from a middle-class background. I am an English and French-speaking white descendant of European settlers on these still-unceded Indigenous lands. This research is shaped by my personal and professional experiences, including those as a social worker in the health care system.

The strength of social work lies, I believe, in its critical analysis of the impact of systemic and structural factors, made possible through its proximity to the people these affect. Given the dominance of the disease model in research and in practice, it is unsurprising that there is a preponderance of post-positivist publications within the limited social work literature in the area of addictions (McNeil, 2021).

A review of addiction journals in the social sciences, or those regarded as open to the social sciences, revealed only 7% of published papers stemmed from qualitative studies (Rhodes et al., 2010). The marked epistemological imbalance that this suggests in addictions research *within* the social sciences is problematic, particularly in light of the contradictions and

inconsistencies that are entrenched within efforts to address the issue. In fact, it recalls Jelinek's (1960) analysis as to why early efforts in the development of the disease model failed: there was no input from other disciplines.

In this context, I believe that social work's role is to address this imbalance rather than reinforce it. In light of social work's purported commitment to critical perspectives (McNeil, 2021) and their presence on the front lines of substance use treatment (Mekonnen & Lee, 2022), I believe the discipline has an ethical responsibility to meaningfully contribute to the advancement of knowledge in this area (McNeil, 2021). At the very least, it must counter the harmful individualizing discourses that stigmatize and blame those who are seeking support in their struggles; these only serve to further reinforce feelings of disconnection and shame that many already carry (Ross et al., 2023).

Regardless of whether one's practice unfolds in the streets of the Downtown Eastside or in a hospital office, I consider that there are ways of adopting a critical, relational approach to social work. Having practiced in a hospital environment, I am familiar with the ways in which power circulates through the health care system, how it exerts itself in treatment decisions, and how professionals across disciplines struggle to provide care under such conditions. I believe that social work has a crucial role to play in naming these dynamics and, when necessary, finding ways to contest these exercises of power. We can choose how we embody our role as "street level bureaucrats", (Lipsky, 1969), and we can find strategies to act in defiance of unjust practices that influence people's lives. Although I acknowledge that not all social workers adopt a critical stance in their work, I consider this position to be a defining feature of the discipline.

5.1.1 A First-Person Dissertation

The traditions of academic writing hold that one achieves a greater degree of credibility by adopting an impersonal, distanced use of language (Davies, 2012). However, our use of language is deeply personal and reflects the lens through which we see and understand the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1945). Writing is thus an act of identity (Hyland, 2002), from which the writer is ultimately inseparable.

This tradition is also consistent with the Cartesian divide entrenched within Western culture, separating mind from body (Hayles, 1999). The uncontrollable, messy, and emotional material body has long been subjugated relative to the rational mind (Green, 2021). This split is not without its consequences, however. This dissertation argues against the denial, ejection, and repression of the body and its experiences. Social work is, among other things, a practice of emotion (Le & Alefaio, 2020). Therefore, attending to and interpreting my affective experience is part of both practice and research. Acknowledging this is pragmatic, which I argue renders my analysis more credible (Hyland, 2002). We have already begun to explore the contradictions within addiction; my interest is in discussing these, not in evading aspects of what arises through it.

In light of this, I am choosing to write this dissertation from a first-person perspective. My body delineates the boundary between myself and the world, and it is from this perspective that I engage with and interact with it (Merleau-Ponty, 1945). My research is shaped by my being in the-world, and as such, the choice to write in the first person is coherent with my constructivist and critical epistemological position, my carnal sociological framework, and my embodied methodology (Wacquant, 2015).

5.2 A Carnal Approach to Social Work

The values of social justice outlined in many of the discipline's codes of ethics (Canadian Association of Social Workers, 2024) and its relational nature are consistent with the relational model of addiction, and it follows that interventions should retain these qualities. Social workers are known to employ creative bonding strategies to build and solidify relationships (Verba, 2012), including arts (Crooks & Mensinga, 2021) and sports-based approaches (Odyssey House Inc., 2021). Despite the inventiveness I know to be a part of practice, the scoping review presented in the previous chapter found that the depth and breadth of these interventions seem to be poorly documented.

For our present purposes, it is relevant to revisit the arguments with which I conclude that article. As a discipline concerned with human experience, social work is charged with issues that relate to the body: discrimination, violence, abuse, illness, aging, and substance use are all inherently embodied concerns. Nevertheless, the experiences of the body and its carnal knowledge are often taken for granted. I argue that the adoption of Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociological theory within social work practice would allow for consideration of the network of relationships that extends out from the body into the world, accounting at once for the individual's subjective experience and the social circumstances that shape it. The phenomenological, structuralist, and constructivist influences (Wacquant, 2016) that shape the Bourdieusien concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1988) implicit within carnal sociology are consistent with my epistemological position.

The following chapter will begin to present Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociological theory, the habitus as a methodological tool, and argue the relevance of their application to this embodied investigation of recovery from addiction.

Chapter 6: Theoretical Framework

The suggestion of a carnal approach to social work has been briefly discussed in previous chapters, but the sociological theory from which this thinking is inspired has yet to be explored in depth. The ways in which Wacquant (2015) mobilized the concept of *habitus* as a tool for research speak to its potential use within embodied social work practice. Nevertheless, the present purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociology and discuss its use in this embodied exploration of the recovery process.

The present chapter constitutes a theoretical preamble to the article in Chapter 7, which will discuss the adaptation of carnal sociology to a mobile methodology. In carnal sociology, theory and method are fused to the extent that it is challenging to differentiate one from the other (Wacquant, 2010), thus, these chapters are very much interconnected. The use of my *habitus* as a research tool will be elaborated in the methodological article (Ch.7) and chapter (Ch.8) that follow.

6.1 Carnal Sociology

Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociology stems *from* the body, rather than positioning it as an object of study. It considers that cognition is situated within and extends out of a body that engages with the world through social and cultural practices that inform its knowledge. As a result, the researcher connects with their own body to engage in actions and events as they unfold, thereby deepening their social and symbolic integration with their study.

Wacquant's (2002) influential ethnographic study of a Chicago boxing club led him to argue for immersive fieldwork that situates the body within webs of action. In so doing, he challenges dualistic notions that separate the body from the mind and embraces the sensate, situated, temporal spatial experiences that traverse this divide. Over the course of three years,

Wacquant (2002) stepped into the pugilistic world to live the commitment, sacrifice, and discipline that transform body and soul through the art of fighting. He not only observed relationships unfolding between the coach and other gym members; he came to know them by training alongside them and by facing them in the ring. He did not observe from the sidelines: he taped up his knuckles, hit and was hit, felt the exhaustion, and felt the hunger of his dedication.

Wacquant's (2010) interest, however, was not limited to the embodiment of boxing but rather to understanding it within the context of urban poverty. As such, he sought to gain insight into how micro and macro level factors converge within the body by mobilizing Bourdieu's (1972/2005) *habitus*. This embodied, relational concept is derived from phenomenological, structuralist, and constructivist influences (Wacquant, 2016). It encompasses at once the subjective formation of the individual through their continuous experiences of the world within an objectively shared social reality (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Thus, *habitus* accounts for the singularity of individual trajectories without losing sight of the social structure that shapes and reinforces them (Wacquant, 2016). For Bourdieu (1972/2005), *habitus* is a dynamic concept that shifts and transforms across the lifespan according to the individual's experiences and their social circumstances. This sedimented evolution is built layer upon layer through the pedagogical process, thereby reinforcing the foundational socializing structures that orient and filter one's experiences of and perspectives on the world (Wacquant, 2016).

Within Wacquant's (2010) carnal sociology, *habitus* is the object and the means of study, functioning as a carnal tool to objectivize and examine its features. Since many aspects of the *habitus* have been mastered and thus integrated, they operate beneath both consciousness and language (Wacquant, 2010). Thus, it follows that gaining insight into the dispositions and

structures that the body has internalized requires an engagement that is itself embodied rather than based in language.

The *habitus* encompasses cognitive and affective features that embrace rather than devalue the flesh and blood humanity of social actors (Wacquant, 2016). The malleability of one's *habitus* lends itself to the embodiment of incoherencies and contradictions, making this concept rich in potential to explore processes of crisis and change (Wacquant, 2016), both as embodied by participants and by the researcher themselves. By mobilizing one's *habitus* as a tool, the researcher deepens their social and symbolic engagement with their study and lends their vulnerable body to the pedagogical examination of their own embodied transformation (Wacquant, 2015).

6.1.1 Wacquant's Six Ss

In the interest of capturing embodied, practical knowledge, Wacquant (2015) proposes attending to the "Six S" properties: 1) the *symbolic* systems we use to organize and structure our world, including language, myth, art, religion, and science; 2) the *sentient* sensations experienced both from within our own bodies (ie. heartrate and active movements), and through interactions with our environment; 3) the *suffering* we experience in relation to biological, social, psychological, and existential threats or unfulfilled desires; 4) the *skills* we acquire through training and experience that shape how we engage with the world; 5) these elements are *sedimented* in that they are acquired and build up over the course of our life experiences, which; 6) are shaped by where they are *situated* in physical and social space. Finally, all of these components are temporally structured in relation to one another.

In this study, the Six Ss served both as a structure for the interview guide as well as conceptual categories for analysis. Consequently, they are introduced here but will be further elaborated on in the following chapters.

6.2 Support for Theoretical Framework

There are three justifications for this theoretical framework. First, sport (in our case running), situated firmly at the heart of social life and tensions, reveals relationships to the body that are part of relationships to the world (Bourdieu, 1988). In this study, the adoption of carnal sociology supported the exploration of embodied processes of change in substance use and the concomitant shifts in relationships to oneself, to others, and to the world.

Secondly, though the body absorbs the initial impact of substance use and is at the heart of the recovery process, it is paradoxically sidelined in clinical interventions, notably in social work. Both substance use and running are inescapably embodied human experiences; the Six S properties are largely overlooked by existing research and interventions, which often adopt a biomedical gaze. As argued above, this neglects the network of relationships and structures that influence the life a body will live.

In carnal sociology, theory and method are interlaced to the point that it is challenging to distinguish one from the other (Wacquant, 2010). The examination of an embodied process compels an embodied theory and method since most of the body's carnal knowledge is below consciousness and language. Engaging my own body in this study alongside those of the participants was a deliberate choice to bridge this gap as much as possible. The living body is immersed in the world, taking in subtle environmental cues and sensations faster than the mind can interpret them (Andrieu, 2013).

Research presents a challenge in that it can be difficult to know the other; our physical distance allows an outside view while at the same time preventing us from knowing the other as we know ourselves (Goffman, 1959). Attending to shifts within my own body prompted a more intimate, vulnerable investigation, fostering a deeper understanding of participants' experiences and facilitating more precise linguistic capture.

Third, the embodied vulnerability that this compels of the researcher is consistent with my own social worker *habitus* and the position of empathic openness that lays the foundation for alliances in psychosocial intervention. While the objectives of research are different from those of practice, the relationship between researcher-participant or social worker-service user reflects similar power dynamics. I have internalized conditions conducive to building a trusting rapport as part of my practice, and I acknowledge these to be part of my runner-researcher *habitus*.

At this time, we turn to the second article of this dissertation, entitled "Research on the Run: A Carnal Sociological Adaptation of Embodied Interviews", which has been submitted to *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*. As indicated above, carnal sociology fuses theory and methods, making it difficult to distinguish one from the other. This article serves explicitly to illustrate how carnal sociology was adapted to a mobile methodology, despite Wacquant's (2015) contention that immersive ethnography was the preeminent complement to his theory.

Chapter 7: (Article 2)

Research on the Run: A Carnal Sociological Adaptation of Embodied Interviews

Bogue Kerr, S. (submitted). Research on the Run: A Carnal Sociological Adaptation of Embodied Interviews. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise, and Health*.

Abstract

In recent years, there has been increased interest in the ways people move about in their everyday lives. This interest has led to the use of mobile interview methods, including those that involve walking and running. While the frequency with which walking interviews have been investigated has supported the emergence of different methodologies, there is comparatively little literature on running interviews. This article stems from 22 running-based mobile interviews, conducted in the context of an ethnographically inspired study that sought to gain insight into the embodied processes of 11 individuals who had integrated running into their recovery from substance use. Consistent with the study's carnal sociological framework, the researcher's own body served as a tool for this investigation. The objectives of this present article are: 1) to discuss the application of carnal sociology to mobile methods as applied in this study; 2) to explore the use of the researcher's *habitus* in mobile interviews, including with regard to navigating emotion and the development of rapport with participants; and; 3) to highlight considerations for the application of running interviews, including its strengths and limitations.

Keywords: carnal sociology; mobile methods; running interview; sociology of sport

Ethnographic researchers have a longstanding history of collecting data by observing and, to some extent, by joining with participants in going about their daily lives. In recent years, there has been an increased interest in the nature of movements themselves, leading to an exploration of their relational, spatial, and temporal qualities (Sheller and Urry, 2016). Over the last two decades, a number of innovative methodologies have materialized to capture the ways people move about their communities and the world (Merriman 2014). There remains, however, a need for examination of these budding methods.

This article stems from a carnal sociological study that sought to gain insight into the integration of running into processes of recovery from substance use disorders. The dominant moral and disease models of addiction situate its roots within the individual, explaining it either as a moral flaw (Fraser et al., 2017) or as a brain disease (Dennis 2016). This study, however, adhered to a relational model of addiction (Adams 2008). In this perspective, addiction is understood as a response to social disconnection, prompted by socioeconomic forces that have disrupted communities (Alexander 2008). Thus, this study entailed an investigation of the ways in which running influences embodied shifts within one's *habitus*, materializing in changes in relation to oneself, to others, and to the environment for those engaged in a process of recovery. While there is evidence to suggest that exercise may be an effective adjunct to the treatment of substance use disorders (Nordheim et al., 2018), the little research there is has tended to examine measurable outcomes such as physiological responses (Palmer, 2016), primarily in clinical settings (Colledge et al., 2018). As such, these studies have overlooked the situated, embodied, and relational qualities of running, which this study sought to explore.

The results of this study are presented elsewhere (Bogue Kerr and Moreau, forthcoming). This article aims to outline how the use of running interviews in this study allowed for the

investigation of relationships to the body and to place through intersubjective research encounters. First, we begin with a discussion of mobile methods, and more specifically, the use of running interviews, before delving into the theoretical framework that shaped the study. Next, the researcher's epistemological position and *habitus* are presented, followed by discussion on how the latter shaped the approach to emotion in this study and, consequently, the rapport with participants. Finally, important considerations for using running interviews are highlighted, including reflection on the advantages and disadvantages of this approach to data collection.

7.1 Mobile Methods

While the social sciences have long been concerned with the movements of people (Adey 2017; Pink et al., 2010), as technological advances have accelerated the movement of persons, products, and ideas throughout the world (Sheller and Urry 2006), questions of mobility have received increased attention across disciplinary lines (Cresswell 2011). Innovative methods have thus emerged with the aim of gaining insight into macro and micro mobilities, including the mundane and sensate experiences of people's everyday movements (Adey 2017).

In recent years, researchers have embraced the use of mobile interviews by walking (Bartlett et al., 2023), wheeling by chair (Parent 2016), and cycling (Steinmann and Wilson, 2022) alongside their participants to explore a wide range of questions related to how people move about and engage with the world. These methods have been applied to examine issues of community health (Carpiano 2009), power dynamics (Bartlett et al., 2023), and the use of bicycles by marginalized populations (Steinmann and Wilson 2022). Running interviews have been used to explore the organization of urban marathons (Larsen 2022), the emergence of 'charity thons' (Palmer 2016), experiences of exercise addiction (Moreau et al., 2023), self-tracking amongst female runners (Esmonde 2020), and questions relating to public space (Cook et al., 2016).

Although the mobilities turn has brought with it new questions and methods of investigation, some researchers caution that the enthusiasm for innovation risks becoming an imperative that disavows the use of traditional methods (Merriman 2014). The decision to employ mobile methods in this study was made in accordance with: 1) the carnal sociological framework; and 2) the research question. The mobile nature of the interviews and the context in which they were conducted were reflective of participants' processes of change within their recovery from substance use disorders.

7.1.1 Running Interviews

While the use of mobile methodologies like walking interviews has become sufficiently common to allow for the development of different approaches (Bartlett et al., 2023), comparable methodological examination of running interviews appears to be limited (Allen-Collinson 2006). For able-bodied people, the act of walking is an activity upon which others are contingent; people walk for any number of reasons as part of their everyday lives (Pink et al., 2010). Runners, on the other hand, do so to engage in the movement itself, whether it be to satisfy competitive, health, or experiential impulses (Cook et al., 2016). The reasons people run and the places in which they choose to do so are therefore distinct; thus, the specificity of running interviews merits examination.

There is great variability in how and where people choose to run (Gross 2021). While ostensibly the biomechanics of running on a treadmill versus a mountain trail are similar, these manifest in different mind-body-environment engagements and interconnections, which are part of the activity itself (Pink 2011). Treadmills, initially designed as a form of corporeal punishment (Reid 2012), withhold the sensate pleasures that make for meditative and memorable

runs (Imamichi 2023) instead proposing runs that are nearly indistinguishable from one another (Reid 2012).

Moving through an environment offers an alternative way of relating to it (Pink et al., 2010). The static nature of the treadmill's constrained mobility is in opposition to an engagement with paths themselves, or what Ingold (2022) refers to as wayfaring. In this perspective, life does not happen in places but rather on the routes that lead to and from them (p.33), which are entwined within us (Seamon 2018, p. 44). Mobile methods thus allow the researcher to join with their participants in these entangled places charged with meaning, making interviews themselves experiential engagements with a storied path (Pink 2008).

There are epistemological, methodological, theoretical, and ethical considerations stemming from the location of research interviews (Gagnon, Jacob & McCabe, 2015). In this study, interviews were conducted along the paths participants habitually ran, supporting the researcher's entangled discovery of routes the former knew well enough to have mastered. These routes had been learned by heart, and over time, much of their stimulus had faded from conscious awareness (Seamon 2018). Adopting a docent approach to these running interviews (Esmonde 2020) thus offered a structure that brought the ordinary to the forefront (Chang 2017), highlighting the intimate embodied knowledge within participants' processes of change.

7.2 Theoretical Framework: Carnal Sociology

The deeply entrenched mind-body divide in Western culture has materialized in the conceptualization of individuals as *having* rather than *being* bodies (Hayles 1999). For Merleau-Ponty (1945), however, we are our bodies. This perspective considers the sum of one's experiences to be embodied within, shaping who we are, how we exist in the world, how we relate to it, and how we relate to others. Wacquant (2015) builds upon this conceptualization, proposing a sociology

stemming *from* the body rather than positioning it as an object of study. This was a departure from a sociology of the body that traditionally concerned itself with what was done to the body rather than what the body does (Crossley 1995, p.43). Like Merleau-Ponty (1945), Wacquant's theory of cognition challenges the mind-body divide, situating knowledge within and extending out of a body that engages with the world through social and cultural practices that inform its understanding. Thus, carnal sociology advocates an embodied and embedded approach to research as a means of accessing the wisdom of the flesh and blood.

While Wacquant's (2014) sociology draws on the subjectivity of the body, it does so without losing sight of the social forces embodied within. Incidentally, some argue that Wacquant's work does not hold up to the standards that he himself set for carnal sociology, noting an erasure of the work of feminist epistemologies (Pitts-Taylor 2015) and a neglect of structural inequality (Duneier 2006). At any rate, over the course of the three-year ethnographic study that shaped his theory, Wacquant (2010) engaged with the sensate, social world of a Chicago neighbourhood boxing gym by committing to pugilistic training, all the while experimenting with the application of the Bourdiesien concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) as a carnal methodological tool. Wacquant's (2010) interest in boxing had initially been secondary to his interest in gaining a micro-level perspective on the broader social forces he was studying. He came to recognize that he could gain insight into the relationships between the individual and society through the concept of *habitus*, and that this may also serve as a means through which embodied knowledge can be externalized, objectivized, and examined (Wacquant 2010). The *habitus* is thus implicit within carnal sociology and serves a dual role as both the object and the means of study (Wacquant 2015).

Habitus is an embodied relational concept, derived from phenomenological, structuralist, and constructivist influences, that acknowledges at once the subjective formation of the

individual through their continuous experiences of the world within an objectively shared social reality (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Social conditions are internalized and reinforced through their expression, creating a frame within which the individual exists and engages with the world (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Carnal sociology fuses theory and method to the extent that it can be difficult to differentiate one from the other (Wacquant 2010). Accordingly, Wacquant (2010; 2015) has championed the use of ethnography with carnal sociological theory while discouraging the adoption of other methodological approaches (Quidu 2022). Research, however, is by definition about discovery, making methodological developments an integral part of ontological and epistemological novelty (Quidu 2022). Thus, while the use of mobile interviews in this study may be a somewhat contentious choice, some assert this method constitutes a form of rapid ethnography, allowing for a hybrid of participant observation with interviews (Carpiano 2009). In this study, mobile interviews retained the embodied and embedded qualities of the social actors that Wacquant (2015) argued were crucial to the methodological choices consistent with his theory. Moreover, Pink (2011 p. 346) notes limitations to Wacquant's thinking as to the placement and entanglement of bodies within the world. Incidentally, conducting research within the confines of a boxing gym located in a densely populated, ethnically homogenous American neighbourhood may lend itself to examination through different means than that of the fluid, open-air, maleable, diffuse running community.

7.2.1 Six S Properties

In this study, Wacquant's (2015) seemingly seldom explored 'Six S' properties acted as a means of attending to specific aspects of carnal knowledge, serving as a framework for the interview guide. These allowed for attention to: *1) the situated nature of the run; 2) how running skills*

evolved over time; 3) how *sentient* experiences, stemming at times from niggles within the body or from the sights and sounds of the route; 4) how *suffering* manifested within substance use and within running; the engagement with 4) *symbolic* systems through associations with training, races, and goals; and; 6) the *sedimented* nature of these elements, building upon each other over time, allowing for an examination of running across participants' lifetimes. This focus on the Six Ss required me to retain six themes to touch upon during the semi-structured interview, which was helpful since it would have been impractical to consult a list of questions while on the move. These Six Ss also served as conceptual categories for an analysis that ultimately combined both deductive and inductive qualities, which developed in relation to the data rather than as a simplistic categorization (Paillé and Mucchielli 2016). Incidentally, while Moreau et al. (2023) also applied carnal sociological theory, this study was distinct in its application of the Six Ss.

7.3 Researcher Position and Habitus

In carnal sociology, the researcher mobilizes their own habitus as an analytical tool for the examination of the reciprocal constructive processes between the individual's embodied subjectivity and the observable social conditions of the everyday world (Wacquant 2010). The researcher's *habitus* is inextricably part of the study. As such, it is relevant to introduce the *habitus* that engaged in this embodied investigation. In accordance with the position of the researcher within carnal sociology, I have chosen to adopt a first-person perspective throughout this article.

This research is influenced by my critical and constructivist position, as well as my personal and professional experiences. The dispositions of my *habitus* are shaped in relation to the sum of my subjective experiences and of my social circumstances over the course of my lifetime (Wacquant 2010). It is informed by my experiences as an able-bodied, cisgendered

woman of middle-class background and as a white descendent of European settlers on the Indigenous lands known as Canada. The life I live and the body I inhabit have also been shaped, amongst countless other factors, by a primary socialisation through sport in childhood (Darmon 2016). It is unlikely that I would have conceived of this project if not for the omnipresence of movement in my early life.

The vulnerable implication of my *habitus* as a methodological tool in this study influenced my engagement with participants and informed my insight into the experiences they shared. While this study about processes of change unfolded alongside a charged period of transition in my own life, my emotional experience will not be explored here. Instead, I want to convey how this engagement was supported by a curiosity and embodied openness.

7.3.1 Emotion in Fieldwork

Emotion is part of all human experience. In Western culture, however, emotion has long been positioned in opposition to reason. Emotions are regarded as illogical and unpredictable, qualities from which many research traditions distance themselves, while others struggle with how to account for them without compromising credibility (Contreras 2015). Even within fields of practice involving emotion, many practitioners are reluctant, even fearful, to engage with the feelings that arise within themselves and those they accompany (Keesman and Weenink 2020). While there has been some attention to the emotional self-care strategies of researchers (Vincett 2018) and discussion about the insight gleaned through attention to emotions in the field (Rosales and Babri 2023), there is a need for more attention to the place of emotion within research (Rosales and Babri 2023; Vincett 2018).

Although the objectives of psychosocial intervention and research diverge, the ability to develop a rapport, tackle sensitive subjects, attend to, and differentiate between one's own and

others' emotional experiences is crucial to both contexts (Andersen and Ivarsson 2016; Davison 2006). These reflexive exercises are influenced by the professional virtues intrinsic to my practice (Aadam et al., 2024) as a social worker, which have been influenced by traditions that carefully attend to practices of listening (Kernberg 2004) and the dynamics at play in therapeutic encounters (Freud 1914; Rogers 1967). Just as the effective use of any research method requires specific knowledge and skillsets, so too does listening (Aadam et al., 2024) and the investigation of emotion (Andersen and Ivarsson 2016; Rosales and Babri 2023).

Since emotions are both physiological and cognitive experiences (Rosales and Babri 2023), they cannot be uncritically detached from investigation (Davison 2006), particularly in the context of an embodied study. While we have a tendency to think of emotions as individual experiences, some point to their social nature, arising within interactions and relationships (Tamminen and Bennett 2017). In research situations, this compels investigators to grapple not only with how to navigate the emotions of their participants but also with how to hold their own (Andersen and Ivarsson, 2016). I believe that I ultimately collected stronger data because of the position of affective openness I adopted (Davison 2006), supported by practices of embodied empathy (van Rhyn et al., 2021).

For Merleau-Ponty (1945) our present experience of the world is the culmination of all the moments that we have lived. As such, it is ontologically impossible to adopt another's perspective (van Rhyn et al., 2021); we are inescapably ourselves. While this challenges common notions of empathy in practice and research (van Rhyn et al., 2021), it also points out the researcher's and participants' bodily boundaries as containers of their own experiences. By attuning to their bodies, researchers can be reminded of their separateness, allowing for a deeper connection with the experience of the other (Andersen and Ivarsson 2016; van Rhyn et al., 2021),

while an awareness of similarities makes it possible to ask questions that may otherwise have escaped us (Contreras 2015). Thus, the subjectively distinct physiological experiences between myself and the participants provided a framework that was reinforced by similarities and differences in stride, posture, and breath over the course of the run, which incidentally are also part of the intersubjective process of running together (Allen Collinson 2006).

7.4 Rapport with Participants

Since most running interviews are conducted by researchers who run, a shared experience of and engagement with the running world constitutes a characteristic particular to this methodology. As a researcher, I shared in the broad social realm of participants, and through running interviews, we gained further insight into our mutual engagement with the community. Knowing that we were training for the same races and preparing to line up at the starting line with our own clubs contributed to a feeling of camaraderie (Esmonde 2020; Moreau et al., 2023) that supported the establishment of a rapport, often materializing in high fives at the end of the interview.

While the objective of any interview is to collect data, the intercorporeal demands of running together require a mutual attentiveness (Allen-Collinson et al., 2024) that shapes the relationship. *“How are your legs feeling?”* Isaac inquired, following up on my earlier disclosure that my calves had been so tight the previous day that I had trouble walking, and I was unsure if I could make it through the run as planned.

The power dynamics and vulnerable charge of research interviews (Ezzy 2010) are challenged by the intricate task of establishing a pace together, listening to each other’s breath, and adjusting to differences in gait. I was continuously and unambiguously revealing something about myself and my investment in the embodied exchange that was our interview (Ezzy 2010).

These continuous “emanations of the self” (Goffman 1986 p.570), communications from one body to another (Andrieu and Burel 2014) shape the co-constructive encounter.

In traditional research interviews, we would have sat facing each other, allowing for the establishment of intimacy through body language and eye contact. Instead, the rapport was built by moving through the world together. Eye contact was limited as we ran side by side, in a sense, allowing us to be alone in the presence of another (Winnicott 1975). Without the distraction of eye contact impeding the ability to delve into one’s own mind (Önen Ünsalver et al., 2021), we may have been more available to our internal experiences.

7.5 Recruitment

This study was approved by the research ethics board at the University of Ottawa. Interviews took place between September 2022 and March 2023, involving 22 running interviews with 11¹¹ research participants. Purposive sampling methods were applied to recruit through running and triathlon Facebook groups in the area. Interested individuals (n=16) contacted me by email or by Facebook messenger, and those living within a maximum two-hour commute were provided with the consent form (n=14). Participants shared the social media post, consistent with a snowball sampling method. I contacted one participant directly after she appeared in the media. Two people were excluded due to geographic distance, while three others declined to participate. One interested person had recently experienced a relapse and their involvement at the time of contact was discouraged on ethical grounds. They were encouraged to seek support in their community and to reach out in the future if they were still interested in participating. 11 participants accepted to contribute to the study, which consisted of two semi-structured running interviews, usually conducted a few weeks apart. Some participants chose to

¹¹ As will be later discussed, technical issues and geographic conditions resulted in some loss of audio data. There was, however, at least partial data for all 11 participants.

be identified by their own names in the research reports, while others requested an alias, which are identified with an asterix*.

7.6 Considerations for Running Interviews

7.6.1 Interview Structure

Docent walking interviews stem from ethnographic traditions but focus on the relationships between the participant, the researcher, and the environment (Chang 2017). They adopt a multi-interview format, beginning with a seated warm-up discussion regarding participant background and route choice, a second interview unfolding while walking along that same route, and a final seated wind-down meeting at a location in the community (Chang 2017).

Unlike Esmonde (2020), who also adopted a two-interview docent approach to running interviews, in this study, both interviews were conducted while running. Once informed consent was obtained, I invited participants to take me along on one of their usual running routes. Interviews lasted approximately one hour, at a pace set by participants and consistent with a low-intensity ‘easy run’, widely understood to be measured by one’s ability to speak (Toner et al., 2023). Participants were reminded that they were free to adjust as needed, whether that meant taking breaks, walking, or stopping. Participants (n=2) who were injured or easing back into running chose to walk.

For each participant, I listened to their first interview the evening before conducting their second, noting themes that were less developed than others. Most often, the first interview provided contextual information about their trajectory, while sentient experiences were less present. The second interview provided the opportunity for deeper exploration of the body and of the environment, which was perhaps also more comfortable due to the previously established rapport.

7.6.2 *Data*

While some mobility interviews have explored embodied and spatial experiences of ableism (Parent 2016) and aging (Bartlett et al., 2023), the use of running interviews is perhaps best suited to running-related questions. After all, running is not an instrumental activity of daily life but a particular engagement with oneself and the world (Hockey and Allen-Collinson 2016). In this study, the choice to engage participants in interviews while running was appropriate for the question under investigation. However, the level of fitness required imposes limitations on its use and may even have discouraged some from participating.

There are pros and cons to collecting data in a state of physical exertion. Distinctive mind-body engagements may be more readily accessed while the body is moving, immersed in the world, and taking it in (Andrieu 2013). However, in a running interview, the verbalization of these subtleties is complicated not only by the cognitive lag between the unconscious bodily experiences and those of the consciously lived body (Da Nobrega et al., 2017), but also by the added demand of articulating them under exertion. Although participants expressed appreciation for the running interviews, some stated (n=2) that they may think better and be better able to articulate themselves if we were walking. In both cases, this was voiced towards the end of the interview, and while it may have been related to fatigue, I wondered if they had experienced pressure to perform during the run (Lev 2021) and had thus been reluctant to slow down.

Inevitably, my embodied experience of the interviews was consistent with the day-to-day variations of a running practice. Some days, my body seemed to disappear, while on others, its internal rhythms drew more attention than usual, compelling a more active negotiation to push them from the forefront of my mind (Lev 2021). Most often, these faded away as I warmed up.

At times, this engagement with my *habitus* triggered reflection as to the roots of my discomfort, fueling questions as to participants' processes of transition from an existence shaped by the volatility of addiction towards one embodying the delicate balance of a runner's lifestyle. My fieldnotes reveal disrupted sleep and irregular eating habits which did not create "*the best conditions for a run*" (field notes, January 2023). My interview with Emily* challenged me to think about this disorganization:

I'm just throwing out ideas for you, between running and fueling... because that's a thing I see in my athletes, and I went through myself when I first got sober... I see it almost in this low-burner role in so many runners.

Thus, while some interviews were physically more demanding than others, the vulnerable implications of my *habitus* supported a deeper analysis of the research question, feeding my analysis of non-linear healing processes. "*Eating requires stopping and I don't often stop...*" (field notes, October 2022).

7.6.3 Care For The Runner-Research Habitus

Given the demands of this type of data collection, I consider collaboration with bodyworkers and psychotherapists to be an important part of the research, though I recognize that access to these resources is reflective of social and economic capital, which may not be feasible in all studies. As mileage increases, injuries happen; hinging research on the well-being of the body is risky to begin with, even more so without the proper supports.

By the time data collection began, I had been running an average of five days a week for a year and a half. All of my running to that point had been solo, which was consistent with the solitary nature of my personal process. In the interest of safeguarding the project from the pitfalls of injury (Cook 2020), I joined a competitive running club and participated in the weekly group workouts. I trained alone and with others, under the guidance of a coach who supported me in

achieving my research goals in a way that paralleled my teammates' training for races. The nature of this study imposed an obligation to train, which had begun to alter my enjoyment and motivation for running (Rossing and Scott 2016). Thus, the goals established with my coach focused on maintaining the pleasure I found in it while keeping me fit and injury-free. These measures were successful in supporting me throughout the data collection and, ultimately, allowed me to comfortably adjust my pace to that of each participant. On the advice of my coach, I built a small network of professionals around me, including massage and physiotherapists, to problem-solve issues as they arose. Their punctual analysis provided insight into my own *habitus*, deepening my understanding of the tool that I was mobilizing to gain insight into others' experiences.

Throughout this study, I kept voice note recordings as field notes and as a journal, which helped me process and document these experiences. Like many mental health professionals (Orlinsky et al., 2011) and, to a lesser extent, researchers (Andersen and Ivarsson 2016), I consider my own engagement in psychotherapy to be an ethical and professional obligation essential to my work in supporting others. In addition to the reflective field notes and journal, I also continued my own psychotherapeutic process, which supported my emotional awareness and analysis of what arose for me. Thus, preparation for this study entailed consideration of how to ensure that I had the physical and affective resources in place necessary to effectively conduct this investigation. Consequently, the use of running interviews may be limited those with the resources to access these professionals.

7.6.4 Safety

Runners contend with varying degrees and forms of gendered harassment as they navigate public spaces (Allen-Collinson 2023), which may influence the use of running

interviews. I have had experiences while running that have made me aware of my gender and my petite stature. In fact, a female participant and I were catcalled during our second interview together, an incident that slipped my mind until I later listened to the recording, realizing that we had continued our conversation without acknowledging it. Moments like these support the importance of acknowledging the feminist roots of embodied research traditions, namely those of carnal sociology, and attending to how gender creates and constructs different experiences of the world (Pitts-Taylor 2015). This speaks to the importance of mobile research methods as a way of gaining insight into what are normalized as mundane happenings of everyday life (Bartlett et al., 2023; Kusenbach 2003).

For many women, safety is top of mind in their circulation in public spaces (Allen-Collinson 2023). My arguably unwise stance is one of defiance. I am aware that I am taking risks, but I am unwilling to accept discourses that impose gendered limitations on my use of public spaces. Palmer (2016) and Esmonde (2020) limited their samples to female participants, the latter acknowledging this was due in part to safety-related concerns. Other running interviews seem to have been conducted primarily by male presenting researchers (Cook et al., 2016; Larsen 2022), and there has been little elaboration on this gendered consideration. In this study, although gendered experiences of addiction and traditional recovery supports were raised, little was related to running itself. I took what I considered to be reasonable precautions. I was careful to maintain confidentiality, though I informed someone of the general area where I was conducting the interview and when they could expect to hear from me afterwards. This loose framework may not be comfortable for all researchers. It is possible that the participants' choices of location were also influenced by considerations of this dynamic, though only one man expressly mentioned it. We had discussed beginning the second interview at his place of work in

a reputedly rough neighbourhood, though Zan decided to run elsewhere, explaining: *“It’s kind of the jungle. It’s not for everybody, perhaps not for tiny Ontario girls.”*

7.6.5 Weather & Seasons

Interviews were conducted between September 2022 and March 2023, spanning the fall-winter seasons, which is a quiet period in North American racing. It may be advantageous for researchers to consider the training cycles in their regions in relation to their data collection. As mileage increases closer to races, participants may have less flexibility to make time for a conversation-paced interview.

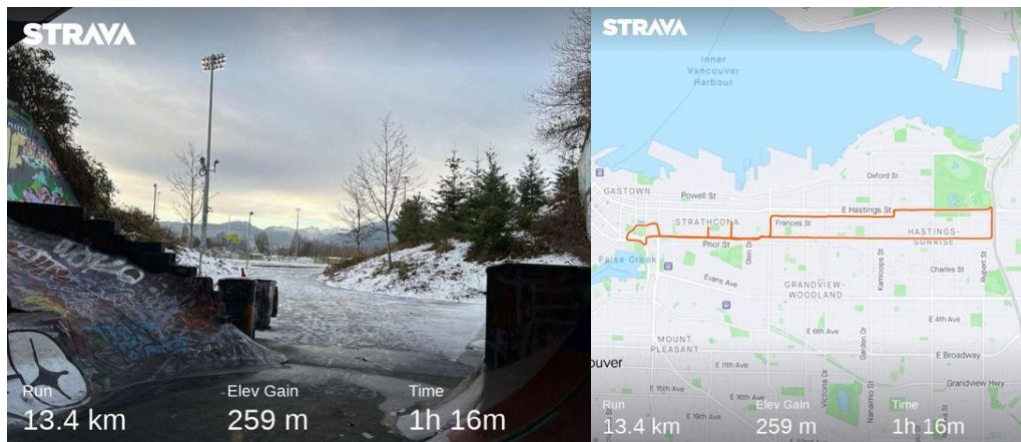
The use of mobile interviews made it possible to capture the ways in which weather shapes life (Carpiano 2009), running (Allen-Collinson et al., 2019), and the social negotiations that result from contending with the elements. Interviews on the cusp between summer and fall captured experiences of climate change as we breathed in the slowly fading haze from the nearby forest fires. I attended air quality advisories that, at times, discouraged exercise outdoors, and though no interviews were cancelled, these conditions shaped the relationship to the environment. *“I’m coughing a lot today,”* (field notes, October 2022), *“Hazy today. Mountains look muted because of the fires....”* (field notes, September 2022).

Winter interviews were often conducted under *‘drismal’* conditions, capturing the seemingly endless drizzle and the dismal, sustained darkness that permeates as a collective experience of the season in this part of the world (Vannini et al., 2012). While experiences of weather may have arisen in a traditional seated interview, they would not have culminated in a shared *sentient* experience of the “interconnectedness of mind-body-world” (Allen-Collinson et al., 2024, p. 473), which reinforced the rapport.

As we carefully navigated the slippery streets, Isaac and I discussed how it had turned out to be a beautiful day for a run, despite our shared hesitations as to whether or not it was feasible at all. *“Oh sorry! I realize I’m splashing you,”* he said, as we alternated between leaping over slushy puddles and tiptoeing over treacherous patches of ice.

Figure 8 & Figure 9

Skating and Splashing Through a Skatepark



Winter running interview in Vancouver, Canada

Variables like weather conditions influence when runners set out for their workouts and the intention with which they do so, making adjustments that provide valuable information on mind-body-world connections (Allen-Collinson et al., 2019). The sociology of weather is an under-researched area (Vannini et al., 2012), and there appears to be little exploration of these questions in relation to running (Allen-Collinson et al., 2019). It was not uncommon for the timing of interviews to be decided with a close eye on the forecast, highlighting the importance of flexibility in running research.

7.6.6 Technical

In many ways, the development of portable audiovisual recording equipment and smart watches that facilitate GPS tracking has freed researchers from traditional seated interviews, making mobile interviews possible. Studies employing running interviews have mobilized a range of technologies, from simple lapel microphones (Moreau et al., 2023), to GPS mapping (Cook et al., 2016) and GoPro audiovisual recordings (Cook et al., 2016; Palmer 2016), highlighting the novelty of this emerging field.

The use of technology shapes the conditions of the interview and, thus, must be carefully considered (Merriman 2014). In this study, decisions about the use of technology were informed by the research question and the embodied, embedded intent of carnal sociology. Many runners develop nuanced preferences to make their runs as comfortable as possible, so any added equipment may be experienced as cumbersome and may distract from the interviews (Cook 2020). While my focus on situated and sensate experiences may have justified the use of GoPros, I was concerned that the use of such methods may make me paradoxically less present in the ‘here and now’ of the interview (Merriman 2014). In qualitative research, the quality of the data collected is influenced by the rapport that is built, which is affected, among other variables, by the degree to which the contrived, artificial nature of an interview can be diminished (Kusenbach 2003). With this in mind, it seemed risky to bet one of the strengths of running interviews on technology; joining a participant for a run was as naturalistic as an interview could be for a runner.

Thus, in accordance with the embodied and embedded intent of this study, interviews were recorded with the use of lapel microphones, while my smartwatch captured GPS and other quantifiable data (i.e. distance, duration, and pace). These microphones were small, and it

seemed many forgot they were wearing them, as I often needed to ask for them back at the end of the run. However, the quality of the audio recordings was negatively impacted by weather conditions as well as issues of cellular connectivity in some mountainous and forested areas, which resulted in the loss of data. This was frustrating for me, and at times, I was distracted from interviews by concerns as to whether or not the recording was working. I pushed these thoughts away, reminding myself that it was even more important to retain the discussion in the event technology failed me. As a result, 17 of the 22 interviews were transcribed using secure transcription software.

Self-tracking practices have become ubiquitous within the running community and the decision to capture GPS data and other quantifiable details of the activity (ie. distance, pace, my heartrate, etc) arose from the field, as participants and I started our watches as we set out¹². These maps provided geographic context for the run, which was coherent with participants' reflections on a recovery process that situated them in relation to '*something greater than themselves*¹³'. Thus, this data provided a setting which augmented analysis of the *situatedness* of interviews (Evans and Jones 2011). The data also complemented my field notes, providing information for my own analysis of shifts in my *habitus*.

Although most participants had indicated on their consent forms that they accepted being photographed during the interviews, in practice, I was unwilling to break our rhythm by stopping for photos unless the participant themselves initiated a photo break (n=1). I was acutely aware that my interest in capturing a particular image stemmed from my own experience of a sensate moment, which, although shared, was experienced differently than that of the participant

¹² The Research Ethics Board was consulted about this modification and participants provided written consent as to the use of run data.

¹³ Reference to the 12-steps of Alcoholics Anonymous (2001).

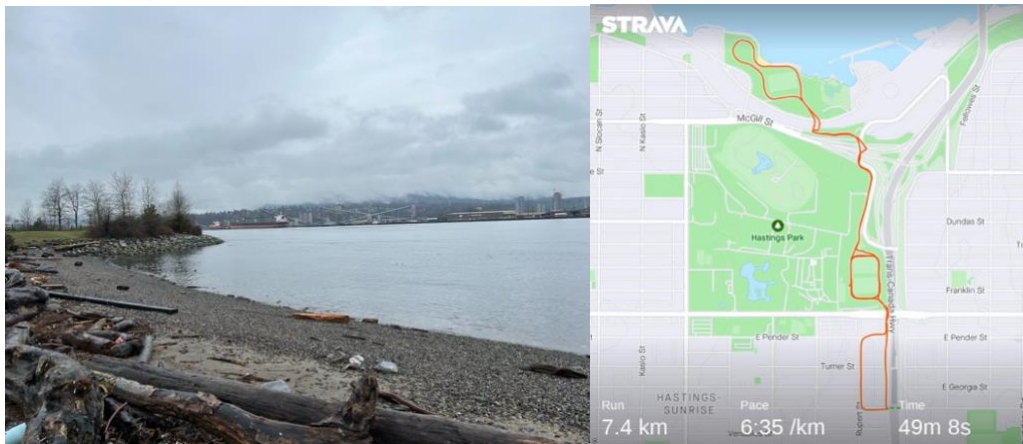
(Langmann and Pick 2014). Thus, my own initiation of photo pauses would have prioritized my subjective experience over the intersubjective encounter, thereby compromising the interview.

When Zan paused, however, during our second run to take a photo of his old neighbourhood, he brought me in on his history and his experience of the place.

It's a really special spot for me... I used to come here first thing in the morning, and the sunrise over there... I just need a picture for my Strava... Come out here in summertime... This is like barren East Van, but promise me you'll come out here for a run or I'll meet you for a run... The view is one of the reasons I wanted to meet here, because the view is just spectacular. But of course, we don't have it today.

Figure 10 & Figure 11

Zan's Special Spot

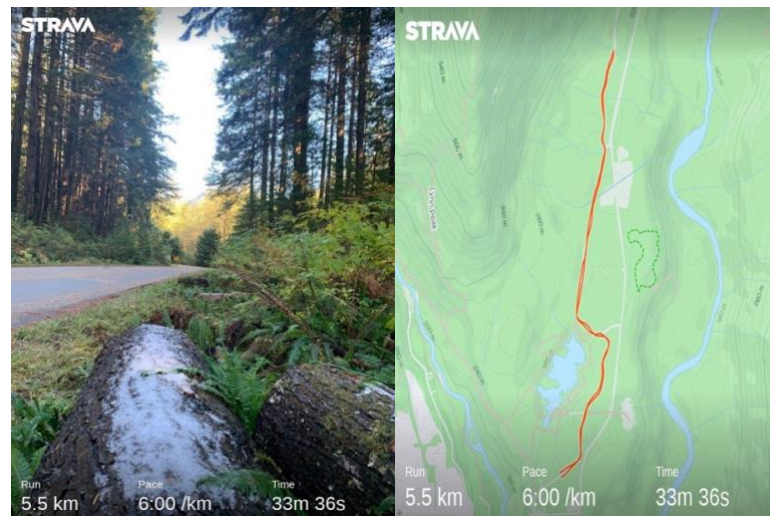


Running interview in Vancouver, Canada

On the other hand, as Connor and I ran side by side on a near-empty forest trail, he spoke about his awareness of the conditions that day, in light of the quiet presence of an injury:

The body has been a little beat up the last little bit... Definitely today, looking around, snow, frost, so you're always watching for icy sections, but nothing too bad. It's a beautiful day... You got good sun, it's cool, which makes it great for running. Definitely appreciative of where we live. You know, you can run outside in this pre-winter kind of wonderland, and there's not a million people.

Figure 12 & Figure 13

Pre-Winter Wonderland*Running interview in North Vancouver, Canada*

While Connor's injury was part of the experience of our run, it was not felt within my body. I made a note to capture the image later, but the snow and ice along the trail had all but disappeared by the time I captured them after the interview. My field notes are consistent with my sensory memory of these conditions, while the photo above evokes my personal connection to the location. *Seeing my breath, coolness of air on my face but also the warmth of the sun. A little chilly, snow, and frost on the sides of the path. Beautiful tall trees, we were basically alone."*

7.6.7 Confidentiality

Moreau et al. (2023) noted the challenges of encountering others from the community during interviews; this was not a problem in this study. It is likely that the expansive geographic area of the city where this study was conducted, paired with its proximity to nature, may have been protective in this regard. Most interviews were conducted in large spaces, such as parks, along the seawall, or in quiet residential areas. Negotiations as to the handling of the personal

subject matter seemed to unfold naturally, with brief moments of quiet when we encountered others.

7.7 Conclusion

Running interviews were used in this study as a methodological hybrid between participant observation and interviews (Kusenbach 2003), which retained the embodied and embedded characteristics that Wacquant (2015) considered indispensable to carnal sociology. Running alongside participants allowed me to step into the entangled places where their journeys as *situated, skilled, suffering, sentient, symbolic, and sedimented* beings unfold, briefly experiencing what it means to be there.

While running interviews share some characteristics with walking interviews, at first glance, what differentiates running from walking is the pace at which it unfolds. This faster rhythm, however, manifests in specific relationships to one's body, to others, and to space, the intricacies of which merit consideration. I would be hard pressed to find a better way to do so than by "*putting boots on the ground*" (Monique) to discover what prompts people to run and to do so in the ways that they do. In this study, the vulnerable implication of my runner's *habitus* promoted a flesh and blood engagement with processes of recovery, which ultimately enabled a deeper appreciation for the universal nature of human struggles with change.

Acknowledgements: The author wishes to acknowledge the guidance and support of running coach Kevin O'Connor (Vancouver Falcons Athletic Club), who kept her running throughout this research process. She also wishes to thank Nicolas Moreau for his involvement as a critical friend in the elaboration of this article.

Conflict of Interest Statement: The author has no conflicts of interest to declare.

7.8 References¹⁴

- Aadam, Bani, Abner Weng Cheong Poon, and Elizabeth Fernandez. 2024. "Listening in Mental Health Clinical Practice." *The British Journal of Social Work* 54 (1): 246–66. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcad193>.
- Adams, Peter. 2008. *Fragmented intimacy: Addiction in a social world*. New York: Springer.
- Adey, Peter. 2017. *Mobility*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Alexander, Bruce. 2008. *The Globalization of Addiction: A Study in Poverty of the Spirit*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Allen-Collinson, Jacquelyn. 2006. Running Together : Some Ethnomethodological Considerations. *Ethnographic Studies*, 8. 17-29. doi : 10.5281/zenodo.31422
- Allen-Collinson, Jacquelyn. 2023. "Pleasure and danger: a running-woman in 'public' space". *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 15(3): 382-396. doi: 10.1080/2159676X.2022.2111460
- Allen-Collinson, Jacquelyn, Dona L. Hall, and Patricia C. Jackman. 2024. "Intercorporeality in Visually Impaired Running-Together: Auditory Attunement and Somatic Empathy." *The Sociological Review* 72 (1): 175–93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261231163431>.
- Allen-Collinson, Jacquelyn, George Jennings, Anu Vaittinen, and Helen Owton. 2019. "Weather-Wise? Sporting Embodiment, Weather Work and Weather Learning in Running and Triathlon." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 54 (7): 777–92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690218761985>.
- Andersen, Mark B., and Andreas Ivarsson. 2016. "A Methodology of Loving Kindness: How Interpersonal Neurobiology, Compassion and Transference Can Inform Researcher–Participant Encounters and Storytelling." *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 8 (1): 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2015.1056827>.
- Andrieu, Bernard. 2013. "Le corps en première personne: une écologie pré-motrice." *Movement & Sports Sciences*, 81, 1-3. doi : 10.1051/sm/2013061
- Andrieu, Bernard, and Nicolas Burel. 2014. "La communication directe du corps vivant. Une émergence en première personne." *Hermès* n° 68 (1): 46. <https://doi.org/10.3917/herm.068.0046>.

¹⁴ This reference list reflects the requirements of the journal to which it was submitted, thus adopting a different format than the others within this dissertation.

- Bartlett, Ruth, Ana Koncul, Inger Marie Lid, Elizabeth Onyedikachi George, and Ingebjørg Haugen. 2023. "Using Walking / Go Along Interviews With People in Vulnerable Situations: A Synthesized Review of the Research Literature." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 22 (January):16094069231164606. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231164606>.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. University of Chicago Press.
- Carpiano, Richard M. 2009. "Come Take a Walk with Me: The 'Go-Along' Interview as a Novel Method for Studying the Implications of Place for Health and Well-Being." *Health & Place* 15 (1): 263–72. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2008.05.003>.
- Chang, Jamie Suki. 2017. "The Docent Method: A Grounded Theory Approach for Researching Place and Health." *Qualitative Health Research* 27 (4): 609–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732316667055>.
- Colledge, Flora, Serge Brand, Uwe Pühse, Edith Holsboer-Trachsler, and Markus Gerber. 2018. "In Inpatient Substance Use Disorder Treatment in Switzerland, Exercise Programmes Are Implemented but Not Evaluated – A Missed Opportunity for Improving Treatment." *Mental Health and Physical Activity* 15 (October):7–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mhpa.2018.05.001>.
- Contreras, Randol. 2015. "The Need for More 'Carnal.'" *Qualitative Sociology* 38 (1): 27–31. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-014-9299-3>.
- Cook, Simon. 2020. "Researching the Run: Methods for Exploring Mundane Jographies." In *Mundane Methods*, edited by Helen Holmes and Sarah Marie Hall. Manchester University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526152732.00020>.
- Cook, Simon, Jon Shaw, and Paul Simpson. 2016. "Jography: Exploring Meanings, Experiences and Spatialities of Recreational Road-Running." *Mobilities* 11 (5): 744–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2015.1034455>.
- Cresswell, Tim. 2011. "Mobilities I: Catching Up." *Progress in Human Geography* 35 (4): 550–58. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510383348>.
- Crossley, N. 1995. Merleau-Ponty, the Elusive Body and Carnal Sociology. *Body & Society*, 1(1), 43-63. <https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.1177/1357034X95001001004>
- Da Nobrega, Terezinha Petrucia, Mary Schirrer, Alexandre Legendre, and Bernard Andrieu. 2017. "Sentir le vivant de son corps : trois degrés d'éveil de la conscience." *Staps* 117–118 (3–4): 39–57. <https://doi.org/10.3917/sta.117.0039>.
- Darmon, M. 2016. *La socialisation* (3e ed.). Armand Collin.

- Davison, Judy. 2006. "Dilemmas in Research: Issues of Vulnerability and Disempowerment for the Social Worker/Researcher." *Journal of Social Work Practice* 18 (3): 379–93. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1080/0265053042000314447>.
- Dennis, Fay. 2016. "Encountering 'Triggers': Drug–Body–World Entanglements of Injecting Drug Use." *Contemporary Drug Problems* 43 (2): 126–41. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091450916636379>.
- Duneier, Mitchell. 2006. "Garder sa tête sur le ring ?: Sur la négligence théorique et autres écueils de l'ethnographie." *Revue française de sociologie* Vol. 47 (1): 143–57. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rfs.471.0143>.
- Esmonde, Katelyn. 2020. "'There's Only so Much Data You Can Handle in Your Life': Accommodating and Resisting Self-Surveillance in Women's Running and Fitness Tracking Practices." *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 12 (1): 76–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1617188>.
- Evans, James and Phil Jones. 2011. "The Walking Interview: Methodology, Mobility and Place." *Applied Geography* 31 (2): 849–58. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2010.09.005>.
- Ezzy, Douglas. 2010. "Qualitative Interviewing as an Embodied Emotional Performance." *Qualitative Inquiry* 16 (3): 163–70. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800409351970>.
- Foreman-Mackey, Annie, Jessica Xavier, Jenny Corser, Mathew Fleury, Kurt Lock, Amiti Mehta, Jessica Lamb, Jenny McDougall, Cheri Newman, and Jane A. Buxton. 2023. "'It's Just a Perfect Storm': Exploring the Consequences of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Overdose Risk in British Columbia from the Perspectives of People Who Use Substances." *BMC Public Health* 23 (1): 640. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-023-15474-5>.
- Fraser, Suzanne, Kiran Pienaar, Ella Dilkes-Frayne, David Moore, Renata Kokanovic, Carla Treloar, and Adrian Dunlop. 2017. "Addiction Stigma and the Biopolitics of Liberal Modernity: A Qualitative Analysis." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 44 (June): 192–201. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2017.02.005>.
- Freud, Sigmund. 1914/2004. "Remémoration, répétition et perlaboration." *Libres cahiers pour la psychanalyse* 9 (1): 13. <https://doi.org/10.3917/lcpp.009.0013>.
- Gagnon Marilou, Jacob Jean Daniel and Janet McCabe. 2015. "Locating the qualitative interview: reflecting on space and place in nursing research." *Journal of Research in Nursing* 20(3):203-215. doi:10.1177/1744987114536571
- Goffman, Erving. 1986. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Northeastern University Press.

- Gross, Toomas. 2021. "Bodies as Arenas of Experimentation: Experiencing Novel Ways of Running." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 50 (4): 524–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241621996789>.
- Hayles, N. 1999. *How We Became Posthuman*. University of Chicago Press.
- Hockey, John, and Jacquelyn Allen-Collinson. 2016. "Digging in: The Sociological Phenomenology of 'Doing Endurance' in Distance-Running." In *Endurance Running*. Routledge.
- Imamichi, Tomoaki D. 2023. "Thoughts on a Treadmill." *Human Arenas*, February. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42087-022-00319-1>.
- Ingold, Tim. 2022. "Chapter 2 Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge." In *Boundless Worlds*, edited by Peter Wynn Kirby, 29–44. Berghan Books. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781782382157-003>.
- Keesman, Laura D, and Don Weenink. 2020. "Bodies and Emotions in Tense and Threatening Situations." *Journal of Social Work* 20 (2): 173–92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468017318795726>.
- Kernberg, Otto F. 2004. *Contemporary Controversies in Psychoanalytic Theory, Techniques, and Their Applications*. Yale University Press. <https://doi.org/10.12987/yale/9780300101393.001.0001>.
- Kusenbach, Margarethe. 2003. "Street Phenomenology: The Go-Along as Ethnographic Research Tool." *Ethnography* 4 (3): 455–85. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146613810343007>.
- Langmann, Sten, and David Pick. 2014. "Dignity and Ethics in Research Photography." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 17 (6): 709–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2013.825473>.
- Larsen, J. 2022. *Urban Marathons : Rhythms, Places, Mobilities*. Routledge.
- Lev, Assaf. 2021. "Distance Runners in a Dys-Appearance State – Reconceptualizing the Perception of Pain and Suffering in Times of Bodily Distress." *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 13 (3): 473–87. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2020.1734647>.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 1945. *Phénoménologie de La Perception*. Gallimard.
- Merriman, Peter. 2014. "Rethinking Mobile Methods." *Mobilities* 9 (2): 167–87. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.784540>.
- Moreau, Nicolas, Emmanuelle Larocque, Annie Jaimes, Florence Vinit, Matthieu Quidu, and Brice Favier-Ambrosini. 2023. "Embodying or Resisting Social Normativity? A Carnal

- Inquiry into Exercise Addiction Experiences.” *Social Science & Medicine* 327 (June):115948. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2023.115948>.
- Nordheim, Kristoffer, Espen Walderhaug, Ståle Alstadius, Ann Kern-Godal, Espen Arnevik, and Fanny Duckert. 2018. “Young Adults’ Reasons for Dropout from Residential Substance Use Disorder Treatment.” *Qualitative Social Work* 17 (1): 24–40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325016654559>.
- Önen Ünsalver, Barış, Alper Evrensel, Fatma Duygu Kaya Yertutanol, Aslihan Dönmez, and Mehmet Emin Ceylan. 2021. “The Changeable Positioning of the Couch and Repositioning to Face-to-Face Arrangement in Psychoanalysis to Facilitate the Experience of Being Seen.” *Frontiers in Psychology* 12 (November):718319. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.718319>.
- Orlinsky, David E., Margot J. Schofield, Thomas Schroder, and Nikolaos Kazantzis. 2011. “Utilization of Personal Therapy by Psychotherapists: A Practice-friendly Review and a New Study.” *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 67 (8): 828–42. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.20821>.
- Paillé, Pierre and Alex Mucchielli. 2010. *L'analyse qualitative en sciences humaines et sociales*. Armand Colin.
- Palmer, Catherine. 2016. “Research on the Run: Moving Methods and the Charity ‘Thon.’” *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 8 (3): 225–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2015.1129641>.
- Parent, Laurence. 2016. “The Wheeling Interview: Mobile Methods and Disability.” *Mobilities* 11 (4): 521–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2016.1211820>.
- Pink, Sarah. 2008. “An Urban Tour: The Sensory Sociality of Ethnographic Place-Making.” *Ethnography* 9 (2): 175–96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138108089467>.
- . 2011. “From Embodiment to Emplacement: Re-Thinking Competing Bodies, Senses and Spatialities.” *Sport, Education and Society* 16 (3): 343–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2011.565965>.
- Pink, Sarah, Phil Hubbard, Maggie O’Neill, and Alan Radley. 2010. “Walking across Disciplines: From Ethnography to Arts Practice.” *Visual Studies* 25 (1): 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725861003606670>.
- Pitts-Taylor, Victoria. 2015. “A Feminist Carnal Sociology?: Embodiment in Sociology, Feminism, and Naturalized Philosophy.” *Qualitative Sociology* 38 (1): 19–25. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-014-9298-4>.

- Quidu, Matthieu. 2022. "La Participation Observante de Loïc Wacquant Comme Nouvelle Doxa Méthodologique Dans Les Recherches En Sciences Sociales Sur Les Sports de Combat? Arguments Pour La Réhabilitation d'un Pluralisme Réflexif et Critique." *Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure* 45 (2): 218–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07053436.2022.2091714>.
- Reid, Vybarr Cregan. 2012. "Running Wilde: Landscape, the Body, and the History of the Treadmill." *Critical Survey* 24 (3). <https://doi.org/10.3167/cs.2012.240304>.
- Rogers, Carl. 1940/1992. "The Process of Therapy." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 60(2), 163-164.
- Rosales, Virginia, and Maira Babri. 2023. "Harnessing Emotions for Embodied Reflexivity in Organizational Ethnography." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 22 (January):16094069231196460. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231196460>.
- Rossing, Hilde, and Susie Scott. 2016. "Taking the Fun out of It: The Spoiling Effects of Researching Something You Love." *Qualitative Research* 16 (6): 615–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794115622561>.
- Seamon, David. 2018. "Merleau-Ponty, Lived Body, and Place: Toward a Phenomenology of Human Situatedness." In *Situatedness and Place*, edited by Thomas Hünefeldt and Annika Schlitte, 95:41–66. Contributions To Phenomenology. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92937-8_4.
- Sheller, Mimi, and John Urry. 2006. "The New Mobilities Paradigm." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 38 (2): 207–26. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a37268>.
- Steinmann, Jeanette, and Brian Wilson. 2022. "Different Spokes for Different Folks: Experiences with Cycling and the Bicycle from the Perspective of Variably-Housed Cyclists in Vancouver." *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 0 (0): 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2021.2019099>.
- Tamminen, Katherine A., and Erica V. Bennett. 2017. "No Emotion Is an Island: An Overview of Theoretical Perspectives and Narrative Research on Emotions in Sport and Physical Activity." *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health* 9 (2): 183–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2016.1254109>.
- Vannini, Phillip, Dennis Waskul, Simon Gottschalk, and Toby Newstead. 2012. "Making Sense of the Weather Dwelling and Weathering on Canada's Rain Coast." *Space and Culture* 15 (November):361–80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331211412269>.
- van Rhyn, Alex Barwick, and Michelle Donnelly. 2021. "Embodiment as an Instrument for Empathy in Social Work." *Australian Social Work* 74 (2): 146–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2020.1839112>.

- Vincett, Joanne. 2018. "Researcher Self-Care in Organizational Ethnography: Lessons from Overcoming Compassion Fatigue." *Journal of Organizational Ethnography* 7 (1): 44–58. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JOE-09-2017-0041>.
- Wacquant, Loïc. 2010. "L'habitus comme objet et méthode d'investigation: Retour sur la fabrique du boxeur." *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 184 (4): 108. <https://doi.org/10.3917/arss.184.0108>.
- . 2014. "Homines in Extremis: What Fighting Scholars Teach Us about Habitus." *Body & Society* 20 (2): 3–17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X13501348>.
- . 2015. "For a Sociology of Flesh and Blood." *Qualitative Sociology* 38:1–11. <https://doi.org/DOI 10.1007/s11133-014-9291-y>.
- Winnicott, Donald. 1975. *Jeu et réalité* (Monod, C. & Pontalis, J-B., Trans.) Gallimard

Chapter 8: Methodology

The article in the previous chapter sought to elucidate how the researcher and participants' moving bodies engaged together in the very activity they experienced as healing. While a mobile methodological approach was, I argued, an appropriate and coherent application of Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociology, this had not been the study's initial design. This research was shaped by the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the adjustments prompted by the public health restrictions allowed for the investigation of different aspects of the recovery experience.

What follows is intended as support for the article found in Chapter 7. It begins with a brief discussion about the context that prompted the methodological shift, what this reveals about addiction resources at that moment, and the implications for this study. It continues with a discussion on the use of my *habitus* as a research tool, a subject that will continue to be explored in the following chapters.

Details on the population and the recruitment process were addressed in the methodological article (Chapter 7), as well as in the presentation of results (Chapter 9), though some detail is provided here on data collection to provide context for the section on data analysis. The deductive-inductive analysis through conceptual categories is presented, along with an elaboration of the six analytical categories stemming from Wacquant's (2015) Six S properties that evolved from this process.

8.1 Methodological Shift From Immersive Ethnography to Mobile Interviews

Twenty years ago, a social worker at a recovery centre in New York City started a running group based on an intuitive appreciation for its potential advantages to those in recovery (Odyssey House Inc., 2021; Ratey, 2008). This group continues to this day, and similar factions

have emerged in Boston (Boston Bulldogs Running, 2021) and Los Angeles (Milliken, 2015). Although the programs have received some attention through traditional and social media, to my knowledge, there is no published research on any one of them. At the inception of this project, I had been in contact with *Run for Your Life*, the New York-based program that inspired this study. However, the complexities of crossing the border to further develop the relationship exposed the challenges of conducting research in another country during a period of acute uncertainty.

Though these recovery-running groups seem to be less common in Canada, prior to the pandemic, there were two such groups operating in Vancouver. The first was affiliated with a Downtown Eastside community centre (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2017), while the other was organized rather informally by a local resident who had developed relationships with the shelters and community centres in the same area (Zevenbergen, 2012). I reached out to the community centre affiliated with the first and learned that they had paused their activities and were unsure if they would continue after the public health restrictions were lifted (Carnegie Community Centre, personal communication, April 2022). I also met with the founder of the Vancouver-based non-profit society *Run For Change*, which had been partnering with shelters and community organizations in the Downtown Eastside to support budding runners in their training for the city's annual Sun Run since 2009 (Zevenbergen, 2012). This group had also been paused in response to public health restrictions, and though attempts had been made to re-start it, the resources that had previously been involved were less accessible than they had been in the past (B.Chui, personal communication, May 4 2022).

Initially, I had foreseen adopting an immersive ethnographic approach, training for a race alongside a recovery running group. Data collection began at the tail end of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the changes that occurred in its wake compelled adaptations to the research. The discontinuation of these groups revealed more than pandemic-related restrictions; they exposed secondary issues elicited by the response to COVID-19. The prioritization of the virus shifted attention and resources from the persistent public health emergency (Foreman-Mackey et al., 2023) declared in 2016 in response to the opioid crisis (Ministry of Mental Health and Addiction, 2022). Gains made before the onset of the pandemic in regard to overdose-related deaths were quickly lost in its midst, as efforts to contain the virus increased social isolation, provoked changes to the pharmaceutical supply chain, and reduced access to recovery and harm reduction resources (Foreman-Mackey et al., 2023). In this context, addictions services lacked the resources to maintain their connection to the running clubs or to support recruitment for research.

The methodological adaptations thus reflect the priorities and challenges of the Canadian public health system in the context of the pandemic. In response to these circumstances, I decided to conduct mobile interviews, which I came to realize would reveal experiences unlikely to have been uncovered in the initial design. An immersive study of a running group may have provided me with insight into the early stages of change in substance use, the experience of learning to run, and peer support dynamics. However, retention is a key concern in recovery programs (Zemore et al., 2021); an immersive ethnographic approach may have allowed me to observe the dwindling number of participants, but I would likely not have gained insight into the reasons for this.

In this context, it was determined that conditions were not conducive to an immersive ethnographic study at that time. Instead, mobile methodologies were adopted, which led to an ethnographically inspired exploration of the changing relationship to self, to the body, and to the social and urban community amongst those who integrated running into their process of recovery from addiction. Despite the adjustments made to this study, I aimed to retain the key qualities of ethnographic research, though I achieved a lesser degree of embeddedness within the community than I had initially intended.

I came to realize that mobile interviews may, in fact, be better suited to investigating the integration of running into a process of recovery over time. Recovery running groups are likely more frequented by people in early recovery. As running becomes more deeply integrated into a person's life, it is likely that the forms of community that they seek are oriented to different, perhaps more performance-oriented goals. As one participant observed, at some point, recovery becomes quite simply about living; thus, membership in a group with objectives appropriate to the early stages of the process would be ill-fitted to those who have integrated its early lessons.

Studying the culture that exists within the four walls of a boxing gym, as did Wacquant (2002), is different from investigating a highly versatile activity like running. Running has a low bar to entry; it requires only a pair of shoes and the impulse to move at a faster pace than usual. While its perfection requires skill development, at baseline, it is an activity with which most able-bodied people have some familiarity. It can be practiced alone, although the ubiquity of free beginner running groups offers an accessible structure for those seeking community. This variability means that people can invest as much or as little in running as they want; there are as many ways to run as there are reasons. Consequently, there are many different questions to be investigated, each with distinctive methods appropriate to their investigation.

Notwithstanding the initial accessibility of running, it is important to acknowledge that it is today a sport practiced disproportionately by the middle-class (Gross, 2020). The financial, temporal, and professional resources required to become a serious and committed runner are not to be underestimated.

8.2 Use of Habitus: Immersion and Emotion in Fieldwork

This section addresses the complex, sometimes clashing, condition of being a part of the field while remaining apart from it. This study was ethnographically-inspired, and while the mobile methodology involved a lesser degree of immersion than ethnographic study, the implication of the researcher's *habitus* raises questions as to the place of emotion in research. The present section begins to explore this subject and lays the groundwork for further development in the methodological article and the results.

Some contend that mobile interviews constitute a form of rapid ethnography, allowing for a hybrid of participant observation and interviews (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003). While these limit the degree of immersion possible, this quality is at once a strength and a limitation in ethnographic research. Field work is limited to the researcher's interpretive framework (Carpiano, 2009), however, their proximity to the participants makes them part of the story that unfolds (Beatty, 2010). For example, Duneier (2006) argues that the media attention drawn to the presence of a white, French researcher in a Chicago boxing gym and the potential participants may have seen for international travel could have influenced how Wacquant was received and treated in the field.

The complex, sometimes contradictory condition of being a part while remaining apart lies at the heart of ethnographic research, epitomized by often repeated warnings against researchers losing themselves in the field (Wacquant, 2015). Despite their insistence on the

strengths of these deeply immersive methods, ethnographers are often reluctant to divulge their involvement in the field, particularly concerning their own personal and emotional experiences (Dumont, 2023). Beatty (2010) argues that there is good reason for this, as emotions are inscribed within individual trajectories, culminating in a specificity shaped by all the moments a person has lived (Merleau-Ponty, 1945). Seen in this way, it is ontologically impossible to adopt another's perspective (van Rhyn et al., 2021), which complicates consideration of emotions in ethnographic research (Beatty, 2010).

van Rhyn et al. (2021) suggest that adopting an embodied, phenomenologically-inspired approach to social work practice allows the body to be used as a tool for comprehension. By attuning to their own bodily responses, the social worker is reminded of their separateness, while simultaneously connecting more deeply with the experience of the other. This position relative to the body is one that I have developed through my years of practice as a social worker and is consistent with the use of the researcher's *habitus* as a methodological tool that will be further discussed below.

While the objectives of practice and research are different, the parallels between the two make some intervention skills transferable to semi-structured interviews, making it possible to adopt a similar position as researcher in this study. The ability to develop a rapport, to tackle sensitive subjects, to attend to, and to differentiate between one's own and others' emotional experiences are crucial to both contexts (Davison, 2006). It is not necessary for social workers to spend months or years living amongst those they support to be effective in their work; many accomplish this through a series of one-hour sessions. In practice, this clearly delineated temporal boundary is protective of the therapeutic alliance (Winnicott, 1994); in research, it preserves the differentiation between researcher and participant.

In this study, it is possible that this structure made participants more comfortable sharing the ups and downs of recovery with a near-stranger than they may have in a more immersive context. As previously mentioned, the abstinence focus in addiction treatment often results in involuntary discharge from programs (Paquette et al., 2022), which charges the disclosure of substance use with the possibility of excommunication. While Wacquant regarded the boxing gym as a sanctuary that provided an alternative to the criminal life outside its walls (Wacquant, 2002), this analysis was undermined by the discovery of illegal activity amongst research participants (Duneier, 2006). While some argue this reveals oversights that undermine his credibility (Duneier, 2006), it may also reveal a paradox; the richness of his data is credited to the relationships he developed with the participants through his immersion in the field, which may have made them less likely to share aspects of themselves that risked putting them in an unfavourable light or that compromised their place within the boxing community.

8.2.1 Use of *Habitus*

This section begins with attention to the ways in which this study was shaped by my own *habitus* and considerations for its support throughout this process. Questions and reflections relating to my *habitus* weave through the remainder of this paper; thus, what follows here provides some context that will be later built upon.

This research unfolded on the unceded ancestral lands of the Coast Salish people, which encompasses many nations with distinctive cultural practices and languages (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2019). A perfect storm of circumstances had driven me from my long-time home in central Montreal to the West End of Vancouver. Personal circumstances had complicated my relationship with the city, and I had already spent several months away from it, many of them running along an ocean trail on Vancouver Island. Escalating restrictions intended to stifle the

spread of COVID-19 foretold a heightened degree of isolation during the treacherous winter months. I was drawn to the ocean, to the mild climate, and to the quiet solitude of the rainy city nestled between the Cascade Mountains and the Georgia Straight.

I had been living in Vancouver's West End for a year by the time data collection began, and I had experienced the city in large part through running. I ran through torrential storms, hearing the waves crash on the beach as I rounded the seawall, gazing at the cloud-covered mountains as I cut into the temperate rainforest for a break from the grey colour scape.

Figure 14 & Figure 15

Shades of Winter



Foggy Vancouver beach in winter contrasted with the green of nearby Stanley Park.

These breathtaking sensate experiences were contrasted with the adjustments to everyday life in my new city. Inequality was more visible and on full display here. Prior to my time here, witnessing intravenous drug use in the street had been a rare occurrence. I reflected on what it meant to live in Living near a major hospital in the city's core, the initial shock of this sight quickly faded. I thought a lot about what it meant to live in one of the world's most livable cities (Krausz & Jang, 2015).

My dormant athlete *habitus* had been jolted awake by a bifurcation point in my life (Grossetti, 2009); not knowing what else to do with myself, I followed my body's impulse to move. As running increasingly came to structure my life, my supervisor and I agreed that its integration within my research may assist in sustaining my engagement in my studies. As I stumbled upon stories about running-based interventions that supported people in their recovery from substance use, I wondered if the transitions and identity-related processes within that experience may be like those that running was supporting in my own life.

In time, I would realize that for myself and for the participants of the study, the skills of running extended beyond the fine tuning of form, pacing, and goals. What began as a long, slow jog in a park had gradually come to occupy a central place in daily life, evolving into a runner's *habitus*, which captured an intimate, fluid process of transition and healing unfolding within a social field.

8.2.2 Care skills for my Runner-Research Habitus

By the time data collection began, I had been running an average of five days a week for a year and a half. All of my running to that point had been solo, which was consistent with the solitary nature of my process, though it was also reflective of the circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Preparation for this research thus entailed consideration for how to ensure that I had the physical and affective resources in place necessary to effectively conduct this research and to be prepared for what arose. In the interest of safeguarding the project from the pitfalls of injury, I joined a competitive running club and participated with some degree of regularity in the weekly group workouts. The Vancouver Falcons Athletic Club (2024) is a member-led running club that was founded in 1987. When I first joined, I was somewhat unaware of its reputation as a fast and

serious group of runners. However, through their pedagogical guidance, I became more systematically engaged in my evolving running habit, evidence of my increased immersion in the running world.

I trained alone and with others, under the guidance of a coach who supported me in achieving my research goals, in the same way my teammates were training for races. My coach was aware of the role that running was playing in supporting transitions in my life and of the nature of the study that I was conducting. Our goals focused on maintaining my enjoyment and motivation to continue running while keeping me fit and injury-free. These measures were indeed successful in supporting me throughout the data collection and, ultimately, allowed me to comfortably adjust my pace to that of each participant.

On the advice of my coach, I built a small network of professionals around me to help me solve issues as they arose and keep me running. Their punctual analysis provided insight into my own *habitus*, deepening my understanding of my healing process and of the tool that I was mobilizing to gain insight into others' experiences. Interestingly, though I shared very little about myself verbally, my body seemed to reveal a great deal to these professionals, who hypothesized fight and flight responses integrated within my running that impacted my respiration, my digestion, and my musculature.

Emotion is part of all human experience, including research. As such, it should not be uncritically divorced from the process (Davison, 2006), especially in the context of an embodied design that compels vulnerability. This study took shape gradually, alongside changes in my own life, and it took me time to recognize some of its echoes. I undertook this study prepared to involve my body, though I did not initially realize that there would be aspects of my own process that I would be compelled not only to explore but, to some extent, to share in this dissertation. I

am ambivalent about the requisite involvement of my *habitus* in this study and, consequently, in this dissertation.

Throughout this research, I continued with my own psychotherapeutic process, which supported an emotional awareness and an analysis of what arose for me. This sustained a position of openness in relation to the experiences of others, while an awareness of similarities in our processes made it possible to ask questions that may otherwise have escaped me (Contreras, 2015). Ultimately, I believe that I produced a more comprehensive account of participants' experiences because I did not attempt to discount my affective experience (Davison, 2006). Having said that, had I not been engaged in an ongoing psychotherapeutic process, I believe the ability to distinguish between my affective experiences and what participants were communicating may have been compromised.

Some assert that supervisors should be consulted to provide guidance in emotionally charged research situations (Ballamingie & Johnson, 2014), and while this may be appropriate for some, I consider my affective and existential processes to be beyond the reasonable scope of a supervisory relationship. My supervisor and I did, however, adopt an embodied, engaged approach to our meetings, which were often conducted while running in parks. He was also consulted as a "critical friend" (Smith & McGannon, 2018) to provide another perspective and to encourage reflexivity on the vulnerability (Ballamingie & Johnson, 2014) of the methodological components of this study.

The use of *habitus* as a methodological tool compels its presence throughout the research process; thus, it weaves through not only the article that follows but will also be discussed relative to the results. The following chapter is a methodological article that will build upon the previous one. In what follows, I provide a structure for running interviews, as they were used in

this study, and argue that this constituted a strong application of Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociological theory, despite his reservations about its use beyond immersive ethnography.

8.3 Data Collection

As will be discussed further in the articles that follow, data was collected through semi-directed mobile interviews. In keeping with the conventions of the running community, my smart watch captured the route followed through GPS data, as well as quantitative aspects of the running interview, including distance and pace. I also took photos during or, more commonly, after the interviews.

Throughout this study, I kept voice recordings as field notes and as a journal throughout the research process, which helped me to process and document these experiences, including the physical transformations that are part of embodied research (Palmer, 2016). These notes were transcribed using secure transcription software and organized according to the format proposed by Paillé & Mucchielli (2016) which involves five levels of examination: 1) scene; 2) researcher's experience; 3) context; 4) researcher's reflections; 5) researcher's realizations.

8.4 Data Analysis

Wacquant's Six Ss (2015) were used as a structuring guide for the interviews and served as inspiration for the conceptual categories developed through analysis. Although the Six Ss were mobilized in different ways in this research, Wacquant (2015) makes only a passing reference to them and, to the best of my knowledge, has not further developed them. These concepts were elaborated through my analysis, enriching the specificity of each of the Ss while developing theoretical interpretations of the connections between these qualities.

The malleability of the carnal sociological framework lends itself readily to this type of constructive analysis. Further, its absence of clear distinctions between data collection and

analysis (Paillé & Mucchielli, 2016) is consistent with the convergence of theory and method in carnal sociology (Wacquant, 2010). It also embraces my epistemological position by retaining participants' perspectives while integrating my own interpretations (Paillé & Mucchielli, 2016).

In this study, data collected through audio-recorded mobile interviews and field notes was transcribed using secure transcription software. Before beginning the coding process, I listened to the audio recordings, carefully correcting any errors made by the software and adding mention of sounds contained within the recordings, such as breath, traffic, and interactions with strangers.

I read and re-read the transcriptions to immerse myself in them, then began coding according to Wacquant's (2015) Six Ss. At first glance, a number of themes appeared to be emerging beyond the Six Ss, though after the initial coding, these were reorganized, revealing relationships that deepened the initial conceptual categories and sharpened their delineations. This entailed transversal readings of Wacquant's (2015) initial definitions and of participants' accounts of their experiences. Thus, what began as a deductive analysis went beyond categorization to interpretation and theorization, ultimately combining both deductive and inductive qualities (Paillé & Mucchielli, 2016). Importantly, this goes beyond descriptive analysis and establishes the Six Ss as conceptual categories developed in relation to the data that emerged from this study rather than a simplistic application of Wacquant's thought (Paillé & Mucchielli, 2016).

The following section provides an overview of the Six Ss as they came to be defined, along with their specific properties and their conditions of existence (Paillé & Mucchielli, 2016). These are also brought to light in the articles that comprise chapters seven and nine.

8.4.1 Skills

Definition. Wacquant (2015) draws on the Old Norse definition of the word *skil*, meaning to discern and adjust, emphasizing the development of the individual's ability to act with competence and acuity (p.3).

Specific Properties. Ultimately, *skills* came to encompass the development of physical, social, psychological, and affective abilities that were acquired by engaging in a running practice and that supported shifts in substance use. As skills were integrated and sharpened, these lessons were applied in professional contexts, opening up new possibilities within longstanding careers or proposing completely different career paths. Similarly, the practice and development of social skills within the running community precipitated the development of social networks, which allowed for a greater degree of social connection and implication.

Conditions of Existence. The skills built and reinforced through running were contrasted with those mobilized through substance use. Many of these involved strategies to conceal the degree of consumption or to hide within it in an effort to temper social anxieties and perceived personal deficiencies.

8.4.2 Suffering

Definition. Wacquant's (2015) definition of *suffering* comprises physiological, psychological, affective, existential, and social dimensions that are experienced and carried throughout one's lifetime (p.3).

Specific Properties. The property of suffering took shape over the course of the interviews, as accounts of physiological pain were compounded by vicious cycles that deepened psychological distress and social disconnection, qualities that characterized life in active substance use. In the

context of recovery, suffering in response to life's challenges was not described in terms of disconnect, thus the compounding psychosocial anguish was absent.

Conditions of Existence. Suffering came to be understood as existing on a spectrum with healing, which reflected a non-linear process of recovery that spanned several years. This healing process continued even years after changes in substance use had been integrated, as details such as the distinction between sensation and suffering came to be understood and worked through. The definition of recovery as a self-actualized process of growth and learning (Borkman et al., 2016, p. 1124) as adopted in this study, stems from the development of this conceptual category.

8.4.3 *Sentient*

Definition: For Wacquant (2015), *sentient* refers to four elements that comprise the individual's sensory experience: 1) their engagement with the sensations of their own bodily processes (ie. heartrate, respiration); 2) their sensory reception of environmental stimulus, such as feeling the wind on their face or hearing birds chirp; 3) the feeling of their body in movement; and; 4) their conscious awareness of and capacity to interpret all of these sensations (p.3).

Specific Properties. Gaining insight into another's sensate experience is complex. Da Nobrega et al., (2017) distinguish between the unconscious responses and memories of the "living body" from those of the consciously "lived body", one that is perpetually in the past due to the interpretive cognitive lag. Thus, our ability to attend to and capture the body's knowledge is encumbered by the cognitive processes required in order to do so. The living body is immersed in the world, taking in subtle environmental cues and sensations faster than the mind can interpret them (Andrieu, 2013).

In this perspective, attempts to capture participants' sensate experiences were unavoidably limited. In addition to individual body experiences, sentient also came to encompass moments of

spontaneity between myself and participants in coding the data. Ephemeral reactions and impulses were captured by silence, laughter, and simultaneous shifts in breath. At times, we interact together with other runners, walkers, dogs, or wildlife. While the participants and I did our best to put language to some of these moments, there was undoubtedly much that was not captured.

Conditions of Existence. Analysis is required to distinguish between bodily sensations and suffering. The challenge that I had in doing so ultimately underscored the difficulty participants encountered in differentiating between tolerable discomforts and pains that should prompt a change in their training.

8.4.4 Situated

Definition. Wacquant (2015) defines the situated dimension as our placement in physical and social space, which is not only limited to a single geographic location but also contains traces of all the places a particular body has been (p. 3).

Specific Properties. Interviews began with a prompt for participants to share a bit about the route that we were running. The depth and breadth of the interpretations of this question reflected deep relationships with the areas in which participants chose to run. Thus, this conceptual category came to envelop geographic and social histories that intersected individual trajectories, with the interviews themselves becoming inscribed within the routes. The situated nature of spaces traversed through running was also highlighted by references to other places participants had run, often in the context of a race.

Conditions of Existence. The depth of these connections was theorized in opposition to one of several manifestations of disconnect that characterized active substance use. Furthermore, the description of treadmill workouts as largely devoid of situatedness could potentially mirror

the interview experience if it had taken place in a traditional setting with a skill-focused emphasis

8.4.5 Symbolic

Definition. Wacquant (2015) agreed in part with the contention of neo-Kantian philosopher Cassirer that human beings are essentially symbolic animals, though he proposed five more Ss as complements. Consequently, Wacquant's definition aligns with Cassirer's, who posits that humans employ symbolic systems such as language, religion, and science to understand and shape their environment (p. 3).

Specific Properties. In this study, running provided a symbolic system that tracked the ebbs and flows of the recovery process and of life. The ability to persist, to set and attain goals, and to share in the trials and triumphs of races were charged with the long journeys that culminated in these moments.

Conditions of Existence. The social construction of addiction and recovery is influenced by the spiritual doctrines of Alcoholics Anonymous, which are closely interwoven with running symbolism. It did not seem necessary or even possible to disentangle them from one another.

8.4.6 Sedimented

Definition. For Wacquant (2015), our sentient, our suffering, and our skills are sedimented, in that they are acquired, embodied, and built upon one another over the course of one's life experiences and are temporally structured in relation to one another (p.4).

Specific Properties. The sensate features of the interview routes were inseparable from their locations and revealed extensive knowledge about social history and the natural environment. These locations were also charged with histories of suffering and healing, and thus

with the skills that supported this process. Departing from Wacquant's definition, situatedness and symbolism were also understood to be sedimented.

Conditions of Existence. Memories are themselves symbolic, particularly those shared in the context of an interview. In this perspective, the profoundly interconnected nature of the Six Ss was highlighted by the frequent concurrence of multiple Ss in the coding process. Rather than adhering to a strict categorization of these, these observations served to deepen the conceptual categories.

The definitions of these conceptual categories are brought to life in the third and final article within this dissertation, entitled "Running to Recovery: A Carnal Sociological Study of Change in Substance Use", which has been submitted to the journal of Qualitative Sociology. This article presents the findings of this study through these conceptual categories, which supported an analysis of the concomitant changes that running supported in their connections to themselves, to their bodies, to others, and to the world.

Chapter 9 (Article 3):

Running to Recovery: A Carnal Sociological Study of Change in Substance Use

Bogue Kerr, S. & Moreau, N. (submitted). Running to Recovery: A Carnal Sociological Study of Change in Substance Use. *Sociology of Health & Illness*.

Abstract

Evidence suggests that exercise may be an effective adjunct to support recovery processes associated with disordered substance use. Existing research on this subject, however, has mostly been conducted in controlled clinical settings, separated from the real-world contexts where exercise practices are developed. Further, while the body is first to absorb the impact of substance use and, as such, is at the heart of recovery, it has paradoxically little presence in the literature. This article is based on an ethnographically inspired study that sought to gain insight into the embodied processes of 11 individuals who had integrated running into their recovery from substance use. Mobile interviews were conducted through a carnal sociology framework and analyzed as conceptual categories that traced the evolution of the runner's *habitus*. For these participants, running was found to offer a lifestyle structure that supported a nonlinear healing process, fostering connections to self, to others and to the world, a stark contrast from the disconnection that had characterized their previous lives. It appears running reawakened a dormant *habitus*, prompting a reengagement with early experiences of movement that remained embodied within. This suggests that running may offer an effective organizing structure for those seeking to alter their use of substances, though perhaps specifically among those who have previously embodied experiences of physical activity.

Keywords: carnal sociology; mobile methods; embodiment; addiction; substance use; recovery;

running

9.1 Introduction

Evidence suggests that exercise could support the processes of people living with substance use disorders (Colledge et al., 2018). The advantages of exercise are multidimensional, with the potential to combine psychosocial, physiological, and neurological benefits within a lifestyle structure that fosters connections to one's body and to a community (Landale, 2012). Notwithstanding the expressed interest in incorporating exercise into the recovery process amongst those who live it (Schlosser, 2018) and the promise of exercise as part of a holistic approach, there is little research on the subject (Landale, 2012).

This article is based on an ethnographically inspired study that sought to gain insight into the embodied processes of individuals who had integrated running into their recovery from substance use. We start by situating our study in relation to the prevailing theories on addiction, after which we present the literature on the use of exercise and running as part of a recovery process. Next, we consider our embodied, methodological approach in the form of mobile interviews (Carpiano, 2009; Ross et al., 2009) followed by a presentation of our findings through Wacquant's "Six Ss" (2015). Finally, we discuss the specificity of the runner's habitus (Bourdieu, 1972/2005), which in this study embodies a history of addiction and a process of recovery.

9.2 Overview of Addiction

Leading theories on addiction derive from either a moral or a medical model (Dennis, 2016) both of which situate the problem within the individual. Within Christian doctrine, the root of human suffering lies in the fall of man, resulting from the first man and woman giving into temptation. Thus, an inability to exercise self-control is evidence of a fault within one's very soul (Foucault, 2018). The weakness at the root of addiction prevents the individual from knowing

themselves and what they need, which only a spiritual experience can treat (Kurtz, 2002). It was from this understanding of addiction that Alcoholics Anonymous (referred to hereafter as AA) emerged in 1935 to become a preeminent peer-support program, which for some serves as first-line treatment due to its reputation (Kaskutas, 2009) and its accessibility. Since its early days, AA has played an important role in shaping the way addiction is defined, contending that an alcoholic will always be an alcoholic, a belief at the heart of their position on abstinence (Kurtz, 2002). While this position highlights the chronic nature of addiction, a view now shared by the medical model (Dennis, 2016), it also positions it in opposition to evolving research on pharmacological treatments and harm-reduction measures that adopt a different stance regarding abstinence (Schlosser, 2018).

The disease model of addiction situates the problem within the body and, most recently, within the brain (Dennis, 2016). The biomedical perspective on substance-related disorders presented in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual 5-TR (DSM-5-TR) points to the activation of the brain-reward system, leading to the pleasurable experience of the “high” (American Psychiatric Association, 2022). Advances in neuroscience have shed light on the interactions between various neurotransmitters (Ratey, 2008) and how they are influenced by the ways in which the individual engages with the world (Weinberg, 2002).

Initially considered to be an acute condition, it is now recognized that the complexity of addiction lies in its chronic nature, extending beyond the period of withdrawal and often encompassing relapses (Dennis, 2016). This, in turn, supports the use of drug-based treatments to help the brain heal itself after being damaged (Schlosser, 2018). Though reframing addiction as a chronic illness helps to understand and contextualize the needs, biomedicine struggles with the ebbs and flows of what it means to treat and heal persistent conditions (Bogue Kerr and others,

2018). Effective treatment solutions for addiction remain elusive, compounded by a lack of consensus amongst addiction specialists regarding evidence-based treatments (Glasner-Edwards and Rawson, 2010) and inconclusive reports as to the efficacy of twelve-step programs like AA (Kaskutas, 2009).

The dominant models offer incomplete explanations of addiction (Weinberg, 2002), materializing in social policies and treatment programs that fail to mitigate the ongoing multifactorial individual and social consequences (Maté, 2021). This is not surprising, given the degree to which different academic disciplines tackle this entanglement in relative isolation, contributing to a wide gap between research, practice, and policy (Maté, 2021).

The biomedical and social theories that underlie addiction treatment reflect the ideological separation of body from mind, a dichotomy that overlooks the nuanced network of relationships between the two (Dennis, 2016). The particularity of one's embodied experience of substance use is a deeply relational phenomenon, inescapably present in one's relationship to self and to the body, situated in a temporal-spatial rapport with the world (Dennis, 2016; Kemp, 2018). Drug uses and experiences entail complex relationships between the substance, the brain, and the body in a setting with specific sensory and interpersonal stimuli (Kemp, 2018), elements that become entangled, emphasizing the relational nature of addiction and the triggers associated with relapse (Dennis, 2016).

Some researchers contend that substance use is ultimately a reflection of the relationships between individuals and society (Alexander, 2008; Denzin, 1993). Alexander (2008) points to the ways in which communities have been disrupted by socioeconomic shifts and argues that substance use is an adaptive response to the resulting disconnection. Thus, some situate the addicted body in a network of relationships, reasoning that these connections are key to

understanding and healing those who live with disordered substance use (Kemp, 2018).

Weinberg (2002) argues that recovery is a personal and collective project of self-actualization, one that could be better accomplished by interventions that recognize the relational, embodied nature of substance use and recovery. In this perspective, interventions that support integration into a sub-group, such as that found within the running community, may serve as a stepping stone to recovery (Lansdale, 2012).

The complexity of addiction is compounded by a lack of consensus on what it means to recover, who has the right to define it, and how one might achieve it (White, 2007). While the concept of recovery is commonly mobilized in relation to changes in substance use, it encompasses several elements that challenge precise delineations. The definition applied in this article was drawn from a participatory action study that conceives of recovery as a self-realized *“learning process of growth and self-development... towards becoming a self-aware, responsible, moral and more fully realized human being,”* (Borkman et al., 2016, p. 1124). Through discussion with the participants of this study, the researchers came to define recovery as a self-directed, non-linear process of learning and personal growth characterized by changing relationships to oneself, to others, and to the world. Importantly, this definition does not compel abstinence.

9.3 Running and Recovery

In recent years, mental health practitioners have shown increased interest in the integration of exercise into the therapeutic and healing processes of people with mental illness (Ratey, 2008). Despite the expressed interest in incorporating exercise into substance use recovery amongst those engaged in this process (Schlosser, 2008) and the promise of exercise as part of a holistic approach, there is little research on the subject (Landale, 2012). A Swiss study

found that over 90% of participating rehabilitation clinics offered exercise programs, though none collected data (Colledge et al, 2018). The limited literature notwithstanding, a few existing studies have applied randomized control or quasi-experimental methodologies (Giesen et al., 2015; Patterson et al., 2022), focusing primarily on measurable outcomes such as physiological responses, and though some studies hinted at shifts in embodiment, this was not further explored (Giesen et al., 2015).

There appears to be evidence to suggest that exercise may help in reducing substance use (Patterson et al., 2022) and may foster processes related to identity (Carless, 2008), learning, and socialization (Colledge et al., 2018; Landale, 2012). Little research has been conducted on the subject, however, particularly outside a clinical setting (Colledge et al., 2018), or extending beyond the end of formal addiction treatment (Patterson et al., 2022). This is particularly limiting considering the importance of context in sports-based research (Parlavecchio and others, 2021). The sensate body, rarely explored in addiction research (Dennis, 2016; Kemp, 2018), seems to be paradoxically absent from the literature on exercise-based intervention as well.

9.4 Research Question

Considering the above, our interest was in the inscription of substance use within the individual's *habitus*, making the reappropriation of the body part of a process of changing relationships to oneself, to others, and to the environment. With this in mind, we sought to answer the question: In what ways does running influence shifts in these relationships and in the social disposition of those in recovery?

9.5 Theoretical Framework

Wacquant proposes (2015) a carnal approach to sociology that stems from the body rather than positioning it as an object of study. It considers that cognition is situated within and

extends out of a body that engages with the world through social and cultural practices that inform its knowledge. As such, this approach compels researchers to connect with their own bodies to engage in actions and events as they unfold, thereby deepening their social and symbolic integration with their study.

Wacquant (2015) proposes attending to the embodiment of the “Six S” properties as a means of capturing this carnal knowledge. This study entailed an examination of: 1) how *skills* acquired through running relate to the recovery process; 2) biological, social, psychological and existential forms of *suffering* within running and recovery; 3) *sentient* experiences, both from within our bodies (such as heartrate, or active movements), and from the environment; 4) the *situated* nature of running, shaped by the physical and social spaces traversed; 5) engagement with *symbolic* systems, including language, religion and science, used to understand and express how running and recovery relate to one another and, more broadly, to life as a whole.; 6) These are *sedimented*, in that they are acquired and built upon one another over the course of one’s life experiences and are temporally structured in relation to one another. Thus, relationships to running were examined across one’s lifetime and in relation to the recovery process.

There is a dual justification for this theoretical framework: 1) Sport (in our case running), situated firmly at the heart of social life and tensions, reveals relationships to the body that are part of relationships to the world (Bourdieu, 1988) and; 2) though the body absorbs the initial impact of substance use and is at the heart of the recovery process, it is paradoxically sidelined in clinical interventions, notably in social work (Bogue Kerr, forthcoming).

9.6 Method

Substance use disorders have received a good deal of media attention in recent years, owing to the opioid crisis, which on a global scale engages 60,000,000 people (Lancet Regional

Health, 2023) in a struggle with opiates alone. According to the Canadian Centre for Substance Use and Addiction (2023), Canada spends approximately 46 billion dollars annually on substance use and associated harms. The province of British Columbia, the epicenter of the country's crisis, declared a public health emergency in 2016 in response to high rates of overdose, though the situation continues to deteriorate (Ministry of Mental Health and Addiction, 2022). This ethnographically inspired study was conducted primarily in the metropolitan area of Vancouver, the province's largest city, though some interviews were conducted in the provincial capital of Victoria and in nearby Washington State (USA).

Wacquant (2015) contends that immersive ethnography is best suited to a carnal sociological approach, though he concedes other methods can be applied on the condition that the social actors are treated as both *embodied* and *embedded*. Mobile methodologies were thus embraced in this study, allowing the researcher to join with participants in the “here and now” of their embodied experiences, in the very places where the latter routinely ran themselves (Moreau and others, 2023). Though some routes were chosen for convenience, others for their beauty, and some encapsulated stories that had unfolded over many years, the decisions as to the location of the interviews were made by the participants. While the embodied engagement of the researcher allows for a deeper connection with the worlds of their participants, this intimacy requires different methodological work since it challenges traditional boundaries (Contreras, 2015). Some argue (Eliasoph, 2005; Wacquant, 2002) that this compels new ways of translating carnal findings into writing that break from current sociological conventions. The specificity of this mobile, embodied approach to data collection is the subject of a separate article (Bogue Kerr, forthcoming).

Prior to beginning the study, approval was obtained from the research ethics board at the University of Ottawa. Participants were given the option of being referred to either by their own names or by an alias in publications. Although participants were not asked to explain their choice, several shared that they wished to be identified as a way of contesting the stigma associated with addiction, while others (identified with an asterix) expressed that they chose to remain anonymous in accordance with recovery traditions.

9.6.1 Recruitment

Two sampling techniques were applied in this study: purposive and snowball. Recruitment was conducted through social media posts to running and triathlon groups on Facebook in the Vancouver area. Interested individuals contacted the researcher through email or Facebook Messenger, and those who lived within a maximum two-hour commute from Vancouver were provided with the consent form. Two individuals were excluded due to geographic distance. Participants shared the social media post with others, exercising a snowball sampling method through which three more individuals were recruited. One participant was contacted directly by the researcher after she appeared in the media. A total of 11 participants agreed to be interviewed.

The participants (7=he/him men, 4= she/her) met the following inclusion criteria: 1) self-identified as regular runners; 2) self-identified as having had a substance use disorder; and; 3) had been engaged in altering their relationships to one or more substances for a minimum of six months. We chose to adopt self-identification criteria regarding disordered substance use for two reasons: First, a formal diagnosis is not required to engage in modifying one's relationships with substances, particularly since peer-support groups can serve as front-line treatment (Kaskutas, 2009). Secondly, this criterion was consistent with our critical, constructivist epistemological

posture and our exploration of a recovery process that may diverge from traditional models. As such, we adopted an approach that was inclusive both of participants' trajectories of substance use and of recovery.

9.6.2 Data Collection

Three methods were used to collect data, seeking to capture not only the recovery processes of the participants but also the engagement of the researcher's body. Thus, we chose to collect data through mobile interviews (Carpiano, 2009), which enriched discussions through emplaced, sensate encounters with the environment (Chang, 2017) and allowed for an experiential engagement with the Six Ss (Wacquant, 2015). We chose to conduct two semi-directed interviews with each participant for three reasons: 1) Conducting two interviews provided more time without having to extend the distance of the run since this determined the length of the interview; 2) this allowed participants to feel more at ease sharing sensitive experiences, while; 3) providing the opportunity to explore embodied, sensate elements that arose and may otherwise have been overlooked amidst accounts of recovery. Participants invited the researcher on two of their regular running routes. Interviews lasted approximately one hour, and the pace was set by participants, who were informed that they were free to adjust as needed, whether that meant taking breaks, walking, or stopping if they so chose. Participants (n=2) who were injured or easing back into running chose to walk.

Photos were taken to complement participants' narratives of the situated and sentient context of the run. The researcher was reluctant to disrupt the rhythm of the interview and of the run to take photos; thus, unless the participant stopped to take photos, she retraced the route after the end of the interview to capture these images.

Interviews were conducted by the first author. Considering the significance Wacquant (2015) accords to the researcher's own embodied process (Wacquant, 2015), field note audio recordings were used as a means of documenting her own training process, her embodied transformations, her state before and after the interviews, and her reflections.

9.6.3 Participants

Participants ranged in age from mid-30s to mid-50s, with an average age of 45 (based on data from 9/11 participants). One participant self-identified as having Indigenous and European ancestry, while most participants presented as being of European descent.

While self-identification criteria were used in recruitment, it is relevant to note that participants' accounts were ultimately consistent with the DSM-5-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2022) criteria for moderate to severe substance use disorder. That is to say, all participants reflected four to six or more of the diagnostic criteria, among them: consuming more than intended; a persistent desire to consume and craving for the substance; a great deal of time spent obtaining the substance or recovering from its use; and; a consequent inability to fulfill role functions and adequately maintain interpersonal relationships (American Psychiatric Association, 2022).

Participants had been engaged in a recovery process for between three and twenty years, and most had participated in conventional treatment programs (n=9). Eight of the eleven participants could be described as performance-oriented, serious runners at the time of the interview.

Table 10

Participant Profiles

		N (%)
Gender	He/him	7 (64%)
	She/her	4 (36%)
Civil Status	Married or Common Law	11 (100%)
Children	Yes	9 (82%)
	No	2 (18%)
Career	Fitness	3 (27%)
	Studying or working in addiction counselling/psychology	3 (27%)
	Other professionals	3 (27%)
	Trades & sales	2 (18%)
Conventional Recovery Treatment	Yes	9 (82%)
	No	2 (18%)
Primary Substance	Nicotine	1 (9%)
	Alcohol	10 (91%)

9.6.4 Analysis

Interviews were recorded with lapel microphones and transcribed using secure transcription software. Weather conditions negatively impacted the quality of the recordings, resulting in the loss of data. Thus, 17 of the 22 interviews were transcribed.

Field notes were transcribed and coded according to the format proposed by (Paillé and Mucchielli, 2016) which involves five levels of examination: 1) scene; 2) researcher's experience; 3) context; 4) researcher's reflections; 5) researcher's realizations. Recorded interviews were first listened to and edited for errors made by the transcription software. Next, NVivo software was used to facilitate coding, and annotative notes were made throughout the process to track the evolution of the researchers' analysis. Wacquant's "six Ss" (2015) served as

a framework for the interview guide, also acted as conceptual categories for analysis (Paillé and Mucchielli, 2016).

The initial coding process revealed relationships that deepened the conceptual categories and sharpened their delineations. This analysis involved a reflexive, progressive, and continuous process (Paillé and Mucchielli, 2016, p. 328) entailing a return to Wacquant's Ss and the elaboration of six deep conceptual categories. Ultimately, what began as a deductive analysis through the six Ss went beyond categorization to interpretation and theorization, ultimately combining deductive and inductive qualities (Paillé and Mucchielli, 2016). Throughout this process, the second author acted as a "critical friend" (Smith and McGannon, 2018), offering an alternate perspective, and encouraging reflexivity. Data saturation was reached within the range of interviews (between 9-17) generally required to do so (Hennink and Kaiser, 2022).

9.7 Results

Wacquant's thinking has been greatly influenced by the work of Bourdieu, whose concept of *habitus* will serve to capture shifts in the recovery process in relation to the six elements outlined above. *Habitus* is an embodied relational concept derived from phenomenological, structuralist, and constructivist influences, encompassing at once the subjective formation of the individual through their continuous experiences of the world within an objectively shared social reality (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Wacquant (2002) mobilized the *habitus* as a methodological tool to gain insight into the embodied social world of boxers, while others, such as Wainwright et al. (2006) have applied this concept to study the institutional transmission of embodied knowledge in ballet.

In the following section, the transformation of the participants' *habitus* will be analysed and discussed, and in accordance with Wacquant's framework, to some extent, so too will that of

the first author. This section is divided into five subsections, each of which presents findings related to one of the six Ss. The *sedimented* nature of these characteristics, meaning the process by which they progressively develop, as well as their temporal structure, are presented within each section, as these are deeply intertwined within the momentum of each property.

9.7.1 Skills

“I actually have this amazing life, that I’ve always like dreamed of because I got sober and running was just a way to get sober.” (Alicia)

Motivated by concerns related to weight gain and body image, most participants (n=8) had started running before undertaking to change their use of substances. For a time, substance use and running overlapped, epitomised by swigs of alcohol taken to ease a hangover moments before setting off on a long run or even a race.

Running was like a lifeline to help pull me into a new chapter and a new headspace...I remember Sunday long runs. I'd show up and have a last drink of alcohol just before the run started...Yeah, it was not a clean break. (Wing)

Running was described as constituting a lifestyle that served as an organizing structure, supporting the development of new habits, skills, and social connections. The researcher had herself experienced the internalization of this structure, having been drawn to running two years earlier in the context of destabilizing life changes. Training for a race requires the ability to look into the future, to set goals, to develop and execute a plan, and the capacity to accept when these plans must change. Adhering to such a plan also requires maintaining a lifestyle that supports proper nutrition and sleep, as well as the ability to attend to and care for the body’s grumbles about the rigorous process.

This recalls not only the practices of routine and moderation that Wacquant (2002) observed as inscribed within the pugilistic *habitus*, but also the contrast between that lifestyle and the tumultuous alternative. How one navigates these variables is part of the practice of

running, and continuous feedback is provided through “*tangible markers*,” (Connor), even the smallest of which lay the foundation for bigger goals. “*I think developing a skill set that has let me trust that I can deviate from the plan and still be pursuing a greater goal has just been so protective.*” (Isaac)

The running community offered a normalized social context into which participants could integrate and connect with others. Fears and anxieties associated with the vulnerable working-through of early shifts in the healing process were tempered by the ease of interactions made possible by the immediacy of the activity: “*You just talk about running shoes and learn to be normal again,*” (Monique). Connections were made over light conversations about training and deepened through small group social runs, supporting the simultaneous development of running and social skills.

While participants expressed that they were “*runner(s) just like everyone else*” (Melissa*), the skills acquired specific to their journeys shaped their relationships to running and to the community. The ways in which the lessons of recovery were said to make them better partners, professionals, runners, coaches and overall, “*better versions of (them)selves*” (Rory), was consistent with the embodied, nonlinear transition from an isolated, suffering body to a communicative body, as observed by McGannon et al. (2020) in their analysis of autobiographical accounts of ultramarathoners in recovery. Participants found ways of sharing these lessons with others, through mentorship, volunteer work, or, for some, by starting new careers in fitness or recovery-related fields, thereby creating and fostering recovery capital within the community (Best and Laudet, 2010). “*Pretty much everything that affects people in recovery, affects people who aren’t in recovery. Lessons that I’ve learned... I can share that with people, share my experience,*” (Rory). The nourishment of these connections stood in stark

contrast to the isolation that had characterized lives preoccupied by active substance use, speaking to the network of relations that extends out from the body (Wacquant, 2002).

9.7.2 Suffering

Being down, sad, angry about something and being able to turn that into something that's healthy in a natural way has transformed the way that I relate to my body and to my wellbeing, right? It's created this completely alternate pathway to being able to deal with life. (Troy)

In this study, suffering refers to forms of physical, psychological, social, and existential pain that were differently present in active substance use than they were in running. Lives monopolized by substance use were recalled through the sometimes vivid physical sensations of hangovers and withdrawal. Social anxiety, disconnection, self-doubt, and poor self-image weaved through participants' narratives of that period of their lives, existentially characterized by a sense of stagnation or disconnection.

You're trying to have a normal life, but it's very much that sort of double life that it's like this constant need to think about, plan, sort of try and control things, to set it up so that you can do this other thing in private. (Wing)

A spectrum of suffering and healing immersed, capturing a gradual transformation that was not without struggle (McGannon et al, 2020). Lives once shaped by substance use became increasingly structured by running, *“Over time, you become more of one and less of the other,”* (Wing). The blisters, stress fractures, sprains, and shin splints speak to the intensity of the process and serve as palpable evidence of the work-related metaphors of recovery discourse (Zigon, 2011). Developing the capacity for positive self-talk is essential not only for pushing through moments of fatigue and loss of motivation (Olson et al, 2018), but also for tolerating the negative emotions associated with substance use (Zautra, 2015). Popular narratives of recovery often overlook the unsatisfying messiness of a process characterized by relapses that does not culminate in a cure (McGannon et al., 2020). Running trajectories, however, embodied these

entangled relationships to suffering and to healing, as the ability to endure (Hockey and Allen-Collinson, 2016) became inscribed within the runner's *habitus*. “*Running teaches you discipline and structure, and it teaches you how to work, set a goal, but it also teaches you acceptance that not every day has to be awesome and you're going to have bad days,*” (Zan).

Some made a distinction between reigning in substance use and engaging in a process of healing. “*Sobriety is a state of mind. It's about being balanced mentally, spiritually,*” Rory specified. Thus, using running to stay “dry” was distinguished from its integration within a healing process, without which some perceived a risk of transferring disordered substance use into one's relationship with running.

There is allure in recovery stories that culminate in performances of redemption like running a marathon, reflecting a self-transformation aligned with the cultural norms and values of the autonomous, liberal subject (Eren, 2017), as opposed to the taboo of lost control embodied in addiction (Kurtz, 2002). This narrative, however, overlooks the complexity of working through the ways in which running is mobilized within a recovery process and how this changes over time (McGannon et al., 2020).

I did have good intentions going into that first marathon... but a lot of it was for the same (reasons) too, you know, it was like, “Look at me, Look at me!” And now it's not really for that. It's just to stay fit and healthy (Melissa*)

Passion was distinguished from excess in relation to the life made possible through running. One man identified his ability to be present “*heart, body and mind,*” (Wing) as the difference between the two, while Alicia expressed that “*Running (had) given (her) so much; alcohol just took away.*” Some, weary of the fine line that separates running as part of a full life from one encompassed by it, specified that it was and must remain “*a safe space*” (Emily*) in which the joy of movement was protected and as much as possible, maintained. Oscillations

between these poles were also embodied within the *habitus* of the researcher, who grappled with the same delicate balance.

Each participant, unprompted by the researcher, raised the topic of exercise addiction. While none self-identified as having a running addiction, some questioned if it had, at times, taken too much space in their lives and acknowledged that they had run through injuries in unhealthy ways. For the most part, however, the benefits were seen as outweighing the drawbacks (Moreau and others, 2023).

9.7.3 Sentient

9.7.3.1 Senses. Awareness of the physical environment was a theme that ran through participants' narratives and was contrasted with the disconnection that characterized their time of active substance use: "You're never where you are." (Emily*). In recovery, the opportunity to escape from the day to day and immerse oneself in these multi-sensory environments was part of the allure of running, and indeed part of the "enduring consciousness" that pushes through despite sometimes poor weather and treacherous terrain (Hockey and Allen-Collinson, 2016, p. 229). Connor shared his appreciation for the sensations of "the sound of the feet hitting the gravel or the river or the birds" and the incredible views provided by mountainous routes: "there's so much reward, especially from views. You can only experience it if you're there yourself, so that's one of the real-life lessons."

Participants shared a heightened sense of presence and a deep connection to "*something greater than oneself*", a reference to the spiritual tenets of AA, which recalls the meditative journeys of the Buddhist marathon monks of Japan (Stevens, 2013). For these "spiritual athletes" (Stevens, 2013, p.62), running initially constitutes a solitary meditation, which evolves over time

to deep connectedness with the world. For many, these reflections arose during their runs, allowing to the break this time afforded them.

I call it the universal heartbeat...Life is happening all around you. And it's like there's a heartbeat to it, beating. And even what I was saying about East Van, like, you'll stop and listen, like you'll hear somebody yelling...But that's all life too, and so rarely in life do we stop and just listen to this heartbeat. (Zan)

9.7.3.2 Body in Movement. Within the varied rhythms of running, participants described the meditative experience of locking into a pace, the exhilaration of moving fast, and of cutting through air. Running alongside a river overlooked by the clouded tips of the nearby mountains, Troy expressed:

Being able to get into a state where you're just connected to your breath and the way your body is responding, the nature that's around you...There's definitely something about doing something that's very natural like running, in a natural environment that helps me get recentered.

Figure 16

River Overlooked by Clouded Mountain Tops



Running interview in Port Coquitlam, Canada

All participants had been physically active earlier in life however, as Connor succinctly put it, “*somewhere along the way... I lost that.*” For many, the lifestyle dictated by active

substance use lead to a neglect of the body, notably of sleep, nutrition, and physical activity; “*There's no space there for taking care of your body.*” (Emily*) While one participant’s engagement with an active body had been through physically demanding work, most associated it with childhood sports. Several participants described how refinding the joy of this movement had made them feel alive and how special it was to join in that experience with their own kids:

So, I just started running with them on my shoulders, and it felt good. I think, like having both that really good feeling in my body of being able to run and then also, I think maybe just the proximity to the total joy that my kid was having up there was a nice reminder that I was like, oh, yeah, this is a good feeling that almost every person, if they're lucky, gets to experience for at least some period of time in their life. (Isaac)

Emily* recounted how witnessing that very feeling in a stranger’s children was a turning point in her life:

The thing that did make me ask for help was waking up that morning and it was raining and there's these kids outside running over puddles, like jumping around in the puddles. And I remember thinking: ‘I'll never feel that type of joy again’... And just seeing them and being like, I want that, but I'll never feel that again if I stay in addiction.

Returning to movement later in life was a way of refinding a sense of play. Participants recalled how childhood experiences of running were never framed as exercise but were following through on impulses to move. “*I like that statue,*” said Wing, referring to a figure on Vancouver’s seawall that the researcher later learned was meant to represent the inner child.

Figure 17

The Proud Youth by Chen Wenling



“I like that statue” - Zan

Running interview in Vancouver, Canada

These playful running experiences were differentiated from the work associated with training runs, recalling the distinction made by Moreau and others (2023) between conceptions of the sensuous and mechanized body amongst runners. Training runs were a means to an end, reflecting the commitment to the plans and goals integral to this lifestyle structure, within which there was also freedom in its simplicity. For Monique, there were rewards in *“trying to think less and just do what they tell you. They say run 4k and do a couple of wind sprints; just do it. Stop overanalyzing it. You don’t have to try to recreate the wheel.”* The practice of committing to a plan and to one’s goals become inscribed within one’s runner identity. As Emily* expressed, *“I am an athlete, whether or not I’m doing a hard run workout. Because the integrity you have as an athlete is a constant. The training is a variable.”*

9.7.3.3 Sensations of the Body. In active substance use, the sensations of the body become monopolized by their steady flow: *“I was addicted to how I felt with it”* (Emily*). Feeling unwell had been so normalized that many didn’t realize it was possible to feel any differently. After the acute withdrawal period, the absence of chemically induced influences made space for new sensations. *“The second that I started running, I just lit up. I was like, this feels amazing”* (Isaac) echoing Hockey and Allen-Collinson’s (2016) contention that the *“corporeal dimension of athletic experience is the sensory assemblage that is invoked from the very first running stride”* (p.231).

As training mileage ramped up, the meticulous analysis of sensations gained in importance. The achievement of distance and time-related goals is contingent not only on adherence to the plan but also on one’s relationship to suffering and to what one can endure. Learning to differentiate between stiffness and fatigue, pain and soreness, helped guide the careful navigation of the entangled space between healing and suffering while testing the limits of one’s self and one’s body (Green, 2011). Sensations of pain and discomfort brought to consciousness are not isolated to the duration of the run, as the emergence of bodily imperfections risks jeopardizing the training plan (Hockey and Allen-Collinson, 2016), requiring or even demanding (Green, 2011) attention throughout the day. *“I’m feeling anxiety about my knee,”* Rory began, as we started off on our second interview.

It’s sore all the time hurts to use it... so just trying to manage the inflammation. Lots of stretches, different exercises. You know, so it’s impeding my training for London, so I’m way behind where I need to be or want to be.

The wide range of emotions experienced by participants during runs highlighted their deeply embodied nature. Participants pondered the varied nature of running, with its moments of flow (Swann et al., 2019), endurance, and its influence on emotional well-being.

It “right-sizes” you in that I think when you're feeling down, it brings you up a bit. And when you're feeling really anxious or too alert, it kind of brings you down a bit. Right? So, it almost acts to sort of find yourself, like it roots you a little bit. (Emily*)

This intricate connection between emotions and the rhythms of the body was expressed by one participant who, at the time of the interview, was absorbing the shock of a recent loss. For her, the “*SOS quality*” (Troy) of running fed rather than soothed her emotional suffering. Asked about her relationship to running in this context, she shared “*the breath is so important to running. I found that instead of calming myself down, I was working myself up... I know that about myself. Sometimes it's hard to slow down when I'm running because I'm aggravated,*” (Jessica). A reflection that the researcher herself deeply related to, having uncovered through this study a habit of holding her breath to push through exertion and stress, both in running and in everyday life.

The connected openness that running helped to support (Gross, 2021), along with the symbolic charge of the intertwined training and healing process inscribed within one's *habitus*, culminated in powerful emotional experiences. Zan recounted the intensity of feelings that he experienced in the final stretch of a 60-kilometer race:

The last two k (kilometers) coming in, I just spontaneously burst into tears as I was running. It was almost uncontrollable... part of it was just that I was so happy that at the time, it was 60k was the farthest I'd gone and just coming in, like how far I had come in two years for this. And just to know that I did something like that was just- it was overwhelming to me. But it was gratitude that I was feeling... But it was just pure joy that, like, even though I was exhausted, part of it was relief that it was almost over, it was just like, at that point in time, my place in the world was just perfect.

9.7.4 Situated

“It's a really comfortable place for me. It's like my backyard.” (Melissa*)

Participants shared the significance of their chosen routes as they circulated through the streets and along trails with the researcher, vividly sharing a deep sense of place, often revealing

complex decades-long relationships meaningfully reappropriated and embodied through running (Allen-Collinson & Hockey, 2015). *“It’s almost like how normies go to a bar and drink to have a conversation and open up. This is like my bar.”* (Emily*) Though Wacquant (2015) contends that immersive ethnography is most conducive to carnal sociological exploration, Emily’s* choice to be interviewed in her “bar” supports the relevance of mobile methods in this study.

Figure 18

Emily’s Bar



Pacific Spirit Park, ancestral land of the Musqueam People

Walking interview, Vancouver, Canada

Responses highlighted the sedimented, temporal nature of these locations, both in relation to participants’ journeys of addiction and recovery and to the sociohistorical evolution of the area, culminating in the here and now of the interviews as they unfolded. Isaac recounted how he had lived two different lives in the neighbourhood we ran through, now walking his toddler to daycare through the streets he had once roamed, seeking out places to discreetly use.

Strathcona was still very much, like it felt like an extension of the Downtown East Side¹⁵... you know, most of the people that we bump into in the neighbourhood are like homeowners, who probably are the people who were calling the cops on the people partying in the park five years ago... I think about who I am and the way that my life has changed, and in some ways, I'm now, you know, part of that gentrifying force. But my history in the neighbourhood is a lot more complicated than that.

Intimate knowledge of the area was revealed through familiarity with the geography of the route, the terrain (Hockey and Allen-Collinson, 2016), the natural environment, the cycles of plant and animal life, and the history of the area. Some spoke about how their relationships to space had changed over the course of their recovery journeys, an evolution that stemmed from the self and reflected a process of opening up and connecting with the world (Gross, 2021).

How lucky and privileged I am to even be able to run and walk in here... Thinking about how we are actually walking on an area that for thousands of years has been Musqueam land and they would come in and do rituals and ceremonies here and bury their loved ones here... And realizing we're not just in nature, we're also in another people's space. (Emily*)

9.7.5 Symbolism

Ultramarathons are *"like living your life in one day. You have highs, you have lows, you have problems, you have solutions. Successes and failures. Takes a really long time, you bond with people along the way."* (Wing)

9.7.5.1 Healing Through Running. The early days of running quickly brought about noticeable changes in the body, rewards that reinforced the further development of the practice. Clothing and equipment choices reflected an evolution of the runner's *habitus*. No longer content to run in beat-up old shoes, a growing collection of running gear symbolized a deeper investment. Participants laughed as they recalled the evolution of their kits, from beat-up old sneakers and mismatched outfits ill-suited to running, in

¹⁵ The Downtown Eastside neighbourhood of Vancouver has a long and complex history. At this moment in time, it has the unfortunate distinction of being home to Canada's poorest postal code (Krausz & Jang, 2015) and the centre of the country's overdose crisis.

contrast to the now ever-growing collections of running shoes, belts, and gadgets.

Laughing, Monique expressed:

A perfect metaphor is like when I did my first 10k, and then you do your first half marathon, and then you do your first marathon and these gradualities are perfect markers for working on recovery... I had the most hilarious outfits and I shopped consignment and, so I had rickety dinky shoes... I should print one from each year for the progression.

Figure 19

Researcher's Shoes



The highs and lows of training, injuries, and races were mobilized as metaphors both for recovery and for life, each requiring continuous, consistent efforts. Running was described as “*a microcosm of life*”, “*a teacher*”, “*a snowglobe*”, “*a magical power*” and “*a religion*”. Just as each run was seen as evidence of progress, adding up and creating momentum, so too was each day of recovery. “*Sometimes the only success in a day ... is you got to bed sober... You go for a run and it doesn't go the way you want it to, you made it back, it was a good run.*” (Rory)

Some, weary of losing the pleasure they found in running and thus its place in their recovery, were cautious about engaging with running's extrinsic rewards. The highs of races well run were contrasted with the devastation of those that fell apart along the way. Illness, injuries,

fatigue, under or over training, or sometimes simply feeling off on race day led to less than spectacular finishes. *“You really need to be strong, I think, in your recovery life, to handle the failures of running or not being able to run at all.”* (Emily*), conveying how the runner’s ability to push through relates more broadly to recovery and to life.

9.7.5.2 Races & Goals. Races were experienced as celebrations of all that went into crossing the finish line: the first laps of the track in beat-up sneakers, alcohol stashed in a gym bag; *“circling the (race) date on the calendar,”* (Wing); developing skills by adhering to a training plan, and; nurturing connections along the way. Races were celebrations not only of the training but also of recovery, culminating in a rite of passage that consolidates a new social role (Moreau and others, 2018). *“I feel like that first actual marathon was more of a feeling of putting something behind me and moving into the new chapter. The half (marathon) was, like, part of the journey to get to that spot.”* (Wing)

Running’s *“little accomplishments”* (Rory) marked progress and were a source of pride that defined future challenges, testing the limits of what was possible. The finish lines of races were charged with symbolism specific to that process, whether it be a small local race or the Boston Marathon; the private shame of active substance use was contrasted with the highly visible experience of crossing a finish line, surrounded by family, friends, and community

9.8 Discussion

While this study offers insight into the embodied process of recovery, there are some limitations to consider. First, the relatively small and homogenous sample, comprised of primarily white, middle-class participants, does not allow for generalizable findings. Thus, different experiences of recovery and of the body, according to socioeconomic factors, were not explored. Second, though research suggests that gender plays a role in the experience of addiction and

recovery (LaGrotta, 2021), this was not explicitly investigated here. Though gendered aspects of *suffering* and of traditional recovery *skill* supports were discussed, no differences specific to running were raised and were thus beyond our scope. Most participants had engaged in traditional recovery programs, and many expressed that these teachings had become so much a part of themselves that these discourses were interconnected with their experience of running.

The recruitment criteria excluded those who had unsuccessfully integrated running into their process. It is possible that the level of fitness required to participate in a running interview discouraged less serious runners from expressing interest. That most participants in this study expressed themselves with ease throughout the interviews speaks to the level of fitness of this sample. Nevertheless, some participants did slow the pace or choose to walk at times during the interview. While mobile interviews brought forth accounts specific to the chosen routes (such as the evolution of communities), there were also limitations related to technical and environmental conditions that compromised the quality of the data.

Furthermore, Wacquant (2015) contends that the researcher's embeddedness and embodiment are essential to carnal sociology. While a degree of embeddedness was achieved through the use of mobile interviews, involvement in the running community, and relocation to Vancouver, it was certainly to a lesser extent than would have been possible with an immersive ethnographic method. However, the presence and analysis of the first author's runner *habitus* in this study speaks to Quidu's (2022) contention that immersive ethnography is not the only means by which carnal sociology may be applied. Although mobile interviews were also applied by Moreau and others (2023) within a carnal sociological framework, the researchers' *habitus* were not investigated.

There is limited literature examining the runner's *habitus*, though some have analyzed its embodiment of neoliberal values (Eren, 2017; Luna, 2019), while Tulle (2007) explored the *habitus* of age amongst elite veteran runners. This study's carnal sociological inspiration supported an examination of this *habitus*, which for the participants of this study and the first author culminated in an embodied structure that supported shifts in their processes of healing.

In this study, the first strides towards the runner's *habitus* were taken decades before in early childhood, an impulse to movement that was re-explored as adults at a moment when they sought a different direction for their bodies and ultimately for their lives. Thus, they returned to a *habitus* in standby mode (Lahire, 2003); an altogether different exercise than attempting to transform an existing one, which is, by its definition, limited to the experiences of its social context (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This has important implications for the integration of running into recovery processes; those who did not have a relationship to movement in their youth would not be engaged in or motivated by refinding something they never lost.

Past experiences of movement and physical activity, embodied during childhood (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), were reignited with the intention of altering the body's aesthetic, often beginning with a gaze in the mirror. From this external perspective, internal shifts in substance use gradually followed. Beginning with a return to the once familiar rhythms of the running body, there grew a connection to community and a life organized in relation to routine, pacing, and temporal goals. While this structure stood in sharp contrast to the chaotic lifestyle associated with addiction, the open, relatively fluid organization of the running community allowed for a gradual integration, during which time the collective purpose, values, and systems were internalized (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) through solo runs, group workouts, gear, and, most importantly, through races.

In this perspective, races function as collective symbolic events, further inscribing the values of the running community within the *habitus*. These were also celebrations of reengaging with life, of emerging from hiding as a runner, embodying the social values of that community and more broadly, of society, and making oneself available to hear the “*universal heartbeat*” (Zan). Over time, the runner’s *habitus* became deeply inscribed, and though the experiences of addiction faded from memory, these nonetheless remained embodied within. The lessons of running and recovery nourished one another, together culminating in a coherent organization of the internal and external worlds, supporting the emergence of a new identity.

Finally, Wacquant (2002) observed that the culture forged within the walls of a Chicago boxing gym was experienced as a sanctuary by its members, where the disciplined fighting connected by the pugilistic *habitus* stood in sharp contrast to the desperate, unpredictable violence of the ghetto outside its doors. While a similar sanctuary was discovered within running practice, the contrasting instability did not emanate from the streets where they ran but rather existed within participants themselves, through their lived experiences.

9.9 Conclusion

In this study, we adopted a carnal sociologically inspired approach (Wacquant, 2015) to gain insight into how individuals integrated running into their process of recovery from disordered substance use. Analysis revealed gradual, interconnected shifts in the development of the runner’s *habitus*, within which the embodied experiences of addiction remained inscribed.

This study aimed to address gaps in the literature on the body within recovery and, more specifically, on the use of exercise in a real-world context. As such, we highlighted how a network of relationships reaches out from the running body, implicating it in an extensive community aligned with the values of a broader society. In this perspective, running may

constitute a promising relational intervention, particularly for those with the potential to rediscover long-forgotten embodied rhythms.

As discussed above, much of the existing research on the use of running as an adjunctive treatment stems from quantitative studies. Our findings suggest that an individual's previous experiences with exercise may constitute a decisive variable in its integration into recovery processes, an important consideration for future research. Likewise, relational approaches to recovery may wish to integrate an investigation of the *habitus* of those seeking support, mindful of the potential for a *habitus* on standby (Lahire, 2003) to support a re-working of the individual's relationship to the world.

9.10 References¹⁶

- American Psychiatric Association (2022) Substance-Related and Addictive Disorders. In *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association Publishing.
- Alexander B (2008). *The Globalization of Addiction: A Study in Poverty of the Spirit*. Oxford University Press.
- Allen-Collinson J and Hockey J (2015) From a Certain Point of View: Sensory Phenomenological Envisionings of Running Space and Place. 44(1) *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*: 63–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241613505866>
- Best D and Laudet A (2010) The Potential of Recovery Capital. Royal Society of Arts. Available at: <https://www.thersa.org/reports?search=recovery&page=2>
- Bogue Kerr S, Soulière M and Bell L (2018). The *Transliminal Self*: The Ebb and Flow of the Kidney Transplant Experience. 28(4) *Qualitative Health Research*. 561–571. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732317743937>
- Borkman T, Stunz A and Kaskutas L (2016) Developing an Experiential Definition of Recovery: Participatory Research With Recovering Substance Abusers From Multiple Pathways. 51(9) *Substance Use & Misuse*: 1116–1129. <https://doi.org/10.3109/10826084.2016.1160119>
- Bourdieu, P (2005) *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.) University Press. (Original work published 1972).
- Bourdieu P (1988) Program for a Sociology of Sport. 5(2). *Sociology of Sport*: 151-161. doi:10.1123/ssj.5.2.153
- Bourdieu P and Wacquant L (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. University of Chicago Press.
- Canadian Centre on Substance Use and Addiction (2023) *Canadian Substance Use Costs and Harms 2007–2020*.
- Carless D (2008) Narrative, Identity, and Recovery from Serious Mental Illness: A Life History of a Runner. 5(4). *Qualitative Research in Psychology*: 233-248. doi: 10.1080/14780880701826101
- Carpiano RM (2009) Come take a walk with me: The “Go-Along” interview as a novel method for studying the implications of place for health and well-being. 15(1). *Health & Place*: 263–272. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2008.05.003>

¹⁶ The style of this reference list is consistent with the requirements of the journal to which it was submitted.

- Chang, J (2017) The Docent Method: A Grounded Theory Approach for Researching Place and Health. 27(4). *Qualitative Health Research*: 609-619. doi:10.1177/1049732316667055
- Colledge F, Brand S, Pühse U, Holsboer-Trachsler E and Gerber M (2018) In inpatient substance use disorder treatment in Switzerland, exercise programmes are implemented but not evaluated – A missed opportunity for improving treatment. 15. *Mental Health and Physical Activity*: 7–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mhpa.2018.05.001>
- Contreras R (2015) The Need for More “Carnal”. 38. *Qualitative Sociology*: 27-31. doi: 10.1007/s11133-014-9299-3
- Dennis F (2016) Encountering “Triggers”: Drug–Body–World Entanglements of Injecting Drug Use. 43(2). *Contemporary Drug Problems*: 126–141. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091450916636379>
- Denzin N (1993) *The alcoholic society: Addiction and recovery of the self*. Piscataway: Transaction Publishers.
- Eliasoph N. (2005) Theorizing from the Neck Down: Why Social Research Must Understand Bodies Acting in Real Space and Time (and Why It’s So Hard To Spell Out What We Learn from This). 28(2). *Qualitative Sociology*: 159-169. doi: 10.1007/s11133-005-4212-8
- Eren, CP (2017) Estranged Labor, Habitus, and Verstehen in the Rise of Extreme Endurance Sports. 41(5). *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*: 384–401. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723517719663>
- Foucault M (2018). *Histoire de la sexualité 4: Les aveux de la chair*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Giesen E, Deimel H and Bloch W (2015) Clinical Exercise Interventions in Alcohol Use Disorders: A Systematic Review. 52. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*: 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsat.2014.12.001>
- Glasner-Edwards S and Rawson, R (2010) Evidence-based practices in addiction treatment: Review and recommendations for public policy. 97(2-3). *Health Policy*: 93–104. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthpol.2010.05.013>
- Green K (2011) It hurts so it is real: Sensing the seduction of mixed martial arts. 12(4). *Social & Cultural Geography*: 377–396.
- Gross T (2021) Bodies as Arenas of Experimentation: Experiencing Novel Ways of Running. 50(4). *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*: 524–549. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241621996789>

- Hennink M and Kaiser, BN (2022) Sample sizes for saturation in qualitative research: A systematic review of empirical tests. 292. *Social Science & Medicine*:114523. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.114523>
- Hockey J and Allen-Collinson J (2016) Digging in: The sociological phenomenology of “doing endurance” in distance-running. In *Endurance Running: A Socio-cultural examination*. New York: Routledge.
- Jaimes A, Larose-Hébert K and Moreau N. (2015) Current Trends in Theoretical Orientation of Psychologists: The Case of Quebec Clinicians: Theoretical Orientation of Quebec Psychologists. 71(10). *Journal of Clinical Psychology*: 1042–1048. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jclp.22208>
- Kaskutas LA (2009) Alcoholics Anonymous Effectiveness: Faith Meets Science. 28(2). *Journal of Addictive Diseases*:145–157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10550880902772464>
- Kemp R (2018). The lived body of drug addiction. In R. Kemp, *Transcending Addiction*. 1st ed., pp. 48–57. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429440397-5>
- Krausz M and Jang, K. (2015). Lessons from the creation of Canada’s poorest postal code. 2(3) *The Lancet Psychiatry*: e5. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366\(15\)00045-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366(15)00045-0)
- Kurtz E (2002) Alcoholics Anonymous and the Disease Concept of Alcoholism. 20(3-4). *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly*: 5–39. https://doi.org/10.1300/J020v20n03_02
- LaGrotta C (2021) Gender Differences in Addiction. 8(1). *Current Addiction Reports*: 64–70. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40429-021-00355-x>
- Lahire B (2003) From the habitus to an individual heritage of dispositions. Towards a sociology at the level of the individual. 31(5-6). *Poetics*: 329–355. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2003.08.002>
- Lancet Regional Health – Americas. (2023). Opioid crisis: Addiction, overprescription, and insufficient primary prevention. 23. *The Lancet Regional Health – Americas*:100557. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lana.2023.100557>
- Landale S (2012) *Trajectories, Transitions and Turning Points: Sports, Substance Misuse and Desistance*. PhD Thesis, Durham University, UK.
- Luna JK (2019) The Ease of Hard Work: Embodied Neoliberalism Among Rocky Mountain Fun Runners. 42. *Qualitative Sociology*: 251-271. 10.1007/s11133-019-9412-8
- Maté G (2021) *In the Realm of Hungry Ghosts: Close Encounters with Addiction*. Vintage.

- McGannon K R, L'Estrange, M and McMahon J (2020) The role of ultrarunning in drug and alcohol addiction recovery: An autobiographic study of athlete journeys. 46. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*:101585. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2019.101585>
- Ministry of Mental Health and Addiction (2022) *Adult Substance Use System of Care Framework: A Technical Policy Document to Support Health Systems Planning*. Report for the Province of British Columbia. https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/health/managing-your-health/mental-health-substance-use/substance-use-framework/mmha_substanceuseframework_dec2022.pdf
- Moreau N, Larocque E, Jaimes A, Vinit F, Quidu M, and Favier-Ambrosini, B. (2023) Embodying or resisting social normativity? A carnal inquiry into exercise addiction experiences. 327. *Social Science & Medicine*: 115948. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2023.115948>
- Moreau N, Thibault Lévesque J, Molgat M, Jaimes, A, Parlavecchio L, Chanteau O, and Plante C. (2018). Opening the black box of a sports-based programme for vulnerable youth: The crucial role of social bonds. 10(3). *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*: 291–305. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2018.1430060>
- Olson K, Zimka O, Pasiorowski A, Iregbu S and Boulé N (2010) Tiredness, Fatigue, and Exhaustion as Perceived by Recreational Marathon Runners. 28(13). *Qualitative Health Research*: 1997-2010. doi: 10.1177/1049732318785360
- Paillé P and Mucchielli A (2016). *L'analyse qualitative en sciences humaines et sociales*. 4th ed. Armand Collin.
- Parlavecchio L, Moreau N, Favier-Ambrosini B, and Gadais T (2021). Principles-of-action used by an educrainer to create social bonds through sport in a psychosocial intervention program. 9(2). *Journal of Sport for Development* : 30–53.
- Patterson MS, Spadine MN, Graves Boswell T, Prochnow T, Amo C, Francis A N, Russell, AM and Heinrich KM (2022) Exercise in the Treatment of Addiction: A Systematic Literature Review. 49(5). *Health Education & Behavior*: 801–819. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10901981221090155>
- Quidu M (2022). La participation observante de Loïc Wacquant comme nouvelle doxa méthodologique dans les recherches en sciences sociales sur les sports de combat? Arguments pour la réhabilitation d'un pluralisme réflexif et critique.45(2). *Loisirs et société*: 218-242. doi :10.1080/07053436.2022.2091714
- Ratey JJ (2008) *Spark: The Revolutionary New Science of Exercise and the Brain*. Little, Brown Spark.

- Ross N, Renold E, Holland S and Hillman A (2009) Moving stories: using mobile methods to explore the everyday lives of young people in public care. 9(5). *Qualitative Research*: 605-623. doi: 10.1177/1468794109343629
- Schlosser AV (2018) “They Medicated Me Out”: Social Flesh and Embodied Citizenship in Addiction Treatment. 45(3). *Contemporary Drug Problems*: 188–207. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091450918781590>
- Smith B and McGannon KR (2018) Developing rigor in qualitative research: Problems and opportunities within sport and exercise psychology. 11(1). *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology*: 101–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1750984X.2017.1317357>
- Stevens J (2013) *The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei*. Echo Point Books & Media.
- Swann C, Jackman PC, Schweickle MJ and Vella SA (2019) Optimal experiences in exercise: A qualitative investigation of flow and clutch states. 40. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*: 87–98. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2018.09.007>
- Tulle E (2007) Running to Run: Embodiment, Structure and Agency amongst Veteran Elite Runners. 41(2). *Sociology* : 329-346. doi :10.1177/0038038507074978
- Wacquant L (2002) *Corps et âme. 2nd ed.* Agone.
- Wacquant L (2015) For a Sociology of Flesh and Blood. 38. *Qualitative Sociology*: 1-11. doi: 10.1007/s11133-014-9291-y
- Wainwright SP, Williams C and Turner BS (2006). 6(4). *Qualitative Research*: 535-557. doi : 10.1177/1468794106068023
- Weinberg D (2002) On the Embodiment of Addiction. 8(4). *Body & Society*: 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X02008004001>
- White, WL (2007) Addiction recovery: Its definition and conceptual boundaries. 33(3). *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*: 229–241. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsat.2007.04.015>
- Zautra N (2015) Embodiment, Interaction, and Experience: Toward a Comprehensive Model in Addiction Science. 82(5). *Philosophy of Science*: 1023-1034. doi: 10.1086/683437
- Zigon J (2011) A Moral and Ethical Assemblage in Russian Orthodox Drug Rehabilitation. 39(1). *Journal of the Society for Psychological Anthropology*: 30–50. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1352.2010.01169.x>

Chapter 10: Researcher Habitus

As I have indicated, this study took shape gradually alongside changes in my own life, and it took me some time to recognize some of its echoes. This short chapter encompasses a brief presentation of the relevant findings of my *habitus* as a research tool, elaborating on features discussed in the articles. First, I comment on shifts within my *habitus* that were prompted by my partial integration into Vancouver. Next, I address the relevance of the *suffering* within my own process to this study and discuss aspects of this shared experience and how this was present in the interviews.

In ethnographic research, the fine line between engaging in reflective analysis and self-involvement is known to muddy the writing process as researchers struggle to discern what is and is not relevant to share (Contreras, 2015). I undertook this study prepared to involve my body, though I did not initially realize that there would be aspects of my own process that I would be compelled not only to explore but, in some cases, to share. The specifics of my working-through are both personal and beyond the scope of this dissertation, though certain elements resonated with participants' trajectories, and thus deepened my understanding of their experiences.

10.1 Vancouverite *Habitus*

For two and a half years, I lived in Vancouver's West End, during which time I struggled to understand the city culture through its organization and its rhythms. I received continuous feedback from residents that I was breaking rules and disrespecting conventions; as much as I experienced the city as unpredictable, it seemed that in turn, Vancouverites experienced me that way. Though in some ways my white, conventionally female, middle-class body blended in easily with those around me, my style of movement and dress set me apart. My rhythms were

different, as was my spatial sensitivity; my faster walking pace and the narrower berth I allotted others on sidewalks prompted confused looks from locals. As Contreras (2015) similarly observed, the locals and I “*didn’t click*,” (p.29); there was a different social *habitus* embodied in me.

While I was unable to integrate local conventions into my movements, my relationship with rain transformed during my time there. On the West Coast, “*the rain lives in us*,” (Vannini et al., 2012, p.365). Its omnipresence sets this area of Canada apart from the rest of the country, permeating everyday lives and shaping the regional identity (Vannini et al., 2012), embodied within the local *habitus*. In Montreal, rain often comes in short, intense bursts, whereas in Vancouver, a light mist can last for days, making it feel as though it is always but also never raining. Most Vancouverites do not carry umbrellas, preferring to envelop their bodies in a carefully curated selection of clothing that can handle the ostensibly endless rain (Vannini et al., 2012). Over time, my wardrobe began to reflect that I had lived discomforts specific to the range of local rain experiences, a transition I had not been attuned to until a friend remarked that I was finally dressed as though we lived in the same city.

The internalization of the sensate experience of Vancouver remained with me throughout this writing process, evidence that misty rain and ocean breezes have been integrated into the situated sedimentation of my *habitus*.

10.2 Suffering & Habitus

The adoption of a position of openness allowed me to connect with participants’ descriptions of their processes of change while recognizing my own (van Rhyn et al., 2021). Processes of change are charged with the uncertainty of the passage from one state to another (van Genneep, 1909/2008). Standing on the precipice of something new, this is an ambiguous

period of intense vulnerability, not unlike a snake shedding its skin before molting (Bogue Kerr et al., 2018).

Though the roots of my suffering were different from those of the participants, their accounts of stumbling through years-long processes towards a different life resonated deeply with me. My field notes reflect disrupted sleep and irregular eating, evidence of the now-sustained destabilization of my life. At times, I achieved a delicate balance between running, fueling, and recharging, though this precarious stability was easily disrupted. Often, I was pushing through a multi-factorial, ever-present embodied fatigue. This insight informed the questions I asked about their *suffering*, about how they learned to attend to their body's grumbles, and how they coped with the frustrations of facing their limitations. Engaging with the roots of my affective process compelled a different rhythm than the one I had steadily maintained over the last few years. My running embodied the ebbs and flows of this working through. In analyzing participants' accounts of their recovery experiences, I came to conceive of *suffering* as existing on a spectrum with *healing*, encompassing non-linear ebbs and flows between the two.

Relationships to life and death weaved through participants' narratives. For many, the loss of a parent, child, or friend precipitated changes in their substance use, their running, or both. Every loss is different, each shaped by the nature of the relationship, and the circumstances that brought that life to an end. Some participants were drawn to running and cycling-based fundraisers as part of grieving processes, applying their skills towards collective mobilizations that raised money for diseases to which they had lost loved ones. "*They called it (Ride to) Conquer Cancer, which is a misnomer. It is really about conquering grief,*" (Monique).

Some had lost loved ones to the poisons that increasingly permeated the drug supply. These were charged with the weight of substance use as a social issue, too often individualized and resting on the shoulders of those who live with it. When I met Jessica in front of the Ministry of Health for our interview, she had spent the previous six weeks circling the block in an effort to raise awareness about toxic drug deaths after the loss of her 25-year-old son. Before an injury compelled her to slow down, she had run fourteen consecutive weekday marathons around the block, pausing on weekends to rest when the ministry offices were closed.

Jessica had been featured in a number of news stories, and when I initially reached out to her, I was not aware that recovery had been part of her own story as well. She had been in recovery and had been running for decades, but movement was serving a different purpose for her than it was for the other participants when we met. In light of this, I had considered that it may have been methodologically appropriate to set her interviews aside. However, taking into consideration that she did meet the recruitment criteria of this study and that the relationship between running and recovery that she described was consistent with that of the other participants, her interviews were retained. Her narrative addressed more explicitly the relationship between running and grief that several others had expressed, which was also determined to be relevant and significant.

Several factors had drawn Jessica to this embodied protest, not the least of which was the public appeal of stories like that of Terry Fox, a young British Columbian man who died halfway through his cross-Canada run on an artificial leg to raise funds for cancer research, at a time when both the disease and disability were heavily stigmatized (Ellison, 2015).

Figure 20 & Figure 21

Aubrey's Run for Safe Supply*Running interview in Victoria, Canada*

Between the first and second interviews with Jessica, I recognized that being vulnerably engaged in a Wacquantian sense compelled me to share with her how running had come to occupy an important place in my life. This was the only instance in which I shared my experience during an interview. Several participants had inquired if I, too, was in recovery. I responded in the way that I have throughout much of this paper: that running was serving a particular role in my life, but that my experience was different from what they had lived.

The energy with which she was running after a major loss was familiar to me; it was an experience that we shared. Disclosing the entanglement of running through my grieving process allowed us to explore it more deeply. We had each found a way of engaging with a social issue at a time when grief immersed us in racing thoughts that complicated cognitive tasks. *"I probably knew my mind was not in the best place to go, you know, begin doing a bunch of analytical... but*

running is pretty easy, you just go and you run,” (Jessica). Had the circumstances of my life been different, the body would have been differently present in the research I conducted.

In undertaking this research, I had contemplated the privileges of my runner *habitus*. My body had been taught to run in childhood, and I was drawn back into it as a resource when I needed a structure. My body was able to run, and its aches and pains were tended to by a team of bodyworkers, largely covered by my university health insurance. It is impossible to say what my process would have been if my body had not been available to me as a resource, or if I had never experienced it as such.

I’m not sure how I would cope with a longer-term disability, whether I would cope well or... I'd like to think that I would get involved in somebody else's running more, whether it's just volunteering with races or something like that, just to feel a connection to it still, and to the people. But yeah, in terms of the other benefits I get from it, I don't know...I don't really like to think about it too much. (Troy)

It is also impossible to say what I might have done if my body were subject to the restrictions that others are. My body moved freely through the streets of Vancouver, while the bodies of itinerant people inhabiting these same streets were forcibly moved (Griffiths, 2023). There are inequalities within movement, as there are within stillness (Fast, 2021).

I'm running and I'm taking my body out there, but I'm also acknowledging that this body is able to run... This body is not intercepted in the street... I've been able to hang out in front of the Ministry of Health, and apart from a few skirmishes with the security there, people left me alone...because this body looks the way it does and acts the way it does, I have been able to do certain things that other bodies wouldn't be able to do. (Jessica)

I undertook this research expecting that I might uncover similarities in our experiences as runners, though I did not anticipate the extent to which our healing-suffering spectrums would parallel one another. The role that running occupied in my own process allowed me to engage with the vulnerability of change in substance use, and the supports that I had in place allowed me to sustain a position of openness. My reflective, embodied practice as a social worker promoted

an engagement with my own body, which allowed me to draw connections with what participants were experiencing while remaining apart from it (van Rhyn et al., 2021). From this perspective, the sensations within my body and its boundaries served as a reminder of our differences. Thus, the messiness of the body's subjectivity, so often sidestepped in research, served as a sort of guardrail to keep me connected to myself and to my role as researcher while allowing me to connect.

There are only three or four stories in humanity... You know, being vulnerable and open creates trust and a sense of safety... I don't care if they share their stories if I can just have a positive impact. But running has given me that interconnection.
(Rory)

I had lost the most significant relationship in my life, and from a relational perspective, the process of recovery embodies a similar loss of one's primary relationship (Adams, 2016). Grieving, like recovery, is a process of learning to live differently in relation to it (O'Connor, 2022).

Chapter 11: Discussion

This dissertation has so far revealed the paradoxical absence of the body in social work, illustrated how carnal sociology may be applied through methodological approaches such as mobile methods, and shed light on how running can be experienced as part of a process of recovery. The concept of *habitus* has been discussed both in relation to these processes of change and as a research tool. We turn now to a discussion of what has emerged through the articles within this dissertation.

We experience the world through our bodies (Merleau-Ponty, 1945), thus, bodies are differently charged according to what they live. We have seen how some bodies are excluded from or are rendered more or less visible depending on the areas of the city they occupy or move through. In some contexts, these deviant bodies are highly visible, such as when under the gaze of visitors to the Downtown Eastside or when they venture outside the confines of this neighbourhood. On the other hand, these bodies also regularly disappear to hospitals, jails, violence, or overdose (Fast & Cunningham, 2018).

Meanwhile, the 2010 Olympic Games and Lululemon have put Vancouver on the map as an active city, celebrating the fit, healthy bodies of its residents. The athleisure wear that envelops these bodies signals self-discipline, a commitment to health and well-being, and an impression of control over one's own body (Brice & Thorpe, 2021). The importance of physical activity to the city's image and, consequently, to its citizenship makes its integration into the running world a particularly salient accomplishment for those who have struggled with substance use. These once deviant, less sculpted forms have come to embody the normative discourse and now align with the values of their local community, materializing in the ideal Vancouverite

habitus. It is within this tension between the deviant and the athletic bodies that this research is situated.

In this chapter, this is considered in relation to the territorial stigmatization (Wacquant et al., 2014) of the Downtown Eastside, within the communities of consumption that constitute the city's running community, and the paradoxical deviance some find within. Implications for running-based psychosocial interventions are then considered, and the limitations of this study are addressed. Finally, this dissertation closes with an identification of directions for future research and practice.

11.1 Deviant Bodies of the Downtown Eastside

The territorial stigmatization of the Downtown Eastside impacts how it is perceived by all Vancouverites, shaping their relationship to the city, influencing the provision of services in the area, and defining the ways in which lives unfold in this space (Wacquant et al., 2014). Though none of the participants of this study were residents of the Downtown Eastside, references to the neighbourhood wound through the interviews, reflecting a salient construction of addiction in relation to which they situated themselves.

The Downtown Eastside is a neighbourhood charged with symbolic power and stigma, a phenomenon that Wacquant refers to as territorial stigmatization (Wacquant et al., 2014). This concept brings together Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power with Goffman's thinking on spoiled identity to capture the impact of the sociosymbolic impurity associated with space (Wacquant et al., 2014). The stain of such neighbourhoods extends far beyond their geographic boundaries, its reputation stretching across the country and beyond, characterized, and to some extent, exoticized, by its social disintegration (Wacquant et al., 2014).

Amidst the media stories documenting the violence, destitution, and desperation (Liu & Blomley, 2013), there is little mention of the vulnerability of the people here. A number of the participants in this study, however, saw a universality to the human struggles that unfold on the streets of the Downtown Eastside. They did not differentiate themselves from the residents of this neighbourhood in terms of individual characteristics but rather in their support and access to resources.

Approximately one million dollars is spent each day on health and social services in the Downtown Eastside (Vancouver Police Department, 2022), provided by approximately 260 agencies (Culbert & McMartin, 2015). Yet the fractured system is rife with contradictions that work against itself. Fast's (2021) immersive ethnographic study of youth in this neighbourhood exposes seemingly futile interventions, such as discharging people into the street after detox, while they await longer-term recovery supports. Strained resources impose restrictions on how long people can be away from home without facing eviction, which can have the aberrant effect of losing one's housing during treatment (Fast & Cunningham, 2018).

Despite the current practice of acknowledging our presence on the unceded lands of Indigenous peoples, there is scarce recognition that this history continues to play out at Main and Hastings (Fast, 2021). Indigenous people are disproportionately represented here, making up over one-third of the neighbourhood's residents (Fast & Cunningham, 2018). Approximately half of the young people here were apprehended from their families of origin, grew up in foster care, and aged out of services. To increase clarity, use active voice: Institutional disruptions, under-resourced social services, and the churning rhythms of waitlists shape these trajectories (Fast & Cunningham, 2018).

Yet, many of these young residents have dreams of a “normal” life in the city, of apartments with kitchens where they might have a pet (Fast, 2017). While there may be a strong sense of community in the Downtown Eastside, this does not mean that it is a desirable community to be a part of. There is acute awareness of the forces that mobilize to hide their deviant bodies from view (Fast & Cunningham, 2018). Nonetheless, Fast (2023) found many express pride in their identity as Vancouverites and a wish to participate in the life that attracts people from all over the world. In the absence of a trustworthy path to reach these goals, these bodies that hold lifetimes of institutional rhythms seek escape from Main & Hastings.

11.2 Embodying Vancouverism

The concept of Vancouverism refers to the city’s urban planning philosophy (City of Vancouver, 2024b), which touts itself as a model for a new way of living. It is an internationally recognized urban planning model that “combines deep respect for nature with enthusiasm for busy, engaging, active streets and dynamic urban life” (City of Vancouver, 2024b, para 2). Vancouverism reflects the city’s brand and has been exported throughout the world, not only in the form of urban planning but also through the ubiquitous athleisure wear that was born of it.

Perhaps most relevant to our discussion is the idea that Vancouver itself can and should be exported. Aside from the glaring issues stemming from the material and social construction of the city, this reinforces the notion that the place itself has no history at all and denies that the people here have had any part in creating it. Indeed, as we have seen, some of the strongest forces of change in the city have not necessarily come from local residents but often from the many ultrarich it hosts (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2023).

Alexander (2008) would argue that much of what is described here is reflective of addiction, whether to substances or to wealth, and that ultimately this stems from the market

forces that drive dislocation. While the distress within this may be more palpable among those with modest resources, the suggestion that wealth can be addictive implies that there is suffering within compulsive accumulation. From a Freirian (1977) perspective, the power dynamics that stem from this inequality prevent all from fully living.

Vancouver's construction of itself as a livable city denies the difficulties faced by many of its residents. It may be a livable city for the ultra-rich who have their choice of places to call home, but it has become less and less livable for its own people. Resort towns may make for enjoyable holidays, but they lack the community required to sustain (social) life. In many ways, Vancouver is a city that stifles what is possible for its residents (James & Kroll, 2010).

While the rhythms of life in the Downtown Eastside may be regulated by institutional churn, the continuous changes throughout the city have a rhythm of their own. New condo developments seem to sprout unremittingly, while small businesses turn over quickly. There is constant change alongside the repetitive pace of everyday life. Communities, however, require throughlines to be sustainable.

11.2.1 Running in Vancouver

In Vancouver, the aforementioned cultural shift in dress prompted by Lululemon coincided with a company initiative that prompted change in the running community: the launch of run crews. These crews are said to mark a change in running culture, particularly in cities (such as Toronto and Vancouver) where they are flourishing (Couture, 2021). There are approximately a dozen such groups in Vancouver, each with its own *raison d'être*. Each crew proposes specific run experiences according to who, where, when, and how they run (Gross, 2017), often materializing through their affiliation with brands, stores, local breweries, or ice cream shops (Couture, 2021). They meet regularly, are free to join, and unlike traditional clubs,

running itself is somewhat of a pretext for socializing, or arguably, for consuming (Couture, 2021). Feeling apart of one's crew involves adhering to the embodiment particular to it, whether that be through sporting specific apparel or through after-run socializing at the affiliated brewery or donut shop (Couture, 2021).

In this context, not only does running entail a public performance of fit bodies and one's adherence to the associated middle-class values of self-discipline, independence, and achievement (Gross, 2020), it also does so with civic and brand loyalty. Thus, the success of one's bodily project is continuously reinforced not only through one's physical capital but also through mileage, membership in the city's crews, support of local businesses, and appropriation of the city's streets.

There are a couple of distinctions to be made here. First, identifying the orientation to consumption in the local running scene is not to minimize the sense of belonging and meaningful connection that many find within this community (Couture, 2021); these groups are responding to a need expressed by the city's residents (Vancouver Foundation, 2012). Groups developed in accordance with the values that the city champions are perhaps the most workable form of connection. After all, forming and sustaining community on the margins of Vancouver's dominant culture is no easy task, as local musicians (James & Kroll, 2010) and beachside restaurant owners can attest (Hume, 2005).

Secondly, what may seem like a subtle distinction between run clubs and crews reveals important differences in how and why people run. As illustrated in the third article, one's relationship to running changes over time; engaging in an initial impulse to movement is very different from integrating this into a practice of openness to the world. While many of the participants in this study began running for reasons that aligned with a desire to look and feel

good, the discipline of this practice paradoxically supported a spiritual transformation (Gross, 2020). This engagement with techniques of the self went beyond neoliberal rhetoric consistent with a “California cult of self-care” (Foucault, in Gros, 2001/2005, p.533). Rather, this care of self is consistent with Ancient Greek philosophy, which conceived of the body as a way of life, stemming from a belief in a connection between its strength and that of the mind (Foucault, 1990). Accordingly, care of self involved a recognition of one’s imperfection, as well as one’s physical and existential suffering (Foucault, 1984) that required constant care throughout one’s life (Foucault, 2005)

The intimacy of this relationship to the body is consistent with research that suggests long-term commitment to sport is better sustained by coherence with one’s underlying core values (Hutchison et al., 2013). For participants in this study, these values were oriented and exacted in conjunction with their processes of change and manifested in experimenting with new ways of running (Gross, 2021). For many, this came to entail choices that opposed or rejected aspects of the neoliberal tenets inscribed within the activity, in some respects making running a deviant pastime.

For some, this was revealed through a carefully considered relationship with the quantification of oneself through run data (Gross, 2020; Quidu & Favier-Ambrosini, 2022) or through a mindful engagement with the extrinsic rewards associated with races and paces. For others, it manifested in a shift towards ultra-marathons, which, broadly defined as those extending beyond a 42km marathon, can reach distances of nearly 5000km (Nall & Hondorp, 2022). Although these longer distances are more physically demanding, their duration over many days in often mountainous terrain imposes a slower rhythm that shapes a different relationship to and experience of the activity and community. The temporal resources required not only to run in

such events but also to train for them (Gross, 2020), challenge normative relationships to time and efficiency (Moreau et al., 2023). This may reflect an alternative engagement with the fast-paced rhythms of life that offer another way of being (Rosa & Vettraino, 2016).

The contrast between normative and deviant running practices is well illustrated by the juxtaposition of the flourishing run crews with the recent termination of an iconic ultra-marathon event in nearby Whistler¹⁷. Whistler Alpine Meadows (or WAM) was a community-organized annual event that stretched out over a fall weekend (Lalonde, 2023), and was comprised of 25km, 50km, 100km and 160km races (Grant, 2023). Participants of this study spoke of how the resources required to organize such an event fostered a strong connection to community, as did participation in the sometimes days-long races and the sentient experiences shared along the way.

Data collection for this study began shortly after what was the final WAM event, but no one knew that yet. Since the event traversed the territory belonging to Vail Resorts, WAM was contingent on their collaboration (Grant, 2023). Vail adopted a strategy of passive communication regarding the organization of the next year's event that ultimately resulted in the organizer's announcement of its cancellation (Song, 2023). Shortly thereafter, Vail announced a trail event on the same weekend that had been foreseen for WAM (Song, 2023), but under The Ironman Group, an international brand worth 730 million dollars¹⁸ (Mackinnon, 2020).

While the bodies of Vancouverites internalize different rhythms of the structural forces at work, many share in the experience of seeking ways to escape from them. The social disconnection, the sense of yearning, and the ambivalence of life nestled in this place between

¹⁷ The community of Whistler is located 120km east of Vancouver and is home to a world-class ski resort. Whistler-Blackcomb was developed by a British Columbia-based real estate company, though in 2016 it was sold to an American company called Vail Resorts.

¹⁸ Further, the WAM organizers had previously suspended offers from the Ironman Group due to concerns that the strength of their community and volunteer programs would be compromised by an acquisition (Song, 2023).

the Cascade Mountains and the Georgia Straight are captured by the work of a local Cree/Métis poet (Rymhs, 2018). Dumont's (2001) city view series captures snapshots of life on different city streets, including the dynamics at Main & Hastings and the 9 to 5 grind of Powell Street. The final poem, *Broadway*, describes a view that encompasses at once the Downtown Eastside, the cafés of the Drive, the Nine O'Clock Gun¹⁹ in Stanley Park, the Lion's Gate Bridge²⁰, and the North Shore Mountains; a view only possible from far above, compelling an escape from the street itself.

11.3 Addiction Beyond Vancouver

In the social imagination, addiction presents as it does in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside; it is visible, desperate, and unpredictable. This construction stigmatizes those who live with substance use disorders, glossing over the complexity of this widespread social problem by othering those most visibly struggling. It also ignores the marginal functioning of those who uphold their professional responsibilities while everything outside their office falls apart. This construction serves neither the marginalized people living with addiction nor the lawyers and engineers living in condos nearby. In a society where we are often defined by the work that we do, the consistency of our economic contributions is of primary concern (Galer, 2012). Those who are seen as failing to contribute are consistent with the social construction of the addict; therefore, those who contribute must not be suffering (Kattari et al., 2018).

The ways that addiction manifests at the corner of Main & Hastings reflect the complexities and contradictions that have been discussed throughout this paper. While Vancouver is fertile ground for analysis, much of what has been discussed here is consistent with

¹⁹ Referring to the old cannon in Stanley Park that been firing almost every night at 9pm for nearly a century.

²⁰ Incidentally, a bridge paid for in 1938 by the Guinness brewing family to facilitate access to their extensive properties in North Vancouver (Places That Matter, 2024).

manifestations of wealth, power, inequality, and addiction across the globe. Vancouver is certainly not the only place that has become increasingly inhospitable to its own people in a bid for higher status. Thus, the transversal nature of this study's findings should not be negated.

Efforts undertaken in the Downtown Eastside to strengthen harm reduction strategies, bolster addiction supports, and challenge the stigma associated with substance use are of benefit to those far beyond the boundaries of this neighbourhood; these are issues that traverse geographic and socioeconomic lines. Indeed, activists from this neighbourhood successfully argued that if addiction were a disease, they have the right to be treated for it, thereby paving the way for safe injection sites across the country (*Canada (Attorney General) v. PHS Community Services Society*, 2011).

The historical role of the Downtown Eastside has long been one of resistance (Cameron, 2004), most recently manifesting as defiance of gentrification and of the neoliberal forces that have shaped the city. The apparent threat posed by this community is in fact fundamentally aligned with the interests of most of the city's residents; they are fighting for the rights of Vancouverites to their own city and, more broadly, for people across the country.

11.4 Considerations for Running-Based Intervention

This study found that many participants had begun running long before they undertook to change their use of substances, and that this had not been their initial goal. They began running because they wanted to look and feel better, motivations consistent with those expressed by others who share lived experience of active substance use (Paquette et al., 2022). Most began running and integrated into the running community while they continued drinking or using drugs; a flexibility rarely found in addiction services, which overwhelmingly adhere to abstinence models (Paquette et al., 2022; White, 2007). They were able to quietly wade into a

major life transition in a context that would neither penalize nor shame them. Rather, they found a place within a goal-oriented community that allowed them to practice challenging themselves and accepting their limitations. Developing a running practice allowed these participants to glimpse a different life, experiment with it, and undertake gradual changes.

Paradoxically, running supported a slower and gentler process than those shaped by the churning rhythms of addiction treatments. The bodies of these runners were each engaged in setting their own individualized pace of change and were oriented toward positive (ie. I will run X distance or at X pace) rather than negative goals (ie. I will not consume). This is consistent with the findings of Moreau et al. (2024), who observed that changes in substance use among exercise addicts often resulted from internal shifts. Running provided an organizing lifestyle structure around which their time could be organized, and eventually, the rewards of running came to challenge the primary relationship with the substance. As they sought to push beyond their limitations to more ambitious goals, lifestyle adjustments compelled better nutrition, better sleep, and changes in consumption.

Similarly, the social connections fostered through running were titrated according to one's needs and capacities. Run crews and clubs provided a context that fostered relationships, beginning with light, low-stakes interactions that developed over time into connections charged with the intimacy of shared experiences. Incidentally, the sculpting of the ideal local *habitus* through one's involvement in the particularly dynamic run scene of Vancouver (Couture, 2021) likely also plays a role in the allure of involvement with this community.

Unlike the study conducted by Moreau et al. (2024), none of those involved in the present project identified as exercise addicts. Importantly, these two studies reflect differences in terms of participant involvement within the running community; those identifying as exercise addicts

seem to have had a lesser degree of integration (Moreau et al., 2024) than those of the present study. This seems to support the suggestion that integration into such communities may act as a protective factor against “at-risk” behaviours (Moreau et al, 2024).

11.4.1 Habitus-Related Considerations

11.4.1.1 Sociodemographics of the Running Community. Presently, the association of the middle class with running (Gross 2020; Smith-Tran 2019; Sui & Yang 2023) is so entrenched within the sport that in some communities, undertaking its practice may imply one’s quiet construction of a middle-class identity (Smith-Tran, 2019). For Bourdieu (1978), this reflects the reinforcement of one’s habitus through participation in the running field, while also orienting the expectations and meaning one attributes to their involvement. It follows that the demographics of the field influence its accessibility to newcomers, despite its ostensible simplicity in terms of equipment and locale.

Despite this, recent initiatives aimed at engaging a wider demographic have been successful, potentially representing a shift within running culture. *parkrun* is a community initiative that began in the United Kingdom in 2004 and has since become a free, weekly 5km running event in 22 countries, including Canada (Wiltshire and Stevinson 2018). While research suggests that geographic distance to *parkrun* events is a contributing factor to the program’s success in disadvantaged communities, some suggest that this may be less important than the meaning accorded to participation (Smith, 2021). According to Wiltshire and Stevinson (2018), social capital has had a significant influence on participant involvement and the culture of the *parkrun* movement. Unlike the communities of consumption that constitute run crews (Couture, 2021), *parkrun* seems to be offering a genuine alternative to the running community as practiced by the middle class, which may allow a wider demographic to experience its benefits.

11.4.1.2 Habitus and Recovery Capital. The dormant athlete *habitus* amongst the participants may suggest the longstanding embodiment of values that once justified childhood participation in sport. Consequently, the efficacy of running as an intervention tool may be limited to those with previously athletic bodies. This trajectory also implies socioeconomic conditions that, both in childhood and in adult life, supported extracurricular pursuits. To suggest that running may be an appropriate adjunct to addiction treatment without accounting for the conditions that make it possible to do so would not be unlike implementing inclusion policies that are in fact exclusive, as with the *Healthy City for All* initiative. To walk is to be without place (de Certeau, 1990), but the nature of this displacement differs according to one's social circumstances.

An analysis of run data collected by Strava, a popular fitness tracking app, noted less activity in disadvantaged communities within Vancouver (Harden et al., 2022). Spatial divergences expose disparities between bodies occupying different places within the city (Rymhs, 2018). The activity within the greenspaces and waterfront areas of the more affluent communities (Harden et al., 2022) is reflective of the aforementioned middle-class values and resources (Gross, 2020) that support a relationship to running as a form of escape (Gross, 2021).

Meanwhile, the affective churn of a waitlisted life (Fast & Cunningham, 2018) amongst those residing within the territory of Canada's poorest postal code (Krausz & Jang, 2015) encourages substance-induced escapes from the material reality of their dislocation (Fast & Cunningham, 2018). Using crystal meth as a tool to stay awake and thus away from one's abysmal housing (Fast & Cunningham, 2018) reveals a complete absence of the resources that would be required to conceive of running. Moreover, these bodies often have physical health

comorbidities, such as infections and mobility issues (Fast, 2023), that would make it more difficult to safely undertake any physical exercise.

While the problem of addiction extends across socioeconomic lines, the presence and development of protective factors vary according to what has been integrated into one's *habitus*. Thus, discrepancies in recovery capital shape the trajectory of this process (Cloud & Granfield, 2008). Some suggest that there is a correlation between the age at which substance use began, the duration of use, and the fluctuations of early recovery; the earlier and longer the use, the more time it may take to reach a year of abstinence (Dennis & Scott, 2007). While this is a contestable measure of effective recovery (Barlott et al., 2020; White, 2007), it is relevant to consider that during a period of their early lives, when participants in this study were connecting with their bodies through sport, others were connecting with theirs through the use of substances. Under resourced addiction services (Fast, 2021), staffed by time-stressed mental health workers, do little to challenge the history of systemic and structural harms embodied within those seeking support. For the most marginalized populations, this experience, rather than that of sport, may well be inscribed within their *habitus*.

In this perspective, it may be worthwhile to investigate how the body may serve specifically as a resource for this demographic, who may have embodied intricate survival strategies. An investigation by Steinmann and Wilson (2022) uncovered distinctive relationships to cycling amongst residents of the Downtown Eastside; for some, their bicycle served as a tool to accumulate bottles to exchange; for others, it served as a mobility aid or as a symbol of freedom. In this perspective, it may be relevant to expand the exploration of running to encompass the distinctive rhythms and characteristics of movement among marginalized

populations in the interest of detecting positive experiences of the body that may perhaps be built upon.

Incidentally, it may also be worthwhile to investigate how recovery supports make use of the city's green and blue spaces within their programs. Although the city's beaches and parks are ostensibly accessible to all, and even the most marginalized residents may occasionally find themselves in these spaces, the opportunity to differently experience them may contribute to a process of opening oneself to the world. After all, if a memory of a positive experience of the body can trigger a process of change, perhaps new experiences also have a role to play.

11.5 Interdisciplinary Considerations

Social work is not the only discipline to overlook the omnipresent concerns of the body. For Harrison et al. (2019), the preeminence of biomedicine overshadows lived experiences of the body, resulting in incomplete nursing practices. Biomedical knowledge provides a powerful frame for the specific analysis of another's body, but this oft abstract analysis does not necessarily foster a connection with a suffering person. There are many factors that contribute to the widespread problem of non-adherence to medical recommendations (Lii et al., 2017) and without oversimplifying a complex issue, it seems that the concern of the professional and the individual for two different bodies is unlikely to offer a basis for working towards shared goals. How can a relationship be built between professionals and those they seek to heal when they are concerned with two different bodies?

The increased recognition of the flesh and blood body and the relationships that stem from it may offer a place to start. Might carnal interventions propose a way of accounting for both bodies and for the encounter between the two? Although biomedical expertise offers a rich, complex analysis of the body and consequently occupies a privileged status, it also has its limits.

These reinforce the importance of interdisciplinary work, in which allied professionals may serve as bridges between the body's biomedical and carnal interpretations. As this study suggests, understanding the history of one's relationship to the body may provide important information as to potential paths for healing, not only in regard to substance use but perhaps also in relation to the lifestyle considerations that lead to the social prescription of exercise for certain illnesses.

11.6 Limitations

Pandemic-Related Limitations

While this dissertation makes valuable contributions to existing research, it also entailed certain limitations. As mentioned above, this study was conducted in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. The heavy demands on health care resources, including substance use supports, made collaborations unfeasible. Although several attempts were made to partner with different running-based addiction programs, this was not possible due to the circumstances. The initial immersive ethnographic design would also have entailed the participation of field workers; however, attempts to contact addiction services, even to assist with recruitment, were unsuccessful. Thus, no addiction field workers were interviewed for this study.

Recruitment

The recruitment criteria, which specified that those who had integrated running into their process of recovery were eligible, excluded the experiences of those who may have been unsuccessful in integrating running into processes. Further, many of the participants in this study had undertaken careers related to recovery and/or running, and no participant self-identified as having an exercise addiction.

While this may be reflective of shared trajectories within this profile, it is also possible that it is evidence of a participation bias. It may also be reflective of the 12th step of AA, carrying

the message of spiritual awakening to other alcoholics (Alcoholics Anonymous, 2001), thus, those who had been involved with the program may have been inclined to participate for this reason. On the other hand, the imperative to anonymous participation in AA, which prevents members from publicly identifying as such (Alcoholics Anonymous, 2001) may also have posed a barrier for some who may have otherwise been interested.

Sample

The sample was composed of cisgendered men (n=7) and cisgendered women (n=4), one of whom identified as being of European and Indigenous ancestry, while the others (n=10) presented as being of European descent. Participants ranged in age from mid-30s to mid-50s and had been engaged in a recovery process for between three and twenty years. Thus, while there was some diversity within the sample in terms of age and duration of recovery, there was limited ethnic and gender diversity.

No gendered differences related to running emerged from the interviews, though these were also not explicitly explored. Some women did make references to experiences of vulnerability in the context of the power dynamics of their lives in addiction, which may also be inscribed within their running in the context of recovery; however, this did not emerge. Some did, however, express unease relative to the gendered dynamics and masculine writings of Alcoholics Anonymous, which, though published in 1935, remain largely unaltered. It is possible that, compared to AA, the running community may be more inclusive towards women.

Sociodemographic data related to income was not expressly collected, but the employment status and career paths of the participants were consistent with middle-class trajectories.

The physical and economic capital required to run also reflect limitations in the present study. Individuals with physical mobility challenges or whose health status otherwise prevents the development of a running practice were not represented in this study. Differences in the manifestation of substance-related health issues may have resulted in the exclusion of experiences specific to certain drugs and their associated trajectories. Even amongst runners, it is possible that the demands of a mobile interview may have deterred some from participating. As discussed in the second article, for researchers, the level of fitness required to conduct running interviews, the potential impact of injuries on data collection, and the professional resources (physiotherapy, massage, coaching, etc.) required to support this type of research represent significant limitations to its use.

Most participants had engaged in mainstream treatment approaches. No attempt was made to control for this, and some participants themselves expressed that AA and running were so intertwined that they were impossible to distinguish from one another. The influence of AA on addiction's social construction is not to be underestimated. It is possible that the consistency of this narrative shaped how participants experienced their process of recovery, even among those who did not participate in conventional treatment and support programs. Thus, while saturation was reached within the 9 to 17 interviews generally required to do so (Henninck et Kaiser, 2022), it is possible this was influenced by AA's influential construction of addiction.

Researcher Habitus

It is likely that my outsider status influenced participants' detailed descriptions of the locations we ran, as they were aware that I was not familiar with the history of the area (Wiederhold, 2015). Similarly, my experience settling into Vancouver highlighted differences from other places that I have lived, which oriented my contextual analysis. At the same time, not

having experienced the city's changes myself, it is also possible that there are sociocultural and geographic nuances that escape me. I moved to Vancouver in the fall of 2021, at the peak of the pandemic, and left in its wake during the spring of 2023. It is possible that the period in which I was there brought certain characteristics of the city to light, while others lay dormant.

Finally, Wacquant's Six Ss (2015) served as a framework for the gathering of carnal knowledge while highlighting characteristics specific to the mobile interviews themselves. This methodology compelled the development of my running *skills* to support my embodied engagement in interviews *situated* in locations chosen by participants, which stimulated a *sentient* engagement with oneself and the environment. The spectrum of *suffering* and healing that emerged highlighted aspects of my own trajectory, which in turn provided greater insight into the *sedimented* development of the runner's *habitus*. In this way, my vulnerable, embodied, and embedded engagement in the study was consistent with the root principles of Wacquant's (2015) carnal sociology, which may lay the groundwork for a carnal social work.

As a clinical social worker, I developed this study knowing that I was practiced at "*div(ing) into the stream of action to the greatest possible depth*" (Wacquant, 2015, p. 5) and was well aware of the vulnerability this entailed (Davison, 2006). I have trained in the emotional gymnastics of witnessing and, to some extent, joining in the highs and lows of others' lives. As such, I was confident in my ability to curiously observe the emotions that arose for me, deepening my understanding of participants' experiences and thereby enhancing rather than compromising the study (Rosales & Babri, 2023). Consequently, the application of this theoretical framework and the methodological approach require reflexivity and deep engagement, which, in this study, were supported by the *skills* embodied within my *habitus*.

11.6 Future Directions for Social Work

We have seen how the omnipresent body is overlooked in social work (Bogue Kerr, submitted). I have argued certain theoretical and practical strengths of adopting a body-centered approach, which I then applied by adopting mobile methods to the investigation of running within processes of recovery from addiction. This investigation highlighted historical relationships to movement, inscribed within the individual's *habitus*, as a variable that, for these participants, influenced their recovery trajectory.

First, the presentation of results within this dissertation through the Six Ss revealed participants' shared experiences of the integration of running within their recovery processes. This choice limited the exploration of differences between participants' trajectories, which will be the subject of a future article.

In light of the findings of this study, it would be worthwhile to explore how running might be integrated into recovery treatment. A pilot project, developed in partnership with addiction treatment centers, would allow for an investigation of key considerations specific to early phases of recovery and of systemic factors specific to the structure of the program. The findings of this study suggest that such a group should allow for non-linear processes of change and, as such, should not adhere to an abstinence model. In keeping with this, the group should strive to find a balance between training structures that foster social connection by working towards shared goals (Moreau et al., 2018; Parlavecchio et al., 2021) and allowing for fluctuating participation alongside the ebbs and flows of individual processes. Ideally, this group would extend beyond the end of formal treatment to help support the many transitions involved in building a new life. It would also be relevant to explore differences particular to the experiences of different bodies (ie. gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status), since relationships to the

body, to substances, and to physical activity are shaped by these constructs and these social conditions. The findings of this study suggest that running-based intervention may be most appropriate for people with a history of physical activity, though this variable merits further investigation.

Secondly, this study touched only briefly upon the relationship between the running body, its natural environment, and climate change. However, the same dislocating forces at the root of addiction (Alexander, 2008) are also those behind climate change. A carnal sociological exploration that further investigates this *situatedness* of runners relative to the world may further deepen and expand upon the implication of this connection to “*something greater than oneself*”²¹ and what that means for running-based intervention in social work.

11.6 Implications for Social Work

Social work is a practice of nuance, not of absolutes. As such, it is well-suited to working with the uncertain ebbs and flows of the recovery process. Social work has a vital role to play in developing strong alliances, which in turn allow for an appreciation of the specificity of substance use in each person’s life and recovery processes delineated by the identification of individual goals.

Addiction treatment is rife with contradictions, but the well-documented significance of a strong therapeutic alliance (Paquette et al., 2022; Ross et al., 2023) speaks to the valuable role of social work. This is particularly important in the context of a relational understanding of addiction (Adams, 2008), with some suggesting that it stems from a lack of social connection and community (Alexander, 2008). Strategically located between the individual and society,

²¹ Reference to the tenets of AA (Alcoholics Anonymous, 2001).

social work is well-placed to challenge the many contradictions within how substance use is conceptualized and treated.

While the dominant approaches individualize the problem, the solutions proposed retain a patriarchal position that rarely accounts for the complexity of individual trajectories (Ross et al., 2023), their own goals relative to their use of substances (Paquette et al., 2022), or the embodied rhythms that pace their lives (Fast & Cunningham, 2018). The well-documented significance of a strong therapeutic alliance (Paquette et al., 2022; Ross et al., 2023) speaks to the valuable role of social work. The development of this alliance rests on the social worker's ability to understand how these elements are experienced together.

Thus, this study supports an approach to addiction intervention that does not adhere to an abstinence model but allows different behaviours (whether considered to be positive or negative) to exist simultaneously. The nonlinear trajectory of one's process may manifest in the co-existence of different bodies, at once consistent with an athletic and a *suffering* body. Thus, in the context of an alternative, embodied approach enacted through a running-based program, the role of the social worker would be to support the emergence of and engagement with the body.

Although social work has a strong presence in the field of addiction, its limited knowledge base perpetuates the dominance of the moral and medical models, tempering its potential contributions. While some social workers adhere to the dominant models in their practice as a clinical choice, the relational expertise of the discipline suggests that it has more to offer than enacting the analysis of others. If we adhere to a relational definition of addiction, then the root of the issue stems from a troubled relationship between the individual and society; this is social work's *raison d'être*.

11.8 Conclusion

That biomedicine exercises the power to diagnose but often reserves its power to treat is reflective of the contradictions with which addiction is rife. If social work accepts the responsibility of carrying out treatment for a medically diagnosed condition, this suggests that the discipline has an ethical responsibility to meaningfully contribute to the development of practices, policies, and research that are consistent with its analysis and expertise.

We have seen how substance use is shaped by the complex entanglement of sociocultural, geopolitical, and economic factors (Paoli et al., 2009). The notion that the problem of addiction lies within the shortcomings of any body or spirit is reductive, simplistic, and dangerous. Decades of social policies shaped by criminalizing combat metaphors have been a colossal failure (Pearl, 2018); tackling this multifaceted issue is complicated enough without the imposition of rhetorical discourses that are incongruous with evolving knowledge.

This dissertation has examined how market forces have disrupted and undermined communities in Vancouver, the resulting challenges that shape the lives of its residents, and how these are embodied within them. The profound dislocation of Vancouver's residents set the stage for the current addiction crisis, which quietly extends far behind the confines of the infamous East Hastings Corridor (Alexander, 2008). British Columbia reports the highest consumption rates per capita of marijuana, cocaine, crack, ecstasy, and heroin (Canadian Addiction Survey, 2007). A report commissioned by the Sumas First Nation in the wake of the 2021 Abbotsford floods (brought on by a devastating forest fire season) found high levels of cocaine and painkillers present in the water samples, prompting concern from Indigenous communities (House, 2022). Intoxicants, it seems, course extensively through human, animal, and aquatic bodies in this area.

While this dissertation has addressed the structural nature of this social issue, the study itself investigated individual experiences, which are under-researched within the field (Selseng, Follevåg & Aaslund, 2021). Strategically located between the individual and society, social work is well-placed to address and bridge the contradictions within how addiction is theorized, socially constructed, and how processes of change are supported. To be effective in its contributions, however, social work must act from both individual and social angles without losing sight of either one.

The body is at once the place of an intimate relationship with oneself and the site at which power materializes (Foucault, 1976). Thus, paradoxically, attention to and care for the body can serve as socially engaged practices of reflection, learning, and connection (Foucault, 2005). In the context of a relational approach to addiction, where the root of the issue is understood as a disconnect between the individual and society (Alexander, 2008), embodied interventions may aim to heal this rift.

As we have seen, although social work is concerned with issues related to the body, the body itself has paradoxically little presence in literature. This uncertain foundation offers a wobbly base upon which to address the deeply entrenched mind-body divide in Western culture (Hayles, 1999). Without a more elaborated theoretical base, not only is social work likely to skirt analysis of embodied social issues, but it is also unlikely to develop the careful reflective practices required of sports-based intervention.

The longstanding use of sport in the discipline of bodies (Elias & Dunning, 1986) speaks to the importance of careful consideration of the values transmitted through sports-based intervention (Hayhurst et al., 2016; Norman et al., 2018; Parlavecchio et al., 2021). The intentional use of sport by social workers likely differs from that of other professionals, who

come to their work with different knowledge, training, and ideals. Indeed, even within social work, sport has at times been applied in opposition to the tenets of social justice (Azzarito et al., 2004).

Situating the body at the heart of this analysis allows for consideration of subjective experiences as well as the many objective conditions that act upon it. Adopting a carnal approach to practice would enable the social worker to gain a deeper understanding of the *symbolic*, *sentient*, *suffering*, *skillful*, *situated*, and *sedimented* nature of the body's experiences through the use of their own habitus (Wacquant, 2015) as an intervention tool. This is similar to the phenomenological approach proposed by van Rhyn et al. (2021), however, a carnal social work would also encompass the constructivist and structuralist elements of Bourdieu's *habitus* (Wacquant, 2016).

It follows that the structuralist and constructivist elements of the *habitus* (Wacquant, 2016) would thus be unavoidably present in carnal social work interventions, supporting a critical approach to social work practice. Part of the complexity of addiction lies in its concurrence with other mental health and psychosocial issues, not uncommonly compounded by traumatic life experiences (Ross et al., 2023). If addiction stems from a disconnect between the individual and society, consolidating the divide through neoliberal treatments and policies (Ross et al., 2023) cannot be part of the solution; it is another way of being in the world that is required (Rosa & Vettraino, 2016). It takes time and trust to unpack the ways these are lived, both of which are curtailed by current constraints. This study revealed that engagement and exploration of the rhythms of one's own body, developed through running alone and with others, can support connection and community.

As outlined in the third article, a number of the transformative qualities found within running extend beyond the activity itself. Running served as an organizing structure that supported the development of deeper connections to oneself, to others, and to the world. This is consistent with the definition of recovery applied in this study as a self-directed, non-linear process of learning and personal growth characterized by changing relationships to self, to others, and to the world. Running was the conduit that guided this process; integration within the running community supported lifestyle changes, which, over time, eased changes in relationships to substance use. The lessons of running and recovery were mutually reinforcing, building on one another to support an embodied healing process characterized by attentive self-care, integrity, and the development of a position of openness to others and the world. Paradoxically, the discipline of running ultimately sustained an escape from the grind of daily life, enabling a different orientation in relation to the world (Rosa & Vettrano, 2016).

The historic role of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside has long been one of resistance (Cameron, 2004), most recently manifesting as defiance of gentrification and of the neoliberal forces that have shaped the city. The apparent threat posed by this community is in fact fundamentally aligned with the interests of most of the city's residents; they are fighting for the rights of Vancouverites to their own city. Social work should be oriented in support of these efforts rather than contributing to the institutional churn (Fast & Cunningham, 2018) that shapes wait-listed lives. A carnal sociological approach would embrace an examination of what extends out from the body and what is absorbed into it, including the substances, rhythms, and social forces that act upon it.

11.9 References

- ABC News. (2015). *Lululemon Founder Chip Wilson's Most Outrageous Quotes*.
<https://abcnews.go.com/Business/lululemon-founder-chip-wilsons-outrageous-quotes/story?id=28672323>
- Abrantes, A. M., Battle, C. L., Strong, D. R., Ing, E., Dubreuil, M. E., Gordon, A., & Brown, R. A. (2011). Exercise preferences of patients in substance abuse treatment. *Mental Health and Physical Activity*, 4(2), 79–87. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mhpa.2011.08.002>
- Adams, P. J. (2008). *Fragmented intimacy: Addiction in a social world*. Springer.
- Adams, P. J. (2016). Switching to a Social Approach to Addiction: Implications for Theory and Practice. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction*, 14(1), 86–94.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11469-015-9588-4>
- Addams, J. (1930). *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*. (2nd edition). MacMillian Company. (Original work published in 1909). <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/16221/16221-h/16221-h.htm>
- Addams, J. (1912). Recreation as a Public Function in Urban Communities. *American Journal of Sociology*, 17(5), 615–619. <https://doi.org/10.1086/212012>
- Alcoholics Anonymous. (2001). *Alcoholics Anonymous: The Story of How Many Thousands of Men and Women Have Recovered From Alcoholism* (Vol. 4).
- Alexander, B. (2008). *The Globalization of Addiction: A Study in Poverty of the Spirit*. Oxford University Press.
- Alliance of Social Workers in Sport. (2016). *History*. Alliance of Social Workers in Sport.
<https://www.aswis.org/history>
- Alston, M. (2013). Environmental Social Work: Accounting for Gender in Climate Disasters. *Australian Social Work*, 66(2), 218–233. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2012.738366>
- American Psychiatric Association. (2022). Substance-Related and Addictive Disorders. In *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. American Psychiatric Association Publishing.
- Andrieu, B. (2013). “Le corps en première personne: une écologie pré-motrice.” *Movement & Sports Sciences*, 81, 1-3. doi: 10.1051/sm/2013061
- Andrieu, B., & Burel, N. (2014). La communication directe du corps vivant. Une émergence en première personne. *Hermès*, n° 68(1), 46. <https://doi.org/10.3917/herm.068.0046>

- Arvanitidis, T. (2023). “If You’ve Got Pride in Your Community, You’re Not F***ing Your Community Up”: A Social-Psychological Retrospective of the 2011 Vancouver Riot. (Doctoral Dissertation, Simon Fraser University).
https://summit.sfu.ca/_flysystem/fedora/2024-02/etd22825.pdf
- Au-Yeung, A. (2020, December 17). Despite Years of Litigation, The Sackler Family Behind OxyContin Is Still Worth Billions. *Forbes*.
<https://www.forbes.com/sites/angelaueung/2020/12/17/despite-years-of-litigation-the-sackler-family-behind-oxycontin-is-still-worth-billions/?sh=6a2384465047>
- Azzarito, L., Munro, P., & Solmon, M. A. (2004). Unsettling the Body: The Institutionalization of Physical Activity at the Turn of the 20th Century. *Quest*, 56(4), 377–396.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00336297.2004.10491832>
- Ballamie, P., & Johnson, S. (2014). The Vulnerable Researcher: Some Unanticipated Challenges of Doctoral Fieldwork. *The Qualitative Report*.
<https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2011.1084>
- Barlott, T., Shevellar, L., Turpin, M., & Setchell, J. (2020). Destabilising social inclusion and recovery, and pursuing “lines of flight” in the mental health sector. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 42(6), 1328–1343. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.13106>
- Barnett, A. I., Hall, W., Fry, C. L., Dilkes-Frayne, E., & Carter, A. (2018). Drug and alcohol treatment providers’ views about the disease model of addiction and its impact on clinical practice: A systematic review. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, 37(6), 697–720.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/dar.12632>
- BC Government News. (2022, June 29). *Settlement reached with Purdue Pharma (Canada) for opioid damages*. <https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2022AG0044-001031>
- Beatty, A. (2010). How Did It Feel for You? Emotion, Narrative, and the Limits of Ethnography. *American Anthropologist*, 112(3), 430–443. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1433.2010.01250.x>
- Bell, K. (2012). Towards a Post-Conventional Philosophical Base for Social Work. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 42(3), 408–423.
- Bell, S., Carter, A., Mathews, R., Gartner, C., Lucke, J., & Hall, W. (2014). Views of Addiction Neuroscientists and Clinicians on the Clinical Impact of a ‘Brain Disease Model of Addiction.’ *Neuroethics*, 7(1), 19–27. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12152-013-9177-9>
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. Penguin Group.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/323448>
- Berglund, K. J., Rauwolf, K. K., Berggren, U., Balldin, J., & Fahlke, C. (2019). Outcome in Relation to Drinking Goals in Alcohol-Dependent Individuals: A Follow-up Study 2.5

- and 5 Years After Treatment Entry. *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, 54(4), 439–445.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/alcalc/agz042>
- Bogue Kerr, S., Soulière, M., & Bell, L. (2018). The *Transliminal Self*: The Ebb and Flow of the Kidney Transplant Experience. *Qualitative Health Research*, 28(4), 561–571.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732317743937>
- Bogue Kerr, S., Soulière, M., & Bell, L. (2019) Beyond Numbers: The Liminal Experience of Kidney Transplantation Amongst Young Adults Following Transfer of Care. *Journal of Nephrology Social Work*, 42, 2, 17-26
- Bolan, K. (2023, June 16). More fear and violence in the Downtown Eastside since Montreal gang moved in. *Vancouver Sun*. <https://vancouversun.com/news/crime/more-fear-and-violence-in-the-downtown-eastside-since-montreal-gang-moved-in>
- Borkman, T. J., Stunz, A., & Kaskutas, L. A. (2016). Developing an Experiential Definition of Recovery: Participatory Research With Recovering Substance Abusers From Multiple Pathways. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 51(9), 1116–1129.
<https://doi.org/10.3109/10826084.2016.1160119>
- Boston Bulldogs Running Club (2021, July 15). *About Us*.
<http://www.bostonbulldogsrunning.com/>
- Bourdieu, P. (1978). Sport and social class. *Social Science Information*. 17(6), 819-840.
- Bourdieu, P. (1988). Program for a Sociology of Sport. *Sociology of Sport*. 5(2), 151-161.
 doi:10.1123/ssj.5.2.153
- Bourdieu, P. (2005). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.) University Press. (Original work published 1972).
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. University of Chicago Press.
- Boyd, S., SNAP, & MacPherson, D. (2017). Telling our stories: Heroin-assisted treatment and SNAP activism in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver. *Harm Reduction Journal*, 14(1), 27. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12954-017-0152-3>
- Brice, J., & Thorpe, H. (2021). Chapter 1: Activewear: The Uniform of the Neoliberal Female Citizen. In L. K. Fuller (Ed.), *Sportswomen's Apparel Around the World* (pp. 19–35). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46843-9_2
- Britannica. (2024, April 6). *Chicago—Urban, Lakeshore, Skyscrapers* | *Britannica*. Britannica.
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Chicago>

- Brook, H., & Stringer, R. (2005). Users, using, used: A beginner's guide to deconstructing drugs discourse. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 16(5), 316–325. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2005.05.002>
- Buecker, S., Ebert, T., Götz, F. M., Entringer, T. M., & Luhmann, M. (2021). In a Lonely Place: Investigating Regional Differences in Loneliness. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 12(2), 147–155. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550620912881>
- Burnett, K. (2014). Commodifying poverty: Gentrification and consumption in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. *Urban Geography*, 35(2), 157–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2013.867669>
- Cameron, S. (2004). *One Hundred Years of Struggle*. Sandy Cameron. <http://sandycameron.vcn.bc.ca/2012/one-hundred-years-of-struggle/>
- Canada (Attorney General) v. PHS Community Services Society, 2011. <https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/7960/index.do>
- Canadian Association of Mental Health. (2024). *Methadone*. CAMH. <https://www.camh.ca/en/health-info/mental-illness-and-addiction-index/methadone>
- Canadian Association of Social Worker. (2024). *Code of Ethics, Values and Guiding Principles* (p. 34). https://www.casw-acts.ca/files/attachements/CASW_Code_of_Ethics_Values_Guiding_Principles_2024.pdf
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (2013, November 7). *Lululemon founder Chip Wilson says pants “don’t work” for some bodies*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/lululemon-founder-chip-wilson-says-pants-don-t-work-for-some-bodies-1.2417980>
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (2017, April 22). *Downtown Eastside running group takes on the Sun Run*. CBC. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/downtown-eastside-running-group-takes-on-the-sun-run-1.4078553>
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (2022, February 10). *Stanley Park’s 9 O’Clock Gun silenced by shortage of cannon powder*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/nine-gun-quiet-1.6347129>
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. (2023, October 13). *Vancouver ranks on global list of cities with the most ultra-rich residents*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/vancouver-centi-millionaires-1.6994843>
- Canadian Addiction Survey (CAS): A National Survey of Canadians’ Use of Alcohol and Other Drugs: (679792012-001). (2007). [dataset]. <https://doi.org/10.1037/e679792012-001>
- Canadian Centre on Substance Use and Addiction. (2017). *Changing the Language of Addiction [Fact Sheet]* |. <https://www.ccsa.ca/changing-language-addiction-fact-sheet>

- Canadian Centre on Substance Use and Addiction. (2023). *Canadian Substance Use Costs and Harms 2007–2020*.
- Carless, D. (2008). Narrative, Identity, and Recovery from Serious Mental Illness: A Life History of a Runner. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 5(4), 233–248.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14780880701826101>
- Carpiano, R. M. (2009). Come take a walk with me: The “Go-Along” interview as a novel method for studying the implications of place for health and well-being. *Health & Place*, 15(1), 263–272. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2008.05.003>
- Chamberlain, J. M. (2013). Sports-based intervention and the problem of youth offending: A diverse enough tool for a diverse society? *Sport in Society*, 16(10), 1279–1292.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2013.821251>
- Church, J., Gerlock, A., & Smith, D. L. (2018). Neoliberalism and Accountability Failure in the Delivery of Services Affecting the Health of the Public. *International Journal of Health Services*, 48(4), 641–662. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020731418793106>
- City of Vancouver. (2022a). *Downtown Eastside policy updates to increase social housing*. Shape Your City. <https://www.shapeyourcity.ca/dtes-policy-review>
- City of Vancouver. (2024a). *Public Art Registry: Spinning Chandelier*.
<https://covapp.vancouver.ca/PublicArtRegistry/ArtworkDetail.aspx?ArtworkId=823&FromArtworkSearch=False>
- City of Vancouver. (2024b). *Urban planning, sustainable zoning, and development*.
<https://vancouver.ca/home-property-development/planning-zoning-development.aspx>
- Cloud, W., & Granfield, R. (2008). Conceptualizing Recovery Capital: Expansion of a Theoretical Construct. *Substance Use & Misuse*, 43(12–13), 1971–1986.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10826080802289762>
- Coakley, J. (2011). Youth Sports: What Counts as “Positive Development?” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 35(3), 306–324. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723511417311>
- Colledge, F., Brand, S., Pühse, U., Holsboer-Trachsler, E., & Gerber, M. (2018). In inpatient substance use disorder treatment in Switzerland, exercise programmes are implemented but not evaluated – A missed opportunity for improving treatment. *Mental Health and Physical Activity*, 15, 7–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mhpa.2018.05.001>
- Contreras, R. (2015). The Need for More “Carnal.” *Qualitative Sociology*, 38(1), 27–31.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-014-9299-3>

- Corvino, C., D'Angelo, C., & Gozzoli, C. (2023). Social work and social inclusion in sports-based programs: A qualitative study. *Journal of Social Work*, 23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14680173231197933>
- Coupland, D. (2001). *City of Glass*. The Coupland File. <https://coupland.tripod.com/snigh1.html>
- Couture, J. (2021). *Running Together, Even When We're Apart: Being Connected, and Consuming Together*. (Doctoral Dissertation, University of British Columbia). <https://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0406088>
- Crooks, A., & Mensinga, J. (2021). Body, Relationship, Space: Dance Movement Therapy as an Intervention in Embodied Social Work With Parents and Their Children. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 250–258.
- Culbert, L., & McMartin, P. (2015, January 15). Downtown Eastside: 260 agencies, housing sites crowd Downtown Eastside (with video and map). *Vancouver Sun*. <https://vancouversun.com/news/metro/downtown-eastside-260-agencies-housing-sites-crowd-downtown-eastside-with-video-and-map>
- Dai, C.-L., Chen, C.-C., Richardson, G. B., & Gordon, H. R. D. (2020). Managing Substance Use Disorder through a Walking/Running Training Program. *Substance Abuse: Research and Treatment*, 14, 117822182093668. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1178221820936681>
- Da Nobrega, T. P., Schirrer, M., Legendre, A., & Andrieu, B. (2017). Sentir le vivant de son corps: Trois degrés d'éveil de la conscience. *Staps*, 117–118(3–4), 39–57. <https://doi.org/10.3917/sta.117.0039>
- Darcy, C. (2020). Men and the Drug Buzz: Masculinity and Men's Motivations for Illicit Recreational Drug Use. *Sociological Research Online*, 25(3), 421–437. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1360780419879940>
- Davies, P. (2012). 'Me', 'Me', 'Me': The Use of the First Person in Academic Writing and Some Reflections on Subjective Analyses of Personal Experiences. *Sociology*, 46(4), 744–752. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038512437897>
- D'Aunno, T., Park, S. & Pollack, H. A. (2019). Evidence-based treatment for opioid use disorders: A national study of methadone dose levels, 2011–2017. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 96, 18–22. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsat.2018.10.006>
- Davis, C. (2011). *The Chuck Davis History of Metropolitan Vancouver*, Coastal Publishing.
- Davison, J. (2006). Dilemmas in Research: Issues of Vulnerability and Disempowerment for the Social Worker/Researcher. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 18(3), 379–393. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1080/0265053042000314447>
- de Certeau, M. (1990). *L'invention du quotidien I. Arts de faire*. Gallimard.

- Dennis, F. (2016). Encountering “Triggers”: Drug–Body–World Entanglements of Injecting Drug Use. *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 43(2), 126–141. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091450916636379>
- Dennis, F. (2020). Mapping the Drugged Body: Telling Different Kinds of Drug-using Stories. *Body & Society*, 26(3), 61–93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X20925530>
- Dennis, M., & Scott, C. (2007). Managing Addiction as a Chronic Condition. *Addiction Science & Clinical Practice*, 4(1), 45–55. <https://doi.org/10.1151/ascp074145>
- Denzin, N. (1993). *The alcoholic society: Addiction and recovery of the self*. Transaction Publishers.
- Derom, I., & Lee, D. (2014). Vancouver and the 2010 Olympic Games: Physical Activity for All? *Journal of Physical Activity and Health*, 11(8), 1556–1564. <https://doi.org/10.1123/jpah.2012-0469>
- Dumont, G. (2023). Immersion in Organizational Ethnography: Four Methodological Requirements to Immerse Oneself in the Field. *Organizational Research Methods*, 26(3), 441–458. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10944281221075365>
- Dumont, M. (2001). *green girl dreams Mountains*. Oolichan Books.
- Duneier, M. (2006). Garder sa tête sur le ring?: Sur la négligence théorique et autres écueils de l’ethnographie. *Revue française de sociologie*, Vol. 47(1), 143–157. <https://doi.org/10.3917/rfs.471.0143>
- Elias, N., & Dunning, E. (1986). *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process: The Collected Works of Norbert Elias* (p. 320). Dublin, IR: University College Dublin Press.
- Ellison, J. (2015). A “Unifying Influence on Our Nation”: Making and Remaking the Meaning of Terry Fox. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 49(3), 170–190. <https://doi.org/10.3138/jcs.49.3.170>
- Fafard, P. (2012). Public Health Understandings of Policy and Power: Lessons from INSITE. *Journal of Urban Health*, 89(6), 905–914. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-012-9698-2>
- Fast, D. (2017). Dream homes and dead ends in the city: A photo essay experiment. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 39(7), 1134–1148. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.12563>
- Fast, D. (2021). Going Nowhere: Ambivalence about Drug Treatment during an Overdose Public Health Emergency in Vancouver. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 35(2), 209–225. <https://doi.org/10.1111/maq.12638>

- Fast, D. (2023). *The Best Place: Addiction, Intervention, and Living and Dying Young in Vancouver*. Rutgers University Press.
- Fast, D., & Cunningham, D. (2018). “We Don’t Belong There”: New Geographies of Homelessness, Addiction, and Social Control in Vancouver’s Inner City. *City & Society*, 30(2), 237–262. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12177>
- Ferguson, H. (2016). Researching Social Work Practice Close Up: Using Ethnographic and Mobile Methods to Understand Encounters between Social Workers, Children and Families. *British Journal of Social Work*, 46(1), 153–168. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcu120>
- Ferguson, H. (2018). Making home visits: Creativity and the embodied practices of home visiting in social work and child protection. *Qualitative Social Work*, 17(1), 65–80.
- Florêncio, J. (2023). Drugs, techno and the ecstasy of queer bodies. *The Sociological Review*, 71(4), 861–880. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261231174970>
- Foreman-Mackey, A., Xavier, J., Corser, J., Fleury, M., Lock, K., Mehta, A., Lamb, J., McDougall, J., Newman, C., & Buxton, J. A. (2023). “It’s just a perfect storm”: Exploring the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on overdose risk in British Columbia from the perspectives of people who use substances. *BMC Public Health*, 23(1), 640. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-023-15474-5>
- Foucault, M. (1963). *Naissance de la clinique*. Quadrige/PUF.
- Foucault, M. (1976). *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.) (2nd ed.). Vintage.
- Foucault, M. (1984). *Histoire de la sexualité 3: Le souci de soi*. Gallimard.
- Foucault, M. (1990). *The History of Sexuality, Volume II: The Use of Pleasure* (R. Hurley, Trans.) Vintage.
- Foucault, M. (2005). *Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1981-1982*. (F. Gros, F. Ewald, A. Fontana, D., and A. I. Davidson (Ed.). (G. Burchell, Trans.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Foucault, M. (2018). *Histoire de la sexualité 4: Les aveux de la chair*. Gallimard.
- Franklin, D. L. (1986). Mary Richmond and Jane Addams: From Moral Certainty to Rational Inquiry in Social Work Practice. *Social Service Review*, 60(4), 504–525. <https://doi.org/10.1086/644396>
- Fraser, S., Pienaar, K., Dilkes-Frayne, E., Moore, D., Kokanovic, R., Treloar, C., & Dunlop, A. (2017). Addiction stigma and the biopolitics of liberal modernity: A qualitative analysis.

- International Journal of Drug Policy*, 44, 192–201.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2017.02.005>
- Fraser, S., Valentine, K. & Ekendahl, M. (2018). Drugs, Brains and Other Subalterns: Public Debate and the New Materialist Politics of Addiction. *Body & Society*, 24(4), 58–86.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X18781738>
- Freire, P. (1977). *Pédagogie des opprimés : suivi de conscientisation et révolution*. Paris : Maspero.
- Gale, A. (2022). Sacklers Sacked But Purdue Still Caused Opioid Epidemic. *Missouri Medicine*, 119(2), 109.
- Galer, D. (2012). Disabled Capitalists: Exploring the Intersections of Disability and Identity Formation in the World of Work. *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 32(3). <https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.18061/dsq.v32i3>
- Gasparini, W. (2008). L'intégration par le sport. *Sociétés contemporaines*, 69(1), 7–23.
- Gerrard, J., & Farrugia, D. (2015). The 'lamentable sight' of homelessness and the society of the spectacle. *Urban Studies*, 52(12), 2219–2233. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098014542135>
- Giesen, E. S., Deimel, H., & Bloch, W. (2015). Clinical Exercise Interventions in Alcohol Use Disorders: A Systematic Review. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 52, 1–9.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsat.2014.12.001>
- Gilmour, J. (2014). *Trouble on Main Street: Mackenzie King, Reason, Race and the 1907 Vancouver Riots*. Allen Lane.
- Government of Canada. (2023). *Federal actions on the overdose crisis*.
<https://www.canada.ca/en/health-canada/services/opioids/federal-actions/overview.html>
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. University of Edinburgh.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Touchstone.
- Goffman, E. (1989). On Fieldwork. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 18 (2), 123–132.
- Graham, M. D., Young, R. A., Valach, L., & Wood, A. (2008). Addiction as a complex social process: An action theoretical perspective. *Addiction Research & Theory*, 16(2), 121–133. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16066350701794543>
- Grant, J. (2023, February 13). Popular trail races in Whistler, B.C., permanently cancelled. *CBC News*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/whistler-alpine-meadows-races-cancelled-1.6745997>

- Green, L. (2021). Investigating the Sense of Smell and Its Relevance to Embodied Social Work Practice: Exploring the Literature. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 222–234. doi: 10.1080/0312407X.2020.1847306
- Griffiths, N. (2023, April 3). City of Vancouver document calls for using police to speed up clearing DTES street camps. *Vancouver Sun*. <https://vancouver.sun.com/news/local-news/leaked-city-of-vancouver-document-proposes-escalation-to-clear-dtes-encampment>
- Gros, F. (2001/2005). The 1982 Course in Foucault's Work Course Context. In F. Gros, F. Ewald, A. Fontana, D., and A. I. Davidson (Ed.). (G. Burchell, Trans.). *Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981-1982*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. (Original work published 2001).
- Gross, M. (2017). We Run The Streets. *Runner's World*. <https://www.runnersworld.com/runners-stories/a19445629/urban-running-crews/>
- Gross, T. (2020). Running for Success: Marathon Boom and Middle-Class Bodies in Estonia. *East European Politics and Societies: And Cultures*, 34(2), 441–463. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325419842194>
- Gross, T. (2021). Bodies as Arenas of Experimentation: Experiencing Novel Ways of Running. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 50(4), 524–549. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241621996789>
- Grossetti, M. (2009). 7. Imprévisibilités et irréversibilités: Les composantes des bifurcations. In *Bifurcations* (pp. 147–159). La Découverte. <https://doi.org/10.3917/dec.bessi.2009.01.0147>
- Harden, S. R., Schuurman, N., Keller, P., & Lear, S. A. (2022). Neighborhood Characteristics Associated with Running in Metro Vancouver: A Preliminary Analysis. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 19(21), 14328. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph192114328>
- Harrison, H. F., Kinsella, E. A., & DeLuca, S. (2019). Locating the lived body in client–nurse interactions: Embodiment, intersubjectivity and intercorporeality. *Nursing Philosophy*, 20(2), e12241. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nup.12241>
- Hennink, M., & Kaiser, B. N. (2022). Sample sizes for saturation in qualitative research: A systematic review of empirical tests. *Social Science & Medicine*, 292, 114523. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.114523>
- Hayhurst, L. M. C., Giles, A. R., & Wright, J. (2016). Biopedagogies and Indigenous knowledge: Examining sport for development and peace for urban Indigenous young women in Canada and Australia. *Sport, Education and Society*, 21(4), 549–569. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2015.1110132>

- Hayes, S., & Hoffman, S. (2017). The third wave of cognitive-behavioral therapy and the rise of process-based care. *World Psychiatry*, 16(3), 245-246. doi: 10.1002/wps.20442
- Hayles, N. K. (1999). *How We Became Posthuman*. University of Chicago Press.
- Hearty, K., & Dave, H. (2013, March 4). *Eat the rich: Picketers promise to shut down Pidgin*. <https://themainlander.com/2013/03/04/eat-the-rich-picketers-promise-to-shut-down-pidgin/>
- Heather, N., Best, D., Kawalek, A., Field, M., Lewis, M., Rotgers, F., Wiers, R. W., & Heim, D. (2018). Challenging the brain disease model of addiction: European launch of the addiction theory network. *Addiction Research & Theory*, 26(4), 249–255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16066359.2017.1399659>
- Hefferon, K., Mallery, R., Gay, C., & Elliott, S. (2013). ‘Leave all the troubles of the outside world’: A qualitative study on the binary benefits of ‘Boxercise’ for individuals with mental health difficulties. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 5(1), 80–102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2012.712995>
- Heilig, M., Epstein, D. H., Nader, M. A., & Shaham, Y. (2016). Time to connect: Bringing social context into addiction neuroscience. *Nature Reviews. Neuroscience*, 17(9), 592–599. <https://doi.org/10.1038/nrn.2016.67>
- Homelessness Services Association of BC. (2023). *2023 Homeless Count in Greater Vancouver* (p. 70). Greater Vancouver Home Community Entity. https://hsa-bc.ca/_Library/2023_HC/2023_Homeless_Count_for_Greater_Vancouver.pdf
- House, T. (2022, November 28). Traces of cocaine, pharmaceuticals found in B.C. river after floods. *APTN- National News*. <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/traces-of-cocaine-pharmaceuticals-found-in-b-c-river-after-floods/>
- Howell, A., & Voronka, J. (2012). Introduction: The Politics of Resilience and Recovery in Mental Health Care. *Studies in Social Justice*, 6(1).
- Hull House Museum. (n.d.). *About Jane Addams and Hull-House Settlement*. Jane Addams Hull-House Museum. Retrieved April 6, 2024, from <https://www.hullhousemuseum.org/about-us>
- Hume, M. (2005, July 25). Weathering controversy on the beachfront. *Globe & Mail*. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/weathering-controversy-on-the-beachfront/article984068/>
- Hutchison, A.J., Johnston, L.H., & Breckon, J.D. (2013). A grounded theory of successful long-term physical activity behaviour change. *Qualitative Research in Sports, Exercise, and Health*, 5(1), 109-126. <https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.1080/2159676X.2012.693529>

- Hyland, K. (2002). Authority and invisibility: Authorial identity in academic writing. *Journal of Pragmatics*.
- Ivsins, A., Fleming, T., Barker, A., Mansoor, M., Thakarar, K., Sue, K., & McNeil, R. (2022). The practice and embodiment of “goofballs”: A qualitative study exploring the co-injection of methamphetamines and opioids. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 107, 103791. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2022.103791>
- James, M. & Kroll, K. (Directors). (2010). No Fun City (Film). Make Believe Media.
- Jellinek, E. M. (1960). Social, cultural and economic factors. In E. M. Jellinek, *The disease concept of alcoholism*. (pp. 13–32). Hillhouse Press. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14090-002>
- Kaskutas, L. (2009). Alcoholics Anonymous Effectiveness: Faith Meets Science. *Journal of Addictive Diseases*, 28(2), 145–157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10550880902772464>
- Kassam, A. (2016, November 18). Vancouver hopes to cool off housing market with a tax on empty homes. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/17/vancouver-empty-homes-tax>
- Kattari, S. K., Olzman Miranda, & Hanna, M. D. (2018). “You Look Fine!” *Affilia*, 33(4), 477–492. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109918778073>
- Kelly, J. F. (2019). E. M. Jellinek’s Disease Concept of Alcoholism. *Addiction*, 114(3), 555–559. <https://doi.org/10.1111/add.14400>
- Kemp, R. (2018). The lived body of drug addiction. In R. Kemp, *Transcending Addiction* (1st ed., pp. 48–57). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429440397-5>
- Kennedy, A. (2008). Eugenics, “Degenerate Girls,” and Social Workers During the Progressive Era. *Affilia: Journal of Women & Social Work*, 23(1), 22–37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109907310473>
- Kenny, N. (2016). Forgotten pasts and contested futures in Vancouver. *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 29(2), 175–197. <https://doi.org/10.3828/bjcs.2016.9>
- Kheraj, S., & Wynn, G. (2013). *Inventing Stanley Park: An Environmental History*. University of British Columbia Press. <https://doi.org/10.59962/9780774824262>
- Kourgiantakis, T., McNeil, S. R., Hussain, A., Logan, J., Ashcroft, R., Lee, E., & Williams, C. C. (2022). Social work’s approach to recovery in mental health and addiction policies: A scoping review. *Social Work in Mental Health*, 20(4), 377–399. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15332985.2021.2019169>

- Kozart, M. (2002). Understanding efficacy in psychotherapy: An ethnomethodological perspective on the therapeutic alliance. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 72(2), 217-231. doi: 10.1037/0002-9432.72.2.217
- Kranzler, H. R., & Soyka, M. (2018). Diagnosis and Pharmacotherapy of Alcohol Use Disorder: A Review. *JAMA*, 320(8), 815–824. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2018.11406>
- Krausz, M., & Jang, K. (2015). Lessons from the creation of Canada's poorest postal code. *The Lancet Psychiatry*, 2(3), e5. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366\(15\)00045-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366(15)00045-0)
- Kunz, V. (2009). Sport as a post-disaster psychosocial intervention in Bam, Iran. *Sport in Society*, 12(9), 1147–1157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430430903137803>
- Kurtz, E. (2002). Alcoholics Anonymous and the Disease Concept of Alcoholism. *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly*, 20(3–4), 5–39. https://doi.org/10.1300/J020v20n03_02
- Kusenbach, M. (2003). Street Phenomenology: The Go-Along as Ethnographic Research Tool. *Ethnography*, 4(3), 455–485. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146613810343007>
- Lalonde, M. (2023, February 11). Sea to Sky ultra runners 'disappointed' by Whistler Alpine Meadows cancellation. *Pique Newsmagazine*. <https://www.piquenewsmagazine.com/local-news/whistler-alpine-meadows-trail-race-ultramarathon-permanently-cancelled-6526867>
- Landale, S. (2012). *Trajectories, Transitions and Turning Points*: [Doctoral Dissertation, Durham University]. <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3623>
- Lavrence, C., & Lozanski, K. (2014). "This Is Not Your Practice Life": Lululemon and the Neoliberal Governance of Self. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*, 51(1), 76–94. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12034>
- Le, T. N., & Alefaio, D. (2020). Mindfulness Training for Social Service Providers in Hawaii: Context and Considerations. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 46(4), 524–537. Sociological Abstracts. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2019.1606758>
- Leduc, D., & Lee, J. (2003). *Illegal Drugs and Drug Trafficking* (BP-435E). Government of Canada: Political and Social Affairs Division. <https://publications.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/bp435-e.htm>
- Lee, U. (Director). (2023, February 14). *How Vancouver's Waterfront Became So Boring*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7EYf-S5yTEk&t=65s>
- Lii, S-C., Chu, C-L., & Huang, Y-H. (2017, June 1-June 4). *Performing (Non-) Compliance – Body, Subjectivity, and Medication in Psychiatry*. (Conference presentation). The Asian Conference of Cultural Studies, Kobe, Japan. https://papers.iafor.org/proceedings_category/accs-official-conference-proceedings/

- Liu, S., & Blomley, N. (2013). Making news and making space: Framing Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. *Canadian Geographies / Géographies Canadiennes*, 57(2), 119–132. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0064.2012.00453.x>
- Lipsky, M. (1969). Toward a Theory of Street-Level Bureaucracy. *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, 46.
- Mackinnon, K. (2020, May 4). Show me the money: Ironman goes from free to \$730 million. *Triathlon Magazine Canada*. <https://triathlonmagazine.ca/feature/show-me-the-money-ironman-goes-from-free-to-730-million/>
- Macrotrends. (2024, February 19). *Lululemon Athletica Inc Net Worth 2010-2023 | LULU*. Macrotrends. <https://www.macrotrends.net/stocks/charts/LULU/lululemon-athletica-inc/net-worth>
- Magill, M., Ray, L., Kiluk, B., Hoadley, A., Bernstein, M., Tonigan, J. S., & Carroll, K. (2019). A meta-analysis of cognitive-behavioral therapy for alcohol or other drug use disorders: Treatment efficacy by contrast condition. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 87(12), 1093–1105. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ccp0000447>
- Małkiewicz, M. A., Małcki, A., Toborek, M., Szarmach, A., & Winklewski, P. J. (2020). Substances of abuse and the blood brain barrier: Interactions with physical exercise. *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews*, 119, 204–216. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neubiorev.2020.09.026>
- Maté, G. (2021). *In the Realm of Hungry Ghosts: Close Encounters with Addiction*. (2nd edition). Vintage.
- McNeil, S. (2021). Epistemology, Social Work and Substance Use. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 51(1), 357–374. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcaa128>
- Mekonnen, A., & Lee, B. K. (2022). Social work in addiction: Opportunities and alliances. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 36(3), 303–316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650533.2021.1964454>
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1945). *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Gallimard.
- Milliken, M. (2015, May 23). *On L.A.'s Skid Row, a judge leads pack on run to recovery*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-skidrow-runners-idUSKBN0O80DC20150523>
- Ministry of Mental Health and Addiction. (2022). *Adult Substance Use System of Care Framework: A Technical Policy Document to Support Health Systems Planning*. British Columbia. <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/health/managing-your-health/mental->

health-substance-use/substance-use-
framework/mmha_substanceuseframework_dec2022.pdf

- Morah, N. (2022, May 5). Making the “Millennial Middle” [G]. doi: <http://dx.doi.org.10.14288/1.0413558>
- Moreau, N., Chanteau, O., Benoît, M., Dumas, M., Laurin-Lamothe, A., Parlavecchio, L., & Lester, C. (2014). Sports activities in a psychosocial perspective: Preliminary analysis of adolescent participation in sports challenges. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 49(1), 85–101. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690212452361>
- Moreau, N., Larocque, E., Jaimes, A., Vinit, F., Quidu, M., & Favier-Ambrosini, B. (2023). Embodying or resisting social normativity? A carnal inquiry into exercise addiction experiences. *Social Science & Medicine*, 327, 115948. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2023.115948>
- Moreau, N., Thibault Lévesque, J., Molgat, M., Jaimes, A., Parlavecchio, L., Chanteau, O., & Plante, C. (2018). Opening the black box of a sports-based programme for vulnerable youth: The crucial role of social bonds. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 10(3), 291–305. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2018.1430060>
- Moreau, N., Quidu, M., & Larocque, E. (2024). On Becoming an “Exercise addict”: Analyzing Exercise Addiction Processes Through the Sociology of Dispositional and Contextual Plurality: *Staps*, N° 143(5), 99–121. <https://doi.org/10.3917/sta.143.0099>
- Mutschler, C., Haines, H., McShane, K., Lochran, M., & Bhoi, L. (2024). Developing a realist theory of community-based residential substance use treatment. *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy*, 31(1), 105–115. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687637.2022.2114879>
- Mutukistna, B., & Nieto, F. O. (2022). Re-Imagining the Stanley Park Seawall: An Exploration of Living Shoreline Alternatives. *University of British Columbia*. https://sustain.ubc.ca/sites/default/files/2022-059_Re-Imagining%20the%20Stanley%20Park%20Seawall_Mutukistna_0.pdf
- Muzicant, A., & Peled, E. (2018). Home Visits in Social Work: From Disembodiment to Embodied Presence. *British Journal of Social Work*, 48(3), 826–842. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcx033>
- Nall, M., & Hondorp, G. (2022, August 3). Looking for a Challenge? These Are the 20 Most Brutal Races in the World. *Runner's World*. <https://www.runnersworld.com/races-places/g21781996/worlds-toughest-races/>
- Namian, D. (2023). *La société de provocation: Essai sur l'obscénité des riches*. Lux.

- Nathan, P. E., Conrad, M., & Skinstad, A. H. (2016). History of the Concept of Addiction. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 12*(1), 29–51. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-021815-093546>
- Newman, T. J., Magier, E., Okamoto, K., Kimiecik, C., Shute, L., Beasley, L., & Tucker, A. R. (2022). Social work in sport: Playmakers in the athletic arena. *Journal of Social Work, 22*(3), 692–714. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14680173211009743>
- Nordheim, K., Walderhaug, E., Alstadius, S., Kern-Godal, A., Arnevik, E., & Duckert, F. (2018). Young adults' reasons for dropout from residential substance use disorder treatment. *Qualitative Social Work, 17*(1), 24–40. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325016654559>
- Norman, M. E., Petherick, L., Garcia, E., Giesbrecht, G., & Duhamel, T. (2018). Governing indigenous recreation at a distance: A critical analysis of an after school active health intervention. *Sport, Education and Society, 23*(2), 135–148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2016.1155443>
- O'Connor, M.-F. (2022). *The Grieving Brain*. Harper One.
- Odyssey House Inc. (2021). *Odyssey House—About*. Odyssey House NYC. <https://odysseyhousenyc.org/odyssey-house/where-recovery-gets-real/>
- Odyssey House Inc. (2023, November 6). Running with purpose: Marathon team achieves their fundraising goals. *Odyssey House*. <https://odysseyhousenyc.org/running-with-purpose-marathon-team-achieves-their-fundraising-goals/>
- Paillé, P., & Mucchielli, A. (2016). *L'analyse qualitative en sciences humaines et sociales* (4e ed.). Armand Collin.
- Palmer, C. (2016). Research on the run: Moving methods and the charity 'thon.' *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 8*(3), 225–236. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2015.1129641>
- Paoli, L., Greenfield, V. A., & Reuter, P. (2009). *The World Heroin Market Can Supply Be Cut?* Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195322996.001.0001>
- Parlavecchio, L., Moreau, N., Favier-Ambrosini, B., & Gadais, T. (2021). Principles-of-action used by an eductrainer to create social bonds through sport in a psychosocial intervention program. *Journal of Sport for Development, 9*(2), 30–53.
- Parlebas, P. (2015). Mauss et les princes de Serendip. *Revue du MAUSS, 45*(1), 214 <https://doi.org/10.3917/rdm.045.0214>

- Paquette, C. E., Daughters, S. B., & Witkiewitz, K. (2022). Expanding the continuum of substance use disorder treatment: Nonabstinence approaches. *Clinical Psychology Review, 91*, 102110. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2021.102110>
- Patterson, M. S., Spadine, M. N., Graves Boswell, T., Prochnow, T., Amo, C., Francis, A. N., Russell, A. M., & Heinrich, K. M. (2022). Exercise in the Treatment of Addiction: A Systematic Literature Review. *Health Education & Behavior, 49*(5), 801–819. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10901981221090155>
- Pearl, B. (2018, June 27). Ending the War on Drugs: By the Numbers. *American Progress*. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/ending-war-drugs-numbers/>
- Perks, T. (2015). Exploring an Olympic “Legacy”: Sport Participation in Canada before and after the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne de Sociologie, 52*(4), 462–474. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12087>
- Places That Matter (2024). *Lion's Gate Bridge*. Community History Resource. <https://placethatmatter.ca/location/lions-gate-bridge/#:~:text=The%20Guinness%20brewing%20family%20built,its%20heritage%20value%20and%20capacity.>
- Pociello, C. (2005). Les cultures sportives. In *Les cultures sportives* (2e ed.). Presses Universitaires de France.
- Poitras, L. (2023, March 6). I've seen how overdose wrecks lives – why have the Sackler family members behind OxyContin avoided all charges? *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/mar/06/us-opioids-crisis-richard-sackler-purdue-pharma>
- Proctor, J. (2016, May 4). Deal of the century: Expo 86 land purchase changed Vancouver. *CBC*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/expo-86-china-business-vancouver-1.3560255>
- Proudfoot, J. (2011). The derelict, the deserving poor, and the lumpen: A history of the politics of representation in the Downtown Eastside. In *Stan Douglas: Abbott & Cordova, 7 August 1971* (pp. 88–104). Arsenal Pulp Press.
- Puri, B. (2016, August 9). Walking tours exploit Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, advocates say. *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/walking-tours-exploit-vancouver-s-downtown-eastside-advocates-say-1.3713724>
- Quidu, M., & Favier-Ambrosini, B. (2022). Quelles expériences intimes et pratiques effectives de la course à pied quantifiée? Étude des usages « ordinaires » des montres connectées chez des coureurs et coureuses amateurs à partir d'une auto-explicitation en temps réel.

- Loisir et Société / Society and Leisure*, 45(3), 506–549.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07053436.2022.2140978>
- Ratey, J. (2008). *Spark: The Revolutionary New Science of Exercise and the Brain*. Little, Brown Spark.
- Research Recovery Institute (2021). *Cognitive Behavioral Therapy*. Research Recovery Institute. doi: 10.1080/02650533.2021.1964454
- Reynolds, J. (2017). Jane Addams' Forgotten Legacy: Recreation and Sport. *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics, Special Issue*, 11–18.
- Reuters. (2007, August 9). Chronology: Timeline of 156 years of British rule in Hong Kong. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSSP274799/>
- Rhodes, T., Stimson, G. V., Moore, D., & Bourgois, P. (2010). Qualitative social research in addictions publishing: Creating an enabling journal environment. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 21(6), 441–444. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2010.10.002>
- Roessler, K.K. (2016). Emotional Experiences and Interpersonal Relations in Physical Activity as Health Prevention and Treatment: A Psychodynamic Group Approach. Raab, M., Wylleman, P., Seiler, R., Elbe, A-M., & Hatzigeorgiadis, A. (Eds.), *Sport and Exercise Psychology Research: From Theory to Practice*. (pp 461-485). Elsevier. doi: 10.1016/B978-0-12.803634-1.00021-2
- Rosales, V., & Babri, M. (2023). Harnessing Emotions for Embodied Reflexivity in Organizational Ethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 22, 16094069231196460. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231196460>
- Ross, N., Brown, C., & Johnstone, M. (2023). Dismantling Addiction Services: Neoliberal, Biomedical, and Degendered Constraints on Social Work Practice. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction*, 21(5), 3132–3145. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11469-022-00779-0>
- Rosa, H., & Vettraino, J. (2016). « La logique d'accélération s'empare de notre esprit et de notre corps »: *Revue Projet*, N° 355(6), 6–16. <https://doi.org/10.3917/pro.355.0006>
- Rymhs, D. (2018). Transit Spaces and the Mobility Poor in Marilyn Dumont's Vancouver Poems. *Cultural Critique*, 101(1), 102–130. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cul.2018.a712977>
- Safai, P. (2016). Sociology of sport: Canada. *Research in the Sociology of Sport*, 9, 323–342. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S1476-285420160000009023>
- Schlosser, A. V. (2018). “They Medicated Me Out”: Social Flesh and Embodied Citizenship in Addiction Treatment. *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 45(3), 188–207. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091450918781590>

- Schneider, C., & Trottier, D. (2013). Social Media and the 2011 Vancouver Riot. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction, 40*, 335-362. doi:10.1108/S0163-2396(2013)0000040018
- Seear, K. (2019). *Law, Drugs and the Making of Addiction: Just Habits* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429450792>
- Selsung, L., Follevåg, B.M., & Aaslund, H. (2021). How People with Lived Experience of Substance Use Understand and Experience User Involvement in Substance Use Care: A Synthesis of Qualitative Studies. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 18*(19), 10219. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph181910219>
- Sharma, A., Kelly, S. M., Mitchell, S. G., Gryczynski, J., O'Grady, K. E., & Schwartz, R. P. (2017). Update on Barriers to Pharmacotherapy for Opioid Use Disorders. *Current Psychiatry Reports, 19*(6), 35. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-017-0783-9>
- Singal, A. K., & Mathurin, P. (2021). Diagnosis and Treatment of Alcohol-Associated Liver Disease: A Review. *JAMA, 326*(2), 165. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2021.7683>
- Skand, S. (2020). *Microaggression and the Consumption of Poverty: A Community's Resistance to Invasive Walking Tours in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside* [Master's Thesis in Geography and Planning]. Queen's University.
- Slingerland, E. (2021). *Drunk: How We Sipped, Dances and Stumbled Our Way to Civilization*. Little, Brown Spark.
- Slomski, A. (2021). The Lingua Franca of Addiction—Stigmatizing Words That Wound. *JAMA, 326*(15), 1468. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2021.16186>
- Smart Recovery (2021). *About us. Smart Recovery: Life Beyond Addiction*. <https://www.smartrecovery.org/>
- Smedman, L. (2008). *Vancouver: Stories of a City*. The Vancouver Courier.
- Smeeton, J., & O'Connor, P. (2020). Embodied Social Work Practice Within Risk Society. *Journal of Social Work, 20*(5), 673–691.
- Smith, C. B. R. (2010). Socio-spatial stigmatization and the contested space of addiction treatment: Remapping strategies of opposition to the disorder of drugs. *Social Science & Medicine, 70*(6), 859–866. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.10.033>
- Smith, B., & McGannon, K. R. (2018). Developing rigor in qualitative research: Problems and opportunities within sport and exercise psychology. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 11*(1), 101–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1750984X.2017.1317357>

- Smith, R. A., Schneider, P. P., Cosulich, R., Quirk, H., Bullas, A. M., Haake, S. J., & Goyder, E. (2021). Socioeconomic inequalities in distance to and participation in a community-based running and walking activity: A longitudinal ecological study of parkrun 2010 to 2019. *Health & Place*, 71, 102626. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2021.102626>
- Smith-Tran, A. (2019). The “Black Middle-Class Toolkit” as a Framework for Understanding the Cultural Implications of Recreational Running. *Sociological Focus*, 52(3), 231–245. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2019.1624230>
- Snoek, A., McGeer, V., Brandenburg, D., & Kennett, J. (2021). Managing shame and guilt in addiction: A pathway to recovery. *Addictive Behaviors*, 120, 106954. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.addbeh.2021.106954>
- Song, D. (2023, November 2). Newly-announced Ultra Trail Whistler race met with heavy local backlash. *Pique Newsmagazine*. <https://www.piquenewsmagazine.com/local-sports/newly-announced-ultra-trail-whistler-race-met-with-heavy-local-backlash-7764939>
- Steimetz, K. (2010, October 7). Top 10 Things You Didn’t Know About Alcoholics Anonymous. *Time*. http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2001284_2001057_2001044,00.html
- Steinmann, J., & Wilson, B. (2022). Different spokes for different folks: Experiences with cycling and the bicycle from the perspective of variably-housed cyclists in Vancouver. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 0(0), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2021.2019099>
- Stensland, M. L., & Sanders, S. (2018). “It has changed my whole life”: The systemic implications of chronic low back pain among older adults. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 61(2), 129–150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01634372.2018.1427169>
- Stevens, J. (2013). *The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei*. Echo Point Books & Media, LLC.
- Sui, W., & Yang, J. (2023). Running middle-class-marathon craze in transforming period of China. *Sport in Society*, 26(5), 745–756. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2022.2054337>
- Thayaparan, A. (2024, January 4). Lululemon founder faces backlash for blasting company’s diversity, inclusion efforts. *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/chip-wilson-body-inclusivity-1.7074987>
- The Canadian Encyclopedia. (2019). *Coast Salish*. Historica Canada. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/coastal-salish>

- The Lancet Regional Health – Americas. (2023). Opioid crisis: Addiction, overprescription, and insufficient primary prevention. *The Lancet Regional Health - Americas*, 23, 100557. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lana.2023.100557>
- Tonigan, S. (2007). Spirituality and Alcoholics Anonymous. *Southern Medical Journal*, 100(4), 437–440. <https://doi.org/10.1097/SMJ.0B013E31803171EF>
- Urbanoski, K. A., Kelly, J. F., Hoepfner, B. B., & Slaymaker, V. (2012). The Role of Therapeutic Alliance in Substance Use Disorder Treatment. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 43(3), 344–351. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsat.2011.12.013>
- Vallier, K. (2022). *Neoliberalism*. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2022/entries/neoliberalism/>
- Vannini, P., Waskul, D., Gottschalk, S., & Newstead, T. (2012). Making Sense of the Weather Dwelling and Weathering on Canada's Rain Coast. *Space and Culture*, 15, 361–380. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331211412269>
- van Gennep, A. (1909). *Les rites de passage*. (Émilie Nourry, Mouton and Co et Maison des Sciences de l'homme; Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1981). Saguenay, Canada: Université du Québec à Chicoutimi. (Original work published 1909)
- van Hout, M.C., & Phelan, D. (2014) A Grounded Theory of Fitness Training and Sports Participation in Young Male Offenders. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 1-24. doi: 10.1177/0193723723513520012
- van Rhyn, B., Barwick, A., & Donnelly, M. (2021). Embodiment as an Instrument for Empathy in Social Work. *Australian Social Work*, 74(2), 146–158. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0312407X.2020.1839112>
- Vancouver Biennale. (2024). *The Proud Youth: Chen Wenling*. <https://www.vancouverbiennale.com/artworks/the-proud-youth/>
- Vancouver Falcons Athletic Club. (2024). *Who We Are – Vancouver Falcons Athletic Club*. <https://vfac.ca/who-we-are/>
- Vancouver Foundation. (2012). *Connections and Engagement* (p. 44). <https://www.vancouverfoundation.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/VanFdn-SurveyResults-Report.pdf>
- Vancouver Police Department. (2022, November 9). *More oversight, accountability needed to tackle Downtown Eastside crisis: Chief Palmer*. Vancouver Police Department. <https://vpd.ca/news/2022/11/09/more-oversight-accountability-needed-tackle-downtown-eastside-crisis-chief-palmer/>

- Vannini, P., Waskul, D., Gottschalk, S., & Newstead, T. (2012). Making Sense of the Weather Dwelling and Weathering on Canada's Rain Coast. *Space and Culture*, 15, 361–380. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331211412269>
- Veal, C. (2017). Dance and wellbeing in Vancouver's 'A Healthy City for All.' *Geoforum*, 81, 11–21. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.01.016>
- Verba, D. (2012). Une science du travail social est-elle possible?: *Pensée plurielle*, n° 30-31(2), 37–49. <https://doi.org/10.3917/pp.030.0037>
- Vrecko, S. (2016). Risky Bodies, Drugs and Biopolitics: On the Pharmaceutical Governance of Addiction and Other 'Diseases of Risk.' *Body & Society*, 22(3), 54–76. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X16644509>
- Wacquant, L. (2002). *Corps et âme*. Agone.
- Wacquant, L. (2010). L'habitus comme objet et méthode d'investigation: Retour sur la fabrique du boxeur. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 184(4), 108. <https://doi.org/10.3917/arss.184.0108>
- Wacquant, L. (2015). For a Sociology of Flesh and Blood. *Qualitative Sociology*, 38, 1–11. <https://doi.org/DOI 10.1007/s11133-014-9291-y>
- Wacquant, L. (2016). A Concise Genealogy and Anatomy of Habitus. *The Sociological Review*, 64(1), 64–72. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12356>
- Walter, K. (2012). *Unlimited Growth Increases the Divide*. <https://www.kathrynwalter.ca/home/unlimited-growth>
- Wacquant, L., Slater, T., & Pereira, V. B. (2014). Territorial Stigmatization in Action. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 46(6), 1270–1280. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a4606ge>
- Weinberg, D. (2002). On the Embodiment of Addiction. *Body & Society*, 8(4), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X02008004001>
- Whelan-Jackson. (2020). Disability and the Playing Field: Jane Addams, Sports, and the Possibility of Inclusion. *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*, 56(4), 558. <https://doi.org/10.2979/trancharpeirsoc.56.4.03>
- White, W. L. (2007). Addiction recovery: Its definition and conceptual boundaries. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 33(3), 229–241. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsat.2007.04.015>
- White, W. L., Scott, C. K., Dennis, M. L., & Boyle, M. G. (2005). It's Time to Stop Kicking People Out of Addiction Treatment. *Counselor (Deerfield Beach, Fla.)*, 6(2), 12–25.

- Wiederhold, A. (2015). Conducting fieldwork at and away from home: shifting researcher positionality with mobile interviewing methods. *Qualitative Research*, 15(5), 600-615
- Williams, D. J., & Strean, W. B. (2006). Physical Activity Promotion in Social Work. *Social Work*, 51(2), 180–184. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sw/51.2.180>
- Wiltshire, G., & Stevinson, C. (2018). Exploring the role of social capital in community-based physical activity: Qualitative insights from parkrun. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 10(1), 47–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2017.1376347>
- Wilson, C. (2024). *Chip Wilson*. <https://chipwilson.com/>
- Winnicott, D.W. (1994). Hate in the Counter-Transference. *Journal of Psychotherapy Practice and Research*, 3(4), 348-356.
- Zautra, N. (2015). Embodiment, Interaction, and Experience: Toward a Comprehensive Model in Addiction Science. *Philosophy of Science*, 82(5), 1023–1034. <https://doi.org/10.1086/683437>
- Zemore, S. E., Ware, O. D., Gilbert, P. A., & Pinedo, M. (2021). Barriers to retention in substance use treatment: Validation of a new, theory-based scale. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 131, 108422. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsat.2021.108422>
- Zevenbergen, T. (2012, December 3). Brad's Journey: Running to Overcome Addiction. *The Province*. <https://theprovince.com/health/brads-journey-running-to-overcome-addiction>
- Zgierska, A. E., Miller, M. M., Rabago, D. P., Hilliard, F., McCarthy, P., Cowan, P., & Salsitz, E. A. (2021). Language Matters: It Is Time We Change How We Talk About Addiction and its Treatment. *Journal of Addiction Medicine*, 15(1), 10–12. <https://doi.org/10.1097/ADM.0000000000000674>

APPENDIX A

CERTIFICAT D'APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE | CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS APPROVAL

Numéro du dossier / Ethics File Number

S-02-22-7700

Titre du projet / Project Title

Running to Recovery:
An Ethnographic Study
of Running in Recovery
from Substance Use

Type de projet / Project Type

Thèse de doctorat /
Doctoral thesis

Statut du projet / Project Status

Approuvé / Approved

Date d'approbation (jj/mm/aaaa) / Approval Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

28/04/2022

Date d'expiration (jj/mm/aaaa) / Expiry Date (dd/mm/yyyy)

27/04/2023

Équipe de recherche / Research Team

Chercheur / Researcher Affiliation

Stephanie BOGUE KERR École de service social / School of Social Work

Investigateur Nicolas MOREAU

of Social Work

Superviseur / Supervisor

Role

Chercheur Principal / Principal

École de service social / School

Conditions spéciales ou commentaires / Special conditions or comments

APPENDIX B

RECRUITMENT TEXT




uOttawa

Running & Recovery

Has running played a role in your recovery from a drug or alcohol addiction?

We are researchers at the University of Ottawa recruiting volunteers for a study about running and recovery.

We'd like to go for a run with you and talk about your experience!

To participate, you must:

- Run regularly
- Be over 18 years of age
- Have been engaged in a recovery process from drugs or alcohol for at least six months

We do not work for a rehabilitation centre. It is your decision to participate or not.
No one will know if you choose to participate.
The quality of care you receive will not be impacted by your choice.

Participation on first come, first served basis.

For more information, please email the researcher at

APPENDIX 3:

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Questions for the semi-directed interviews are inspired by Wacquant's characteristics (2015):

1) *Situated:*

What can you tell me about this route?

2) *Symbolic:*

Why and under what circumstances do you run here?

Are there rituals associated with this particular route?

Prompts, if needed: Are there any landmarks along this route for you? Places you pause for a break?, etc.

Can you tell me about what you're wearing today?

Prompts, if needed: Is there anything special about the running clothes you chose for today? Your shoes? Your watch?

How did these things become special to you?

3) *Sensate:*

Questions about what is felt in the here and now:

Adapted to the moment: What do you notice about your breathing? About your heartbeat?

I notice a change in your pace. What are you noticing in yourself?

How is the running body different from the body you had before?

Questions about the rhythms of the body and engagement with the environment:

(After a silence) Can you tell me what you're noticing in the environment?

Prompts, if needed: What do you see/hear today?

How are you experiencing the weather?

Do you experience this area differently now as a runner than you did before?

4) *Suffering:*

What are you noticing in your body today?

Prompts, if needed: What is your level of energy?

Do you notice any pain or tightness?

Do you notice any discomforts or injuries?

During the run: How is this pain/tightness/discomfort/injury experienced?

How do you attend to these?

How did you attend to and care for your body in the past?

5) ***Skills:***

How did you learn to run?

Do they have any specific goals right now?

Prompt, if needed: Is there something in your running that you're working on?

How has your running evolved over time?

6) **Temporality of sport in life story:**

What was your relationship to sport growing up? To running?

Was running new to you, or did you come back to it later in life?

How has sport influenced your relationship to your body?