Making the Jump:

Examining the Glocalisation of Parkour in

Aotearoa New Zealand

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Abstract

Once a niche physical pastime of a small group of men in the urban suburbs of France, parkour is now a global phenomenon. Parkour provides an ideal context to investigate contemporary youth, and adoptees of this primarily youthful culture, and their increasingly connected experiences. Using a social constructionist approach, this research explores the global and local influences that affect the experiences of parkour practitioners in New Zealand and contribute to the establishment of parkour in New Zealand. I draw on multiple qualitative methods of inquiry, including 30 in-depth interviews with a diverse group of New Zealand practitioners, participant observations, a digital ethnography on social media, as well as my personal reflections as a parkour practitioner and community insider. I implement three different theoretical perspectives to understanding the glocalisation (Robertson, 1995, 2012) of parkour in New Zealand, with each one helping to unpack specific elements of the parkour experience. In my first empirical chapter I draw on Appadurai's (1990, 1996) model of global cultural flows which provides a framework to introduce and understand the various macro movements of people, media, technology, ideas, as well as the physical landscape that underpins the broad experiences of New Zealand practitioners. In the second I adopt a mobilities approach (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007) to ask questions about how parkour participation is experienced differently by core and marginalised members of its community, informing experiences of gender and ethnicity. In the third and final empirical chapter I draw upon Ritzer's (2003a, 2007) concept of 'globalisation of nothing' to facilitate an exploration of the development of Parkour NZ and how the New Zealand community involves itself

in the politics of parkour's global institutionalisation. These accounts demonstrate that there are concurrent examples of universality and particularity as New Zealand practitioners negotiate between their global and local parkour experiences. This research suggests that an appreciation of glocalised experiences is essential for understanding the ways in which adherents of contemporary youth cultures like parkour make sense of their lives in an increasingly connected and globalised world.

Keywords: parkour, globalisation, glocalisation, mobilities, New Zealand

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Prologue

It's August, 2008. I'm nervous, and my hands are sweating. This is day one of trying parkour and this jump is scarier than anything I've done so far. The gap looks bigger and it's definitely higher off the ground. I stop staring at the void between myself and the utility building in an attempt to distract myself from this new challenge. I'm grateful for my shoes as I pace across the hot roof of the green electrical transformer; the sun beating down, my shoes making hollow twangs on the metal. I've never jumped to the side of a building before. It's only head height, I remind myself, and there's grass underneath. Yes, but if I miss, I'll turn into grated cheese as I slide down the stucco finish of that wall. The training we've done so far has felt like exercise and I'm having fun, but this jump is the first one that is proper scary. I want to do it, but I don't want to do it. Such is my dilemma.

Barnz, my new friend and parkour mentor is standing on the ground watching me. We met five months ago when we started our undergraduate degree in Sport and Exercise Science. He's the one that encouraged me to give parkour a go, but it's taken me this long to pluck up the courage. He's probably the first person in the country to train parkour, certainly the first in Hamilton. Naturally, he did the jump a few minutes ago and made it look easy. Seeing that I was internalising a complicated situation in my head, he offers some encouragement. His voice interrupts my thoughts, "Hey man, everyone goes through that mental process when they're trying to break a new jump, but trust me, you'll be fine". If Barnz thinks I can do it, I must be able to. I step back onto the edge. I close my eyes and visualise myself taking off, feet landing and sliding

slightly as my hands make contact with the roofs edge and grip tightly. I open my eyes and I jump. As my body reaches full extension I've reached the point of no return. Strangely, as my commitment and my fear rise towards a crescendo, the scariest part is suddenly over and the side of the building rushes towards me. My body does exactly as I wanted it to do and soon I'm standing on the roof of the utility building looking back down at where I've come from, marvelling at what I've achieved. Again, Barnz's voice breaks through my revelry, "Bro! I can't believe you actually tried it. I never would have done that on my first day training."

It's February, 2019. I'm tired, and my forehead is sweating. I've just handed in the first full draft of my thesis and driven from Hamilton to Whangarei for the 11th National Parkour Gathering. It's been over 10 years since that first fateful jump and I'm still training. I wouldn't consider myself the parkour 'athlete', pushing the boundaries of what's possible, but I can contribute to the parkour community in other ways. As CEO of Parkour NZ and custodian of the organisation's mobile equipment, I'm in charge of transporting the equipment and overseeing the building for the community to jam on. I love doing parkour. It has taught me a lot: How to move, how to see and engage the world differently, and how to play.

I've been sitting at a desk in a stuffy room typing for days on end recently, but now that I've got a few days breathing room while my supervisors critique my thesis, I'm really going to enjoy this weekend of training, exploring, and moving again. I can't wait to feel the touch of rough concrete under my palms. I'm looking forward to the feeling of finally sticking the landing of a jump after building up to it over several attempts; turning something scary into my new normal. I'm excited

to get this setup built, but not just for my enjoyment. After so many years, the joy I get from being involved in the parkour community is compounded by seeing the pleasure of everyone else around me.

Starting parkour at the same time as I started my sport studies created a love affair with research. Early in the process I asked myself, "How can I use what I'm learning to help the parkour community?" I quickly spun my efforts towards biomechanics and exploring the moving parkour body. I'd discovered how to land from different heights and cushion the impact and was curious to understand the kinetics and kinematics of the touchdown process. In other words, the forces and physical movements involved in parkour landings. But something changed when I took over the leadership of Parkour NZ around six years ago. Although my fascination with learning remained, I began to ask different questions: What does parkour mean to people, and how do people make sense of their parkour experiences? Where does parkour fit in the big picture of society? What are the forces and movements that have created our community here in Aotearoa New Zealand? These are the questions that have motivated this project, and they are the beginning of this story.

Chapter One – Introduction to Parkour and Aotearoa New Zealand

The world is changing. Globalisation via international network communications is creating a global social imaginary (McGrew, 2007) by connecting scores of people around the world. Increased usage of the internet and digital media technologies, including social media (e.g. Facebook, YouTube), video games, media streaming services (e.g. Netflix), and mobile phones—some of the key technologies responsible for this globalisation—have been linked to reduced physical activity rates around the world (Garcia, 2017; Lepp, Barkley, Sanders, Rebold, & Gates, 2013; Tsitsika et al., 2016; Vandelanotte, Sugiyama, Gardiner, & Owen, 2009). Participation in many traditional organised sports around the world is declining. However, there are increases in participation in lifestyle activities such as active recreation and action sports (see Active Marketing Group, 2007; K. Gordon, 2015; Hajkowicz, Cook, Wilhelmseder, & Boughen, 2013; Hulteen et al., 2017; Sport NZ, 2018a). Paradoxically, these lifestyle activities have characteristics that pair well with changing tastes in entertainment and internet leisure practices, such as media consumption when and where it is convenient and preferring not to be tied to seasonal sport commitments.

The use of digital telecommunications is having a significant impact on the global dissemination of youth-dominated action sports, whose communities readily adopt these new media technologies (Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2013; Thorpe, 2017a). Thorpe (2014) argues that sport cultures can be analysed to understand such processes of globalisation, but that action sports in particular offer insightful

understandings of contemporary youth cultural formations within sport and physical activity. Nayak (2003) suggests that research looking to understand the "interlocking local-global complexities" (p. 178) of contemporary youth cultures needs to "engage more closely with lived experience and the changing cultural and material geographies of young lives" (p. 178). In this thesis I examine parkour as a valuable case for examining the ways that 21st century youth and adopters of youthful activities make meaning of their lives in an increasingly 'global' world where digital media technologies play a significant role in such processes.

Parkour is one of the action sports at the forefront of this changing wave in sport participation. Touted by some as the "world's fastest growing informal sport" (Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017, p. 89), parkour is an important part of these changing physical activity trends. What was initially a niche physical pastime of a small group of men in the impoverished urban suburbs of France is now a global phenomenon. It entered the public consciousness 15 years ago, thanks to various TV ads, internet videos, and documentaries (Angel, 2011). Becoming popularised at the same time as social media has seen parkour spread rapidly around the globe, and now social media is the number one form of communication and media dissemination for the activity (Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2013). Both entertaining and practical, parkour is inspiring a diverse range of artists, performers, producers, architects, educators, engineers, and researchers in a variety of fields, beyond its roots in the physical pursuit of overcoming obstacles in urban and natural environments.

It is quickly becoming a well-known popular culture reference due to its (ab)use in TV shows like The Office (Ryan, 2016) and in Hollywood blockbusters

like James Bond (Mould, 2009). Its prominence in a growing number of successful video game franchises, including Assassins Creed (Moyle, 2015) and Mirror's Edge (Angel, 2011) is also increasingly visible, even encouraging video gamers to move in real life. Parkour is also included as a prerequisite for stunt performer registration in some nations (Stunt Guild of New Zealand, 2017).

However, interest in parkour is not limited to the entertainment industry. For instance, parkour is being incorporated into the physical education curriculum in a growing number of schools around the world (American Parkour, 2018; Fernández-Río & Suarez, 2014; Grabowski & Thomsen, 2014, 2015; Parkour NZ, 2018a), particularly for its non-competitive focus and challenge-by-choice model. Conversely, it is also spawning a number of competitive events such as the Red Bull sponsored competition Art of Motion, and is even being pushed for Olympic inclusion (Glader, 2017).

Although often defined as an action sport, it has characteristics that lend itself to being incorporated into dance performance (O'Loughlin, 2012), Cirque du Soliel (Angel, 2016), and as a training method for military and emergency services personnel (APEX Movement, n.d.). Indeed, robotics company Boston Dynamics are even teaching their Atlas robot to perform parkour (Boston Dynamics, 2018) in order to aid in rescue operations (Markoff, 2013). Parkour practitioners movement patterns are being used to study the locomotion of great apes (Halsey, Coward, Crompton, & Thorpe, 2017), and producing safer landing mechanics in humans (Puddle, 2011; Puddle & Maulder, 2013). Parkour's physical mechanics are also providing inspiration for artificial intelligence, with Google's DeepMind (2017) artificial intelligence using obstacle rich digital environments for machine

learning. In other words, the computer is learning to perform movements to overcome increasingly challenging digital obstacles in order to better adapt and strategise, much like real world parkour practitioners.

The impact that parkour has had on such a wide range of industries, behaviours, and cultures, is vitally related to its rapid globalisation. This globalisation is clearly felt in Aotearoa New Zealand (NZ)[1], the country geographically furthest away from parkour's French origins. I contend that parkour makes for a particularly interesting case with which to explore theories of globalisation because of the speed at which it has spread around the world—compared to the diffusion of traditional sport deeply associated with British and European colonisation in the 19th and 20th centuries (Maguire, 2015). NZ provides an equally interesting context in which to investigate patterns of globalisation within parkour because of its geographic isolation. This thesis then is a multi-theory sociological exploration of the various global and local flows that impact on and contribute to the establishment of parkour in NZ.

Research Questions

The theorising of this thesis has been driven by the primary research question:

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[1] In order to acknowledge the bicultural history of Aotearoa New Zealand, I will use both Māori and English terms for the country. However, for the sake of brevity, this will be shortened to NZ outside of organisation names, direct quotations, chapter titles, and section headings.

How has parkour developed in NZ under the impact of global and local influences?

The following sub questions also guide the investigation:

a) What are the experiences of key agents in developing parkour in NZ, and what were the influences (e.g. social media, traditional media, international and/or local figureheads and teams, organisations, geography, laws, values, etc.)?

b) How are the identities of parkour practitioners in NZ constructed and performed?

c) How are experiences—pleasures, barriers, beliefs, constraints—of practitioners within the parkour community in NZ shaped by global and local forces, and how are they different for different demographics (e.g. gender, age, and ethnicity)?

I also note here, although not a research question per se, as an insider committed to supporting the wider parkour community, my desire is to develop work that can be disseminated to parkour practitioners and non-academic audiences.

In order to contextualise the processes of globalisation for parkour and the country of NZ, I will briefly explain the origins and nuances of both, giving an overview of the thesis itself.

Introducing and Explaining Parkour

While still in its relative infancy compared to traditional and well established sporting pursuits, parkour has achieved rapid growth on a global scale, much like

other action sports (Booth & Thorpe, 2007). Although it was "initially an underground activity with low participation rates" (Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2013, p. 174) the expansion of parkour from its origins in France has been swift and wide spread, particularly among young urban populations (Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011).

Parkour was developed by nine ethnically diverse young men, the 'founders', in the suburbs of Paris in the late 1980's (Marshall, 2010). Some historical roots of parkour date back to the 1900's (Atkinson, 2009), but the modern activity packaged as parkour has only gained global awareness in the early 2000's (Herrmann, 2016), making it currently one of the youngest action sports. Though young, parkour's history is rife with struggle, confusion, and differences of opinion. Thorpe and Wheaton (2012) note that action sports often fragment as they grow in popularity because of philosophical differences and the various ways they can be practiced. However, the parkour community—the term parkour practitioners themselves use to describe their local and global social groups— experienced this fragmentation essentially from its inception. Parkour is intimately intertwined with the lives of the founders, children of first-generation migrant families, who were "neither integrated into the culture of their parents nor their country" (Guss, 2011, p. 75). It was thus closely linked to their own childhood games, familial migrant upbringing, and their desire to find meaning in difficult financial and social circumstances (Angel, 2016). This created important personal ideological strands of the activity that ultimately resulted in the fracturing of some of their personal relationships. As Julie Angel (2011) discusses, l'art du déplacement, parkour, and freerunning (each described below), the debatably similar expressions of what is often referred to simply as parkour, were born out of the different personalities of the key protagonists who were in a state of

constant transformation. Subsequent adherents have in turn perpetuated this "great divergence in styles, practice and definition of parkour" (Saville, 2008, p. 892).

Parkour, is an Anglicisation of 'parcours', the French word for route or course, taken from 'parcours du combattant', the military obstacle course, and, at least originally, tied to David Belle's[2] pursuit of his father's training practices (see Belle, 2009). Parkour has however, grown beyond the ideological realm of David Belle's (big P) Parkour. This divergence from David Belle means that what the global and local parkour communities practice has arguably become (little p) parkour. Parkour NZ – Tauhōkai Aotearoa (Parkour NZ) (2017b), the national sport/recreation organisation for parkour in NZ, defines parkour as: ". . . a primarily non-competitive discipline and philosophy where practitioners adapt their movement to overcome physical obstacles in their environment". These so called philosophies take much inspiration from the activity's French origins and as Parkour NZ (2014) describes them: a) Être et durer – to be and to last (to live and train in a sustainable manner), the motto of the 3rd Marine Infantry Parachute

[2] David Belle—either alone or alongside Sebastian Foucan and sometimes others— is often cited as the founder of parkour. In his book, titled 'Parkour', David Belle doesn't bestow the moniker of 'founder' upon himself, preferring to acknowledge that parkour was created over a long time and was more something he inherited from his father Raymond Belle than anything he made – "Some people nowadays tell me: "*Hey, David, you are the creator of Parkour*", but I am not! I am not a scientist working in a lab or an engineer; I didn't invent anything" (Belle, 2009, p. 22).

Regiment from the French army, b) Être fort pour être utile – be strong to be useful

(use the skills gained through training to benefit others), the motto of George

Hebert's natural method (Lamb, 2014b; O'Grady, 2012), one of the key precursors

to parkour (Atkinson, 2009) and something David Belle has said is what parkour is

truly about (Belle, 2009), and c) Obstacles can be overcome (the inherent

philosophy that must be believed in order to practice parkour). The third

philosophy is evidently inherent to the discipline, though not necessarily a

concrete ethos espoused by the founders. It was adopted by Parkour NZ after

discussion with a visiting UK practitioner in 2012 (personal communication, 2012).

The movement components that round out this 'discipline-cum-philosophy'—

though not a checklist of all the movements but rather a generalised overview of

movement categories— include: "jumping, climbing, balancing, quadrupedal

movement [moving on all fours], swinging, rolling, vaulting and running" (Parkour

NZ, 2017b). Parkour NZ go on to describe the variable nature of the training

environments, including obstacles in both urban[3] and natural settings as suitable

locations for parkour practice.

Freerunning, a term created for the documentary Jump London (Christie,

2003) to convey parkour to an English audience (Pavlotski, 2016), is the

embodiment of Sebastian Foucan's more inclusive training philosophy (Angel,

2011). In lay terms it is often described as parkour with the inclusion of

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[3] Although parkour is often trained in cities, the notion that parkour is an 'urban

sport' is a misnomer, considering its use in rural and natural environments.

"superfluous but spectacular tricks, flips and spins" (O'Grady, 2012, p. 5), but includes a core focus on playfulness (Foucan, 2018) and encourages creativity and self-expression (Angel, 2011). The globalisation of the more expressive and acrobatic freerunning resulted in greater commercialisation (Mould, 2009) and the establishment of "branded competition and sponsorship" (Pavlotski, 2016, p. 162) despite this modern interpretation being far removed from Foucan's holistic and non-competitive understanding (Angel, 2011). Freerunning is no longer simply the iconoclastic and commercialised version of parkour that Pavlotski (2016) and his participants discuss, not because freerunning is experiencing a philosophical renaissance, but more because parkour has also become increasingly commercialised.

One of the original and enduring names for parkour used by the founders was 'l'art du déplacement' (abbreviated as ADD), the art of displacement (Herrmann, 2016) or art of movement. The Yamakasi, the self-titled name of the nine founders, now used only by four of the original group, use ADD as their preferred term. Although ADD is less common outside of French speaking nations, it is the expression most closely tied to current practicing founders Chau Belle, Williams Belle, Yann Hnautra, and Laurent Piemontesi. They explain that one difference between ADD and the other two expressions is that although it can involve all the previously described movements, it is practiced and understood more like a style of martial arts where the emphasis is on "(re)appropriation of one's environment, via moving one's body in respect of the environment, of nature, of other people and one's surroundings" (Art Du Déplacement Academy, 2018a para. 5). Indeed, ADD is delivered by a series of schools or ADD Academy's

primarily in France and Italy, but also in Canada, Mexico, Poland, Singapore, and Taiwan (Art Du Déplacement Academy, 2018b).

In this thesis I use parkour (the most widely used term in NZ) as an umbrella term for all expressions of the discipline, except when quoting participants who use different terminology. The grouping together of the three 'styles' under one of those names has been considered problematic (see Angel, 2011; Derakhshan & Machejefski, 2015; Pavlotski, 2016) by the parkour community. Additionally, the academic community has differing views on whether the names should be used interchangeably or whether they are distinct (see, for example, Angel, 2011; Atkinson, 2009; Greenberg, 2017). Therefore, I provide an in-depth explanation of my approach to understanding and categorising parkour for this thesis in the literature review (see Chapter Two).

Positioning Aotearoa New Zealand in a Globalised World

NZ is a small island nation in the pacific. Its closest neighbours are Fiji and Australia, over 2500km and 4000km away, respectively (DistanceFromTo, 2018). Not including Antarctica, NZ was the last major landmass to be settled by humans (Smith, 2012), and thus has a relatively short recorded human history compared to the rest of the world. The location of NZ in the South Pacific, so far from other large land masses, means that it has only been in recent history that one could reach it by anything other than long and difficult voyages by sea (Clark, 2010), provoking "feelings of isolation from the rest of the world" (Clark, 2010, p. 2). Historian Michael King (2003) states that the history of NZ is distinct from other societies in that the themes present in all human histories—such as human

interaction with the environment, searching for secure places to live, and competition against others—"played out in a more intensive manner, and at a more accelerated pace, than almost anywhere else on Earth. For this reason, their course and consequences have interest and relevance for human history as a whole" (p. 21). This is because of the different and faster ways NZ developed due to late colonisation in the 19th century.

NZ was first discovered by ancestors of the now indigenous Māori, sometime in the late 13th century, and colonised by European settlements from the 1840s (Wilson, 2005). This began with the signing of the Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi), an agreement between the British Crown and over 500 Māori chiefs, that, in short, ceded sovereignty of NZ to the Crown and in return gave Māori British citizenship and title rights to their own lands (Orange, 2011). The treaty is hugely significant to NZ history because it was the beginning of the ideals of NZ being a bicultural nation (see, for example, Liu, 2005; Sibley & Liu, 2004). Perhaps even more significant because it was immediately marked with disputes, that are still ongoing, regarding the accurate interpretation of the treaty, whose Māori translation failed to express the gravity of the English version (Orange, 2011). This is significant because only 39 Māori chiefs signed the English version, and no difference between the two was clarified at the time, creating lasting conflict concerning power, land, and authority (Orange, 2011). Since that time, through the various economic, social, and political changes that ensued, NZ has transitioned from a "British colonial outpost to [a] multicultural Pacific nation" (Wilson, 2005, para. 1).

NZ was an "early pioneer of social legislation" (p. 1858), including voting for women, retirement pensions, widow and family benefits, and social security (Evans, Grimes, Wilkinson, & Teece, 1996). But, for Kelsey (1997) at least, NZ is infamous for its economic experimentation. Internationalisation has resulted in the increased integration of "domestic economic activities into global economic processes" (Larner, 1998, p. 600). Until the 1960's NZ's biggest trading partner was the United Kingdom, but in the 1960's and 1970's trade flows diversified (Abbott, 2006). In the 1980's and 1990's, NZ's flows of capital and labour also became internationalised (Larner, 1998). The conservative National Party government of Robert Muldoon in 1975-84, often portrayed as being extremely regulatory, began implementing, though too slowly for many, trade liberalisation strategies to deal with a bad, complex, and even bizarre economic situation (Goldfinch & Malpass, 2007). By the 1980's, NZ's response to globalisation was to treat it as inevitable (Kelsey, 1999) and highly necessary. After voting in a new Labour government "New Zealand embarked on a period of radical deregulation known as Rogernomics – named for treasury minister Roger Douglas" (Ahlquist, 2011). The Labour government implemented an extreme version of the 'Washington consensus'[4], in essence, a free market revolution (Kelsey, 1997).

Regardless of the economic outcomes of these reforms—praised by some (Evans et al., 1996) and heavily criticised by others (see Kelsey, 1997, 1999)—it has

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[4] The 'Washington consensus' was a list of key elements, developed by John Williamson, an American academic, for a structural adjustment programme – in short, loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Kelsey, 1997).

played a part in fostering a society that in many ways acts locally and thinks globally. NZ is therefore a small but active player within economic globalisation trends and world economic growth, "responding and reacting to the global, adjusting nationally and retaining and fostering elements of the local" (Le Heron & Pawson, 1996, p. 23). NZ's primary area of production and export is pastoral in nature (Evans et al., 1996) particularly animal products, wood, and food products (OEC, 2015). Therefore, as a country with relatively low production outputs in other areas of industry, NZ relies heavily on trade and access to international goods and services. This further necessitates NZ's participation within economic globalisation processes and has resulted in the access to, and the normalising of, foreign goods on NZ soil, including Korean appliances, Japanese Cars, American popular culture, Asian cuisine, British TV, and global sport.

There is no doubt that in addition to the flows of capital, goods, services, and media, sport permeates the globe and through the proliferation of media technology, many NZ residents have 24/7 access to an international diet of sport (Thomson & Sim, 2007). Thomson (2005) notes that some of NZ's most popular sports are all British imports, including rugby, netball, cricket, golf, football (soccer), and hockey, reflecting its British colonial past (as cited in Thomson & Sim, 2007).

Naturally, NZ's global mindedness is also impacted by this cultural heritage. The foremost cultural identities in NZ during the nineteenth century were "rugged settler individualism with enduring colonial ties" (p. 19), in contrast to the indigenous Māori (Kelsey, 1997). Kelsey has argued that in the 21st century, NZers self-image is much more pluralistic (1999), and increasingly multicultural, especially in Auckland, but with traditional European and British identification

becoming less central (Thomson & Sim, 2007). Indeed, even NZers living in London construct a sense of identity around a shared imaginary of NZ, and not England, as 'home' (Wiles, 2008).

Over time, with an increase in immigration, primarily from the Pacific Islands and Asia, there has been a lack of unity and coherent national identity, except perhaps within sport (Kelsey, 1997; Laidlaw, 1999, see also Jackson, 2004). That is to say that Pākēha (NZers of European decent) lacked a coherent NZ cultural identity. Māori on the other hand, though not a homogenous people (Borell & Kahi, 2017; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Smith, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012) have had an enduring cultural identity that has experienced variable treatment from government and wider NZ society, including repression, commodification, and celebration. In NZ it has been argued that "sport is our most extensive leisure activity, our most pervasive form of communal behaviour, and even the means by which so many New Zealanders most readily define themselves" (Laidlaw, 1999, p. 7).

This is perhaps a rather romanticized view of sport in NZ however. Over the past three decades sport sociologists and historians have examined the significance of sport in NZ society and present a more contested view. This work has included investigations into ethnicity (Cosgrove & Bruce, 2005; Grainger, 2009; Hokowhitu, 2003, 2008b, 2009), hegemonic masculinity—particularly in rugby (Pringle, 2001, 2004; Pringle & Markula, 2005), cultural appropriation (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Jackson, Batty, & Scherer, 2001), sport significance (Falcous, 2007, 2015), and globalisation (Jackson & Andrews, 1999). Most of this research has included many intersections between media, commercialisation, national identity, and belonging, revealing that despite economic and cultural value, NZ

sport has also contributed to or reinforced racism, violence, and marginalisation. Despite these important works, few scholars have considered the growth and development of action sports in NZ.

Returning to NZ's global position, it is perhaps somewhat ironic that the relative geographic isolation of NZ to the rest of the world has contributed to its globalist mentality (Devetak & True, 2006). Nonetheless, despite the increased reliance on and integration with the rest of the world, NZ has developed unique cultural tropes. This includes positive ones such as its resourcefulness and ingenuity, often referred to as the 'number 8 wire' mentality. The idea being that NZers can "do anything with very little" (p. 13), even some size '8' fencing wire (Murphy, 2006). And negative ones like 'tall poppy syndrome' in which high achieving NZers are often knocked down for their ambition and/or achievements (Kirkwood, 2007). Despite tall poppy syndrome and perhaps because of the number 8 wire mentality, NZ is described as 'punching above its weight', in central banking (Davies, 2009), music, and entertainment (Sam, 2015), education (Thomson & Jackson, 2016), and sport (Sam, 2015). NZ's high ranking in Olympic medals per capita and being home to the world famous All Blacks national rugby team, the most successful international sporting team of all time (Pandaram, 2016) but also one of the least well-funded (Gill, 2018), being two salient examples of NZ sporting success despite its low population and geographic size.

While NZ appears to want to copy its bigger international neighbours in factors like economic policy and borrows its sporting pastimes from other cultures (outside of a few recreation activities and historical Māori pastimes), it also prides itself on being central to certain contemporary cultural flows. For instance, the NZ film and tourism industry's marketing of NZ as 'Middle Earth' (Carl, Kindon, &

Smith, 2007), the sometimes out of the box Air New Zealand safety videos (Bissell, Hynes, & Sharpe, 2012, p. 696), and the Flight of the Conchords, "one of New Zealand's most successful musical exports" (Gibson, 2011, p. 606). Consequently, when I refer to experiences of parkour in NZ, it is with the understanding of NZ as a geographically separate though often indiscrete nation, economy, and society, necessarily tied to the rest of the world through processes of globalisation that yield unique cultural characteristics.

Parkour in Aotearoa New Zealand

In a few short years, parkour has travelled from its birthplace in the Parisian suburbs of France to NZ. The first known evidence of parkour in NZ is from video footage of NZ practitioner 'Barnz', who uploaded a video to his YouTube channel on September 29th, 2006 (plusbarnz, 2006), though the beginning of his participation in late 2004 predates YouTube (interview, May 25th 2016).

Since that time, communities have grown from Whangarei in the north to Invercargill in the south and many locations in-between. In NZ, parkour has been part of the physical education curriculum in a growing number of secondary schools from as early as 2013 (though workshops first occurred in schools in 2008), there are local 'parkour teams' and community collectives posting regular social media content of their training, a budding parkour industry managing various indoor facilities, and a national governing body (NGB) for parkour since 2010, Parkour NZ – Tauhōkai Aotearoa, one of the world's earlier parkour NGBs to be established. There has been a slower embrace of the competition structures being established in countries such as Canada (Sport Parkour League, 2016) and the USA

(APEX APEX Movement, 2016), but there is now also an annual competition in NZ called JAMZAC, attended by roughly 50 people each year.

Sport New Zealand's 2013/2014 Active New Zealand Survey (2015) lists parkour/freerunning participation at <1% of the population, the same as other action sports in the country like wakeboarding, rock climbing, BMX, kite surfing, and windsurfing. A report for Parkour NZ estimates that this equates to at least 8000 people having parkour experiences each year, be that as a 'core' participant (see Donnelly, 2006), as part of physical education, or attending a one-off workshop (Puddle, 2015). Based on personal observations from trainings, gatherings, classes, and social media, the parkour community in NZ is comprised primarily of men, between 14-35 years old, NZ European or Pākehā in ethnicity, and coming from a middle to lower socio-economic class. This, however, is more representative of the core community and not the newer community developing around the ever expanding parkour industry, such as younger practitioners from more affluent families. The other noticeable ethnic populations within the parkour community, though less represented, are Māori and Asian, roughly paralleling NZ's overall ethnic demographics (indexmundi, 2018).

The themes and trends above seem to mimic the development in other nations, such as the increasing sportisation and organisation of parkour in the UK (Wheaton, 2013a) and other nations (see Waern, Balan, & Nevelsteen, 2012). However, the NZ scene has predominantly grown without direct influence from the first and second generation parkour practitioners who have travelled extensively to other nations around the world to meet, train with, coach, and develop other communities. NZ then makes for an interesting case study for

examining the globalisation of parkour and its diffusion from the French suburbs of Paris to the rest of the globe.

Although I have conducted quantitative research on parkour in NZ (Puddle & Maulder, 2013), to date, no qualitative research has focused on parkour in NZ. In this project I am particularly interested in examining how parkour developed in NZ with respect to a) global influences such as social media, popular athletes and teams, competitions, international sport organisations, and other international phenomena, and b) local influences, such as pioneering practitioners, sports organisations, economic and political contexts and histories, architecture, geography, and NZ culture. In other words, I am interested in how parkour practitioners in NZ mimic the global phenomenon of parkour, drawing from international styles and ideologies while concurrently re-appropriating the activity in relation to their own unique social, cultural and physical geography (see Wheaton, 2013a on the creolisation of skateboarding).

Sport NZ have identified that the 'demand for individualised sport and physical activity is on the rise, while demand for team and organised sport is declining' (NZ, 2015, p. 7). Miller and Demoiny (2008) were talking to medical professionals when they said that we must make ourselves "familiar with this fast-growing activity" (p. 63), but I believe—and Sport NZ appears to agree—that as academics and professionals, we must equally familiarise ourselves with the growing trends and lived experiences among action sports participants.

My research, therefore, will serve as a historical and contemporary account of the emergence of parkour in NZ, preserving the stories and experiences of past and present agents involved in the development of the NZ narrative.

Moreover, it will critically examine the various lived experiences of the parkour community in NZ today and seek to uncover the global and local influences that have catalysed its development. In so doing, this project will add to the current body of literature surrounding sport and globalisation, youth cultures in contemporary society, socio-cultural understanding of action sport 'sociology' and more specifically the ever growing body of knowledge relevant to parkour and its emergent communities in global, national, and local contexts.

Thesis Overview

This thesis consists of seven chapters. In the chapter to follow (chapter two) I present a review of the key areas of literature that inform this thesis. I begin with an exploration of key themes investigated, to date, in action sport literature and parkour literature more specifically. I discuss the contested nature in which parkour is understood and described by both scholars and practitioners followed by the presentation of Boundary Object Theory (Star & Griesemer, 1989) as a framing device for conceptualising parkour in a way that attends to it as both a global and local practice. I transition into an overview of the globalisation theories that underpin the thesis, beginning with the importance of Roland Robertson's (1995) theory of glocalisation and my use of it as an overarching understanding of globalisation. I then specify the three distinct theories used in my discussion chapters: Arjun Appadurai's disjunctive cultural flows (1996), the mobilities paradigm (Urry, 2007), and George Ritzer's (2007) globalisation/grobalisation of nothing/something. I conclude with an account of the gaps in the literature that this thesis overcomes and the significance of its content and timeliness.

In chapter three I present my methodological approach. I begin with my epistemological and ontological transition from positivistic biomechanics research concerning the physical mechanics of parkour, to my current interpretivist focus on parkour culture in the sociology of sport. Additionally, and importantly, I talk about my embedded position within the Hamilton, NZ, and global parkour community; discussing the values and challenges of conducting insider sociological research. I go on to discuss my methodological process, including participant recruitment and field sites, before outlining the various qualitative methods that I employed, including semi-structured interviews, participant observation, news media analysis, and of key importance, digital ethnography. I outline the reflexivity process and briefly return to the power relations involved with my insider role and my specific qualitative methods. I round out the chapter with an explanation of my data analysis procedures, from the transcription of my interviews to the coding and analysis of the various forms of data.

Chapter four examines the development of parkour in NZ through Appadurai's (1996) global 'scapes'. This chapter examines the day-to-day accounts of practitioners, uncovers their values and beliefs, and discusses what is important to their identities. It begins with an outline of my theoretical approach. The next, and first major section of the chapter, is on the parkour 'sportscape' in NZ and discusses the lived experiences of practitioners, as impacted by global and local influences that shape their ways of being and participating in the parkour community. This section is made up of four different 'scapes'; cultural flows of people, media and technology, ideas, and the physical landscape that reveals how local weather, architecture, geography, cultural practices, and the very people that interact with each other have a huge part to play in developing what it means

to practice parkour in NZ. The second section uses the idea of landscapes to further explore distinct global and local tensions felt by local practitioners within three different training spaces: urban, rural and natural, and artificial spaces. This chapter focuses in on a national account of a parkour community, a currently absent narrative from the parkour literature. More widely, this chapter demonstrates that globalisation, or the "compression of the world as a whole" (Robertson, 1995, p. 35), is being increasingly felt by populations around the world thanks to rapid technological advances. Additionally however, geographic and cultural realities still generate local specificities that enable unique characteristics and experiences. This chapter demonstrates the enduring relevance of Appadurai's (1996) model of global cultural flows for understanding the themes and way by which glocal parkour experiences are adopted, adapted, and produced.

The mobilities paradigm (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007) professes to be a more contemporary understanding of a world in motion, and thus provides some helpful ways of investigating processes of globalisation. Therefore, in chapter five I use a mobilities approach to investigate how imaginative, physical, and digital mobilities, experienced by local practitioners, influences their experiences of globalisation. I give considerable attention to the experiences of female and Māori parkour practitioners, two minority groups within the parkour community in NZ. In so doing I take up Newman and Falcous' (2012) call to action to explore the *'paradox of mobility'*, where mobile sporting bodies simultaneously create immobile bodies. Further however, I demonstrate how female and Māori parkour practitioners, are not simply recipients of immobility, but active negotiators of the challenges posed to their mobility. By analysing the mobilities of minority parkour

practitioners I uncover how globalisation is felt differently by parkour practitioners based on gender and ethnicity, highlighting experiences of inclusion and exclusion within the community. Much mobilities literature is focused on mobilities relating to mechanised transport (McAllister, 2011), whereas this chapter contributes to the growing mobilities scholarship on human-powered mobility in physical activity and sports cultures. Of particular significance is my analysis of how the physical mobilities of parkour practitioners impacts community access and cultural hierarchies.

In chapter six, I explore the institutionalisation of parkour in NZ, and how the NZ community participates in and responds to institutionalisation on a global scale. In the first section I investigate the formation of Parkour NZ, and how the NZ community have worked to develop a structure that fits with both their national sports system (nothing) whilst also representing their parkour values (something). Here I include a discussion of the global and local economic flows, omitted from chapter four's discussion of 'scapes' because of the tight relationship between the flows of capital and the institutionalisation of parkour, this chapter's central theme. Understanding the NZ context creates a foundation with which to understand one of the most important topics within the globalisation of parkour in the current moment, the attempts by Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique (FIG), the International Gymnastics Federation, to absorb parkour as a new gymnastic discipline, and then make it an Olympic sport. In this part of the chapter I employ Ritzer's (2007) globalisation continuums: the glocalisation/grobalisation of nothing/something to draw out complexities within parkour's authenticity debates, common within action sport communities, whilst also attending to the power games being played by the network of Olympic and

associated international sports organisations. I speak to the opinions and resistance activities of the NZ community as it participates within the global conversation regarding parkour's sovereignty. Of specific importance is the formation of, and support for, Parkour Earth, an international federation for parkour that Parkour NZ helped to establish. Ritzer's (2007) 'globalisation of nothing' theory enables me to effectively map the decisions and actions of the parkour community in NZ, which sometimes appear conflicting and/or contradictory, in the face of growing national and international institutionalisation.

My concluding chapter cover four areas. First, a summary of the main points of the thesis. Second, reflections on my methodological and theoretical choices. These include reflections on my methods, my theoretical considerations regarding the values and challenges associated with using the particular globalisation approaches adopted, and reflections on my 'self' as researcher. Third, I demonstrate the significance of my research, its value to the parkour community, broader action sport and globalisation scholarship, and some policy implications. I finish by outlining some limitations and questions that emerged from the research process that may direct possible areas of future research and offering my final concluding remarks.

Chapter Two – Literature Review: Action Sports, Boundary Object Theory, and Glocalisation

In this chapter I introduce important literature that underpins my analysis of the development of parkour in NZ. I begin by presenting a brief overview of recent action sports literature and describe a selection of key themes. I then explore these themes in greater detail, comparing and contrasting how these themes are developed within action sports literature broadly and in parkour literature more specifically. Although parkour is an activity with similarities to other action sport cultures, it also has elements that enable continued and distinct research opportunities. One such property, somewhat paralleling the challenges in action sport literature in defining such sports, i.e. whizz, new, lifestyle, extreme, etc. (Tomlinson, Ravenscroft, Wheaton, & Gilchrist, 2005) is the significant challenge that scholars and practitioners alike have in understanding and categorising parkour. I therefore unpack these definitional challenges and the concerns that come with a narrow view of parkour, followed by introducing Boundary Object Theory (Star & Griesemer, 1989), from science and technology studies, as an appropriate tool for framing parkour in a way that accounts for its diversity without favouring any particular interpretation. Then, understanding parkour as a diverse and globalised practice with multiple ways of participating and multiple meanings ascribed by its participants, I identify several key globalisation scholars and their approaches that I use to investigate the global and local flows that impact on the parkour community in NZ. Finally, I summarise the chapter by identifying the gaps present in the current scholarship and why this treatise on the

development of parkour in NZ from a globalisation perspective offers valuable insights to the field of sport sociology and beyond.

Introduction to Action Sports

A growing body of knowledge exploring the emergence, development and social importance of action sports now exists (Bignold, 2013; Breivik, 2010; Thorpe & Dumont, 2018; Thorpe & Wheaton, 2013; Wheaton, 2010, 2015; Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018a). Action sports, also known as lifestyle, alternative, or extreme sports, are terms coined to refer to activities that vary from the traditional competitive and regulated sporting activities and cultures available today (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2013). These activities are often individual in nature, although the community surrounding these activities are very important to participants' sense of identity, belonging, relationships, and connections to space and place (Clegg & Butryn, 2012; King & Church, 2015; Langnes & Fasting, 2014; Thorpe, 2015a, 2016a). Thorpe and Olive (2016) describe 'action sport' as the term that is becoming increasingly preferred by the sports industry, governing bodies, and many of these sports participants, hence my adoption of the term. Action sports include a wide array of activities such as skateboarding, surfing, snowboarding, BMX, mountain biking, BASE jumping, and more recently, parkour. These action sports have distinctive value systems and cultures that set them apart from traditional sports (Thorpe, 2016a) that tend to be more regulated, rule bound and occur within specific environments and are therefore more controlled (Breivik, 2010). That is not to suggest that action sports are preferable to traditional sports, only that they have a range of elements that, as mentioned, 'set them apart' from

traditional sporting formats. For example, Breivik (2010) suggests that action sports may provide opportunities and experiences that are harder to come by in traditional sports, such as skill mastery in 'stimulating'—I suggest 'less static' is a more appropriate term—environments such as the sea (e.g. surfing), the snow (e.g. snowboarding), the air (e.g. BASE jumping) and the land, in both urban (e.g. skateboarding) and natural (e.g. mountain biking) settings. Where the environment—along with other characteristics such as participation, media representation, values and identity—highlights some differences between these sporting formats, the consequences involved in participation, the increasing institutionalisation of action sports and how they're often both described as 'fun', highlight some of their similarities (Booth & Thorpe, 2007). Indeed, while some have argued, somewhat unconvincingly, that participants of these action sports appear to have deeper understandings of self (Brymer & Schweitzer, 2013a) and intense experiences of freedom (Brymer & Schweitzer, 2013b), many participants are also highly embedded in consumer culture. In fact, as Wheaton and Beal (2003) state, commercialisation has been integral to the global dissemination of these action sports (see Booth & Thorpe, 2007 on ESPN and the X Games). The ways that participants conform to capitalist consumption, while simultaneously proclaiming the unique experiences available in their chosen activity, sheds light on the conflicts and varying stories that make up, and perpetuate, the increasing fragmentation of these activities (Wheaton, 2010).

Jumping into the Literature: Action Sports and Parkour Research Themes

As explained above, action sports represent a diverse and growing collection of typically less formal and otherwise alternative physical activities and pastimes. The eclectic nature of these activities has provided rich opportunities to explore equally eclectic areas of research. In their analysis of past and present action sport research, Thorpe and Wheaton (2013) explain,

> Since the mid-1990s, scholars from many disciplinary backgrounds, including anthropology, cultural geography, history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and youth studies, have employed an array of methodological and theoretical approaches in order to understand and explain the experiences of action sports cultures within local, national, global, and virtual contexts in historical and contemporary conditions (p. 342).

These investigations into action sports cultures have elucidated broader themes that are part of, and impact on, society at large. For instance, wider cultural issues relating to neoliberalism (e.g. Howell, 2008), commercialisation (e.g. Puchan, 2005), identity formation (e.g. Wheaton, 2004), and issues of gender and inclusion (e.g. Beal & Weidman, 2003). Action sports literature then, parkour included, can help us to better understand our contemporary society. Indeed, as Wheaton (2010) argues "explorations of different lifestyle sports can and should inform our understanding of sport's relationship to wider social, economic and political processes" (p. 1073).

Over the past decade, scholars have become increasingly interested in parkour, writing more than 100 articles, theses, book chapters, and conference presentations examining different aspects of the parkour experience. These researchers have delved into a myriad of educational, psychological, geographical, medical, technological, physiological and sociological inquiries. The pervasiveness of parkour's diffusion throughout the globe is apparent in the eclectic locations of these academic studies. Parkour research is occurring predominantly in Europe and North America, however, there is growing interest in Latin America, Asia and the Pacific (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Map of global parkour literature locations as at October, 2018 (may not include all non-English studies). Created by the author.

Parkour literature has explored many similar themes as the broader action sport literature. Below I synthesise five such areas of action sport scholarship that have been significant within this broad field. These themes include 1) negotiations and perceptions of space, 2) embodiment and perceptions of self, 3) experiences and understandings of risk, 4) institutionalisation, commercialisation and

professionalisation, and 5) gender and inclusion. There are of course other themes within action sport research, however, the themes presented here are important areas that both underpin and prompt my own research. Within each theme I briefly provide examples from the broader action sport and physical culture literature before transitioning into the parkour literature, and then onto my reflections and critique of the parkour work. In so doing I reveal the areas of existing knowledge and what areas require further investigation.

Negotiations and Perceptions of Space

One line of research within parkour that has clear parallels with its action sports counterparts, is the (re)interpretation of urban space, particularly within skateboarding literature (Borden, 2001; Chiu, 2009; Howell, 2008; Nolan, 2003; O'Connor, 2017). Ian Borden's (2001) work in particular, suggests that skateboarding has an "implicit yet continuous tendency to critique contemporary cities for their meanings and modes of operation" (Borden, Rendell, Kerr, & Pivaro, 2001, pp. 1-2). These investigations of skateboarders' engagement with the city are informed principally by cultural and/or emotional geography and reveal the importance of place for action sport participants in the formation of attachment and identity. Although action sports may not be too dissimilar from other sports regarding the history of such place-making, they highlight the significance of different types of spaces, replacing the stadium with curbs, steps, and handrails (O'Connor, 2017). The urban environment therefore becomes known not by buildings, but via the smaller by-products and objects within the areas these buildings create (Ho, 1999). These avenues of research unpack the identity

formation that occurs through physical engagement with the city, therefore providing insight into the ways that the built environment can be studied for its sociocultural significance (Chiu, 2009).

Many studies on parkour have talked about the ways practitioners reconfigure and repurpose spaces for their own ends. This research regarding space, place, and the urban environment in parkour has drawn from a diverse range of theoretical constructs. On one hand there are scholars who have posited parkour as a subversive practice, such as Atkinson (2009, 2013), who uses Heidegger (1977) to argue that parkour practitioners attempt to destabilise and deconstruct the capitalist city through their athletic engagement with it. Daskalaki, Stara, and Imas (2008) use Lefebvre's (1991) 'spatial triad' to account for social, historical, and spatial understandings of the city and how it shapes inhabitants experiences. They understand parkour as a new metaphor of 'urban activism' that "opposes commodification and commercialisation of the human body (and movement) and the institutional control mechanisms embedded in cityscapes" (p. 61). Using a post-structural perspective, Bavinton (2007) explains parkour as a "leisure practice of resistance" (p. 406) against the constraints imposed upon urban leisure activities. Ortuzar (2009) and Geyh (2006) both draw on 'smooth' and 'striated' space from Deleuze and Guattari (1988). Ortuzar (2009) explains that parkour is a gesture that aims to "resist and evade the forces of striated space" (p. 54) and Geyh (2006) talks about parkour as an opportunity to escape striation and the forces of repression.

On the other hand, Mould (2009), although also building on Deleuze and Guattari (1988), is critical of the 'smooth space' and its violent presuppositions

(Mould's description of Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) notion of 'war machine') that he argues are in opposition to the philosophies of parkour. He further argues that parkour practitioners have a "Zen-like acceptance of the conformist city . . . [seeing] it as a terrain to be explored rather than a system to rebel against" (Mould, 2009, p. 748). Similarly, although continuing the theme of talking about parkour as subversive, Fuggle (2008) draws on Merleau-Ponty (1964) to highlight the importance of perception. Within this conceptualisation, parkour is a "dialogue with the world" (p. 214) and in traversing the city, parkour practitioners transform the city into something less hostile. Ameel and Tani (2012a, 2012b) show parkour as a way of experiencing embodied and emotional aspects of everyday spaces. They convey that parkour practitioners, rather than fighting against the city, adopt an 'aesthetics of ugliness' where they form emotional attachments with mundane spaces that they come to see as beautiful. As Saville (2008) notes regarding training on a simple bench, a practitioner's "emotional disposition toward the bench changes as traceurs [practitioners] watch others, and experience first-hand movements over and about the bench" (p. 898).

This overview demonstrates how action sports, particularly skateboarding and parkour, engage with spaces in ways that cause one to question personal and societal relationships with the environment. The parkour examples reveal the diversity of the various theoretical approaches that have been used, and further, the increasing interdisciplinary fields (e.g. geography, sociology of sport, urban studies, leisure studies, dance research, etc.) interested in parkour, highlighting the flexibility and breadth of parkour scholarship. This scholarship stresses the importance of space and attending to the environmental context of where parkour takes place. It also begins to draw our attention towards the embodied nature of

these activities and not just how practitioners perceive the city, but also themselves (the next key theme). However, it also highlights that to date, most of this research has focused on local physical spaces rather than on how global forces impact on everyday relationships with these local spaces and places.

Embodiment and Perceptions of Self

It has been argued that participation in "extreme activities enable a return to authenticity as we rediscover self through an experiential realization of our place within the natural landscape" (Brymer & Schweitzer, 2016, p. 136). Whether action sports do provide opportunity for more 'authentic' physical opportunities remains open for debate, however, this theme of embodied experiences within the action sport literature is a significant one. Some of these studies have explored the concept of 'flow' (see Csikszentmihalyi, 1997), "where the consciousness becomes focused and intensified during physical activity" (Humberstone, 2011, p. 507). Snowboarders, for instance, appear to be concerned primarily with the aesthetic and intrinsic experience, involving aspects of high engagement with the snow and slope, focusing on improvisation rather than enacting specific moves (Edensor & Richards, 2007). Similarly, Stranger (1999) describes participants leisure activities like surfing as emphasising feelings of closeness with nature, losing oneself in the activity, and becoming acutely aware of the here and now.

Many of the studies seeking an understanding of these personal sporting encounters make use of phenomenology. Moran (2002) describes Sartre as seeing phenomenology as allowing the delineation of "affective, emotional, and imaginative life . . . understood in the manner in which it is meaningfully lived" (p.

5). As such, phenomenology seeks to understand the "human experience of self and place as lived through body, time, space and other" (Brymer & Schweitzer, 2016, p. 137). Halling (2007) argues that phenomenology enables us to understand phenomena more fully. In that sense, an activity like climbing a mountain is not understood merely as getting from the bottom to the summit, but is considered as an experience that is meaningful because of the climbers relationship to others and the mountain itself (Brymer & Schweitzer, 2016). In their phenomenological analysis of skateboarding, Seifert and Hedderson (2010) reveal that skateboarding involves "feelings of satisfaction and pleasure, confidence and control, and relaxation and freedom" (p. 288) that permeate the skaters being, causing them to feel 'fully alive'. Investigations into the lived experiences of skateboarders has therefore been helpful in painting skateboarders not as transgressors (see Nemeth, 2006; Nolan, 2003) or even rats or roaches (see Howell, 2005), but as humans, engaging in a meaningful practice.

Phenomenological research on parkour has supported various themes elucidated in other parkour studies, but has also "uncovered significant new details regarding the varied aspects, social elements and physical sensations of the practice" (Clegg & Butryn, 2012, p. 333). In contrast to the studies that discuss action sports and parkour as resisting aspects of capitalism and modern life, Aggerholm and Højbjerre Larsen (2016) demonstrate that the embodied phenomenon of parkour "need not be a social or cultural critique" (p. 15). Thus, they argue that their existential phenomenological analysis of acrobatics in parkour can supplement the understandings of other scholars who have highlighted parkour as play, or as pushing back against traditional sport.

Advocates advance the notion that phenomenology is valuable "for investigating the specifics of socially located, socially related and interacting [sporting] bodies . . . vividly and evocatively" (Allen‑Collinson, 2009). Certainly, despite the sometimes narrow focus of these studies, they have been helpful for highlighting the reasons why parkour participants engage in their chosen activity and how they understand themselves. This aids in breaking down barriers between parkour participants and non-participants who interact with them. It does however reveal, as mentioned above, the diversity of how parkour is experienced by its practitioners. Clearly these studies rely heavily on the ability of participants to accurately describe their feelings, and has equal implications relating to the "researcher's imposition of meanings, categories, concepts and terminology upon her/his participants' experiences" (Allen‑Collinson, 2009). It is perhaps not surprising then that in matters of policy, phenomenological studies are often given less credibility by decision makers (Center for Innovation in Research and Teaching, 2019) who's political decisions impact on action sport participants opportunities and experiences.

Experiences and Understandings of Risk

Risk-taking is one of the earlier and most widely studied themes within action sport literature. Much of this research explores either the experiences, understandings, or the perceptions of risk. Although not focusing exclusively on action sports, Lyng (1990) is perhaps widely recognised in this area, for his creation of the idea of 'edgework'. The concept describes the ways that people try to get as close to the edge as possible while remaining in control. Jason Laurendeau

(2006, 2008; Laurendeau & van Brunschot, 2006) is an example of one action sport scholar that has used the concept of edgework to talk about risk in skydiving. Indeed, understandings of action sports being related to thrill seeking and risk taking has dominated much of this risk scholarship. Stranger (1999) for instance, following Huizinga (1949), examines the 'aesthetic quality' of surfing. He argues that although surfing does not have a high rate of fatality, surfing is a risk-taking activity because the majority of his participants were focused on experiencing emotive thrills through their participation.

Yet, this research arguably represents a one-sided approach to understanding risk in action sports. Brymer (2010), for instance, citing an array of previous research, argues that there is wide held belief that action sports are synonymous with risk taking, but suggests that "a focus on risk has meant that other aspects of the experience have been largely ignored" (p. 219). These aspects include participant's interest or focus on environmentalism (Brymer, Downey, & Gray, 2009), personal characteristics of courage and humility (Brymer & Oades, 2009), and experiencing enriched "ways of being" (Willig, 2008, p. 700). The auto-ethnographic account by Humberstone (2009), for instance, on her windsurfing experiences in Mauritius draws attention to how the perceptions of risk are culturally specific and that the understanding and implications of risk are generally complex, even more so in non-Western contexts.

Gavira, Llerena, Nicaise, and García (2018) claim that there are "few scientific studies regarding the danger of parkour" (p. 696). This is only a half-truth as there are a number of quantitative papers looking at injury rates and specific

injury cases in parkour[5] (Black & Knight, 2013; Derakhshan, Zarei, Malekmohammady, & Rahimi-Movaghar, 2014; Frumkin, 2005; Harrison, Vega, Machinis, & Reavey-Cantwell, 2015; McLean, Houshian, & Pike, 2006; Miller & Demoiny, 2008; Wanke, Thiel, Groneberg, & Fischer, 2013). Furthermore, a significant number of qualitative research on parkour explores elements of risk or otherwise uses language that suggests that risk is an inherent part of the practice. In fact, authors like Wheaton (2013a) and Atkinson and Young (2008) have talked about how in England and in Toronto, Canada, respectively, discourses of risk, danger, and deviance are central to mainstream media depictions of parkour. Atkinson and Young (2008) describe how parkour practitioners were the cause of "several social panics in local media" (p. 68), with popular newspapers referring to practitioners behaviour as disruptive and aggressive. Wheaton (2013a) argues that these media portrayals have led to widespread misinformation about parkour, citing various UK practitioners who "reject the extreme or high-risk label" (p. 80). Thus, these media representations of parkour are constantly being negotiated by parkour practitioners and researchers are aware of this contestation.

A more accurate statement then is that risk has not often been an *explicit focus* of much *qualitative* parkour research to date. The notable exceptions include recent work by Kidder (2013b, 2017) and Gavira et al. (2018). Kidder's work is based off participant observation and interviews of Chicago practitioners' 'urban adventurism' (Kidder, 2013b). He develops a representation of risk in parkour as

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[5] The parkour community has challenged the accuracy of some of this research. Suggesting that the movements/behaviours of the injured person constitute an activity other than parkour (see Rendao, 2015; Vega, 2015).

"rites of risk and rituals of symbolic safety" (Kidder, 2013b). In this schema practitioners are engaging in symbolic rituals of safety, such as warming up and slowly progressing training challenges, and use them as rhetorical devices "for justifying and rationalizing the risks they take" (p. 243), but in truth are only symbolic and therefore, ultimately illusory (Kidder, 2013b). Gavira et al. (2018) challenge this idea of safety in parkour being primarily symbolic. They adopt a qualitative model to interview participants and their parents, gauging their perceptions of risk in parkour before and after a training intervention. Drawing on Latorre, del Rincón Igea, and Arnal (1996), Gavira et al. (2018) explain that their model is valuable for understanding the processes by which people are conditioned into developing pre-conceived ideas of parkour as risky. They conclude that pre-conceived ideas regarding risk in parkour within their cohort were highly negative, based on seeing parkour videos online, but after witnessing and experiencing parkour in person, the ideas were highly positive.

Kidder's (2013b) research is helpful in challenging taken for granted understandings (by participants) of parkour being risk-free. Kidder's (2013b) observations lead him to describe parkour as being comprised of tests of masculine character and filled with social behaviours that legitimise risk-taking but do nothing to actually minimise danger. This seems to contradict his own point that the "day-to-day dangers faced by [practitioners] are generally quite mundane—mostly scraps and sprains" (Kidder, 2013b, p. 248). Gavira et al. (2018) vilify YouTube videos of parkour that show 'dangerous' forms of training for inaccurately describing the practice. They point to their intervention as a truly accurate understanding of parkour; one that is safe. Although safety in parkour is not an illusion, a single intervention that discounts the dangers present within

parkour training that can indeed occur on high rise buildings is also problematic. These studies disguise the complexity and local specificity of experiences and understandings of risk that Humberstone (2009) describes.

Institutionalisation, Commercialisation, and Professionalisation

Investigations into the institutionalisation and commercialisation of action sports has also been a particularly salient area of action sport research for many years (see Beal & Wilson, 2004; Edwards & Corte, 2010; Humphreys, 1997; Ojala, 2014; Strittmatter, Kilvinger, Bodemar, Skille, & Kurscheidt, 2018; Thorpe & Wheaton, 2011; Wheaton, 2005; Wheaton & Beal, 2003). With skateboarding, sport climbing, surfing, and BMX freestyle set to be included in the Olympic Games in Tokyo 2020, the institutionalisation, commercialisation, and professionalisation of action sports remains an important areas of focus (see Thorpe & Dumont, 2018).

In their dissection of action sport studies, Thorpe and Wheaton (2013) argue that the earlier literature on action sports drew primarily from the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies' (CCCS) approach to understanding the commercialisation of youth cultures, causing scholars to view these institutionalisation and commercialisation processes as primarily negative. But as Wheaton and Beal (2003) state, "consumerism is not unilaterally negative" (p. 158). Adopting CCCS approaches therefore overlooks "the potential for participants to practice agency or resistance within the processes of commercialization, incorporation, and institutionalization" (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2013, p. 345). This has given rise to more contemporary action sports research utilising post-CCCS in post-subcultural approaches (see Edwards & Corte, 2010;

Wheaton & Beal, 2003). This research has demonstrated that action sports cultures are not homogenous, but highly fragmented (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2013). BMX riders, for instance, have been revealed as active collaborators in the commercialisation processes (Edwards & Corte, 2010) and windsurfers and skateboarders, rather than resisting capitalist consumption, "contested the discourse about materiality, and importantly who has power to define and shape those discourses" (Wheaton & Beal, 2003, p. 173).

Research exploring the institutionalisation, commercialisation, and professionalisation of parkour is a growing field. These terms are often synthesised into investigation of the 'sportisation' of parkour (Puddle, Wheaton, & Thorpe, 2018; Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017; Wheaton, 2013c; Wheaton & O'Loughlin, 2017). This research has also drawn on post-CCCS approaches (Wheaton & O'Loughlin, 2017), though often not explicitly so. Scholars have adopted multiple qualitative methods of inquiry (Ferrero Camoletto, Sterchele, & Genova, 2015; Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017) and have also shown, like in other action sports, the contested nature of their institutionalisation and ongoing development of governance structures, and coaching qualifications.

This particular line of research into parkour has revealed the juxtaposition between local government structures and global media representations of parkour, and thus shed light on parkour's glocalisation (Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017), a particular understanding of globalisation that informs this thesis and is unpacked later in the chapter.

Gender and Inclusion

Wheaton (2002) argued that in many ethnographic studies of action sport cultures the focus was on men, particularly white middleclass Western men, and often not explicitly recognised as such. Since that critique, there has been an increase in the number of studies that investigate the gendered experiences of action sports cultures, looking at masculinities, femininities, and the relationship between them (for example, Atencio, Beal, & Wilson, 2009; Bäckström, 2013; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008; MacKay & Dallaire, 2013a; MacKay & Dallaire, 2014; Olive, McCuaig, & Phillips, 2015; Olive & Thorpe, 2011; Pavlidis & Connor, 2016; Pavlidis & Olive, 2014; Thorpe, 2005, 2008, 2010; Thorpe & Olive, 2016; Waitt, 2008; Wheaton, 2004, 2009, 2010). Within the above studies a range of feminist critiques are employed, as well as a diversity of theoretical approaches and methodologies. However, a number of these studies employ multi-method ethnographic approaches that make use of interviews and participant observations. For instance, Atencio et al. (2009) use these methods to show how, despite increases in women's participation and women's events in skateboarding, in street skating, the gendered power dynamics still render women virtually invisible. And in surfing, Olive et al. (2015) articulate how recreational women surfers "continue to be valued in terms of male and masculine ideals" (p. 272), experiencing patronising situations that highlight how "women are differentiated in the surf" (p. 266).

Despite the increase in focus on gendered experiences and that of other marginalised participants (e.g. non-white and older participants) within action sport literature, there are few studies on parkour that have done the same (Kidder,

2013a; Stagi, 2015; Wheaton, 2016). The first foray by Kidder (2013a) used participant observations and interviews (as previously highlighted in his work on risk) to explore how the meanings of place and space is related to gender. He focuses specifically on parkour's masculine orientation and the ways that space and gender are mutually constitutive, concluding that the men he studied appropriate city spaces to both shape and bolster their gender identities (Kidder, 2013a). Kidder's (2013a) analysis of Chicago practitioners leads him to specific conclusions about parkour's appropriation of urban space and its relationship to gender.

Wheaton (2016) explores the politics of gender in parkour in the UK, specifically in relation to the inclusion and exclusion of women. Based on formal and informal conversations, 20 interviews, and online media sources, Wheaton (2016) identifies several contradictory actions in regards to gender. These include performances of masculinity, such as men's shirtless acts affirming their masculine identity through their bodies, whilst also attempting to promote and encourage female participation. Institutionalisation and use of online spaces are two other themes that Wheaton (2016) explores, discussing how these create and influence safe training spaces for women. Stagi (2015) also looks at the participation of women in parkour, using interviews and observations. She draws on Schippers' (2002) concept of gender manoeuvring, the notion of when someone manipulates the performance of theirs or others gender "in order to establish, disrupt, or change the relationship between and among masculinities and femininities" (Schippers, 2002, p. xiii). Like Wheaton (2016), Stagi's (2015) work identifies how experiences of marginalised practitioners are impacted on by other key issues, such as institutionalisation. For instance, the opportunity to participate in parkour

in indoor purpose-built environments has increased the popularity of parkour amongst women in Italy (Stagi, 2015). However, despite drawing attention to notions of power, research in this field can lack an intersectional focus that "engages the various forms of identity-based politics operating within and across action sports cultures" (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2013, p. 346).

In this short literature review I have highlighted a number of the key areas of research in action sports and how the parkour literature works within and builds upon these dominant themes, drawing from a variety of theoretical and conceptual perspectives. I have demonstrated some of the different methodological approaches to understanding the various participants, activities, and cultures that surround these action sports, and parkour specifically. In so doing, I have highlighted some of gaps in the literature and important lines of inquiry that my research can adopt. In particular, I've demonstrated some of the different ways that parkour is practiced and experienced by participants and also interpreted by scholars. There is also a significant diversity of academic fields that have become interested in parkour, sometimes bringing singular conceptualisations that disguise the complex nature of certain phenomenon within the ever evolving parkour community. In my readings of the diverse body of literature in parkour, it seems to be that scholars that draw on multiple methods are able to recognise some of the complexities present within the communities being studied. This is not to say that multiple methods is 'better', but my observations suggest that such an approach can reveal important nuances and contradictions. As Thorpe and Wheaton (2013) conclude, scholars in the twenty-first century ought to make use of approaches that utilise "multi-methodological

and theoretical, contextual, and political approaches" in order to "(re)imagine more meaningful action sports research" (p. 353).

My research, therefore, will adopt an approach that attempts to account for diversity within both the parkour community and the research community investigating parkour. I will make use of multiple methods to explore some of the complexities of parkour and themes of personal experience, interaction with place and space, risk, and institutionalisation. And finally, because of the paucity of research in gender and marginalised populations participation in parkour, I make it an explicit area of focus (see Chapter Five).

Understanding and Categorising Parkour

As previously discussed, parkour is understood differently around the world and there are disparities in the categorisation of parkour within the parkour community stemming from the still ongoing debates surrounding what parkour is, and is not (Herrmann, 2016). Different nations, local communities, and individuals differ on not only the sporting category that parkour fits into, but its entire definition. For instance, some in the parkour community have defined the practice purely based on the physical requirements of the practice, defining parkour as "the activity or sport of ascending, descending, or moving through any structured environment, often using specialized techniques" (Scavington, 2016). Others make sure to emphasise the importance of both the body and the mind whilst emphasising specific movements, "Parkour is an attitude and training method for movement through any environment at speed. The concept is to overcome all

physical and mental obstacles in your path by using your body and mind to run, climb, jump and vault" (Australian Parkour Association, 2017). Still others are more all-embracing, explaining parkour as "a method or lifestyle to get strong physically and mentally and to be able to adapt to any situation and overcome obstacles in life" (Chennai Parkour, 2009). Following Parkour UK's description of the practice, they conclude with "The description above is to describe Parkour as a sport and does not fully describe the art / discipline / philosophy of Parkour as a whole" (2012). Indeed, many parkour enthusiasts reject the term sport in favour of 'art' (Angel, 2011; Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011; Wheaton, 2013a) or 'discipline' (Bavinton, 2007; Kidder, 2013a; Wheaton, 2013a).

Within the academic literature, parkour has been explained, defined, labelled, and categorised using a large variety of terms, which are arguably complementary, conflicting, and/or synonymous. Sterchele and Ferrero Camoletto (2017), for example switch between the terms *lifestyle* sport and *informal* sport—clearly referring to the same idea. Yet, Rawlinson and Guaralda (2011) describe parkour as *play*, a notion that is seemingly at odds with Angel's (2011) description of parkour as a *training method*. Undoubtedly "parkour defies simplistic categorisation" (Bavinton, 2007, p. 401). Below I list the variety of expressions that have been used in academic literature to date, in order to illustrate that diversity:

Parkour as a lifestyle (Clegg & Butryn, 2012; Gilchrist & Osborn, 2017a; Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011), street (T.-L. Gordon, 2015), action (Thorpe & Ahmad, 2015), informal (Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017), urban (Paige, 2017), or extreme (Aparecido Da Rocha et al., 2014; Stapleton & Terrio, 2012) **sport.** For

example, in their examination of the commoditisation of male youth expression in parkour, Stapleton and Terrio (2012) define parkour as "an extreme sport associated with the racialized housing projects in the Parisian suburbs" (p. 19). Others describe parkour as a **subculture** (Aggerholm & Højbjerre Larsen, 2016; Atkinson, 2009; Balan, 2013; Benasso, 2015; Gilchrist & Osborn, 2017a; Pavlotski, 2016), with Pavlotski (2016) in his international and multi-sited visual ethnography explaining parkour as characterising local manifestations of a global subculture. Some refer to parkour as a **discipline** (Ameel & Tani, 2012b; De Martini Ugolotti, 2017; Gravestock, 2016; O'Loughlin, 2012; Otchie, 2013; Stagi, 2015), often when making comparisons between parkour and other disciplines, such as, capoeira (De Martini Ugolotti & Moyer, 2016) and dance (Gravestock, 2016). Parkour has been regularly referred to as a **practice** (Archer, 2010; Chow, 2010; Ferrero Camoletto et al., 2015; Ferro, 2015; Herrmann, 2016; Loo & Bunnell, 2017; Murray, 2010; Ortuzar, 2009), sometimes specifically referring to it as an *urban* practice (Mould, 2009). One salient example is Herrmann's (2016) study on parkour as a valuable tool for prosocial change. Here Herrmann spends considerable time unpacking the norms, values, goals, intentions, and assumptions (inherent to human 'practices') that underpin the physical actions involved in parkour and therefore warrant it being presented as a practice. Parkour has been considered as an **art** (Bezanson & Finkelman, 2010; De Freitas, 2011; Guss, 2011; Lamb, 2010, 2014a). Guss (2011), for example, emphasises the artistic elements of parkour through its creative spatial and social 'subversion'. Parkour has also been described as a **phenomenon** (Aggerholm & Højbjerre Larsen, 2016; Marshall, 2010; Ortuzar, 2009). It has even been referred to simply as an **activity** (Daskalaki et al., 2008; Wallace, 2013). Finally, parkour has been described as a post-sport physical culture (Atkinson,

2009, 2013), an embodied ideological critique (Chow, 2010), a lifestyle (Ferro, 2015; Lamb, 2010; Saville, 2008), a youth movement (Marshall, 2010), urban adventurism (Kidder, 2013b), a type of play (Rawlinson & Guaralda, 2011; Saville, 2008), and even dance (Higgins, 2009).

Many of the above scholars have recognised the challenges of defining and categorising parkour, acknowledging some of the alternative ways in which practitioners refer to themselves and what they do. In so doing, these scholars have often used multiple ways to describe parkour or have chosen not to define or categorise it at all, only stating what others have said it might be. In some cases these terms are used by the scholars simply as descriptors and synonyms, words used to describe parkour to the reader, not so much as a tool for categorising. However, and this is the key point, in other cases these categories—sport, subculture, and art for instance—are concepts that do, or often have, theoretical underpinnings, and are therefore closely linked to certain ways of understanding and therefore researching. This not only adds to the complexity of parkour and how future researchers attempt to describe it, but also creates challenges in terms of how parkour is actually studied and what conceptual approaches are used in that process. Additionally, this large conceptual variety makes the dissemination of that research to the parkour and wider communities more difficult, as mentioned in my introduction.

This is not just an issue for researchers on parkour. Researchers of sport have utilised various "sociological concepts and theoretical approaches for examining and conceptualising sporting-based collectivities and their identities" (Wheaton, 2013a, p. 30) including action sports. Wheaton goes on to list some

such examples, including subculture (Beal, 1995), serious leisure (Stebbins, 1982, 1997), and culture of commitment (Crouch & Tomlinson, 1994). Here I discuss one of the most widely adopted, subculture, before offering an alternative in the next section.

The transmission of youth subcultures around the globe is happening at ever increasing speeds thanks to the internet and perhaps more specifically at present, social media; there are activities that have spread around the world that owe their popularity almost exclusively to social media—parkour being one of them (see Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2013). Moreover, Gangneux (2019) has said that over the last twenty years, there has been a growing body of research exploring and demonstrating that social media plays an important role in the relationships and identity constructions of young people (see, for example, Boyd, 2014; Brown & Gregg, 2012; Lincoln & Robards, 2017; Livingstone, 2008; O'Keeffe & Clarke-Pearson, 2011; Seargeant & Tagg, 2014). Discussions concerning the impact the internet has had on the globalisation of youth cultures are notable in the context of recent attention to the dissection of what Wilson and Atkinson (2005) call 'millennial youth subcultures'.

However, positioning and presenting parkour as a subculture is also problematic. Subcultural theory comes from an influential body of work that analysed 'specific groups' particularly 1970's working-class youth in post-World War II Britain (Wheaton, 2007). This work was influenced heavily by the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies or 'CCCS' (Crosset & Beal, 1997) and also the University of Chicago or the 'Chicago school' (Blackman, 2005). Donnelly (1985) provides an overview of two different types of subculture:

'Ascribed subcultures' based on birth characteristics. Dell'Aquila (2014) describes these as "factorable social situations (class status, ethnic background, regional or urban residence, lifestyles)" (p. 125). However, Donnelly argues that these categories are highly problematic and should be considered cultures instead. His preference, particularly for sporting groups, is for 'achieved subcultures' that are based on "achieved characteristics, and are groups to which people tend to consciously to attain membership" (Donnelly, 1985).

Nonetheless, Subcultural theory has traditionally assumed that all members of the group essentially approach the activity in the same way, or have a consistent set of values (Fine & Kleinman, 1979). As Wheaton (2007) explains, there has been sustained criticism of subcultural theory, including its attempt to "present youth subcultures as tight coherent groups" (p. 285), and also overemphasising the working-class position of subcultural members and ignoring non-British contexts. Wrestling with the contradictions between the notion of subcultural identity being bounded and the fluid reality of identity, Muggleton (2000) suggests that a "more fluid and de-centred identity that can account for subcultural mobility and movement" be established. As Wheaton (2007) argues, various subcultural models for understanding sporting subcultures (see Donnelly, 1981) can be helpful tools for describing different forms of identity within these groups, but they still undersell the complexity and mobility of member identities.

Such criticisms have led to a post-CCCS or post-subcultural approach being developed, with new understandings that account for contemporary groups with more fluid membership (Coates, Clayton, & Humberstone, 2010). In her critical review of post-subcultural theory Wheaton (2007) suggests that although action

sports "exhibit flux, dynamism, and change . . . there is also a high level of stability and distinctiveness in the culture's sense of collective identity and forms of status" (p. 300) and thus subculture should not be replaced, but reinvigorated. Chaney (2004) is much more critical, concluding that subculture as an idea can be dispensed in our increasingly fragmented culture, and in its place, "newer and more sophisticated metaphors of representation" (p. 48) are required.

Like Wheaton (2007), I'm not convinced that subculture should discounted as a theoretical tool to study sporting social groups entirely. Equally however, I'm unconvinced that subculture is the best approach for understanding parkour. Daskalaki and Mould (2013), for instance, assert that reducing 'urban social formations' such as parkour, down to, for instance, a resistance subculture (see Atkinson, 2009) positions them as bounded entities, but "fluidity, interconnectedness and multiplicity are central to their conceptualization" (p. 14). Further, my review of the parkour literature, my experiences in the field, and my involvement as an insider to the community, cause me to see that the diversity within the parkour community is significant.

The nature of the competing logics surrounding meaning making and identity for parkour practitioners is one of the foundations of this thesis. Therefore, in the following section I present an approach that I find helpful in articulating the various interpretations of parkour held by varying local and national groups within the global parkour community.

Boundary Object Theory and Categorising the Unbounded

The theory of Boundary Objects (BOT) was originally developed and discussed by Star and Griesemer (1989). The theory was primarily used within science and technology studies (Bowker, Timmermans, Clarke, & Balka, 2015), particularly "in the field of knowledge management" (Trompette & Vinck, 2009, p. a). The concept has become somewhat independent from Star and Grisemer's (1989) original work however, with specific elements of the theory gaining particular interest, especially for its "analytical scope in the description of activities" (Trompette & Vinck, 2009, p. a). Indeed, the way I will be employing the concept is not in a theoretical sense but rather as a framing device for better understanding the globalised, and more accurately, glocalised nature of parkour.

Star and Griesemer (1989) describe boundary objects as objects that are "both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites" (p. 393). In their original treatise, Star and Griesemer (1989) describe a preserved sample of flora or fauna as a potential boundary object. For example, the trapper who caught the specimen and the museum curator who presents it to the public will both have a general understanding of the specimen, but the meaning of that specimen in each of their specific social worlds will be more specific and potentially nuanced. Although Star and Griesemer (1989) don't explain how they define social worlds, it's reasonable to assume that they are referring to the 'cultural areas' described by Shibutani (1955) and further elaborated on by Strauss (1978). Within social worlds and different individual sites boundary objects have

different meanings, but their structure is such that multiple worlds can still understand them (Star & Griesemer, 1989). In other words:

> A boundary object is something that has different and quite specific meanings in intersecting communities but also has a common meaning to facilitate cooperation across communities . . . Boundary objects thus satisfy the informational requirements of various communities while still having distinct meanings in each one of them (Bowker et al., 2015, p. 4).

Therefore, boundary objects are able to move across borders and retain an identity that is both ambiguous and more or less constant at the same time (Bowker & Star, 1999). The term 'boundary' does not necessarily refer to the periphery or border of communities but to areas that overlap, such as in a Venn diagram, between different communities (Bowker et al., 2015). The term 'object' could be concrete or abstract (Star & Griesemer, 1989) and "may be a thing but also . . . a theory" (Bowker et al., 2015, p. 4). Boundary objects act somewhat like brokers, concerning themselves with communication between communities (Kimble, Grenier, & Goglio-Primard, 2010). Thus, a boundary object is able to "bind different worlds together, but without necessarily imposing one group's view on all the rest" (Kärrholm, Johansson, Lindelöw, & Ferreira, 2017, p. 30).

In the original Star and Griesemer (1989) treatise, an animal specimen displayed in the museum was an example of a boundary object. The social worlds that interacted with that specimen included farmers—and other public who lived on or close to the site that specimens were collected—trappers, traders, collectors, administrators, conservationists, biologists, etc. These social worlds are quite different from each other, whilst still interacting with the boundary object in

strong ways. Star and Griesemer (1989) highlight that in the case of the museum, the various social worlds shared the goal of conserving California and its flora and fauna, allowing each world to be involved in satisfying work. Frequently however, these social worlds found that the meaning the object had was different for each world. The partial jurisdiction that each social world has over the object creates sites for negotiation. In other words, "boundary objects act as anchors or bridges, however temporary" (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 414), rather than a reflection of universality or a top-down approach imposing specific requirements (Bowker et al., 2015).

It is my contention that in order to account for the varied and sometimes conflicting understandings of parkour around the world—and rather than conceptualising with theoretical concepts with specific underpinnings that infers specific fixed things (e.g. subculture)—it could be more helpful to consider parkour as a boundary object. A direct application of the theory would result in the following social worlds: practitioners, their families and friends, the general public, security, police, property owners, national and international organisations, government, etc. However, as this literature review has shown, the differences between practitioners and groups from the same global community, and the various meanings attributed to the practice by these people, can be significant. Therefore, I argue that different parkour communities and different ideologies espoused by practitioners represent different social worlds within one broad global parkour community.

Across the various definitions of the practice proffered by both these parkour communities themselves and scholars who have written about them,

there is a consistent theme of the body interacting with the environment; overcoming physical obstacles. This is the common global understanding of parkour that, while constant, is also weakly structured enough to allow for more specific and unique understandings or definitions within local sites. In other words, parkour is both a general concept commonly understood by the global parkour community (and the world at large[6]), but each locality has a specific understanding of parkour that is unique to that geographic, cultural, economic, political, and historical context that may or may not share certain similarities to other localities (see Figure 2 where I use the example from Bowker et al. (2015) of a Venn diagram)
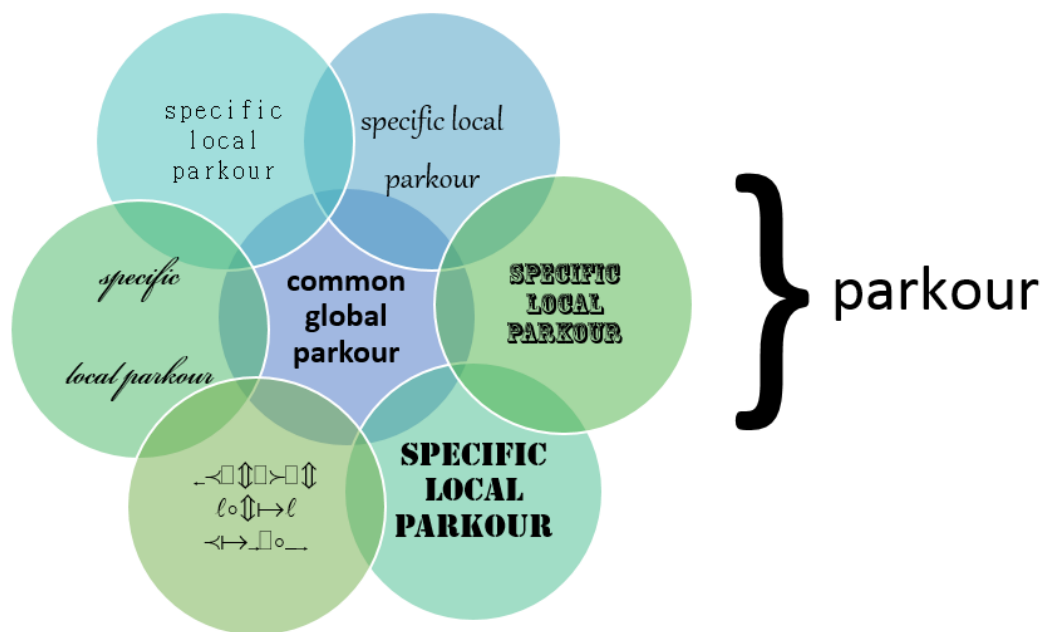
Figure 2. Parkour as a boundary object. Created by the author.

This diagram causes us to ask: Who and/or what produces the global understandings of parkour, what is it within specific locales that influences how the global is taken up/pushed back upon, and what elements are important? In

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[6] However, the common public understanding of parkour via the media may not be the same understanding as the global parkour community.

parkour, the ideological differences, conflicting meanings, and different understandings have been caused by its diffusion throughout the globe with the replication of parkour within local settings that are potentially devoid of any of the original catalysts for its creation. This means that the use and value of BOT for framing parkour is directly tied to parkour's globalisation and reinterpretation within subsequent communities (i.e. glocalisation, expanded on in the following section). To some scholars and parkour practitioners alike this understanding may be self-evident. However, the way in which BOT succinctly captures this phenomenon has not yet been used to frame parkour, or for that matter, any other action sport (e.g. skateboarding) or culture (e.g. hip-hop) that also share these divergent definitions and experiences. Some scholars have, while articulating the specific experiences of their participants, opted for describing the activity through the lens of (usually) one particular understanding, potentially alienating, confusing, or offending those with alternative interpretations to the stance taken within their research. For instance, several scholars emphasise in their descriptions of parkour that it is non-competitive or that most practitioners reject competition (Ferro, 2015; O'Brien, 2011; Thorpe & Ahmad, 2015). It should be noted that understandings of competition in parkour are not the central crux of these specific articles, and these definitions may reflect the opinions of the participants rather than the scholars. Yet, parkour competitions have existed since at least 2007 (see Henry, 2016), and there is a growing support for competitive formats (see Coppola, 2015). In fact there are those who see non-competitive understandings of parkour as overly optimistic regarding the value of parkour and overly pessimistic regarding the dangers of competition (PPK Philly, 2017). In reality, the number of practitioners for or against competition is unknown, but

there is a palpable increase in the number of competitions and community support for such events (Wheaton & O'Loughlin, 2017). Thus, future research must find ways to account for these divergent viewpoints to better understand how parkour is experienced.

While discussing complex and principled points of view that various social worlds have of an object, Star, Bryant, and Charmaz (2007) explain that varying viewpoints tend to cause marginality, resolved "by passing on one side or another, denying one side, oscillating between worlds, or by forming a new social world composed of others like themselves" (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 412). The early fragmentation of parkour discussed in the introduction represents this formation of new social worlds. However, Star and Griesemer (1989) claim that researchers manage these situations differently to marginal people. That is to say, researchers create boundary objects to mitigate differences. I would argue that researchers are not immune at failing to resolve issues between social worlds and equally, that parkour practitioners are also capable of employing tactics to resolve the differences between themselves and others in their community. Parkour UK for instance recognises that their main definition is a sporting one only, and that others within the parkour community have alternative definitions based on philosophical and/or artistic grounds (Parkour UK, 2012). Likewise, the Australian Parkour Association (2017) and Parkour NZ (2018b) explain to visitors of their websites that "parkour belongs to a family of movement disciplines" and that parkour is a "diverse activity with several different schools of practice" respectively. This shows a belief that there can be collaboration and consensus without universality, a notion inherent to BOT, demonstrating that "the creation and management of boundary objects is a key process in developing and

maintaining coherence across intersecting social worlds" (Star & Griesemer, 1989, p. 393). I therefore suggest that although not explicitly using BOT, the acknowledgement of parkour's diversity is representative of a move within certain areas of the global parkour community seeking to better articulate parkour to the masses and unite the community itself—an extension of the negotiations of media discourse around risk in parkour as previously highlighted.

To summarise, BOT is a helpful framing device for understanding and accounting for the diversity of parkour, a diversity that owes itself to the glocalisation (defined later in this chapter) of the practice, without leaning on or elevating any particular definition. Kärrholm et al. (2017) have used BOT to describe how urban objects facilitate the creation of different kinds of walking, but BOT has not to my knowledge been used to talk about sporting social worlds. Some stretching of the theory is necessary for my purposes in this thesis, but I believe it provides a useful structure for framing parkour than others to date. In order to keep within this framework, when talking about parkour from here on, I will refer to it directly as parkour or as an 'activity', as in, "a thing that a person or group does or has done" ("Activity," 2018), thus encapsulating all of the possible understandings of parkour. There are also times when I may refer to it as an action sport when comparing it to other activities and discussing the broad area of literature that incorporates parkour. It is through this lens that I will conceptualise parkour throughout this thesis.

Approaches for Exploring Understandings of Globalisation

While not universal, some parkour practitioners are driven to explore, to seek new places, new faces, and new challenges. Their desire to traverse the environment has naturally extended from the immediate surrounds to the horizon. This wanderlust, this longing to share parkour with others, to experience personal and communal growth has resulted in movement on foot to cross suburbs, movement by car to cross borders, movement by plane to cross the seas, and virtual movement via the digital currents of the internet. The excitement created by this new activity, powered by the accessibility of social media has had far reaching effects; parkour is undeniably an increasingly global phenomenon. Indeed, I am a NZ scholar investigating an activity of French origin whose local practitioners discovered it through UK TV and Hollywood cinema.

The reality of this globalisation, the connectedness afforded by the internet and social media, and the way in which the flows of people, information, ideas, capital, and media impact on parkour's growth and development, warrant an investigation that makes use of globalisation approaches. However, there are various globalisation theories, not one overarching globalisation theory (Robinson, 2007). Rzepka (2011) suggests that there are approximately 200 definitions of globalisation; definitions that vary based on their general categorisation. This includes economic, information, cultural, political, and ecological globalisation (Domaslawski, 2004:71, as cited by Rzepka, 2011). Given that there is much debate between scholars on the best way to define and understand globalisation (Robinson, 2007), it is worth pointing out what they generally agree on. Robinson (2007) has identified three areas: First, an acknowledgement that worldwide

social change is transforming faster than it has before. Second, this social transformation is linked to the increase in connectivity between people and the increased awareness of these connections. And third, that globalisation is multidimensional (e.g. cultural, political, economic, etc.) and that these dimensions are interrelated and their effects ubiquitous.

Numerous scholars from varying disciplines have spent significant effort in developing theories of globalisation that build on these basic assumptions and result in competing and conflicting understandings, all of which require consideration. These approaches to globalisation include theories of global capitalism (Robinson, 2004; Sklair, 2000), theories of transnationalism (Levitt, 2001; Vertovec, 2009), theories of space and place (Giddens, 1990; Harvey, 1992), and theories of global culture (Appadurai, 1990; Ritzer, 2007), among others—many of which have been used for over two decades by sociologists of sport (Maguire, 1999). While all of these approaches have been used in productive ways for understanding global processes, it is the theories of global culture that I am most interested in, in part due to their emphasis on mass media and the globalisation of cultural flows, as well as their interest in patterns of homogenisation, heterognisation, and/or hybridisation (Robinson, 2007). Of principal importance to the overall thesis is Robertson's theory of 'glocalisation' (2012). Below I elaborate on the strengths and constraints of this particular understanding of globalisation and its relevance to my research.

One common understanding of cultural globalisation is put forth by Rzepka (2011), who defines it as the "standardisation of cultural models" (p. 458) from around the world, leading to universalisation. However, Robertson (1995) argues

that globalisation as a macro only or homogenising only phenomenon is a myth and it would be misleading to suggest that this was the only force at play. This view gave rise to the popularity of inquiries into the 'glocalisation' of social and cultural phenomenon. Robertson's glocalisation is an attempt at more accurately defining the globalisation process itself, not a sub-process within it; a retooling of globalisation into a more thorough explanation of the homogenising and heterogonising forces at work (Robertson, 2012). Glocalisation therefore refers to the simultaneous tendencies of universality *and* particularity; globalising and localising at the same time (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004; Robertson, 1995). It theorises that as phenomenon are appropriated by new user groups, there are concurrent trends of both adoption and adaption (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004) showing the transformation of local communities that while staying in their locality, undergo "structural and cultural globalization" (Cho, Leary, & Jackson, 2012). In organised sport, this might look like a dominant football club having firm "legal, financial and symbolic ties to their home cities" (p. 561) while concurrently constructing international fan markets and competitive success (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004), or the proliferation of Major League Baseball in South Korea without Americanisation (Cho, 2009). Americanisation refers to the "propagation of American ideas, customs, social patterns, industry and capital around the world" (Ritzer & Stillman, 2003, p. 36, citing Williams, 1962).

In popular cultural literature, studies of hip-hop's widespread popularity have also made use of a glocalisation approach. Osumare (2001) explains that "global hip-hop youth culture has become a phenomenon in the truest sense of the word and has affected nearly every country on the map" (p. 171) and "has proliferated to places as diverse as NZ, Senegal, South Africa, Mexico, Germany,

Russia, France, England, India, and Japan" (p. 172). This flow of hip-hop culture

from North America to other countries around the world has resulted in

glocalisation trends. Hip-hop started in the mid 1970's in New York (Osumare,

2001) and has since moved from "marginalized to mainstream" (Motley &

Henderson, 2008) and as Samy Alim and Pennycook (2007) state, citing (Mitchell,

2001), "hip hop has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for

reworking local identity all over the world" (p. 90). For example, the album cover

for "Messa Di Vespiri", an album by Italian rap group *Articolo 31*, shows the artists

wearing traditional hip-hop clothes, such as a backwards facing baseball cap, and

uses conventional graffiti style artwork, while the lyrics of the music itself mimic

familiar hip-hop themes (Motley & Henderson, 2008). Concurrently, elements of

Italian culture are obvious with cover art showing the artists dining at a classic

Italian restaurant complete with spaghetti, cheese, wine and a checked tablecloth,

and the music using samples of typical Italian tunes (Motley & Henderson, 2008).

Thus, local environments and agents infuse their language, concerns, and

situations into the hip-hop genre while still adhering to many of the core elements

and essences of hip-hop that are shared around the world (Motley & Henderson,

2008).

Despite the popularity of glocalisation, critics suggest that glocalisation

scholars have a tendency to unnecessarily fetishise the local and ignore the "fact

that there are global processes that overwhelm the local rather than neatly

integrating the two" (Andrews & Ritzer, 2007, p. 137). Nonetheless, sport scholars

seeking understandings of the way sports are disseminated across the globe and

how they are performed, adopted, and adapted in different cultural contexts have

readily embraced Robertson's terminology (Cho, 2009; Cho et al., 2012; Giulianotti

& Robertson, 2004, 2007, 2012; Jijon, 2013; Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017; Weedon, 2011). Arguably, this glocalisation approach has the advantage of making concerns of space as important as concerns of time and history (Robertson, 2012), providing a holistic way of accounting for both global and local forces, thus demonstrating the increasing existence of cross-cultural identity construction (Giulianotti, 2015) within NZ's parkour community. Glocalisation, therefore, forms my understanding of globalisation for this thesis and informs the subsequent approaches to understanding globalisation in my empirical chapters.

Naturally, my interests and the foci of this thesis lends itself to any number of globalisation approaches being of potential value. Equally however, no approach is adequately up to the task of encapsulating all of the elements of the parkour experience that I am investigating. I have therefore selected three approaches to inform and underpin different chapters in my discussion: First, Appadurai's (1990, 1996) model of global '-scapes' is used to provide an overview of parkour's glocalisation in NZ and its constitutive flows. Second, I use a mobilities (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007) approach to reveal glocalisation as an uneven process, experienced differently by minority parkour practitioners in NZ. Third, I use Ritzer's (2003a, 2003b, 2007) 'globalisation of nothing' thesis, specifically his 'something-nothing' and 'glocal-grobal' continuums, to explore the institutionalisation of parkour in NZ and how the parkour community in NZ is involved in global parkour politics. In each empirical chapter I unpack the specific glocalisaiton approach I utilise, how it has been used by sports scholars before me, and the benefit I see for its inclusion. By critically engaging with a range of glocalisation approaches in dialogue with the case of parkour in NZ, I am able to highlight the strengths and limitations of these different approaches for revealing

the complex relationships between the global and local via this contemporary exemplar. But what of other potential approaches to exploring glocalisation? Below I give a short critique of one common approach to exploring processes of glocalisation within the sociology of sport that I have chosen not to use.

Another focus of sports scholars interested in the increasingly globalised nature of modern sport cultures has been transnationalism (Agergaard & Ryba, 2014; Amara & Theodoraki, 2010; Bruce & Wheaton, 2009; Campbell, 2011; Chang, Sam, & Jackson, 2017). These studies have typically focused on the crossing of borders and boundaries of nation-states by people, goods, and ideas. This focus fits well with studies on action sports (see Thorpe, 2014; Usher, 2017; Usher & Kerstetter, 2015), given that studies have highlighted the lack of attachment or patriotism action sport enthusiasts have to their nation-state – at least in comparison to their traditional organised sport counterparts (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2016; Tomlinson et al., 2005). Many action sport participants proclaim to belong to a global or transnational community, often supported by global industry and media, rather than national organisations and structures (Thorpe, 2014). Action sport participants and supporters are also typically more concerned with the local environment's conduciveness to the sport, rather than attributing those characteristics to the nation that that environment is home to. Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999) for instance, argue that transnationalism "involves individuals, their networks of social relations, their communities, and broader institutionalized structures such as local and national governments" (p. 220). Subsequently, transnationalism literature on sport often has an explicit focus on cross border pollination that targets the movement of people, particularly elite athletes and labour, on economic and capitalistic grounds, and the influence of transnational

corporations. Movements of capital, transnational corporations, and movement of people certainly impact on parkour globally, but I argue that transnationalism has difficulty in grasping the nuances and specifics of parkour at both a global and local level. Portes et al. (1999) further posit that transnationalism literature tends to mix these levels, contributing to increased confusion regarding what transnationalism is actually referring to and what its "proper scope of predication is" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 220).

Although not dismissing transnationalism, fifteen years later, Thorpe (2014) notes that there have been few successful studies able to reveal both the macro features of transnationalism and the local experiences of day to day life. Similarly, in Flippen's (2016) review of Waldinger's (2015) book 'The Cross-Border Connection', Flippen states that Waldinger "provides a cogent critique of transnationalism" (p. 400). Explaining further that Waldinger "faults transnationalism for downplaying . . . [the] forces of adaptation, settlement, and state actions that tend to limit and curtail . . . global processes" (p. 400). In other words, transnationalism, arguably, does not sufficiently account for national and local responses to globalisation. Thorpe (2014) and Waldinger (2015) are both essentially advocating for a more holistic use of transnationalism to give "renewed momentum to transnational studies" (de Jong & Dannecker, 2018, p. 503). Rather than joining this project, I see this interplay between global and local forces and global and local responses already articulated within Robertson's (1995) glocalisation. Thus, despite its potential value and use within other sociology of sport studies concerned with globalisation, transnationalism is not the approach I employ here.

Understandings of Power

Action sport scholars have articulated power in various ways, often drawing on the work of theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu (Atencio et al., 2009; Olive & Thorpe, 2011; Thorpe, 2009, 2010) and Michel Foucault (Fuggle, 2008; MacKay & Dallaire, 2013b; Olive et al., 2015; Thorpe, 2008). However, in the same way that no globalisation approach fully encapsulates the experiences of my parkour practitioners, no theory of power is able to fully cover the various micro and macro flows and relationships of power in my empirical chapters. Therefore, rather than seeking to explain these within one overarching theory I draw instead from the understandings of power inherent within each globalisation approach. I explain these understandings of power in each empirical chapter as part of unpacking each globalisation approach.

Identifying and Addressing the Gaps

With a few exceptions, none of the aforementioned parkour studies has examined the interplay between the global and local flows that have shaped the local parkour community under investigation. Sociological literature on traditional sport has illustrated how universalising and particularising forces are simultaneously at play (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012). They also demonstrate that there are parallel processes whereby the particular is influenced by the universal, and the universal is influenced by the particular (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2012). However, while processes of glocalisation have been explored in organised sport generally (e.g. Andrews & Ritzer, 2007; Cho, 2009; Cho et al., 2012) and in specific sports such as football (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004, 2007; Jijon, 2013, 2017), it has not been the explicit focus of those examining action

sports (Wheaton, 2005). Scholars have instead focused on the globalisation of action and other newer sports, such as BMX and beach volleyball respectively, as 'Westernization', 'Americanization' or 'Californization' (Dyreson, 2012, 2013) without reference to localising factors. Two notable exceptions are the studies by Wheaton (2013b) investigating the creolisation of skateboarding in South Africa, and Thorpe and Ahmad (2015) on the glocalisation of parkour in Gaza. Because of this focus on traditional organised sport, it would be valuable to examine the patterns of glocalisation in other activities (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004) that have different social contexts and whose communities relate differently with sport (Jijon, 2017) such as parkour.

Many of the research forays into parkour thus far have looked at hyper-urban locations such as London, Toronto, Chicago, and San Francisco, despite parkour's roots coming from both urban *and* natural environments (see Angel, 2011). NZ, a country known for the outdoors also has a developing parkour community. If parkour is typically performed (or at least studied) when embedded within urban and high density cities, how is it being performed in NZ, a country geographically isolated from the birthplace of parkour? How does the local geography and physical distance from parkour's origins impact on the practice and overall growth of the parkour scene in NZ? How has the internet and social media bridged these physical gaps and connected local practitioners with those from other countries? In this thesis I seek an understanding of how the glocalisation of parkour has impacted on this NZ experience and how new understandings of the practice are developed between the interplay of the local and the global via online media. I aim to explore how local practitioners are connecting with new media technologies and integrating them as part of their parkour experience (see, for

example, Kidder, 2012), as well as how the engagement with social media may open and close doors for parkour participation. I am interested in the development of Parkour NZ and the impact that the national organisation has had on both the local experience, as well as the global practice of parkour, particularly with Parkour NZ's participation in the formation of the international federation Parkour Earth. More broadly, this thesis considers how young people, and people engaging with 'youthful' activities like parkour make meaning of and engage with glocal flows. And how does thinking of parkour as a boundary object help us to understand the broader interplay between local space/place, social media, the people who practice parkour and the meaning they ascribe from their training, and wider communities e.g. action sports, government, the Olympics, etc.

By looking at how an activity created in a specific historical and technological moment has established roots within a completely foreign context, my research will show how local actors mediate the differences between the global imaginary and the constraints imposed by NZ's historical, political, and cultural flows, creating a glocalised experience. Through my exploration of mobilities in the digital age, I will shed light on millennial usage of the internet and social media, demonstrating how these technologies are integrated with everyday life and ultimately influence behaviour, creating uneven experiences of parkour's glocalisation. My thesis will exhibit how changes in sport participation are having significant ramifications the world over, with large international organisations like the International Olympic Committee and International Gymnastics Federation seeking to control smaller less established activities in order to capitalise on their growing popularity – an ongoing and pressing theme between traditional and action sport cultures. My research will build upon and extend many of the

suggestions and questions asked by action sport and physical cultural scholars before me, adding substantial weight to the mounting body of parkour knowledge, whilst bringing the story of a unique national sporting culture (but strongly influenced by global forces) to the fore. In addition, it will shed light on the complex ways that participants of contemporary youthful cultures make sense of their world as they negotiate rapidly changing technologies as well as social, economic, and political experiences.

The next chapter addresses my qualitative research design and methods as well as my ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions as I seek to answer the above questions.

Chapter Three – A Methodology for Examining Physical and Digital Lives

In this chapter, I present and discuss my overall research framework. I begin by unpacking the story chronicled in the prologue, discussing my journey from 'objective' biomechanics researcher to passionate social scientist. Importantly, I also reflect on my insider status and the opportunities and challenges that come with such a position. In the next substantial section, the data collection process, I describe my multi-ethnographic methods, designed to capture the rich experiences of my participants who live highly digitally connected lives. Dispersed throughout this section are examples of the ethical considerations I navigated, and instances of what happened during the actual research process. I also discuss my data analysis and detail the structures, software, and approaches I employed. I round out the chapter by talking about credibility in qualitative research and, returning to my insider status, offering some considerations regarding power relations and the reflexive process.

Epistemology & Research Paradigm

My undergraduate and honours research were both quantitative studies in the biomechanics of parkour (Puddle, 2011; Puddle & Maulder, 2013) where I gave no thought to the theoretical paradigm underpinning my research. Leading up to my PhD confirmation, six months into the journey, I came to realise that I was still operating in a positivist paradigm, where I saw myself as an objective researcher uncovering a true account that was simply waiting to be found. My research

interests have expanded since conducting those first studies; as a practitioner and coach. The kinetics and kinematics associated with the physical movements of parkour will always be an interest of mine, however, the way people practice parkour, why they do it and what influences their decision making and behaviours has become increasingly more fascinating to me, and arguably more important to investigate.

Recognising the aforementioned disparity between parkour experiences, definitions, and categories that the literature portrays, coupled with having the desire to uncover the multiplicity of lived experiences within the parkour community in NZ, I position myself within an interpretivist paradigm. I have made a shift from positivist research to interpretivist research, a quicker and perhaps less challenging journey than others have walked (see Guba, 1996). I say less challenging only because my time conducting positivist research was brief and so my researcher position was less entrenched than others who have experienced similar paradigm shifts. As a junior researcher however, the journey of learning what it *means* to conduct interpretivist research or to be an interpretivist researcher has not been without its difficulties. Also, while I sit within the interpretivist paradigm for my thesis, I do not necessarily consider myself fixed as an interpretivist researcher. I have come to recognise that there are numerous theoretical positions and standpoints and even different 'sociologies' (Donnelly, 2000) that one can adopt within a broadly interpretivist paradigm. Through the PhD process I have explored which of the theoretical perspectives located within that framework make the most sense as I continued to work out where I sat ontologically and epistemologically; "what [I] believe is the 'real' world where

physical culture exists . . . and how [I] can know or understand this world" (Markula & Silk, 2011, p. 25).

I perceive that my interactions with my participants throughout the course of my research has served as a channel for fabricating my version of knowledge (Burr, 2015). I therefore position myself as a social constructionist as defined by Burr (2015), similar to the constructivist position described by Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2013). My observations and experiences of the way parkour practitioners construct their understandings and meanings of parkour through physical, social, geographical, and digital interactions, creating "shared versions of knowledge" (p. 5)—again, drawing from Burr (2015)—cause me to believe that a social constructionist approach is valuable for investigating the development of parkour in NZ. This paradigmatic position precipitates a relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology, where I believe that my own, and my participants', realities are co-constructed (Burr, 2015; Guba & Lincoln, 2005) through our lived experience and interactions with each other (Lincoln et al., 2013). Our engagement in circumstantial and intersubjective dialogue involves mutual affection between researcher and participant (Markula & Silk, 2011) and thus I cannot separate myself from what I know (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This means that my position is incommensurable with positivism (Guba & Lincoln, 2005) and therefore most prudent for me to utilise qualitative methods of inquiry to collect data, as they allow dialogue between myself and my participants; co-construction of knowledge.

The methodological process has two key aspects: the hermeneutic aspect of attempting to accurately depict the social constructions I identify, and the

dialectical approach of logically discussing these constructions (Guba, 1990). Necessarily this means that I will be acting as a facilitator and 'reconstructor', telling a story of the research through multiple voices (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). This story will be *an* account, *an* interpretation of parkour in NZ at the time I investigated it, and through the eyes of the participants involved (myself included). Although I am attempting to produce an informed and sophisticated reconstruction (Guba, 1990) of parkour in NZ, accounting for multiple understandings of the practice, I reject the idea that my research could accurately reflect the understandings of all parkour practitioners globally.

Insider Research

Simply put, insider research is research conducted by a member of a community on that very community (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Greene, 2014). Alvesson's (2003) concept of 'self-ethnography' describes a similar process: a project where the researcher is researching a social setting to which they have ordinary access, are actively involved, and "more or less on equal terms with other participants" (p. 174). Alvesson's (2003) full description of self-ethnography involves more casual researcher behaviour than my PhD setting, but is a good starting point for discussing one of the most valuable but also the most complex situations present within my research. Namely, my heavy involvement within the parkour community in NZ: I helped to start Parkour NZ in 2010, I have held multiple positions within the organisation since then, including being the current CEO, a coach, and an active practitioner since 2008. In fact, Pavlidis and Olive (2014) note that insider research on action sport cultures is becoming increasingly common

(e.g. Laurendeau, 2011; Stranger, 1999; Thorpe, 2011; Wheaton, 2002). During my thesis I attempted to adopt Gold's (1958) 'participant as observer' position, where the researcher is a group member but is focused more on observing (Kawulich, 2005). I discuss my ability to do so here and also in Chapter Seven.

Insider researchers[7], as with outsider researchers, have to navigate issues of "positionality… where one stands in relation to the other [the participants]" (Greene, 2014, p. 2). On one hand, embedded participants can make unique contributions to the knowledge development of their community (Coghlan, 2003), have ease of access, existing rapport, as well as being a valuable resource themselves (Hodkinson, 2005). Their participants may automatically feel more trusting and therefore be more open with the researcher, providing more data depth (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). On the other hand, familiarity between researcher and participant may cause the researcher to confuse their own opinions with that of their participant(s) and vice versa. It may prevent the participant from being more clear and explicit about their experiences because of shared assumptions (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), and in turn, the researcher may fail to probe further (Kanuha, 2000). This lack of probing highlights perhaps the major challenge of insider research—the possibility of taking pertinent details for granted (Alvesson, 2003; Hayano, 1979; Kitchin & Tate, 2000). There are also potential 'trappings'

[7] Like DeLyser (2001), I make a distinction between the concept of 'going native' (there are also racial critiques of such terminology) where an outsider researcher ends up becoming an insider, versus the position of being an insider from the beginning. The challenges and critique of one of these insider situations may not be the same for the other.

associated with 'intimate' insider research—when informants are close friends prior to the research relationship—such as confusion over the researcher-friendship role and relationship friction (Taylor, 2011).

My insider status felt like a double-edged sword, with many of these described benefits and challenges manifesting themselves during the research process. In addition to being in direct contact and in some cases close friends with many practitioners around the country; I am also a member of the regional Facebook groups that the local communities use to connect with each other. I therefore found it very easy to find and connect with participants. However, there were instances where I feel that I failed to challenge participants on some of their assumptions, such as the notion that parkour is always inclusive. Perhaps because I initially held the same assumptions and did not question them, or I took them for granted, not realising that they were even present. Although I found it easier to challenge or critique the assumptions of those that I was close to, trusting in our existing friendship to smooth any issues that may have arisen from such criticisms, I was conversely more hesitant to challenge those practitioners who I did not have an established relationship with. I cannot recall making any conscious decisions in those moments not to challenge those participants, but it is certainly plausible that I was unconsciously attempting to protect my image and position within the community and Parkour NZ by extension. My embeddedness within the parkour community is such that at no point did I consider that challenging my participants might compromise my project or my access.

It seems that for all the potential benefits of insider research there are an equal amount of concerns raised (Kanuha, 2000), as with outsider research

(Serrant-Green, 2002). Therefore, rather than viewing my insider position as providing automatic benefits, I lean on Hodkinson's (2005) statement that any such advantages were dependent on my own care, awareness and reflexivity. However, it is difficult if not impossible to ascertain when the benefits of my insider status were more valuable than the challenges it caused or vice versa. What is perhaps more appropriate then, is to state that being an insider researcher made me a different kind of researcher, rather than one who was either "better or worse" (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 56); "every way is *a* way of seeing, not *the* way" to quote Wolcott (1999, p. 137, emphasis in original).

Data Collection

In this section I discuss how I recruited participants, the field sites where I collected data, and an in-depth account of my multi-method approach to collecting that data.

Participant Recruitment

With the aim of capturing the voices and lived experiences of a wide array of participants, I employed a multi-method sampling approach that utilised my deep involvement in the NZ community, while also aiming to bring about participation through a more organic approach that drew from participant feedback. These sampling approaches included purposeful sampling, key agent sampling, and snowball sampling.

By using purposeful sampling I was able to collect a wide range of voices from across the community, voices that could speak to the phenomenon and key

concepts involved in my research (Creswell, 2011). In other words, voices that could speak to the lived experiences of the global and local flows of parkour knowledge and how these are negotiated and practiced in a NZ context. Although I didn't use 'maximal variation sampling' to ensure maximal diversity (Creswell, 2011), I did identify eight variables to account for a broad cross section of the parkour community and attempted to guarantee that minority and other valuable voices were included. I did this because, as Donnelly (2006) asserts, many scholars investigating alternative sport cultures have failed to include a range of participant voices outside "authentic participation and the core members" (p. 219). The eight variables are as follows:

1) *Knowledge* – Certain individuals have significant understanding of the parkour community in NZ. This is important for capturing data on important topics such as national parkour history (e.g. formation of Parkour NZ) and local history (e.g. the growth of parkour in Auckland).

2) *Gender* – More males than females participate in parkour, necessitating the specific inclusion of female participants, as suggested by Clegg and Butryn (2012).

3) *Age* – 1) Teenagers and young adults presently make up the majority of core parkour practitioners in NZ, so similar to gender above, the voices of over 35s have been purposely included. 2) Practitioners younger than 16 years old appear to be the fastest growing demographic in NZ and thus have been specifically included in this research.

4) *Ethnicity* – Action sports are typically practiced by white people (Wheaton, 2013a), so in addition to Pākehā experiences, the experiences of minority

ethnic groups in NZ has been valuable, particularly that of Māori participants.

5) *Location* – Typically, NZ practitioners practice in urban areas where there are higher population numbers and greater density of appropriate training locations (e.g. Auckland and Wellington). However, there are growing communities in more rural towns in NZ (e.g. Whitianga) or in towns with no established community (e.g. Napier). Thus practitioners representing a diversity of training locations with variable community sizes and architectural types was valuable.

6) *Travel* – Practitioners with experience of parkour communities, practitioners, and practices from countries outside of NZ (e.g. the UK, Australia, and USA) have a distinct understanding of other ways parkour is experienced. This is helpful for contextualising the NZ experience and comparing it to practitioners' overseas experiences.

7) *Experience* – Parkour continues to evolve, suggesting that the experiences of practitioners who have been practicing for longer (e.g. over six years) will be different to those who have only been training for a short time. As will the experiences of those who no longer practice.

8) *Involvement* – Practitioners are involved in the community in various ways: Training parkour, coaching (indoors and outdoors), photography and cinematography, working or volunteering for a parkour business or organisation outside of coaching, performing, etc. This variety in community participation and commitment is important for capturing diverse understandings of parkour.

Due to my extensive involvement in the parkour community, I knew people around the country who fit the variables listed above and would be appropriate first points of contact to invite to participate. The first people I contacted were those who I recognised as having particularly salient experience and/or knowledge in one or more of the specific variables. I call these people 'key agents'. I have either been a colleague, employer, training partner, and/or friend of the key agent and I therefore had direct access to communicate with them.

In addition to identifying key agents, my embeddedness in the parkour community means I could have filled all the interview spots myself. However, I recognised the value in deviating from a purely purposeful sampling method and utilised snowball sampling, as it "relies on and partakes in the dynamics of natural and organic social networks" (Noy, 2008, p. 329), thus drawing on the important social relationships present within the parkour community (and beyond myself). Although this more organic sampling approach seemed valuable paired with my initial purposeful sampling method, in practice it was not without its difficulties. I identify two such difficulties below:

Firstly, many of my initial key agents were part of the same social sector/training era within the parkour community. They often recommended each other or people I had already planned to interview. Secondly, some participants gave me few or no specific recommendations, stating that because the parkour community in NZ is relatively small, we were likely to know all the same people and I would no doubt be able to choose my own participants. I used the recommendations provided by some of my participants to supplement my purposeful sampling and seek out individuals that I had not thought of or in some

cases were part of less cohesive social networks within the broader parkour community in NZ. Yet, because of the difficulties above, it was not a truly organic approach.

Field Sites

As indicated by the sampling information above, I identified potential participants who do or did experience parkour in both urban and more rural/natural settings. Certain cities, because of their more established communities, have more parkour activities occurring; Auckland and Wellington for example, and particularly Hamilton, the home of Parkour NZ, and my hometown. As such, these were key locations for observation-based fieldwork. While I approached participants from the cities with established training communities (e.g. Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin) for interview participation, I also approached practitioners from smaller towns with or without established communities. No specific cities or towns were exclusively included or excluded as a potential field site for collecting interview participants. My ability to travel to national and regional gatherings dictated my choices for using those events for participant observation.

Qualitative Methods

To develop an account of the development of parkour in NZ and uncover some of the complexities and nuances of different ways of experiencing parkour, I used a qualitative approach utilising multiple methods of inquiry, increasing my chances

of gaining an in-depth understanding of how my participants construct their lives and what stories they tell about themselves (Fontana & Frey, 2005).

These methods drew on the common—and valuable, as described in my literature review—ethnographic methods of, interviews, participant observations, and analysis of public discourse via local and national news media. Additionally, as Gilchrist and Wheaton (2013) and Thorpe and Ahmad (2015) have illustrated, the internet and social media have played a significant role in the global and local development of parkour. As such, digital ethnographic methods were an essential tool for data collection. I utilised a field journal for recording all non-digital interactions and observations outside of my semi-structured interviews, and used Facebook and Pearltrees[8] for the cataloguing of my digital interactions and observations. I discuss each of my qualitative methods below.

Semi-Structured Interviews

I engaged 32 local parkour community figureheads and practitioners (see Table 1 below and Appendix A for demographic data) in 30 semi-structured interviews comprised of open-ended questions (McIntosh & Morse, 2015; Richards & Morse, 2007), lasting roughly 45 to 120 minutes each. All of my interview participants were current or past practitioners who identified themselves as traceurs (French for parkour practitioner) or freerunners and either currently or previously resided in NZ. I used semi-structured interviews (SSI) because I knew enough about the

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[8] Pearltrees is a dynamic content curation tool available in website and app form. It allows you to store, organise and share URLs, photos, videos, notes and other forms of digital media.

topic to frame the questions in advance (Richards & Morse, 2007) and because they are considered to be both powerful and flexible enough to "capture the voices and the ways people make meaning of their experiences" (Rabionet, 2011, p. 563).

Gender (#)		Age (yrs)		Experience (yrs)*		Ethnicity	
Men	24	Average	26.3	Average	6.15	NZ European or Pākehā	18
Women	7	Oldest	47	Most	10	Māori or NZ European/Māori	9
Non-Binary	1	Youngest	14	Least	1.5	Asian (Korea, Hong Kong, China, Thailand)	5

Table 1. Demographic data of interview participants. *Three participants had stopped training altogether and 4 considered their training to be sporadic at best (i.e. on and off).

Participants were given three options to choose how and if they were identified in the research. These were: A) Fully Anonymous – A pseudonym is used when referring to their data with no other information. B) Partially Anonymous – A pseudonym in conjunction with demographic descriptors (e.g. gender, training experience, location). C) Identified – Recognised via their first name along with demographic descriptors as mentioned above. Prior to participation in the study, I reminded participants that the parkour community in NZ is small. As such, even the use of a pseudonym may not prevent them from being identified by others who might read the completed research. As the researcher, I reserved the right to decide to increase the anonymity of my respondents for the purposes of the research.

I developed an interview schedule (Appendix B) that I used for the first 18 interview participants. I individually tailored the interview schedules for the next 12 participants on their experiences and what topics had already reached saturation point (as illuminated through the analysis process). Although I aimed to explore all topic areas laid out in my interview schedules, the flow of discussion was important and I was open to changing the phrasing and sequence of my questions (Kvale, 2007). In some instances, I chose not to ask certain questions because the interview participant answered it during the interview without me asking them. This deviates from the more rigid approach to SSI discussed by McIntosh and Morse (2015) where "all questions are asked of all participants in the same order" (p. 2), but demonstrates the ability of SSIs to be both relevant to the topic of study and responsive to the interview participant (Batholomew, Henderson, & Marcia, 2000). I used no specific interview approach, instead drawing on a mixture of approaches, including factual, conceptual, confrontational, and narrative forms in order to produce different types of knowledge (Kvale, 2007; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The participant and their experiences, the themes discussed, and the level of topic saturation also shaped these approaches.

My participants seemed uniformly interested in contributing to the research, some of them enthusiastically so. For example, for Purere from Whangarei, the opportunity to talk about his experiences and inform others of his participation felt like a means of increasing awareness and legitimacy for parkour in his hometown, and was therefore an honouring experience. This example reflects a general trend of my participants being curious and 'happy to help'.

Information sheets and consent forms for interview participants are located in Appendices C, D, E, and F.

Participant Observation

Developed in the late 19th century and originating from anthropology, participation observation (PO) was initially used to study "small, homogenous cultures" (Tedlock, 2005, p. 467), though now used in a variety of research fields, including education, communication, management, and throughout the social sciences (Jorgensen, 2015). PO involves the recording of behaviours, events and artefacts and can be structured/formal or unstructured/informal. Structured PO is the more methodical recording of occurrences, perhaps using a predefined checklist (Gillham, 2008; Marshall, 2011) and unstructured PO is a continuum of participation by the researcher, from observing and listening from a distance to full immersion within the group being studied (Dahlke, Hall, & Phinney, 2015).

Utilising an informal/unstructured PO approach, I attended, participated with and observed practitioners in action at varying sites—both indoors and outdoors. These included local training sessions, professional services (e.g. classes and workshops), larger events and community 'jams' (social training gatherings involving larger groups of practitioners), NZ's annual parkour competition, board and annual general meetings, as well as other social and corporate settings. The main site for these observations was Hamilton, where I live, train, and regularly coach through Parkour NZ. I also conducted observations in Auckland, Te Awamutu, New Plymouth, Wellington, Blenheim, Whangarei, Christchurch, and over Skype in the case of some meetings. My participation and research

observations during these events was simultaneously expected by some (as an ever-present member of and a key figurehead within the parkour community in NZ, in addition to my overt research position) and also went unnoticed by others, allowing me to assess the verbal, emotional, and physical dialogue taking place.

My PO included observations of four main elements: Firstly, personal interactions. These were interactions between practitioners, between practitioners and non-practitioner participants (e.g. friends, media personnel, family), between practitioners and the public, and between practitioners and authority figures (e.g. security personnel). Secondly, geographic interactions, or how practitioners approached and used the environment (e.g. what movements they were training, their particular training methods). Thirdly, technology interactions, such as how practitioners and others utilised, related to and merged parkour with innovative technology such as video cameras, drones, social media, and editing software. Fourth and finally, there were additional interactions that did not fit neatly into a category. For instance, I was also conscious of practitioner's clothing and nutritional choices and engaged in informal conversations on location with various practitioners, friends, family, and the public (i.e. strangers). I recorded my observations in a field diary under titled (the event name/location) and/or dated entries.

Tedlock (1991) explains traditional PO as ethnographers attempts at being both "emotionally engaged participants and coolly dispassionate observers" (p. 69) and introduces the concept, 'observation of participation', where ethnographers—more recently—have observed their own co-participation within the ethnographic experience. This is an attempt at acknowledging that participant observation is not totally impartial, but is influenced by the researcher's

relationship with the researched, the researchers subsequent observations (McCurdy & Uldam, 2013), and participation. As a parkour insider, I found PO to be a difficult data collection method. I struggled to be a 'coolly dispassionate observer' because I am such an 'emotionally engaged participant'. As Mercer (2007) has described of insider research, it is debateable whether increased familiarity results in fuller description or deeper truths. Rather, my roles within the community meant that there were few times where I was conducting participant observation without having other duties or distractions such as participating, coaching, driving, leading discussion, building equipment, etc; "too much participation at the expense of observation" (Evans, 1988, p. 205). I attempted to treat the settings and participants as 'anthropologically strange', in an attempt to make clear the assumptions I would otherwise take for granted due to my member status (Hammersley, 1983).

The coupling of my participant observation and my interviews did however allow for increased understanding. For instance, after this interview comment from Leanne, a Wellington practitioner in her late 30's, I became more conscious of how practitioners and the public took videos of training and what discussion (if any) took place around the permissions to film:

> I find that when you're training, I kind of, I don't really like that there's so many camera's about. And not that I feel self-conscious, I don't really mind being videoed, though I prefer if people ask and they don't always ask (interview, November 2016).

This is evident by this excerpt from my field diary at HamJam, the Hamilton annual parkour gathering in December 2016, "Note after hearing some of Leanne's interview: No one asked not to be filmed, people did ask to be filmed, and nobody

asked permission to film." Despite the challenges I found associated with PO, I found it to be a valuable method that in conjunction with my other methods helped to uncover new knowledge. Any quotations or interactions from participants drawn from PO have been left anonymous.

News Media Analysis

It has been demonstrated that mass media depictions of action sports differ from niche media depictions (Thorpe, 2008). In other words, representations of parkour in popular media differ from representations of parkour generated by the parkour community itself, with different consequences for culture. Therefore, I am interested in investigating parkour in NZ from a broader media context, to compare and contrast the words and images used by the journalists with the lived experiences of my participants via my other methods.

I collected and categorised historical and current public media available through the Parkour NZ media database. This is a private database of all TV, radio, and print media (including text, photography and video) relating to parkour in NZ, dating back to the first mention of parkour (see de Graaf, 2006). As part of my role with Parkour NZ I am the curator of this database and so had direct access to it. I continued to collect and catalogue this media for Parkour NZ throughout the duration of my thesis. I coded and analysed the media, as described later. When quoting people within this news media, the name(s) provided by the source were the ones I used, regardless of whether they were research participants or not.

Digital Ethnography

Researchers in social science fields have typically responded eagerly to the changing nature and capacity of available technologies (Lee, Fielding, & Blank, 2008). In relation to digital research, they have taken traditional research methods and moulded them to the online environment, utilising its technologies, languages and complex cultures (Johns, Chen, & Hall, 2004). The increased presence and influence of the internet on the daily lives of people has influenced the increase in ethnographic research focusing on online habits and communication as well as offline habits influenced by digitalisation (Varis, 2015). As Varis (2015) goes on to explain, research in this area takes many different forms, occurs within varying disciplines and has many names associated with it, including 'virtual ethnography' (Hine, 2000), 'netnography' (Kozinets, 2002), 'cyberethnography' (Robinson & Schulz, 2009), and 'digital ethnography' (Murthy, 2008). Although all of these online ethnographic practices involve online data and ethnographic methods (e.g. participant observations), this area of research is very diverse, in part due to the varied nature and environment of online data as well as individual research attitudes to ethnography as an approach, versus ethnography as a method (Varis, 2015). My readings of Murthy (2008) were what first introduced me to the concept. I have retained the concept of 'digital ethnography' for my thesis due to his focus on new digital technologies that I also explore, namely digital video and social networking sites.

Our lives are becoming increasingly defined by virtual interactions (Clegg Smith, 2004). Indeed, many people's online lives are now hard to separate from their offline lives (Luh Sin, 2015) and this is true for many parkour practitioners as parkour has spread primarily via the internet and more specifically through social

media sites such as YouTube and Facebook. I agree with Hallett and Barber (2014) when they say "studying people and organizations without considering the digital spaces where they define, express, and develop communities, images, and relationship would be inadequate" (p.326), but I also concur with Christians and Chen (2004) who state that "the offline world establishes the context" (p. 22). It was therefore imperative that I employ digital ethnographic methods (Murthy, 2008) throughout the phases of this project, whilst retaining research focused on the offline world of my participants.

The creation of a research specific Facebook account for engaging in overt dialogue with, and data collection from, the parkour community in NZ (as well as a handful of interested international parkour practitioners), underpinned my digital methods. Members of the parkour community in NZ that I already had an existing relationship with on Facebook were the first people approached for participation via the 'friending' of my research account. People who were unconnected with me learned about the research project through their friends and connections and 'friended' me in order to participate. In total, I had 166 digital ethnography participants. Individuals involved in the interview process also received invitations to participate via this medium if they were Facebook users, but there was no obligation to participate in the digital ethnography if they had agreed to be interviewed. Likewise, I did not exclude those who opted not to participate in the digital ethnography from the opportunity to be interviewed. I also used my research account as a platform for keeping interested participants abreast of my research developments and progress.

Though I believe, "that material from social networking sites is in the public domain" (Murthy, 2008, p. 845), I considered how the collection of data in digital

spaces is a debated topic (Clegg Smith, 2004; Eynon, Fry, & Schroeder, 2008; Murthy, 2008), and reflects the broader debates on covert versus overt ethnography more widely (Murthy, 2011). To show my comprehension and appreciation for the complex nature of digital data collection, and "give forethought to . . . common issues of concern" (Sharf, 1999, p. 253) I decided to make sure to overtly state my intentions on my personal Facebook page. I also stated my intentions in numerous parkour community groups on Facebook, including sharing a message via the Parkour NZ page. I then invited persons to 'friend' the research account, thus creating an informed consent process—the key factor in notifying research participants (Clegg Smith, 2004)—using an existing feature built into the Facebook platform. This means that those who 'friended' the account gave their consent to participate in my digital ethnography, and have their data used within the research and any subsequent publications, in the same manner as the interview participants who signed consent forms. I took additional measures to ensure that all participants were aware of my intentions by including a statement on my personal Facebook profile, "My personal page. For my research page go here - https://www.facebook.com/damienpuddleresearcher" and the creation of photographic and text disclaimers alongside an information page (see Appendix G) tailored to my digital ethnography participants, on my research page (see Figure 3).
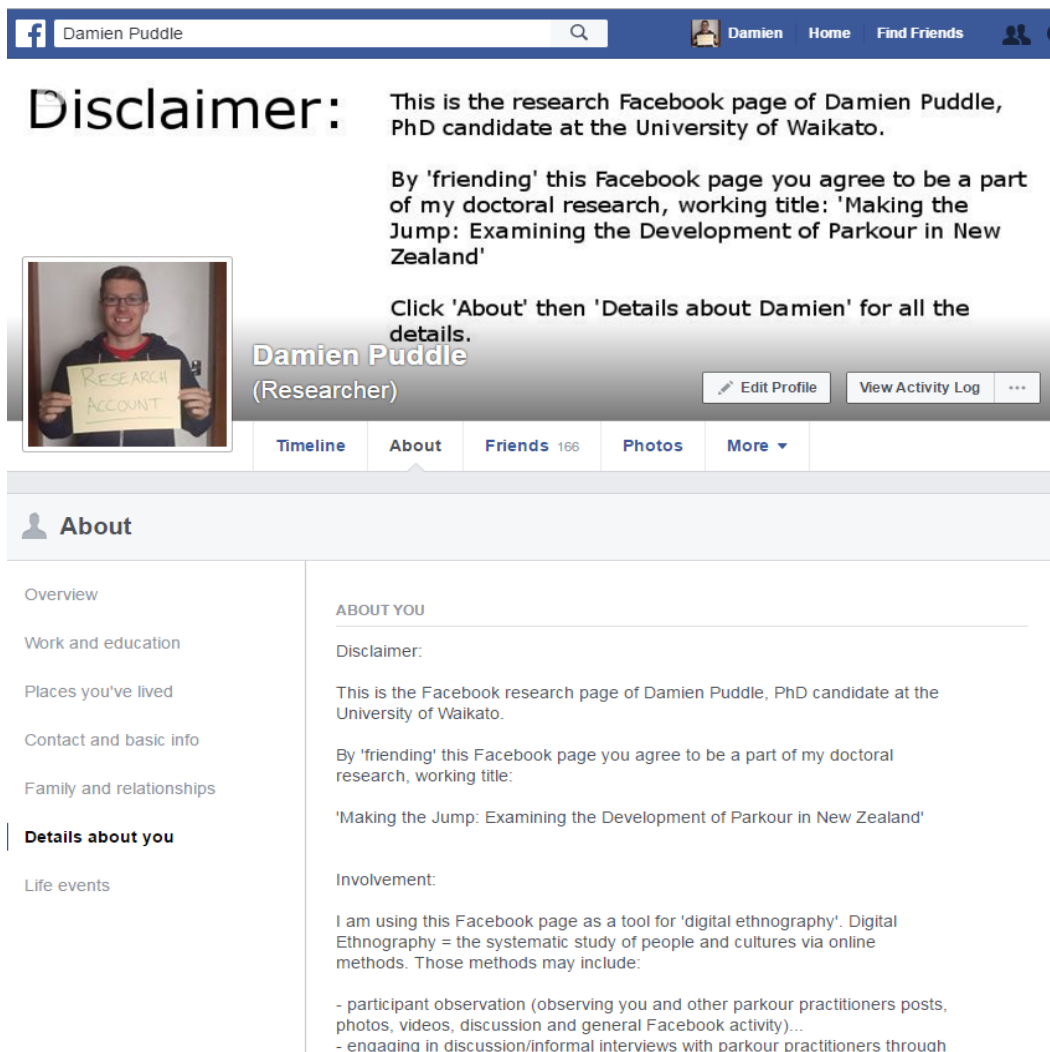
Figure 3. Research Facebook page disclaimers. Screenshot by the author.

My first digital method involved observations of social interactions comparable to the interactions I observed during in-person participant observation, but in a digital context. This included posts, replies, shares, and likes of text and media such as photography and video, as well as 'memes'. Memes, defined somewhat ambiguously by Richard Dawkins are "unit[s] of cultural transmission, or unit[s] of imitation" (Shifman, 2013, p. 37). Shifman (2013, p. 41) expands on this definition, stating that memes are "a) a group of digital items sharing common characteristics of content, form, and/or stance, which b) were created with awareness of each other, and c) were circulated, imitated, and/or

transformed via the Internet by many users". Memes have been described as important for identity formation, particularly in their humorous incarnations (Miltner, 2014), and the creation or sharing of such memes are regularly part of parkour practitioners digital activities. Figures 4 and 5 show two examples of such imitated/circulated digital items shared on Facebook by NZ practitioners during my data collection.

Figure 4. Facebook meme one. "Parkour is sometimes like this" (digital respondent).

Figure 5. Facebook meme two. "Haha, always cracks me up" (digital respondent).

The second method involved posting open-ended questions as a status update (once a week at the most, once a month at the least). I framed these posts as either 'QUESTION' or 'DISCUSSION'. For example, "QUESTION: In the wake of parkour being recognised as an official sport in the UK, are you excited or worried by the increased organisation and 'sportisation' of parkour?" An example of a discussion point is:

DISCUSSION: The International Gymnastics Federation (FIG) has made claims about being the best federation to govern the development of parkour, with support from two of parkour's founders David Belle and Charles Perriere. The national parkour federations and many community organisations and figureheads (including other founders - Chau Belle, Laurent Piemontesi, Malik Diouf) have been very vocal in their stance against FIG. Should people care? (Facebook discussion point, May 2017).

The aim of a question was for the thoughts/answers of each individual, whereas a discussion was for them to communicate with each other. However, the participants were able to do and say what they liked, so the question or discussion titles were not ultimately indicative of how the participants engaged with my posts (i.e. they discussed questions at times and made one off comments only directed to me in response to a discussion). I sometimes joined in on the questions and discussions but usually only to seek clarification on a comment or to answer a question directed at me.

In agreeing to participate in my digital ethnography, there was no obligation for participants to engage with the questions and discussions I posted. As such, some participants never interacted with my public questions and discussions, some participants were glib with their interactions, and others were very thorough. Those who were passionate and excited about being involved in the research sometimes confessed to me their frustration about the superficial nature of other participant's interactions, and sometimes chastised them directly. I welcomed their support of my work but I did not intervene in those scenarios, letting the participants make their own decisions about how to interact with my posts. I considered those interactions to be valuable elements of the research

process as they helped to reveal some of the cultural values, unspoken assumptions, and points of tension in the parkour community. Indeed, in one instance, one participant temporarily disrupted the conversation when they questioned my social capital, specifically referring to my personal lack of media content showing my actual parkour training. As other action sport scholars have identified, participants perceive authentic or legitimate discourses as rooted in people actually doing the activity, and that subcultural media plays a key role in circulating such information to its members (Wheaton & Beal, 2003). This participant had linked their understanding of commitment to parkour with the frequency of training clips that people uploaded, and as I do not regularly upload media of my personal training, they perceived me as having less legitimacy and social capital. They explained that keeping them "up to date with the new moves [I'm] throwing down" (digital respondent, August 2016) would make them and others within the community more likely to engage with my research questions. This situation demonstrated that a 'status hierarchy' exists within parkour, but that it is also "fluid and contested" (Wheaton & Beal, 2003, p. 159), as again, other participants came to my defence and engaged in debate. The instigator deemed our mutual attempts at dissuading them as taking parkour too seriously, and they suggested that the debate was futile and we could achieve more by just going outside and training. Those within the parkour community who have a disdain for parkour politics and less interest in deep theoretical or philosophical analysis of parkour commonly hold this position. On reflection, it is clear that my insider status as a researcher is not as 'inside' to all members of the community, and that the way I participate as an insider affected how my participants viewed me as a researcher.

Although it first appeared that the digital ethnographic process would be fairly straightforward, following a case argued by Kosinski, Matz, Gosling, Popov, and Stillwell (2015) for Facebook specific research, the experience was much more complex as the example above demonstrates. I now draw the reader's attention specifically to the issues I faced around the limitations of Facebook's guidelines and content targeting algorithms and how that impacted my ability and subsequent decisions relating to covert and overt data collection.

At the very beginning of my data collection when I created the research account and began inviting participants, one participant was unhappy with what they described as a lack of communication with them surrounding the nature of the project and what 'friending' entailed, prior to the invitation. Although they expressed this concern directly on my research page timeline where my disclaimers—meant to capture anyone who fell through the initial nets—were present, they were initially viewing and posting on a device that had image loading prohibited or prevented and therefore could not see the disclaimers[9]. They partially allayed their own concerns after seeing the disclaimers on another device, but they still suggested informing participants by using methods that are more robust. Other participants came to my defence with various rebuttals for why it should not matter. These included: "All *public* information on social media is in the public domain" (digital respondent, July 2016), "No need for consent if no one's named" (digital respondent, July 2016), and "Let's remember

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[9] This highlights another issue with digital ethnography and online research, namely the browser and/or device settings of the participants' impacts on the way they choose to or can engage (e.g. ad blockers).

that Damien is doing this to try and help the NZ parkour community, your data is tracked by businesses as it is" (digital respondent, July 2016). I justified my initial attempts at being overt but I also felt the concerns were valid and so I also sent private messages to all the participants at that time and all subsequent participants thereafter. The message was to remind them of what the account was for and what 'friending' meant in relation to the research, and thus if they had friended it by mistake, to cancel the friendship, of which some did.

LeBesco (2004) highlights the importance of rendering oneself visible to one's research participants in text-only sites[10]; there is tension between the potential for collecting salient information from participants who have forgotten about the researchers presence and the ethical issue of their continual awareness during the length of the research. While my response to the scenario above ensured that everybody who was part of the digital ethnography had indeed given their consent to participate, it didn't necessarily mitigate the issue of ongoing awareness that their actions and behaviour still had the potential of being analysed during the data collection period. I used two additional techniques in an attempt to navigate this issue. The first was the aforementioned regular questions posted on my research page for participants to engage. This reminded participants that I was still actively researching and that they were still participants. It also provided an avenue for me to gather data on specific topics that I was interested in, not just user generated content. The second technique was that of anonymity. Although I have stated that my personal conviction is that most material published

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[10] Facebook is not 'text-only' but nor is it explicitly a face-to-face site, and so LeBesco's comment is still relevant.

on Facebook is in the public domain, it seemed ethical to render my digital participants anonymous, given that it is unlikely that they would be constantly aware of my research presence and their own continued participation, despite my overt intentions.

Although Facebook itself conducts significant amounts of research on its users and has a dedicated branch of its operations devoted to research practices (see research.fb.com) there were no obvious guidelines on using Facebook *for* research (Kosinski et al., 2015). Therefore, I created a second profile under an identical name, but I included the word '(Researcher)'. Below I outline some challenges to using Facebook for digital ethnographic research.

Certain behaviours actioned by Facebook users, and thus my participants, do not appear on their personal timeline (e.g. liking a photo, commenting on an event, writing something on someone else's timeline, etc.). Instead, these actions appear on the News Feed, a list of posts curated via an algorithm, "the logic the system uses to decide what to show you" (Kricfalusi, 2017). As Kricfalusi (2017) goes on to explain, Facebook's default News Feed setting is called 'Top Stories'. The factors that dictate the curation is unfortunately not public knowledge, although it is highly likely that the number of likes, comments, and shares a post gets has an impact. 'Most Recent' is the alternative viewing option, but is still curated and does not show all activity either. The alternative option for data collection was viewing News Feeds. This would have required me to browse individual participant Facebook timelines, but as I discussed above, the News Feed does not show all posts and this would have been significantly more time consuming. I therefore decided to leave myself at the mercy of Facebook's News Feed algorithm.

TechCrunch's Josh Constine (2016) explains that the goal of the News Feed is to sift through all the content produced by your contacts (friends, pages, events, ads, etc.) and show you stories that you will find engaging and relevant. The more you engage with content, the more readily Facebook can (and will) prioritise things it believes you will continue to engage with. Although I created the research specific Facebook account for conducting my digital ethnography and used it to action the methods discussed earlier, I found myself, incidentally at first, carrying out observatory methods via my personal Facebook account (more on the ethics associated with this decision later). I use my personal account for both work and leisure, both of which revolve primarily around parkour, and have done so for many years, and thus much more frequently than my research account. The increased use of my personal account, and my work and leisure interests in parkour (not to mention my research interests) meant that I was regularly engaging in parkour related content that was relevant to my research. This meant that Facebook was regularly filling my personal News Feed with parkour related content from the NZ community.

On my research specific account, I wanted to be primarily an observer of my participants, occasionally providing them with an opportunity to answer questions I might post, but not manipulate them by suggesting what I wanted to see. Thus, I was not actively engaging in content (liking, sharing, or commenting, except in relation to my questions, etc.). This meant that Facebook's algorithms were not able to learn from my behaviour and provide me with the targeted content that I was actually looking for. This highlights a unique challenge in conducting digital ethnography on Facebook and via this medium. By being overt whilst simultaneously trying not to manipulate my participants, I was preventing

Facebook's algorithms from learning about what I wanted to see, making it harder for me to collect data using that method from my research account. Facebook as a research medium made it difficult for me to observe overtly whilst simultaneously not engaging directly with my participants content. This suggests that researchers may face difficulties using any digital platform, which curates content based on personal engagement, as a tool for collecting data.

A lot of the dialogue between parkour practitioners in NZ on Facebook occurs within regional Facebook groups (e.g. New Zealand Parkour & Freerunning, Auckland Parkour). Many interesting discussions take place in these groups and so I had initially planned to join them as a means of collecting digital ethnographic data. However, many internet users are confused about whether their online communications are public or private (Barnes, 2004), and seeing as these groups would be populated by individuals who were part of my digital ethnography, but also those who had either not been invited or had expressly declined, it seemed inappropriate to seek membership with those Facebook community groups. Thus, a significant portion of the social interactions I observed via my research page were direct communications that practitioners had with each other or with my own published questions. However, as mentioned above, I ended up collecting data through my personal account, including from the regional parkour groups. I reconciled this conflict by only collecting data from participants who had 'friended' my research account. Thus, the data I collected via my personal account was the same data that I might have seen on my research account in an 'ideal' situation. Additionally, I am a member and regular participant of these regional parkour groups via my personal account, and as Luh Sin (2015) has said:

I cannot possibly un-see or un-know what I found out via Facebook, and whether I write these facts explicitly or not in my research writing, they remain important in governing how I viewed the situation and what my opinion and stand is. (p. 680)

So even if I had not collected data through my personal account, my knowledge of the discussions taking place within these groups would still inform my understanding of parkour in NZ. When it came time to analyse my data, I cross-referenced it with the persons who 'friended' my research account in case I had accidentally saved information from non-consenting practitioners. I permanently deleted all data collected from any persons who had not agreed to participate and I deleted my Facebook research account following thesis submission.

Data Analysis Approach

In the following section I outline my approach to analysing my collected data. Including transcription, my approach to analysis, and use of NVivo software, coding methods, and how reading and writing contribute to the analysis process.

Transcription and Review

I personally transcribed interviews using orthographic transcription, that is, verbatim transcription of words and sounds (Smith & Sparkes, 2017). At the beginning of the transcription process, I was very particular about including all the verbal novelties within the interviews. However, as I conducted more transcriptions, I become more confident in my ability to ascertain the meanings of

my interview participant's words and so felt it less necessary to include these elements of speech if they did not appear pertinent to the meaning they were trying to convey. After transcribing an interview, I sent it to the interview participant and asked them to follow a set of pre-defined instructions for reviewing, amending and returning the transcript to me (Appendix H). In some cases, I had to remind participants to carry out the review but all participants eventually reviewed and returned their transcripts as requested.

Approach to Analysis

Seale (2004) has said that many qualitative analysts have a desire to name their analysis approach in order to have a firm justification for it, but as a result they incorrectly define their 'interpretive analysis' or 'qualitative content analysis' approach as another specific analysis method such as discourse analysis, phenomenological analysis, or grounded theory. Grounded theory has been postulated as an analysis method well suited to understanding the subjective experiences of research participants (Suddaby, 2006). For this reason I was interested in borrowing analysis methods from grounded theory, using such stages of qualitative coding as reading my data, open coding, thematic coding, and finally selective coding once the core concepts and relationships were identified (Punch, 2005). However, not wanting to be caught in Seale's (2004) trap of mislabelling my analysis approach, I have not truly undertaken a grounded theory approach. Instead, on a theoretical level, I have utilised theories of globalisation, particularly Robertson's 'glocalisation' (2012), to help direct some of my research questions while remaining open to other theories and their relevance during my analysis. On

a methodological level, I attempted to keep myself open during the data collection and early analysis process before choosing which coding methods were going to be of most value (Saldaña, 2013).

The coding steps outlined above were my general coding guidelines, but my coding system became more specific as my analysis process continued. I drew upon the first cycle of coding recommendations from Saldaña (2013) and I discuss these in greater detail below. For my interviews, it was necessary to do some preliminary coding before I conducted all the interviews. This early analysis helped capture some emerging themes, contradictions, and trends, thus guiding the selection of subsequent interview participants and more participant specific interview schedules. The coding process for most of my methods began following the transcription approval of my first interview and was ongoing as I engaged in dialogue between my data and extant knowledge surrounding parkour, glocalisation, and other theoretical concepts of globalisation. I typically followed the same coding processes for my digital ethnographic data but did not conduct the preliminary coding as I did with the interviews. However, in contrast to my interviews, news media, and participant observations, the digital ethnography process using Pearltrees involved immediate categorisation of data, and so the coding process began when data collection began.

NVivo

To assist with my coding and analysis efforts I utilised NVivo 11, a Qualitative Digital Analysis Software (QDA) programme developed by QSR (Qualitative Solutions and Research) International (Richards, 1999). Like Bergin (2011), and as

highlighted by Welsh (2002), there were pragmatic reasons why I chose NVivo: It has free licensing at the University of Waikato, 'how-to' resources in the library, and the university organises tutorial sessions in its use. Further, manual analysis of large amounts of qualitative data can be impractical and undesirable (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2011). The idea of manually carrying out my data analysis (see Weitzman, 2000) without the aid of a QDA programme seemed unnecessarily onerous, but it is important to acknowledge that QDA programmes are not necessarily a panacea for data analysis and that there are many acknowledged pros and cons to their use. On one hand, they can reduce the monotony of qualitative data analysis (Robson, 1993), increased consistency, consolidation of multiple types of data (Weitzman, 2000) and therefore extend the scope of what is achievable by hand. On the other hand, they may distance the researcher from the text (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003), encourage the taking of shortcuts (Weitzman, 2000), and as Bergin (2011) has recognised, cause the researcher to become fixated on the mechanistic processes of the QDA programme, though also suggesting that this could possibly be mitigated through conscious and reflexive application to the analysis process. Rather than simply 'using the software better' or 'conducting the process more proficiently' as it were, Welsh (2002) has suggested using both digital and manual systems, not reifying one or the other but being open to utilising each methods advantages. I used few manual analysis methods (i.e. data archiving and administration). However, the computer did not conduct the analysis for me; I carried out the analysis and interpretation of my data (Gihhs, 2004; Weitzman, 2000; Wong, 2008; Zamawe, 2015). Ultimately, I found NVivo to be user-friendly and I appreciated it as a helpful tool for assisting

with the analysis of my qualitative data (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Bazeley, 2007; Bong, 2002; Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2011).

Coding Methods

Qualitative coding can be a complex process with scholars using many different varieties and variations of coding depending on their relevance to the research question and their subsequent methods. Below I discuss the particular styles of coding I utilised for my different methods and why I used them.

For my interviews, my first coding method was attribute coding, the recording of simple descriptive information (Saldaña, 2013). For this, I created a standardised format with descriptive markers for each interview participant (e.g. name, age, gender, location). I also employed it for my participant observation field entries, as suggested by Saldaña (2013). Next, I utilised structural coding for my interviews, where I applied either a content or conceptual phrase that represented a topic, directly related to specific research questions in my interviews (MacQueen, McLellan-Lemal, Bartholow, & Milstein, 2008), such as "Personal Story – How they come to do parkour" or "Risk – Perceptions and opinions relating to voluntary risk taking".

I then conducted descriptive coding, sometimes called 'topic coding' on all my data. Saldaña (2013) describes descriptive coding as the use of words or phrases to summarise the essential concept of a passage of text. It is particularly valuable for new qualitative researchers and those whose data presents itself in various forms (Saldaña, 2013). I followed similar patterns in my descriptive coding

as Strauss and Corbin (2004) describe of open coding, the "process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (Strauss & Corbin, 2004, p. 303). This was a basic, yet crucial analytical step that laid the foundation for the rest of my analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 2004). I had pre-existing codes relating to my research questions and an initial parkour topic brainstorm from the proposal phase of my thesis (Appendix I). During my initial readings, I also thought about other potential codes based on the information in each data set (news media, digital ethnography, interviews, etc.). I systematically read each piece of data, highlighting sections of text and saving them into a specific node (i.e. code) in NVivo. These codes were relating to particular topics, such as 'ideal training spot', 'public perception', 'trust', etc. These uncategorised codes were then categorised into broader codes such as 'Training', 'Community', 'Evolution', etc. I collected over 1000 items from my digital data collection alone, and ended up with approximately 50 codes used across all my methods. Finally, I themed the data to bring identity and meaning to the recurring experiences (DeSantis & Ugarriza, 2000).

Reading and Writing as Analysis

The entire analysis process involves reading and re-reading the data, and the value of this step cannot be understated (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). In addition to reading however, the final part of analysis was writing, the "primary research tool" (Owens, 2012, p. 223). Indeed, data analysis and the writing process are activities that are not mutually exclusive (Cavana, Delahaye, & Sekaran, 2001). Although the coding process identified the key themes present within my data, many of my

thoughts emerged during the writing process (Delamont, 1997) helping to establish a coherent narrative. Like, Richardson and St Pierre (2005), I used "writing to think" (p. 970). Thus, reading, writing, and returning back and forth between my writings and my data was a highly valuable part of the analysis process, highlighting how themes fit (or did not fit) in relation to one another, consolidating them and bringing the thesis alive.

Credibility

Qualitative research is looking at the world through a different lens than quantitative research and as such, the criteria for assessing it must be specific to the approach (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999). Hammersley's (1992) account of how ethnographic research should be judged includes a position (one that he disagrees with mind you) that there is no way to gauge the trustworthiness of such research, or that validity and reliability are irrelevant outside of positivist research (Dreher, 1994). There is however, a general consensus that scholars should demonstrate the credibility of their work (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Work in this area has involved (and evolved from) the application of positivist notions of validity and reliability to qualitative research (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982), the substitution of terms whilst retaining a similar sense of objectivity (Seale, 1999), and a retooling of the positivist language and criteria for assessing objectivity, validity, and reliability in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Lincoln and Guba's (1985) offerings of confirmability, dependability, transferability and credibility as alternatives provides some examples.

There are a number of approaches that qualitative scholars have used to demonstrate or enhance the trustworthiness of their research (Clonts, 1992; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Leininger, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). My research meets or intersects with several of these approaches. Firstly, insider status and knowledge of the culture coupled with my time in the field meets Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggestion of prolonged engagement, to understand those being researched, gain trust, and test for misinformation. Secondly, Leininger (1994) suggests saturation, redundant and duplicate ideas, descriptions and experiences after repeat inquiries, as a useful assessment criteria. In all my methods, and particularly my interviews and digital ethnography I reached saturation multiple times and with multiple topics. Thirdly, although scholars have argued that it is a simplification to assume that aggregating research methods can result in a more complete or well-rounded picture of a social group when compared to a single method (Atkinson & Delamont, 2005), it is not unreasonable to suggest that my particular use of multi-methods provides qualitative credibility.

Rather than using multi-methods as triangulation to establish confirmability from method to method and thus seek to confirm my resultant theories, my use of multi-methods is specific to the lived experiences of my participants. For instance, many parkour practitioners are deeply involved in actions of physical and visual participation (i.e. participant observation), verbal participation/discussion as it pertains to their thoughts, experiences and beliefs surrounding their practice (i.e. interviewing), and media production, both self-generated (i.e. digital ethnography) and either in consultation with or as the muse of public media outlets (i.e. media analysis). And finally, if I cannot "use

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detachment, distance and neutrality to achieve objectivity, [I] can at least document and track how what [I] study is influenced by who [I am]" (Preissle, 2006, p. 691) through processes of reflexivity. By utilising or experiencing these qualitative assessment criteria my research can be considered credible.

Power Relations and Reflexivity

As previously discussed, my insider status, while providing me with direct access to participants, important cultural capital within the community, and important insider knowledge that helped me to comprehend the data I collected, it also set up certain power relations with participants who could have been or currently are clients, colleagues, employees, or friends of mine. Indeed, in addition to multiple roles within the parkour community mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, halfway through the PhD process I also become an Elected Director for Parkour Earth, the first international governing body for parkour federated by national member bodies, of which Parkour NZ was a founding member. Many NZ and overseas practitioners read my personal blog posts (see Puddle, 2019) and were therefore able to discern my views in relation to the international parkour politics that led to the formation of Parkour Earth and were playing out at the time of my appointment.

Interview and digital ethnography participation was optional and there were neither rewards nor damages associated with participation, non-participation, or withdrawal from the study. Nonetheless, my positions and therefore these power relations remain. As the CEO of Parkour NZ, I hold a position of power directly within the organisation, over staff, volunteers, and while not a

voting member, have influence with the governing board. However, this research project is not for the purposes of Parkour NZ and so cooperation from persons with an existing relationship with either Parkour NZ or me was not required. Similarly, as a parkour coach I have power over my students in the varying contexts that I carry out this role (various aspects power and the coach-athlete relationship have been explored in academic literature, e.g. Bergmann Drewe, 2002; Karin Askeland, 2009; Purdy, Potrac, & Jones, 2008; Tomlinson & Yorganci, 1997): Weekly outdoor classes, one off workshops, school physical education lessons, etc. In both cases I did not coerce anyone into participating and their participation or non-participation in the project did not impact on their status with me or Parkour NZ.

These positions of power were not limited to relationships with those coming under the umbrella of Parkour NZ and its services, however, as many within the parkour community in NZ are aware of who I am. My participants would have been aware of my positions within the community and that it would have no doubt affected their participation in some way. The previous example regarding the lack of personal training videos uploaded to social media and its impact on my cultural capital is a prime example. Whether accurate or not, there was also the perception from some that working with me, even in a research capacity, would provide legitimacy to local parkour communities, evident in the case of my interview with Purere in Whangarei. Thus, how I have chosen to participate in parkour in person and online, and people's knowledge of me affected their engagement with my research project. In other words, their positive and negative perceptions of me affected the way they participated or chose not to.

In this chapter, I have given an in-depth account of the methodological underpinnings of my thesis, the methods I used to collect data, who I collected data from, and how I analysed that data. I have also offered an account of my insider status and the positive and negatives consequences associated with that status. The roles I carry, indeed even my whole identity, are things that impact the research process. Therefore, I wish to acknowledge here that my status as a parkour cultural insider, and even more deeply, my status as an adult, heterosexual, middle-class, Pākehā male with a Christian worldview, had ramifications for the research process. These personal characteristics became significantly more apparent to me during the research process, predominantly during the semi-structured interviews.

I have discussed power relations briefly in regards to my various roles, but I provide thorough critical reflections on my experiences as researcher (as well further discussion on my methodological choices) in the conclusion chapter. For instance, I found questions concerning gender and ethnicity to be particularly challenging to navigate appropriately and gain necessary depth. My empirical analysis begins in the next chapter, where I establish an overview of the significant global and local flows that contribute to establishing parkour in NZ.

Chapter Four – Global Cultural Flows and Parkour Experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand

In this chapter, I examine the development of parkour in NZ in the context of various constitutive flows of people, technology, media, ideas, and climate. I outline my use of Appadurai's (1990) global 'scapes', the theoretical approach that I use to identify the flows at play within the glocalisation process. I split the main part of the chapter into two halves. In the first half I provide an overview of parkour in NZ, divided up into four sections where I discuss the 'scapes' that constitute the flows that impact on parkour in NZ and the meaning attributed to parkour by local practitioners. Second, through the categorisation and description of a series of different parkour training landscapes found in NZ, I explore several key topics impacted on by global and local flows that contribute to this development of the glocalised parkour experience. I conclude the chapter with a summary of the main points and a reflection on the theoretical value of Appadurai's global theory of disjuncture for analysing processes of glocalisation and more specifically, understanding the development of parkour in NZ.

Appadurai's Flows of Global Culture

The key theoretical framework informing this chapter is Arjun Appadurai's (1990, 1996) model of global cultural flows. Appadurai's claim is that global flows "occur in and through the growing disjunctures between ethnoscapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes" (1990, p. 301). Appadurai (1990) recognises that there is a "tension between cultural homogenization and cultural

heterogenization" (p. 295), a view also espoused by Robertson (1995). The idea of disjuncture (i.e. separation or disconnection) is central to Appadurai's model and his belief that the scale, volume, and speed of global flows has increased to such a state that the disjuncture's between the scapes have become "central to the politics of global culture" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 301). Thus, although Appadurai's (1990) understanding of power does have a focus on large global forces, such as the power of nation states, he prioritises "ephemeral and shifting flows" (Heyman & Campbell, 2009, p. 131). My understanding of power in this chapter, though more implicit than explicit, aligns with this view of the flux between the global and local, organisations and individuals, and the disjuncture's between Appadurai's scapes.

Appadurai (1990) describes the various scapes as: Ethnoscape, a landscape made of people who make up the moving world and includes tourists and those on working holidays, refugees, immigrants, exiles, and any other moving people group. This includes movements within nations but more importantly for Appadurai (1990), the increased possibilities of moving from nation to nation. Technoscape, the global configuration of informational and mechanical technology that now move rapidly across many boundaries that used to be impervious. Mediascape, the TV stations, newspapers, film studios, and other media outlets as well as the images that they distribute. These images are made more complex based on their style, the hardware they are created with, the audience they are intended for, and the interests of those in charge of their delivery. Ideoscape, referring to ideas, ideologies—especially political ones— terms and images of the Enlightenment worldview. And finally, the financescape, the high-speed movement of global capital through stock exchanges, currency

markets, commodity speculations, and other financial transactions. The interrelated nature of these flows, and references to the financescape later in the chapter, means that I must make mention of the financescape here. However, in contrast to the other key scapes that I discuss in depth, the main discussion surrounding finance and capital is located in Chapter Six, because of its significance to the discussion of parkour's institutionalisation.

The way that Appadurai (1990) has characterised the "contemporary global condition in terms of the disjunctive flows of a series of related 'social scapes'" (Martin, 2005, p. 349), has been used to study a number of glocalised flows in youth cultures (see Carrington & Wilson, 2002). This way of understanding glocalisation has helped to spawn various other scapes, including soundscapes, sacriscapes (religious scapes), foodscapes, and sportscapes (Condry, 2011). Horton (1996) argues that Appadurai's (1990) model of cultural flow is a sound framework of which to base in-depth sports studies on, as it does not preclude the use of other coexisting theories (such as my concurrent use of Robertson's (1995) glocalisation). Others have used this approach to unpack the interrelations between global tourism, leisure, and sport (Gomes, 2010), the globalisation and commercialisation of lifestyle sports (Wheaton, 2005), the 'Europeanization' of elite football (Martin, 2005), the globalisation of Scottish Celtic Football Club fandom (Conner, 2014), and the global rugby union labour migration of Pacific Islanders (Horton, 2012).

It has also been argued that Appadurai's (1990, 1996) scapes can be adapted for investigating sport as a specific scape (Carter, 2002; Manzenreiter, 2010), an approach adopted by several scholars (Arnaldo, 2015; Carter, 2003;

Murray, 2013). A sportscape then can be considered as "the flow of people, practices, capital, and institutions that constitute the fluid, irregular movements of sport across the globe and within localities" (Carter, 2002, p. 418). A sportscape could also be considered as the "transnational flows of physical culture, ideologies, and practices centering on the body . . . [that] constitute not just an object of globalization, but also a driving force of globalization" (Manzenreiter, 2010). There is, therefore, potential value in discussing sport as a scape, and parkour as a specific sportscape. In so doing, I am adopting the suggestion by Carter (2002) to use Appadurai for his "sufficiently open approach that can account for actual change and movement in a multitude of directions in sport's existing power relations" (p. 418).

The Parkour Sportscape of Aotearoa New Zealand

In this chapter I draw upon four of Appadurai's (1996) five global scapes to examine the parkour experience, with the addition of another scape 'landscapes'. Though disjunctive, these scapes are interconnected. However, for the purposes of identifying what cultural flows exist within parkour and how these various flows impact on the NZ experience, I discuss them within discrete categories, except mediascape and technoscape (see also, Conner, 2014) which, in parkour, are heavily intertwined.

Ethnoscape: The Travel Patterns of Parkour Participants

Research on the movement of people and players within sport is found primarily within sport migration studies (see Maguire & Falcous, 2010). In traditional sports these are often characterised by elite player labour markets (Horton, 2012; Martin, 2005; Takahashi & Horne, 2006) and migration or tourism of passionate sports fans (Conner, 2014; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007). In action sports, these flows of people are instead largely characterised by the movements of grassroots participants (Rickly, 2016; Shipway, 2007; Thorpe, 2012b, 2017b). Their migration habits can also involve sport labour markets, however, their labour is aimed on enabling their sporting pursuits (see Thorpe, 2012b) and many of them would not be classed as 'elite'. Although not necessarily using Appadurai's theory of global flows directly, the migration of sports people constitutes part of the ethnoscapes of those communities.

The scholars above have looked primarily at international rather than internal migration/movement, but both are important parts of the parkour ethnoscape. The migration patterns of parkour practitioners in, to, and from NZ for parkour specific reasons appears to be characterised by two key forces: 1) The desire to train in different locales and explore different architecture, and 2) the desire to meet new people and connect with local parkour communities. These two motivators are often experienced in sequence, with newer practitioners being interested primarily on the physical exploration of parkour movements and places – "We climbed through a window, went over a few roofs and jumped to this carpark cause it was just this amazing architecture we were trying to get to" (Seven, a Wellington freerunner talking about his early training days, interview,

November 2016). Through these training experiences, practitioners make friends and connections and their motivations tend to shift towards maintaining those connections or making new ones through parkour – "It's all about . . . going to meet new people, make friends you know. [That's] what most jams are about" (Jayden, a young freerunner from Napier who travels to lots of jams, interview, August 2017).

The migratory behaviour (e.g. modes of transport, accommodation, locations visited) displayed by parkour practitioners in NZ is diverse, though generally more reflective of international backpackers (see Allon, Anderson, & Bushell, 2008) than elite athletes or sports fans with more disposable income looking for high quality tourism services (see Thwaites & Chadwick, 2005). An element central to the behaviour of the parkour ethnoscape is that the people moving and interacting have often never met in person. Hannah, an irregular but long-standing parkour practitioner in NZ, explains how shared interests facilitate trust and enable parkour migration:

> I started in the middle of the year and then [in] December, five, six months later, hosted a jam here and invited people to come and stay . . . at my parents' house . . . [people] who I'd never met before . . . I didn't know any of them and I was like "yeah, come and stay at my parents place", fully open and not expecting any trouble or anything because it was a shared interest in parkour (interview, December 2016).

Terry, a primary school teacher and one of the South Island's early figureheads agrees with Hannah's assessment:

There seems to be a common theme, that there have only been very few exceptions, that it seems to be a good bet to trust the nature of people you've never met who do parkour. It seems to be very common . . . In other situations in my life I would never dream of taking other people's children who I don't even know to a town that I've never been, staying at a place we've never seen, organised one day before, just turning up and then there's a dozen people staying at their house who we've never met, but instantly knowing that they're trustworthy (interview, November 2016).

My wife and I both experience this sense of trust, regularly playing host to the NZ community during Hamilton based gatherings (see Figure 6) and the flow of international travellers who bring ideas, alternative ways of training, and different cultural practices. The mechanism(s) by which parkour practice itself might create feelings of trust among its proponents is unclear. It is clear however, that parkour practitioners immediately perceive other parkour practitioners as having high cultural capital (see Bourdieu, 2011; or in the ways that Wheaton, 2013a talks about subcultural capital, drawing on Thornton, 1995), and are therefore happy to engage with parkour travellers they have never met. Thorpe (2014) notes:

Many action sport enthusiasts around the world participate predominantly at the local level, yet due to their access and consumption of global sporting events, media, action sport celebrities and products from transnational companies, many feel connected to a broader action sport community (p. 35)

Indeed, parkour practitioners form this 'imagined (international) community' of trust via the ethnoscape in their in-person communications at training and events, but also, even more so in the case of NZ, their online interactions and consumption of the parkour mediascape.

Figure 6. Scratch map with coloured countries representing what nations have stayed at my house. Photo by the author.

The mediascape and technoscape of parkour is such that no NZ practitioners, teams, or locally produced media are regular features of the global parkour community's discussions. However, practitioners from all over the world[11] have visited (or migrated) and connected with the NZ community during their travels. Undoubtedly, these international parkour practitioners visit NZ because of the potential adventures associated with the images of the NZ environment, not

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[11] Those known to me have included Australia, Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland, South Africa, Italy, the UK, Canada, USA, Israel, Russia, Chile, Malaysia, Colombia, and the Netherlands.

for parkour. Maika, a prominent Auckland practitioner says, "You don't come to New Zealand to do parkour, you come to New Zealand to see all the beautiful sites. You're just lucky if you're [also] part of the parkour community" (interview, October 2016). In fact, some international parkour tourists don't even consider trying to connect with the NZ community, perhaps assuming that there isn't one. "A guy came over from Germany not too long ago and he didn't even think of trying to meet up with people for parkour" (Jacob, a Christchurch freerunner and member of Team Aura, interview, November 2016). Maybe, as one of NZ's most well respected practitioners who is currently living overseas (who I'll call 'Martini Miller') points out, NZ is frozen in time:

> I just feel like New Zealand, because of its isolation, it's kind of [in] this bubble that's frozen in time from . . . a better era. And so I feel like we still try and prioritise things that have become lost in a lot of larger international communities (interview, June, 2017).

No doubt drawing on his experience living and training in international communities overseas, several cities and regions in NZ, and his connections over social media, Martini Miller feels that NZ's parkour community is more welcoming and cohesive. Other practitioners have also expressed their desire to return to the NZ community when they themselves have travelled. Jacob for example, says "I went over to Australia and it's just kind of a competition of who's better than who and I don't think that's how New Zealand kind of operates" (interview, November 2016). As mentioned in the introduction, even after extensive travel or living abroad, NZ is still home for many NZers (Wiles, 2008). But this sentiment about the NZ community has also been communicated online and face-to-face by many

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overseas parkour practitioners who have visited, such as Jacob's German contact, "He said that he's travelled the world and New Zealand has the most welcoming parkour community he's ever been to" (interview, November 2016).

International parkour initiatives, ideas, and training styles, as well as other cultural manifestations certainly affect parkour in NZ. However, from my observations, it appears that the influences on parkour migration in NZ, such as its geographic isolation, smaller general and parkour specific populations, and lower socio-economic status of its practitioners, creates a less diverse ethnoscape. Locals and visitors alike perceive the NZ community as distinct from other parkour communities overseas.

Mediascape and Technoscape: Flows of Information, Images and Technology

Figure 7. Jim Halpert, John Krasinski's character in the US version of the TV show 'The Office'. "This is parkour, internet sensation of 2004"

Certainly, if parkour was shared in 2018 for the first time, and not the early 2000s, #parkour would be trending. Although parkour has in many ways become ubiquitous, particularly in the realm of cinema, TV shows (Figure 7), video games, and internet memes, there are many people in NZ who are still discovering what parkour is, even NZ's media. The different print, digital, and video news outlets who, year after year, publish short pieces on parkour as if it had only just reached NZ's shores evidences this. For instance, the tagline on a *New Zealand Herald* video on parkour in Auckland in April 2018 reads "The urban-based sport of Parkour is sweeping the world – we met[sic] the Kiwis running, jumping and flipping their

way to fitness." One Facebook user commented "lol, it's been 'sweeping the world' for years. Trust the NZH to be last to get the memo . . ."

The origins of parkour in NZ can be traced back to a handful of individual practitioners in different towns around NZ in 2004. Like many countries, particularly those outside of Europe, parkour was first introduced to a NZ audience, not directly by its founders or subsequent adherents, but through several key digital media events. First, though not necessarily the order that NZ adherents were introduced, the world's first parkour documentary Jump London, first aired in 2003 and featured Sébastian Foucan, one of the founders of parkour, and some second generation practitioners training on some of London's most iconic landmarks (see Christie, 2003). Second, other subsequent videos shared online prior to the creation and popularisation of YouTube. Third, after YouTube launched in February 2005, new practitioners began uploading parkour videos and sharing them with increasing regularity, inspired by the aforementioned and subsequent media. Fourth, the James Bond film Casino Royale in 2006 also featuring Sébastian Foucan. There were other influential French pieces of media, such as the French documentary Génération Yamakasi, released in 2006, but these were usually not the first exposures to parkour for NZers.

Some early NZ practitioners were involved in the first international English language forums (e.g. UrbanFreeFlow and Parkour.net). However, most began training devoid of regular online contact with overseas practitioners, and even other local practitioners; "I didn't look for the parkour forums or anything at that stage. I was just happy going to the park and jumping around . . ." (Maika, interview, October 2016). Eventually, these continual introductions to the practice

led to the formation of NZ's first local parkour forum (nztraceur.com) for parkour enthusiasts to use for connecting with each other, common within the global community (Ferro, 2015; Fuggle, 2008). Practitioners around NZ used the nztraceur forums to discuss parkour principles and techniques, organize local trainings and road trips, as well as share media of their practice. Thus, the parkour technoscape enables the parkour mediascape. These forums were also used as a platform for debates—common in any new sport form (Rinehart, 2000)—around parkour philosophy, terminology, training methods, and the future of parkour in NZ, reflecting their usage in other nations (Balan, 2013).

The relationship between sports and the marriage between the technoscape and mediascape is nowhere more apparent than via the internet (Conner, 2014). While new and future practitioners may now be introduced to parkour through a myriad of local opportunities, new practitioners regularly cite YouTube as their first or most vivid exposure. This origin story is not dissimilar from other nations (Ferrero Camoletto et al., 2015; Kidder, 2012; Stagi, 2015) and demonstrates the pervasiveness and importance of social media on parkour's history (Herrmann, 2016) and continued development (see Thorpe & Ahmad, 2015). Thus, the speed at which parkour's popularity has increased is directly tied to its dissemination via technoscapes and mediascapes. Barnz, one of NZ's first parkour practitioners discusses the pre and post YouTube effect:

On these [early] forums . . . people would upload . . . raw movie files and [you would] download it to your computer and watch it . . . A new video came out, in the world, like once a week or something . . . a noticeable one

would come out once a month . . . And now there's like 20 amazing videos every day on YouTube, it's crazy (interview, October 2016).

The speed at which parkour has grown and the proliferation of parkour media has made it all but impossible to stay aware of all developments. As Barnz explains, "I [used to] have a fair idea about all the communities and all the scenes around the world just from watching the videos, and now I have no idea cause there's like hundreds and hundreds all the time bombarding me" (interview, October 2016).

In the past, practitioners like Barnz could maintain an understanding of the global community via the videos uploaded to forums, but today newer practitioners subscribe to the social media accounts of only their favourites. As Sandvoss (2003) highlights, sports fans carefully plan their personal schedules; for example to align themselves with the increasingly busy schedules of international professional football. Like international football fans, parkour practitioners negotiate their personal timelines in order to consume parkour media via an increasing number of social media technologies:

> If Storror [internationally known UK group] post on Facebook . . . "Cavemen 2 in 5 hours guys, can't wait!" and it's literally 12:00 [midnight], I will wait that 5 hours for that video. I've done that a few times. I will stay up all night just to be the first viewer on their YouTube video (Jackson, interview, November 2016).

Jackson is not a parkour fan in the traditional 'sports fan' sense. He is a Christchurch based parkour practitioner and regularly uploads his own parkour media, sometimes using new technologies like live streaming. Thus, the parkour

mediascape and technoscape, is not made of sports fans consuming TV or internet based media of corporate sponsored and highly competitive professional leagues and teams. Nor even the following of professional sports stars on social media (see Hutchins, 2011)—though some parkour figureheads and teams are professional. Rather, it is hundreds and thousands of everyday parkour practitioners producing and consuming, i.e. prosuming (see Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010) parkour media; sharing it and communicating with other practitioners all over the world.

Practitioners like Jackson are part of this trend. However, the parkour community in NZ, particularly the older practitioners, are overall more interested in national affairs. Many NZ practitioners with different experiences and understandings told me that they subscribe primarily to local parkour channels and pages. Emma for instance, an irregular Christchurch practitioner, discusses how she used to watch as many videos as she could, "but now I'm just more interested in people that I know and how well they've improved . . . than of random people overseas" (interview, November 2016). In addition, those who do attempt to stay up to date with new international content, often via Instagram, do so for inspiration and entertainment, but find 'more meaning' in local media with "videos from people in NZ" (Teddy Leftside, a skilled practitioner who regularly travels around New Zealand and abroad, November 2016).

The glocalisation of parkour via the internet has caused rapid uptake by people around the world. The parkour community in NZ is a result of and contributor to this explosion in parkour practitioners and the use of new technologies to spread parkour media. A consequence of this proliferation however, is that some in the community are overwhelmed and choose to focus

their attention inwardly. This trend mirrors the critique of Appadurai's (1996) framework by Heyman and Campbell (2009), who state that "disjuncture and breakdown of bounded social and cultural units are contingent outcomes of processes that may also reinforce social and spatial entities, boundaries, and so forth" (p. 144). In other words, these various flows not only erode geography, they also create it (Heyman & Campbell, 2009).

Ideoscape: Contested Values of Risk and Play

Gomes (2010) contends that "urban culture can hardly be accused of limiting cultural practices to the restricted codes of elitist culture" (p. 230). However, elitist culture, as far as government is concerned, establishes restrictive codes that can limit urban cultural practices. Indeed, the law is often viewed negatively within parkour, in terms of limiting access to space and policing 'transgressions' (Gilchrist & Osborn, 2017a), i.e. government ideology competes with certain ideologies of parkour, especially in regards to perceptions of risk[12]. Risk taking is seen as a "defining feature of many action sports" (Wheaton, 2016, p. 118) and indeed, it is a pervasive topic where parkour is concerned, also reflected in the academic litertaure (Angel, 2011; Clegg & Butryn, 2012; Gilchrist & Osborn, 2017a; Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011; Kidder, 2013a, 2013b; Pavlotski, 2016; Wallace, 2013). Such

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[12] Risk perception in action and adventure sport has received academic attention (see for example, Fave, Bassi, & Massimini, 2003; Laurendeau & van Brunschot, 2006; Martha & Laurendeau, 2010; Martha, Sanchez, Gomà-i-Freixanet, & Exercise, 2009; Powell, 2007)

that, for Clegg and Butryn (2012) "the most obvious area of future research involves the relationship between parkour and risk" (p. 337).

Undoubtedly, as with any dynamic physical activity, parkour training brings an element of risk (Aggerholm & Højbjerre Larsen, 2016) and has been specifically referred to by some scholars as a high-risk activity (see Wallace, 2013). However, the practitioners I interviewed had a variety of overlapping understandings of risk in parkour. They included 'risk is unavoidable', 'risk is a choice', 'risk can be mitigated', and 'risk has value'. Rather than "the commitment to get as close as possible to the edge without going over it" (Lyng, 1990, p. 862), my participants understanding of risk can be synthesised as a desire to make the edge wider. These understandings and approaches to risk in parkour are mediated by global and local cultural flows, including the ideologies of communities participating in or observing parkour, and governments, who inact policies to protect citizens and themselves. Appadurai (1990) explains that ideoscapes are often specifically political and concern both state ideologies and counter-ideologies. Therefore, this section will focus on the contested global and local values of risk (introduced in Chapter Two regarding mainstream media portrayals of parkour) viewed and generated differently by the NZ government and the parkour community. I first explain the global impetus for recent workplace health and safety (WHS) reforms in NZ, and then describe the local parkour community's experiences and responses to such reforms. I will draw on related research on children's risky play to parallel the experiences and interpretations of risk by the parkour community in NZ.

In NZ, the Health and Safety at Work Act 2015 was put in place to "provide for a balanced framework to secure the health and safety of workers and workplaces" ("Health and Safety at Work Act 2015," 2015). These changes were in

part inacted because of NZ's desire to harmonise with Australian health and safety laws, (Windholz, 2016), but even more so because in 2013, an independent task force conducted a review of NZ's workplace health and safety (WHS) system—because of the Pike River Mine tragedy[13]—and indicated that it was failing (Work Safe, 2017a). A key aspect of the taskforce's investigation was a comparison between NZ health and safety statistics and that of other OECD nations (see Securo, 2017). They found that the rate of workplace death and serious injury in NZ was high compared to other nations like Australia, the UK, and Canada, particularly in industries like fishing, forestry, mining, agriculture, manufacturing, and construction (Independent Taskforce On Workplace Health And Safety, 2012). Thus, the NZ government's approach to changing the WHS legislation for NZ workplaces is based on a global risk ideoscape, but this legislation has implications for areas much wider than the intended high risk industries. Indeed, although these reforms were focused on decreasing mortality in high-risk areas of industry, they impact on all "PCBUs - person[s] conducting a business or undertaking" (Work Safe, 2017b, para. 1), as well as those who use their spaces, in this case, parkour practitioners.

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[13] The Pike River incident refers to an explosion on November 2010 at the Pike River coal mine in the South Island of NZ that killed 29 men (Royal Commission on the Pike River Coal Mine Tragedy, 2012). Windholz (2016) notes that one of the Royal Commission reviewers points out that the fact the "miners' bodies have not been recovered remains a continuous reminder in New Zealand about the costs of poor WHS regulation" (p. 4).

Windholz (2016) has argued that conforming to WHS reforms in NZ represents "no more than good governance and good businness practice" (p. 25). The NZ government would no doubt predicate these reforms on 'welfare', one of Appadurai's (1990) examples of the elements of the 'Enlightenment world-view' that underpins state ideoscapes. However, the response to these reforms by the NZ public has resulted in anxiety and concern, a significantly different local response than to the reforms in Australia (Windholz, 2016). The levels of public anxiety concerning the WHS reforms were such that the outgoing CEO of WorkSafe New Zealand (the WHS regulator) issued a statement, telling people to 'keep calm' (WorkSafe, 2016).

Despite such recommendations not to overreact, organisations and local government attempting to abide by the new legislation are viewing physical activity, play, and action sports like parkour, with increased scrutiny. Schools for instance, have proposed or successfully banned childhood and youth activities like bullrush and tree climbing (Radio NZ, 2016) reflecting trends in other national contexts (e.g. the UK, see Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011). A comment on an online news article about WHS in NZ schools reads:

> Health and safety is a massive weed in the vacant lot of western liberal democracy. Where religion once dominated, the post Christian era has seen it replaced by political correctness, the terminally offended, and health and safety to name but three new movements, different but the same. They, like religion, are all about controlling behaviour ('Attica', in McLachlan, 2016).

PE teachers have also relayed to me that several schools around the country have banned parkour in recent years, in a direct response to these WHS reforms in some instances. Jackson explained that his school 'hated' parkour and delt with his interest in it by forcing him to "sit down at the principal's office and eat morning tea and lunch" (interview, November 2016). Jackson's local experience of the NZ risk ideoscape is not the government's understanding of 'welfare', rather, like the commentor above, his experience is one of being 'controlled'.

Not only do parkour practitioners see the WHS reforms as an attempt to control their behaviour, they offer an alternative understanding of risk, a counter-ideoscape, born of their glocalised parkour experiences. For instance, Amy, a Wellington parkour practitioner and coach, seeking out challenges or 'risky play' through local parkour training takes away from her sense of being vulnerable as "a small unimposing unintimidating woman, because [I] know [I] have a certain physical prowess . . . [I] could keep [my]self safe" (interview, August 2017). Local experiences of parkour create the initial understanding that parkour training, or parkour 'playing', makes you "anti-fragile" (Max, an early Wellington practitioner, interview, October 2016), but NZ practitioners also build on this counter-ideoscape by consuming and sharing online media that support their views (see Figure 8, a playground sign shared by one of my digital respondents).
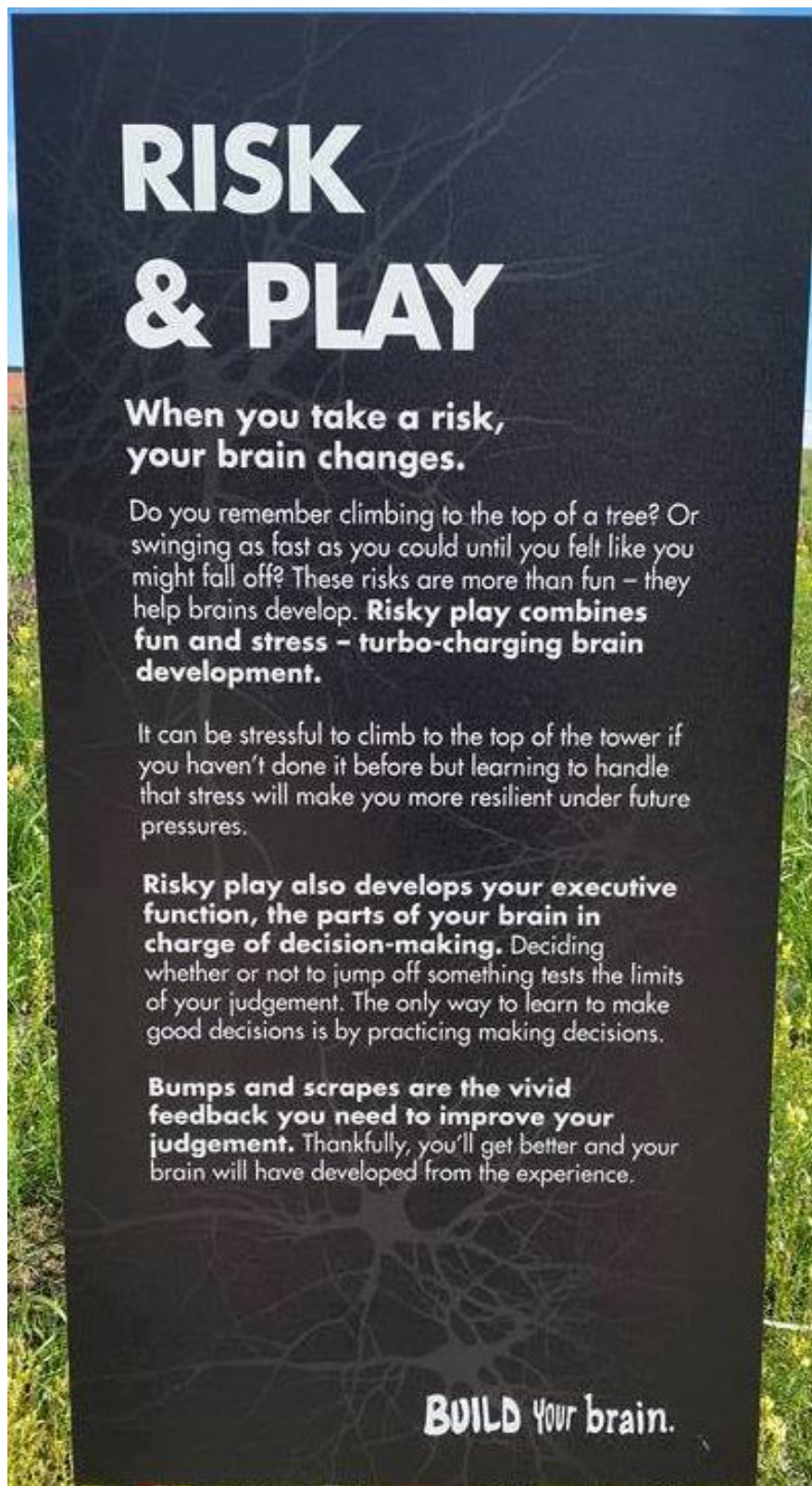
Figure 8. Playground signage talking about risky play.

Moxnes (1989), writing about risk in business, suggests that the extreme

consequence of seeking security is insipidity. This is the crux of the Figure 8 above

and what my participants conveyed to me about their experiences of risk in

parkour. As Breivik (2007) ponders, perhaps safety and risk are complementary. Indeed, many early childhood researchers argue that eliminating risk from play can have negative consequences for children's optimal health and development, advocating instead for finding ways to explore and manage rather than remove risk (Brussoni et al., 2015; Brussoni, Olsen, Pike, & Sleet, 2012; Little & Wyver, 2008; Sandseter, 2009). Many parkour practitioners view parkour as a form of, or extension of, childhood play (see also, Rawlinson & Guaralda, 2011); trees and playgrounds for instance, being common sites for both activities. As one digital respondant described to me, they train parkour "to be better at playing. Or to put it another way, for me, parkour is play with intention – the intention of improving movement capacity and health" (March, 2017). Malone (2007) reports that resilience is a result of an individual's ability to adjust to a crisis situation and that the irony of 'bubble wrapping' is that it adds to a child's anxiety and reduces their competency in the face of a hazard, thus putting them in increased danger.

Sandseter (2012) explains that rules and regulations pertaining to WHS vary from country to country, and although countries are all interested in avoiding serious harm to children, the interpretation and enforcement of such policies is impacted by local culture and politics. NZ PCBU's, particularly schools and local councils, crack down on parkour and similar activities because of their own glocalised interpretations of the WHS reforms. Many parkour practitioners in NZ cite security stopping them from participating, even in public places (see also, Clegg & Butryn, 2012; Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011): "Security are the worst to deal with because they are not acting on their own, with their own thoughts. They are purely being directed by someone else's wishes" (Ryan, Parkour NZ founder, interview, November 2016).

As identified earlier, WorkSafe has criticised the 'myths' surrounding the WHS reforms and said that there is no need to stop organising fun runs, or prevent kids from climbing trees, (MacDonald, 2016), and therefore, by extension parkour. This short analysis demonstrates that different groups can understand and experience ideoscapes in diverse ways. In NZ, global and local influences have created a complex risk ideoscape built on contested understandings of what 'welfare' means. The NZ government's local review of the Pike River disaster, compared against global WHS statistics and legislation overseas, prompted national WHS reforms. In turn, despite the reforms focusing on high-risk industries, downstream PCBU's, schools and local councils in particular, have overreacted. Their understanding of providing 'welfare' has been to ban or otherwise heavily discourage activities like parkour (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. Sign at a destination playground in Hamilton, New Zealand.

Finally, practitioners in NZ blame the government for the restrictions imposed upon them by the likes of local councils and security. They feel that their local experiences of risk and the images/ideas drawn from the global parkour community demonstrate that true 'welfare' is developed by proactively engaging with risk.

Landscape: Implications of Geography, Climate, and Architecture

The discussion of the scapes above has revolved around the global and local flows of people, money, images, technology, and ideas. Appadurai (1990) makes use of the idea of landscapes to develop his elementary framework for exploring global disjuncture, landscapes that are "the building blocks of what, extending Benedict Anderson, [he] would like to call 'imagined worlds'" (p. 296). However, Appadurai fails to make use of literal landscapes, the building blocks of the physical world, or talk about how they influence the glocalisation process.

When discussing parkour, the physical landscape is incredibly significant (see, for example, Ameel & Tani, 2012a). Thus, I add 'landscapes' as a sixth category to discuss the existence and importance of geographic and environmental flows. Appadurai has made the case that his model should not be expanded indefinitely (see Rantanen, 2006). However, I argue that the inclusion of landscapes as it relates to the flows of climate and weather is an important addition for identifying "basic links between the conditions of material life and the conditions of art and imagination" (Rantanen, 2006, p. 14) as it pertains to the global and local flows of parkour.

The global flows that influence NZ geography and climate include slow changes over millennia, in the case of tectonic changes resulting in NZ's split from Gondwana (Laird & Bradshaw, 2004), and a variety of natural environmental factors, including "large-scale erosion, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, fire, extreme climatic events and long-term climatic trends" (McGlone, 1989, p. 115). These geographic and climate flows have ultimately shaped NZ into a long, narrow, and largely mountainous archipelago in the southern pacific (Alloway et al., 2007). When NZ was being colonised by Europeans, rather than adapting town designs to the landscape, the colonial towns of NZ were planned using grid layouts (New Zealand Productivity Commission, 2015). The result of overlaying these grids onto NZ's mountainous landscapes has resulted in unique issues; city streets ending abruptly or in some cases being incredibly steep—Baldwin Street in Dunedin being the steepest street in the world (Schrader, 2015). Thus, NZ cities, some of which are arguably designed poorly, are heavily influenced by the slow but significant geographic flows that continue to carve out the NZ landscape.

NZ is also geographically situated on the Australian and Pacific tectonic plates and thus prone to earthquakes, the flows of the earth's crust. Indeed, a magnitude 6.2 earthquake in Christchurch in 2011 had severe effects on the "region's population and infrastructure . . . including 181 fatalities, widespread building damage, liquefaction and landslides" (Kaiser et al., 2012). As a result, much of Christchurch central was 'red zoned', the establishment of a public exclusion zone in the central business district of the city. Many of Christchurch's main parkour spots were either damaged or otherwise inaccessible due to the cordon. Of course, the nature of parkour training makes many 'inaccessible' places accessible, and the desire to train in Christchurch's abandoned city centre

outweighed the risks for some (Aura Freerunning, 2015). This creative use of post-earthquake Christchurch has also been seen in other action sport cultures in the city (see Thorpe, 2015a). Tana, a Thai expat and one of Christchurch's parkour figureheads, discussed with me that although the earthquakes were devastating for the city, it opened new doors for the parkour community. The community began to look for different training locations outside the city centre. "We started branching out to Sumner, New Brighton, Belfast, Cashmere, and we started making more trips to Castle Hill as well. So it came as quite a benefit to us, [be]cause it provided a different scene" (interview, November 2016).

Napier, another NZ city, suffered the brunt of the Hawke's Bay earthquake in 1931. The reconstruction of that city included over a hundred new buildings, many of which were designed in an Art Deco style, the architectural flair of the day (Nalewicki, 2016). And for a time, Napier was dubbed the "most modern city in the world" (Barnard, 2008). Over seven years later, the efforts to rebuild Christchurch are still ongoing, but, like Napier, with these renewal efforts comes the same opportunity to be creative and think differently about the city's urban design. Jacob discusses the renewal of the city and the excitement it provides for a community looking for fresh opportunities:

Christchurch has all these new emerging spots . . . we'll walk through town and then walk through a week later and there will be a new spot . . . sculptures and little parks with cool little walls and giant rock formations in town that they're putting everywhere . . . or a new playground or something. Christchurch is really focusing on their architecture (Jacob, interview, November 2016).

The planning status quo has been challenged in the aftermath of the earthquake, with many citizen led projects resulting in enhanced options for the provision of public space, as well as transitional spaces allowing for the assertion of new cultural identities (Brand & Nicholson, 2016; see also, Wesener, 2015). Of course, certain safety precautions against future earthquakes are also likely, with architects predicting that the general height of the city will drop (Collins, 2011).

The complex mountainous terrain of NZ also causes distinct responses to atmospheric circulation in different regions of the country and plays a key role in defining regional temperatures and rainfall (Salinger & Mullan, 1999). In other words, more acute and random environmental flows also occur due to NZ's landscape. Indeed, NZ climate is sensitive to even small changes in circulation (Salinger & Mullan, 1999), being "one of a few sizeable landmasses in the Southern Hemisphere westerly circulation zone, a critical transition zone between subtropical and Antarctic influences" (Alloway et al., 2007, p. 9). The NZ climate is mostly temperate, with average maximum temperatures ranging between 20 and 30°C in summer and 10 to 15°C in winter, with snow primarily confined to the South Island and mountainous regions of the North Island. ("New Zealand Climate," n.d.).

Despite moderate rainfall throughout the year and sometimes erratic changes in weather, the warm temperatures and general lack of snow allows for year round outdoor training for most of the parkour community in NZ. However, these weather patterns can heavily influence training decisions and perceptions of what kind of training, if any, is possible:

Every year in Auckland . . . people start training parkour in summer and

drop off in winter. It's because of the weather. Whereas . . . the guys over

on the Gold Coast who have hardly any rain, they get to train all year round.

(Maika, interview, October 2016).

Maika's comments—although neglecting the prevalence of Australian heat

waves—reflect a large section of the parkour community in NZ whose training

focus, impacted also by the other scapes, has a heavy focus on physical skill

progression. These practitioners are more likely to favour dry weather and indoor

training because "it's harder to practice in the wet. Especially doing power moves

. . . jumping and sprinting" (Max, interview, October 2016). Jacob explains that

"[he's] never known anyone that likes training in the wet or even going out in the

wet". Such that, "when it was wet and we were training in Christchurch I'd get a

message saying 'hey, can you come unlock Ventus [indoor training facility] for us

so we can train?' so pretty much every wet day we would be at Ventus (interview,

November 2016). In contrast, those with more philosophical approaches to

parkour or with less interest in 'power moves' tend to train in all weather

conditions:

The first class I went to . . . in Wellington, Ryan was teaching it and I was

the only one that turned up cause it was terrible weather . . . wet and dark

. . . crazy gale force southerly . . . yeah so definitely [some people have] the

mentality . . . [that] you go out [training] anyway (Leanne, interview,

November 2016).

NZ's landscape and subsequent climate is a clear example of how geographic flows

influence action sport communities, though the influence of the other scapes also

play key roles (e.g. the ethnoscape, different practitioners perceive training in adverse weather in different ways and can encourage or discourage behaviours in the places they visit).

As Appadurai (1990) alludes, "the suffix scape . . . allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes" (p. 297). The irregular NZ landscape, produced in part by thousands of years of seismic shifts, localised weather patterns, and by manmade architectural developments, is significant for the local training experiences of parkour practitioners. Thus, landscapes will form the basis for the rest of this chapter's discussion.

Parkour Landscapes in Aotearoa New Zealand

The previous section provided an overview of parkour in NZ, categorised into various scapes. The following section, still drawing from Appadurai (1990), explores specific global and local tensions felt within three distinct training landscapes, and influenced by various global and local flows: 1) urban spaces, the more widely known parkour training setting; 2) the rural and natural spaces of NZ; and 3) indoor and outdoor purpose built spaces.

Parkour: "The New Urban Phenomenon"

Where there are cities . . . there's parkour . . . All of the cities in New Zealand that I have been to, [there] is always somewhere to do parkour. There's always good spots and there's always spots that are average (Maika, interview, October 2016).

The relationship between parkour practitioners and the urban environment has been a significant feature in parkour research to date (see, for example, Ameel & Tani, 2012a, 2012b; Atkinson, 2009; Daskalaki & Mould, 2013; Kidder, 2012, 2013a, 2013b; Lamb, 2010, 2014a, 2014b; Merzel, 2012; Rawlinson & Guaralda, 2011). Parkour is practiced primarily by urban populations within city contexts (Ferro, 2015), so it is not surprising that the urban version of parkour is the one that has received the most public attention.

NZ is considered to be a largely urbanised country, but has a fairly low population density (Statistics NZ, n.d.), a contributing factor to the common architectural forms. Historically, urban housing in NZ has been characterised by "owner occupied, detached dwellings built on relatively large sites" (Dixon & Dupuis, 2003, p. 353). The single story, fully detached house located on its own section of land with a roof typically made of corrugated iron (Henderson, n.d.), is still common throughout NZ. Apart from this housing image, NZ lacks a unique architectural style (Gibson, 2017). NZ cities were established and settled at different times, in different ways, and for different reasons, and thus can look quite different from each other. NZ practitioners are aware of the architectural differences between their own and other NZ cities, as well as ones they see in international parkour media.

A few participants expressed their appreciation for familiarity, for preferring to train in locations that they know well, but many practitioners discussed experiences of boredom with their local training spots and desire for something fresh. Practitioners who can afford to travel visit other NZ cities to explore different architecture and train with different communities who, shaped by their local architecture, move in different ways. Few NZers have engaged in

international parkour travel to the same degree as, in particular, their European counterparts. However, they definitely dream and discuss their desires to visit and train in places like Greece for the Island of Santorini, or Singapore for the Bendok Maze (recently demolished), or the UK for the Cambridge rooftops, or a pilgrimage to Lisses in France where parkour started:

> There's always the argument of 'parkour is what you make of your environment', but there is a particular kind of architecture that is very interesting to traverse and you find that in a lot of European cities . . . lots of houses stacked together higgledy-piggledy and I kind of wish we had a little more of that in New Zealand (Wilfred, an ex-practitioner originally from Wanganui, interview, November 2016).

As other action sports scholars have shown, these pursued and imagined desires of travel and exploration are informed by the positive portrayals of these locations by the media and are then reinforced by other participants (Ponting, 2009; Thorpe, 2014). The key point is that the abundance of urban areas and high-rise buildings in the parkour mediascape is leading to romanticised versions of international cities, a sophisticated representation of the 'grass is greener on the other side' idiom. In other words, as Wilfred's comment demonstrates, other countries appear to have architecture more conducive to parkour than NZ does, and many NZ practitioners lament the distance they must travel to explore it. The desire to experience these overseas cities is only reinforced when local spots are demolished or transformed through construction projects. Figure 10, a picture posted online of a local Auckland spot undergoing construction and the subsequent dialogue that ensued is a good example of how NZ practitioners feel about their urban landscapes:

Figure 10. Construction on High Street, Auckland.

Person A: Rest in peace high street

Person C: No!!!

Person B: Change is good ☺

> **Person A:** Usually not for Parkour terms☹. The latest trend in urban development is to replace nice solid steel railing with shitty cheap and easy aluminium ones, which suck!
>
> **Person C:** Auckland lately has just been taking spots and making them flat
>
> **Person D:** I never got to train there ☹ (digital respondents)

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Yet, two visiting practitioners from Germany and Ireland respectively, expressed to me, their feelings of 'spot envy' (personal communication, May, 2018). In other words, they felt that NZ's cities were littered with training opportunities around every corner and they were jealous of the number and proximity of these suitable spots. The parkour ethnoscape perceives of NZ landscapes in different ways. This story is surprising, given the above account of NZ's lower level of urbanisation compared to other OECD nations and the local parkour community's general longing for the cities of, for example, Europe.

Indeed, a relevant conversation on Facebook that I came across explored international practitioners' observations of how different countries, regions, and cities differed in their urban and natural environments and how that influenced parkour training. However, local parkour practitioners, teams, and communities produce media that promote and convey architecture in specific ways. For example, video editing software enables parkour filmmakers to cut and edit any clips together, thus, training clips may not be in the same city or even the same country as others within the same video. Viewers may incorrectly assume that these locations are in close proximity to one another and easily accessible, creating an idealised view of overseas architecture. For instance, a cursory glance at some of the media produced by Storror (2017), the most famous parkour group worldwide, conceals the fact that much of their time is actually spent painstakingly scouting urban metropolises for rooftop training opportunities.

This is an important example of how the local contributes to the creation of a global imaginary that in turn impresses itself upon the local. Thus, these overseas parkour images contribute to an imagined global world where NZ

practitioners perceive of their own nation as lacking in suitable spots, particularly if they are passionate about a certain way of moving that is not possible in their local areas. But as one commenter in the above Facebook discussion explained, "If you walk into your city expecting anywhere else, you're going to have a bad time".

Rural and Natural Aotearoa New Zealand

NZ's rural past is a central part of its Pākēha cultural history and mythology (Bell, 1997). In NZ's case, rural refers to large open tracts of farmland. Sheep farming for instance, has been a crucial element in developing the NZ economy, and was the most significant agricultural industry for 130 years (Great Sights, n.d.). Farming is still significant to the NZ economy and culture, but the NZ moral tradition that once repudiated the city (Fairburn, 1975) has ceased to be, with only one in seven NZers now living in rural areas (Wilson, 2005).

There are fewer practitioners based in rural NZ, however, these practitioners have readily adopted parkour thanks to the "macro-level structural and cultural processes that produce the spaces and places of youth across geographical binaries" (Farrugia, 2014, p. 304). In other words, network technologies have connected rural youth across geographic divides. Hannah started her parkour journey on a farm in Stratford, a small town near New Plymouth at the foot of Mount Taranaki in the North Island. She recalls catching the end of a parkour clip on TV and having it evoke some of her local childhood farm experiences. "It's just what you did", 'running around paddocks, climbing trees, and learning how to jump fences' she says of her rough-and-tumble rural childhood'. "A gate jump is something every farmer knows. Dad taught me that

when I was little" (Bunny, 2011). Instantly captivated, she stayed up all night watching parkour videos on YouTube "and then went out for a run at like five in the morning, haha, just down the road to where the chickens are and jumped over the gate" (Hannah, interview, December 2016). Similarly, the Yamakasi also trained in the forest areas in Sarcelles (Angel, 2011) but parkour media has always been dominated by urban mythology.

Without access to the array of architectural options in the city, rural NZ practitioners have had to make do with the few obstacles in their immediate surrounds. This often includes cattle stops, hay bales, fences, sheep loading ramps, rails in the cowshed, and the natural obstacles discussed later—key aspects of the rural NZ landscape. Alternatively, in the case of one submitter for the Parkour NZ JAMZAC Style Competition, homemade obstacles in the back yard. Many of these rural practitioners do not last long training by themselves. They either stop training altogether, or move to the city, desiring the camaraderie of the larger communities that benefit from international parkour migration and/or have training locations that are more diverse.

The connection to NZ's rural roots are still evident among its city dwelling parkour exponents, but few of these practitioners activity seek out rural locations as part of their parkour experience. In 'The NZ-European Parkour Biftour' (McFarlane, 2016), a video documenting a European parkour trip by some NZ practitioners, the first scene opens on a cold, fog laden sheep farm. Two Auckland based practitioners stride into frame to the Shire music from The Lord of the Rings,

dressed in gumboots, Swanndris, stubbies, and beanies[14] (see Figure 11) before

clinking their beers at the idea of "going on an adventure" (McFarlane, 2016). This

demonstrates an intent to align themselves with a particular image that they

associate with being Kiwi, contrasting with the culture present in the European

nations they visited on their trip. This Kiwi-ness helps to set these practitioners,

and their media, apart from other parkour content online, representing an

intentionally local image, which also includes elements of parody.

Figure 11. Two Auckland based practitioners in 'The NZ-European Parkour Biftour',
(McFarlane, 2016). YouTube screenshots by the author.

In addition to NZ's international imagining as an agricultural arcadia, the

most prominent imagery espoused by the tourism industry is its bountiful

landscapes and natural beauty. In their critical theoretical account of NZ through

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[14] These items of clothing are stereotypical dress for rural New Zealanders.

Gumboots are rubber boots, Swanndri's are a specific brand of heavy bush shirt

that has become the colloquial term, stubbies are cut off or otherwise short work

shorts, and beanies are woollen hats.

the lens of tourism imagery and ideology, Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) conclude that the imagery used in NZ tourism represents a position that seeks to perpetuate consumer fantasies and is embedded in NZ's political and sociocultural '(con)text'. In other words, the text and imagery used by the NZ tourism industry, "spectacular glaciers, picturesque fiords, rugged mountains, vast plains, rolling hillsides, subtropical forest, volcanic plateau, miles of coastline with gorgeous sandy beaches - it's all here" (100% Pure New Zealand, n.d.), is an ideoscape that seeks to show NZ as 'clean and green'. The environmental reality of NZ being clean and green has been challenged (see NIWA, 2013), and thus it's easy for this to be seen as political. Especially when this image is tied directly to NZ's financescape, being potentially worth a billion dollars a year in tourism (Ministry For The Environment, 2001).

There is definitely a penchant within the local parkour community for urban training environments, informed by global flows of international parkour groups and their social/digital media; "you're not going to get a wall run in a forest because there's no walls (Wilfred, interview, November 2016). However, there are also many highly prized natural training locations in NZ. Unlike the typical and anticipated urban architecture full of right angles, natural terrains have more unpredictable shapes to navigate, providing an endless number of potential challenges. Jacob from Christchurch describes his favourite training location, Castle Hill, a field of distinctive limestone rock formations (see Figure 12),

> I have no idea how to describe it. It's completely different everywhere you go, you walk 5 metres and it's a different environment . . . There's giant cliff faces, there's small little rock formations, there's everything. It's all natural . . . It's absolutely insane (interview, November 2016).

Figure 12. NZ parkour practitioner jumping a gap at Castle Hill, inland from Christchurch in the South Island. Photo by David Tressler. Used with permission.

The regional and national parkour gatherings that dominate the NZ community calendar often purposely include urban and natural locations over the duration of the event. With ready access to the coast, practitioners use the countries beaches—where the sand provides for forgivable cushioning—to train acrobatic movements. NZ practitioners also prize other natural training locations in NZ for their rock formations, variably located around waterfalls, rivers, and

coastal hills, such as Wairere Falls, McLaren Falls, Karangahake Gorge, and Turakirae Head respectively.

Drawing from principles of outdoor ethics, parkour users of these natural spaces, including a number of parkour organisations, businesses, and communities around the world and in NZ, have adopted the concept of 'leave no trace' (Clegg & Butryn, 2012; Gadea & Jacobs, 2016; Henry, 2016; Higgins, 2009; Pavlotski, 2016). In adopting this concept, practitioners talk about trying to leave a location as good as, if not better, than how they found it; "no trace of their presence should be left upon conclusion of a training session" (Paige, 2017, p. 4). This, according to Paige (2017), is one of parkour's core tenants and is seen in various Leave No Trace initiatives and events where, as part of training jams, practitioners pick up rubbish (Keann, 2013). NZ, following behind the heels of larger and in some cases more established communities, also talks about such respect for the environment and Parkour NZ list it as one of their values (Parkour NZ, 2014).

> We used to go clean up things . . . a few of us went and bought some detergents and scrubbed a whole lot of our marks off the walls . . . so there's an awareness of trying to be, socially acceptable in a wider sense as much as possible (Sam, interview, December 2016).

However, I note that outside this value statement and the above excerpt, no such initiative or specific event occurred during my data collection. Although environmental sustainability is important to a number of parkour practitioners, the NZ community does not heavily employ the clean and green image nor the 'leave no trace' ethic. The passion for these natural locations seems to stem from the communities love of variable obstacles that cater to diverse skill sets and

training preferences, as described to me in various interviews, not necessarily a typical appreciation for the outdoors that other NZers have.

In one instance where environmentalists and parkour practitioners have clashed, Jayden—a young freerunner from Napier mentioned earlier in the chapter—who regularly trains flips at his local beach, was training at a beach he was visiting in the Coromandel:

A lady came up to me and she was [talking] about all this erosion and stuff and I was like "I don't think I'm going to do as much damage as the sea is going to do, but I understand your point. I love my beach, I love where I live . . . I respect your opinion and I'll leave" (interview, August 2017).

Clearly, there are competing logics about how NZ's coastal areas are supposed to be used and appreciated (see also, Chapter 5's discussion about Māori interpretations of parkour).

From the beginning of parkour's history, it was practiced in both natural and man-made locations (see Angel, 2011 as referenced earlier) but still within largely urbanised areas. In NZ, the lower population density, diverse geography, close proximity to forests, mountains, and coasts, and access via a high number of cars per capita, all contribute towards rural and natural parkour training being common training locations appreciated by NZ practitioners. In other words, economic, technological, cultural, and climate flows impact on suitable, common, and preferred training spaces in NZ.

Purpose Built Parks and Indoor Facilities

Parkour can take place wherever one can find suitable obstacles, and urbanisation has resulted in a plethora of potential parkour training spaces in every country around the world. An aspect of the development of parkour however, has included the production of discrete training locations for parkour (Gilchrist & Osborn, 2017b; Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011) i.e. parkour parks. The use of public and private urban spaces for parkour has been a source of contention, particularly as it relates to health and safety, around the world, as previously discussed. In the UK, their cultural risk ideoscape and parkour's sportisation has resulted in over 30 outdoor parkour parks being established (Gilchrist & Osborn, 2017a). Before parkour, and still in many cities, skateboarding has been a key issue in the governance of public space (Atencio, Beal, Wright, & McClain, 2018; Borden, 2001; Chiu, 2009; Howell, 2008). However, it has been argued that the development of skate parks in the United States has, among other reasons, been less about providing for perceived demand and more about containing young people, seen as a public nuisance, in designated sites (Howell, 2008).

Aware of these tumultuous and complex relationships, the NZ community, and Parkour NZ in particular, have been reticent to pursue purpose built parkour parks, despite the general acceptance of sportisation within the NZ community. Although there doesn't appear to be any precedent for it within parkour, the community's main concern has been the potential for local government to enforce bylaws to prevent parkour practice in the public spaces of the city once the park is

built[15]. Instead, many in the NZ community have focused on fostering good relationships with local government, business owners, and the public so that non-practitioners are aware of parkour's value, and indeed, its values. Alternatively, however, a few communities have established their own private training parks, usually in the backyard of a senior figure, or in one case, in a nearby forest (see Figure 13). Still, many NZ practitioners would support a well-designed purpose built parkour park and Parkour NZ has in fact worked with several stakeholders on different design projects but none have made it to construction.

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[15] The reverse situation has occurred in countries like the USA where parkour was banned in Margate, Florida and subsequent plans to build a parkour park were then enacted (Berg, 2011; Huriash, 2011).

Figure 13. Picture of Christchurch's Team Aura in their forest training spot. Photo by Matt Devries. Used with permission.

European nations like England and Denmark are known for having some of, if not, the highest quantity of purpose built parkour spaces in the world. The market for such items is of course much lower in NZ with its smaller population and economy, however, local playground companies, key stakeholders in the flows of overseas products to NZ, have added parkour products to their catalogues. Playground Centre, one of these NZ based playground manufacturers, imports a Finnish product called Lappset (Palmerston North City Council, 2012), designed collaboratively with the Finnish Parkour Academy (Lappset, n.d.). Playground Centre made contact with Parkour NZ to establish a collaborative relationship for marketing the product in NZ. Parkour NZ, feeling that Playground Centre's approach was primarily financial and not motivated by real interest in the parkour community, declined to work with them.

Playground Centre, without the support of Parkour NZ or the local community, continued marketing the product to local government and schools. One of these, Palmerston North City Council (PNCC), consulted with Parkour NZ on the project after favourable responses in a survey of 400 students from three local schools (Rankin, 2012). Parkour NZ, however, advised PNCC not to build a Lappset playground, instead, suggesting they work with local manufacturers and suppliers to develop a unique design that would reflect and support the local community. However, PNCC hoped to be the first council to install a 'parkour park'—Pasadena Intermediate being the first school to install the Lappset product (Maas, 2012)—and went ahead with the project. Unable to establish ties with the local parkour ethnoscape and financescape (see Chapter Six), Playground Centre looked further afield, flying Ali Kadhim, an Australian parkour athlete, to Palmerston North to perform at the opening of the new playground (Johnson, 2012). The local parkour community in Palmerston North have since criticised the park, saying that elements of the playground are slippery, and it doesn't provide an ideal environment for their training (Hyde, 2012).

The relationship between Lappset and the parkour community in Finland appears to be amiable, but the transplanting of this model onto NZ soil demonstrates that processes of glocalisation can come with unrealised politics. Glocalisation has enabled NZ companies to market international products to NZers via the technoscape/mediascape, but it has also resulted in the termination of local relationships. In turn, this roadblock catalysed the international travel of an overseas athlete to bring legitimacy to the opening of the playground. Thus, despite the opportunities afforded Playground Centre by technological, travel, and

financial flows, the support of the parkour community is still necessary for convincing the NZ public and local government of their legitimacy.

The development of parkour-specific sites is not limited to outdoor varieties though. In fact, a number of action sports "are now being offered for consumption in safe, predictable and controlled artificial settings" (Salome, 2010, p. 69). Thus, parkour's development mirrors that of other action sports undergoing 'indoorisation' (see van Bottenburg & Salome, 2010). The Manic Room was NZ's first dedicated indoor facility for parkour, located in Mount Maunganui, a popular beach town in the Bay of Plenty. Unfortunately, purported financial difficulties saw it close its doors in 2016. This potentially reflects the smaller parkour financescape in NZ. However, there has been a slow increase in the number of facilities offering parkour training opportunities in NZ since the Manic Room first opened. The owners of these enterprises, aware of the low population size in NZ and the markets they're trying to attract, operate hybrid facilities, catering to various combinations of activities, including parkour, freerunning, tricking, trampolining, gymnastics, breakdancing, circus, acrobatics, calisthenics, martial arts, dance, and fitness.

Flow Academy of Motion, NZ's biggest parkour enterprise operates two indoor facilities in Auckland. Flow's design choices clearly demonstrates its local parkour practitioner influence, illustrated by its use of hard materials such as plywood and steel to replicate outdoor architectural forms (see Figure 14).

Figure 14. Competition participants at JAMZAC 2018, hosted at Flow Academy of Motion, Albany. Photo by David Tressler. Used with permission.

NZ's ready access to international media is also apparent, with both of Flow's facilities (and the Manic Room before it) featuring a 'warped wall', a curved wall obstacle used in the Ninja Warrior TV franchise, most notably, American Ninja Warrior[16]. NZ does not have a local version of the show and the Australian version

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[16] American Ninja Warrior (ANW), a spinoff from the Japanese TV show 'Sasuke', is a reality TV show in the USA that pits contestants against an obstacle course in front of a live audience. The show has spawned a number of 'ninja' gyms and training programmes in the US, as well as the UK and Australia, who also have their own versions. More importantly however, ANW, has helped to increase the

did not air until 2017. One of Flow's coaches explained, "It looks cool and it is a draw card for some. But from a personal point of view I've never understood the reason to have that so prominent" (interview, December 2016). Indeed, this seems odd when, despite the seemingly sensible plan to diversify their offerings, Flow actually has a healthy membership focused on parkour alone:

> From the business point of view there's always that thing of putting all your eggs in one basket, in terms of what if parkour were just a trend that's going to go out in five years' time . . . but from what we've experienced with Flow, parkour is 80% of . . . the timetable (Flow coach, interview, December 2016)

As stated, New Zealand Ninja Warrior does not exist, but the popularity of the TV shows among the NZ population has encouraged these local parkour businesses to incorporate the iconic obstacle despite some ambivalence from the parkour community.

The glocalisation of international playground products has stalled in NZ without the support of the local community, but the American television mediascape is powerful enough to establish a foothold even without local offerings. NZ may be undergoing increased Asian-Pacific economic integration, but the access and pull of Americanisation (see Ritzer, 2004) via popular media is a significantly strong cultural force.

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popularity of parkour because of its similar movement patterns and the number of parkour exponents who participate and excel in the show.

Conclusion

NZ is undergoing economic, political, and cultural glocalisation during a time when the speed of these processes are "faster and thus more culturally challenging than they ever have been before" (Heyman & Campbell, 2009, p. 145). Despite its small population, and geographic isolation, NZ has and continues to involve itself in economic, political, cultural, technological, media, and human based global flows. The parkour community, a microcosm of the wider NZ community, is experiencing these processes in ways that are both consistent with the cultures of other action sports and in ways that are unique.

Throughout this chapter, I have used Appadurai's (1990) global scapes to discuss several salient topics that demonstrate the global and local influences that affect the NZ practitioner and community and help shape their experience and culture. Globalisation impresses on us the idea of the compression of the world (Robertson, 2012). The breadth, depth, and speed of flows of media and technology support this notion. However, NZ's geographic isolation still plays a key role, delaying the speed at which these flows influence certain local behaviours, providing opportunities to mirror others but also to take a step back and find an alternative route. Such that, borrowing from Martini Miller again, the parkour community in NZ is "frozen in time" (interview, June 2017). Thus, time and space continue to play a role in the glocalisation process of parkour and Appadurai's (1990) scapes sufficiently elucidate the realities and nuances of how local practitioners experience this.

NZ practitioners are influenced by global flows from international companies, parkour brands and teams, and a myriad of voices and images from all

over the world via social and digital media. However, the local community has a big part to play in how they explore and understand parkour, and how global and local forces invite specific forms of appropriation. At the local level, practitioners' regular training partners, their mentors or coaches, the geography, weather, and architecture, the public and local government responses, purpose built facilities, and parkour employment opportunities, etc. affect understandings of parkour. These sometimes vastly different parkour worlds collide and converge, creating eddies of discussion and debate, with individual practitioners ultimately choosing one path or another. 'Find your way' (Foucan, 2008) is indeed one of parkour's most apt sayings. However, even without the most obvious influences, such as those who do not engage with social media on one hand, and those without a local community who rely heavily on the global one on the other, parkour is still hugely personal and difficult to objectively separate from practitioners experiences of it. Ultimately, no one perceivable force wins out, no total global adoption by the local, nor a complete local based rejection of the global. Rather, the development of parkour in NZ reveals the reproduction and appropriation of norms, unique characteristics, plurality, and adaptation, and thus processes of glocalisation.

Chapter Five – Parkour Mobilities: Negotiations of Gendered and Racial (Im)Mobility in Aotearoa New Zealand

Leanne, almost 40, is one of NZ's earliest female parkour proponents. She is easily the most extensive traveller of NZ's female practitioners, having journeyed and trained in locations including the UK, Denmark, France, USA, and Thailand. Although originally from the UK, she credits parkour as a driver for much of her more recent globetrotting. I briefly recount Leanne's story as it introduces several key issues I discuss about the ways parkour mobilities are facilitated by processes of glocalisation. In particular, her experiences highlight how contemporary (and parkour specific) mobilities—the foundational approach of this chapter—influence individual and collective behaviours, and the ways they are gendered. Of key importance is how glocalisation impacts the experience of female practitioners, and how parkour mobilities contribute to, or detract from, the formation of an inclusive parkour community (see Wheaton, 2016).

Leanne began training in Wellington with the all-male members of Physical Graffiti, NZ's first and possibly most well watched parkour team[17]. Training with Physical Graffiti member Tere (amongst others) was motivating to Leanne because of his hard work and dedication. "His movement was so beautiful to watch . . . and his style of training really inspired me in my style of training" (interview, November 2016). Concurrently however "there were all these guys jumping these things that

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[17] Although their existence as a team was short lived, Physical Graffiti's four YouTube videos have collectively received over 4 million views.

I couldn't jump and it took me quite a long time to get into a flow of just going off on my own and finding something that I could do" (interview, November 2016). During that time, the only way she could "see other women train" was by watching videos online (interview, November 2016). At the time, she was not particularly bothered by this, reflecting, "[the guys were] awesome and they were really encouraging, and I never felt like I missed out by not having other women around" (interview, November 2016). However, travelling to other countries and events, particularly in Europe, she discovered that "it was really empowering training with other women" (interview, November 2016). Leanne had trained with other women in NZ, but the European women influenced her the most. As she explained:

> Doris and Maddie [pseudonyms], were both females that were doing really amazing movement beyond what I thought I was capable of . . . because I always looked at Tere and Ryan and I felt like I knew I couldn't do the big jumps that they did . . . it opened my eyes to what was possible and also to how women might move differently (interview, November 2016).

Without the immediate connection to these women and their movements, on returning to NZ Leanne lost her motivation. She realised during this transition period "how much the community matters to [her]" and that with a lot less "like-minded friends that [she] wanted to hang out with [she] . . . found it harder to motivate [herself]" (interview, November 2016). Parkour is no longer Leanne's principle form of physical mobility. As she explained, "There's something really empowering about . . . the female community . . . I definitely would be training if I was in London" (Leanne, interview, November 2016).

Rickly (2016) suggests that a politics of mobility is valuable for leading one towards "deeper and broader questions of social relations, cultural processes, [and] power structures" (p. 261). Leanne's story introduces a number of these complex but related conditions within the glocalisation of parkour in NZ that relate to the idea of mobilities. These conditions lead me to ask the following questions: In what ways are parkour practitioners (im)mobile? How might these mobility experiences be different for indigenous NZers? How do real, imagined, and online mobilities compare, contrast, and interrelate? How do global/local parkour communities affect training experiences? Moreover, in what ways is parkour gendered? I address these questions in different sections throughout this chapter.

I begin with an outline of the mobilities paradigm, delving into its history, critiques, conceptual value for understanding the movements of people, objects, ideas, and media, and its use within sociology of sport to date. Following this, I provide an overview of the imaginative, physical, and digital mobilities that occur within a glocalised parkour experience. I then use a mobilities approach to explore the ways in which different parkour practitioners experience the glocalisation of parkour. In this section, I use the accounts of two minority groups within the local parkour community, female practitioners and Māori practitioners, to understand how they experience imaginative, physical, and digital mobilities. Sheller (2008) argues that, "The concepts of mobility and immobility enter into our discussions as already deeply gendered discourses" and thus "the solution to contemporary problems of mobility will not be found without sustained attention to women and men's differential mobilities" (p. 257). Therefore, in the first part of the section, I discuss male parkour mobilities, and then in the second, building on Leanne's

story, I focus on the mobility experiences of four of my female participants, as well as one non-binary[18] participant.

As discussed in the introduction chapter, NZ is considered to be a multicultural nation with a bicultural history, owing to the connections (not just coexistence) between the indigenous Māori and the largely European Pākēha population, "even if such connections might be dominated by one or more cultures" (Hill, 2010, p. 315). It would therefore be remiss of me to discuss the glocalisation of parkour in NZ without talking about Māori experiences, mobilities, and identities. Therefore, in the third section, I highlight the experiences of one prominent NZ Māori practitioner to map how historical (im)mobilities may be contributing to his contemporary (im)mobilities. Although I focus on gendered and Māori experiences of parkour in this chapter, I recognise that there are other marginalised categories and intersections of mobility, including other ethnicities, age, skill level, and geographic location. Indeed, as Collins (1990) has stated, an intersectional approach is necessary for understanding how power relations are produced and changed by these various characteristics. If explorations of gender and ethnicity were at the heart of this thesis, an intersectional approach that accounted for the interactions between these various aspects of embodied power

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[18] I have chosen to include the voice of one non-binary participant within this section on women because that is primarily where they identified themselves within the parkour community. While recognising that I can't possibly speak to the complexities of gender and gender identity, including their voice identifies how people who don't fit male norms chose to fit themselves within the parkour culture and the New Zealand parkour community.

would be essential. However, gender and ethnicity are not the underpinning foci of this thesis. Rather, globalisation is the focus, and experiences relating to gender and ethnicity are themes that have emerged from my data through exploring mobility and immobility via global and local forces.

Therefore, my aim in this chapter is to map the (im)mobility experiences of these minority practitioners in order to better understand how the glocalisation of parkour is played out in NZ and how it may be experienced in different ways. In so doing, I attempt to answer the question: *is a mobilities approach by itself robust enough for asking critical questions regarding gender and ethnicity?* My concluding thoughts include a summary of the main points of the chapter and evaluation of the value and challenges of using mobilities as a lens to explore glocalisation processes.

The Mobilities Approach

Mobilities have become a hallmark of the contemporary moment (Cresswell & Uteng, 2008). Yet mobilities are not experienced or represented in a stable way, often coded positively as bringing freedom and representing progress, while on the other hand raising issues of vigilance and restricted movement (Cresswell & Uteng, 2008). Appadurai's (1990) global 'scapes' was a helpful concept for understanding the various flows present in developing a glocalised parkour experience in NZ. However, Appadurai's global 'scapes' "assumes that static units are the opposite of flows" (Heyman & Campbell, 2009). Heyman and Campbell (2009), therefore, suggest that alternative approaches that transcend such ways

of thinking will "advance[] the study of mobility" (p. 132). Heyman and Campbell's critique of Appadurai's 'scapes' is grounded in anthropology. However, I contend that their critiques are also relevant for my sociological analysis of parkour in NZ and that Appadurai's 'scapes' are not necessarily suited for understanding the ways in which the moving body, or mobilities, enable, disable, or otherwise relate to each other. Or, in other words, how (im)mobility promotes and/or creates opportunities for inclusion or exclusion within parkour. I, therefore, draw on the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007) in order to account for and understand these more specific and variable flows (or rather, mobilities), as well as the interactions between various mobilities (i.e. physical, imaginative, and digital). Through this approach I aim to demonstrate how these mobilities affect the glocalisation of parkour in NZ.

By mobility, scholars are referring not only to geographical movement, but also motility, or the potential for movement, "as it is lived and experienced—movement and motility plus meaning plus power" (Cresswell & Uteng, 2008, p. 2). There is no single conceptualisation of power within mobilities, but the idea of power is inherently linked to mobility. In this chapter, understanding "how mobility is embodied as well as practiced, perceived and imagined" (Jensen, 2011, p. 269) demonstrates how "mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power" (Skeggs, 2003, p. 49). This chapter demonstrates how power is exercised, witnessed, and experienced by a range of persons, across physical and digital locations, confirming that "mobility is a resource to which not everyone has equal relationship" (Skeggs, 2003, p. 49).

This term 'mobilities' then, is a reference to a broad project to establish a kind of social science that is 'movement-driven', where movement, potential movement, and inhibited movement, including voluntary or temporary immobilities, are all understood as essential to the establishment of economic, social, and political relations (Büscher & Urry, 2009). Of course, mobility as a concept is not new (Faist, 2013; Favell, 2001), even the existence or belief in a 'mobilities paradigm' within the social sciences is older than many realise. For instance, the study of social mobility, that is, the vertical movement of people into and out of specific social hierarchies (Faist, 2013) has had a long and rich sociological tradition (Sheller, 2014a). Nonetheless, the mobilising of historically fixed or static social structure analyses is part of the mobilisation of a 'mobility turn', "a different way of thinking through the character of economic, social, and political relationships" (Urry, 2009, p. 479).

In the 1980's, spatiality, or the 'spatial turn' as it is often referred to, was of particular importance in the social sciences (Urry, 2007). However, the importance of mobility and mobilities within the social sciences has been steadily increasing since this spatial turn, with mobility being reframed as a meaningful phenomenon per se (Licoppe, 2016). Indeed, as Sheller (2017) argues, while "the mobilities paradigm furthered the spatial turn in social science in many crucial ways" (p. 624), it also departed from this earlier tradition by being more transdisciplinary, and emphasising "cultural mobilities, meaning, representation, affect, and embodied social practices" (p. 633-634). McGuinness, Fincham, and Murray (2009, p. 171), citing Sheller and Urry (2006), claim that a mobilities centred paradigm offers us "the opportunity to consider the discrete nature of elements of mobilities" and thus can "lead us to previously under-theorised or

researched areas". This way of thinking claims to remedy the academic disregard of various kinds of movements, from the somatic movement of people and objects, to the more intangible movement of information and ideas (Büscher & Urry, 2009). A multitude of networks and systems of mobility around the world are visibly merging and intersecting in different ways, "shaping, changing and impacting on 'local' communities" (Allon et al., 2008, p. 73). Importantly, "contemporary mobility is simultaneously, a cause and a consequence of globalization" (Higham & Hinch, 2009, p. 35), a central theme of this thesis. Therefore, a mobilities approach offers a "cohesive way of viewing the highly globalised/mobilised world" we inhabit today" (Cresswell & Uteng, 2008, p. 1).

Observers and self-professed mobilities scholars alike have provided critical discussions on the mobilities paradigm, primarily in relation to the early works of Mimi Sheller and the late John Urry (Caletrío, 2016). Some scholars have been critical of methodological assumptions, such as that traditional methods (e.g. interviews) are not suitable (see Caletrío, 2016; Merriman, 2014) and methods within the mobility paradigm should also become mobile. Others have been critical of how mobilities itself is framed and described. McAllister (2011) for instance, is highly critical of mobilities as a paradigm, and instead, refers to it as a 'mobility discourse' to capture the "conscious attempt to create a new post-disciplinary subject field called 'mobilities' in the social sciences" (p. 4). This reflects the doubts other scholars have raised about whether 'paradigm' is an appropriate status (Caletrío, 2016). Although mobilities has been described as a theory, (see, for example, Holton & Finn, 2018; Sheller, 2014a, 2014b), it has perhaps been more readily adopted as a mode of enquiry "transcending disciplinary boundaries" (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006). The latter description

attests to the many fields of study that have implemented a mobilities approach, as I refer to it, and the many theoretical underpinnings that scholars bring with them and infuse with their mobilities research. Key questions posed include, how significant is this 'mobilities turn'? Moreover, how far can a mobilities approach understand experiences of inequality? It is my intention in this chapter, therefore, to consider if *a mobilities approach can adequately account for parkour mobilities in NZ.* More specifically, when exploring the complex mobilities of non-majority participants, specifically women and Māori, does a mobilities approach ask questions in new ways that draw attention to details that the more traditional feminist approaches adopted within the study of sporting cultures have not yet uncovered?

Sporting Mobilities

Considering increasing interest in mobility and the uptake of mobilities studies within various areas of academia (see, for example, Sheller, 2014a; Sheller & Urry, 2016), it is somewhat ironic that mobilities researchers have often overlooked sport and physical activity as a site of enquiry (Newman & Falcous, 2012). McAllister (2011) draws our attention to this condition, by citing Urry's declaration "that the mobilities paradigm is part of a more embodied science" (p. 56). But mobilities research has typically focused on "*moving bodies* rather than *bodily movement* [emphasis in original]" (Newman & Falcous, 2012, p. 40). McAllister (2011) surmises, that perhaps one reason for this is that the mobilities paradigm is really the 'displacement paradigm' and that the displacement that occurs within leisure activities like field sports is bounded by strict physical borders. Action

sports then, activities that are arguably less bounded than traditional sport, involve numerous forms of human powered movement and displacement, and thus mobilities scholarship opportunities (see Thorpe, 2014).

Indeed, since the critiques of McAllister (2011) and Newman and Falcous (2012) there has been increased attention of mobilities scholarship on leisure, recreation, and action sports. For example, the vélomobility (bicycling) experiences of adults and children (McIlvenny, 2015), jogging in the English city of Plymouth (Cook, Shaw, & Simpson, 2016), and children's outdoor mobility in post-apartheid South Africa (Benwell, 2009). In traditional sport, mobilities has been used to understand the recruitment of transnational elite football players (Millward, 2013). In action sports there has been Platt's (2018) examination of the "interconnections between place, urbanisation, rhythm and mobility" (p. 10) within skateboarding in Southern California, the work by Thorpe (2012b, 2014, 2015b, 2017b, 2017c) on action sport mobilities, particularly snowboarding and parkour, and Rickly (2016) on lifestyle rock climbing in the USA. Both of the latter authors reveal how the mobility choices (particularly in regards to travel) of snowboarders, climbers, and other action sport participants is based upon weather patterns and seasons (Thorpe, 2012b), but also the social scene (Rickly, 2016), as they chase the ideal conditions for their sport. Mobility in parkour is more akin to skateboarding culture, where, as Platt (2018) identifies, it is dependent on "built forms; the streets, sidewalks, paths, and playgrounds" (p. 16) and less on seasonal patterns of the natural environment (e.g. swell patterns for surfers, wind conditions for kiteboarders, snowfall for snowboarders). Thus, environmental context of these activities has a significant influence on the

mobility of its participants, and therefore, the mobilities of participants in different action sports may be disparate.

Both Thorpe (2012b) and Rickly (2016) advocate for more usage of mobilities within action sport research. Thorpe (2014) however, muses that scholars might question the social significance of action sport trends regarding "place, space, identity and belonging" (p. 265) if they continue to focus primarily on privileged youth. My mobilities research on parkour will therefore extend the previous scholarship in two ways: First, I explore the experiences of practitioners with less privilege or those who otherwise experience marginalisation. "Mobility needs to be reconsidered as a multi-layered concept, rather than the mere accumulation of miles travelled" (Fay, 2008, p. 65), so secondly, my research will consider more than just the displacement of the action sport body, but what the actual physical participation can tell us. As a final note, I maintain the understanding of mobilities being synonymous with movement and not simply displacement. I therefore refer to all movements as 'mobilities' instead of travel.

As Higham and Hinch (2009) state, "viewing sport . . . through lenses of globalization and mobility provides rich veins of analysis and inquiry" (p. 54). It has been further argued that a mobilities approach can be a powerful investigative tool for exploring "new angles" and "hidden or unnoticed connections, patterns and dynamics" (Caletrío, 2016, p. 2). Therefore, to investigate these everyday glocal interactions and attend to the questions of relationship, culture, and structures of power, I turn the mobilities lens onto the local parkour community.

Parkour Mobilities in Aotearoa New Zealand

Büscher and Urry (2009) describe five interrelated forms of mobility, including: 1) people's *corporeal travel* for the purposes of "work, leisure, family life, pleasure, migration and escape" (p. 101), 2) the *physical movement* of inanimate objects by "producers, consumers and retailers [such as] the sending and receiving of presents and souvenirs" (p. 101), 3) *imaginative travel*, "effected through talk, but also the images of places and peoples appearing on and moving across multiple print and visual media" (p. 101), 4) *virtual travel*, that transcends social and geographic distance, such as online banking (p. 101), and 5) *communicative travel* via "messages, texts, letters, telegraph, telephone, fax and mobile" (p. 102) between people. As Thorpe (2014) notes in her exploration of the multiple mobilities in action sports, to date, most mobilities scholars have often focused on only one form of mobility. Yet, all of the mobilities listed above are catalysts and by-products that facilitate the ongoing flux of the parkour experience. Certainly, to be involved in parkour is to be mobile—physically (training, travelling), imaginatively (visualising, fantasising), and often digitally (web surfing, online communications). Thorpe (2014) reveals these three mobilities in her identification of how many action sport participants are primarily involved at the local level whilst feeling connected to an imagined global community of other participants, facilitated primarily by their online consumption of media, events, and celebrities. Indeed, although there is less of a parkour 'industry' driving these mobilities, these are all important mobilities that have facilitated the glocalisation of parkour, and help develop the glocal experience of parkour in NZ. Therefore, all of these mobilities are the focus of my analysis. To simplify things, as advanced by

various scholars before me, in my analysis I have combined some mobilities under one title; corporeal under physical, and communicative under virtual (see Jirón, 2010; Szerszynski & Urry, 2006), however, I prefer the term digital. In addition, when referring to physical mobilities of the sporting body, I use terms such as physical *skills*, *prowess, abilities,* etc. to be more specific about what mobilities I am referring. Below I discuss the imaginative, digital, and physical mobilities (respectively) within the context of the parkour community in NZ.

Imaginative Parkour Mobilities

The majority of NZ practitioners are connected to their local, national, and global parkour communities primarily via social media; Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram in particular. This is important to understand because although these media forms are part of other action sport cultures, social media is really the *only* significant medium within parkour culture. Via these various feeds, discussion groups, and stories, NZ practitioners engage with a constant stream of photographic and cinematic media produced primarily by other parkour practitioners from around the country and the globe. Indeed, most parkour practitioners are not simply consumers; rather they are 'prosumers' (see Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010). The term is an amalgam of consumer and producer, and represents an idea generally attributed to Alvin Toffler (1980), in that a consumer can also be a producer. Examples of prosumption are found in traditional sport (Giulianotti & Numerato, 2017), as well as other action sports (see Woermann, 2012), where participants are not simply passive consumers of videos and events online, but are also actively engaged in the creation and sharing of their own

media (Thorpe & Ahmad, 2015). For practitioners in NZ, this media enables and prompts *imaginative mobility* by the viewer. For instance, practitioners who see pictures or videos of training locations in other countries that look more attractive than local spots often "imagine preferring to train overseas" (Johnny, an irregular practitioner from Auckland, interview, December 2016). They imagine themselves being there, touching the walls, feeling the grip, completing a jump, or interacting with the community, and are thus "comprehending the atmosphere [and] 'feeling' . . . particular kinds of movement" (Büscher & Urry, 2009, p. 106).

There are also imaginative mobilities during each training session. Indeed, there is an important but complex relationship between mental imagery, or imagination, and parkour participation. Much parkour scholarship has discussed a phenomenon in parkour known as 'parkour vision' (Angel, 2011; Clegg & Butryn, 2012; Kidder, 2012; Lamb, 2011; Paige, 2017; Pavlotski, 2016) or 'parkour eyes' (see Ameel & Tani, 2012a), "a process of [] imaginative re-perception and appropriation of the environment . . . [creating] new physical, spatial and psychological connections to it" (Angel, 2011, p. 107). These imaginative mobilities inspire digital and physical mobilities, as in the case of Jack Boriboon of Nelson, whose ultimate goal is to qualify for the Red Bull Art of Motion, a competition often held on the Island of Santorini in Greece (Gooch, 2016) (see Figure 15). He can qualify in person at the onsite qualifiers in Greece (Gooch, 2016) or via an online video submission on YouTube.

Figure 15. Athletes and spectators at the Red Bull Art of Motion in the village of Oia on the Greek Island of Santorini, 2016. Photo by Leonardo Grillo. Used with permission.

Digital Parkour Mobilities

"Parkour wouldn't be parkour without video sharing and social media"

(digital respondent).

Digital mobilities have been essential to parkour's dissemination across the globe (Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2013; Thorpe, 2016b; Thorpe & Ahmad, 2015) and are an integral, though often taken for granted, part of many NZ practitioner's parkour experiences. They use a variety of digital technologies to produce, share, and consume parkour media, particularly from NZ and people they know, but also from around the world. This is similar to other action sports, as revealed by scholars investigating digital media and action sport cultures (Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2013; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014; Thorpe, 2017a; Woermann, 2012). Indeed, the flow of global digital communications, previously print or other analogue forms, is

contributing to the destabilising of fixed social connections within modern sport (Hutchins, 2011). Parkour bodies are, to draw from Licoppe (2016), 'connected bodies', mobile bodies that are able to digitally connect with things, people, and places. These connections produce social relations that are a complex mix of infrastructure, communication devices, physical travel, co-presence, and encounters mediated via technology (Molz, 2006). In parkour, these digital mobilities occur before, during, and after physical parkour experiences. As such, there is a seemingly endless stream of communication between parkour practitioners and communities around the world as they share content (information, resources, research, ideas, videos, photos, memes) and utilise digital technologies (forums, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, WhatsApp, and other parkour specific mobile apps). The parkour community continues to adapt to new technologies as they negotiate ways of connecting, sharing, and 'prosuming' media.

Taipale (2014) says that there has been recent sociological interest in the relationship between digital and corporeal mobilities; many scholars have emphasised the complex interrelations between these two mobilities (see Elliott & Urry, 2010; Kellerman, 2006, 2016; Larsen, Urry, & Axhausen, 2006; Urry, 2000, 2007). As Kellerman (2011) writes: "moving physically while being engaged in virtual mobility has become . . . routine, and . . . the . . . use of mobility technologies has become a basic and even banal activity" (p. 737). This is true for the parkour community in NZ where I regularly observed male practitioners using video cameras or smart phones to capture training footage. Maika, an experienced practitioner from Auckland, NZ's largest city, sees this as a strength of the global parkour community, enabling people from different countries to see what others

are doing: "I've found that that has created a strong community . . . especially here in NZ" (interview, October 2016). Two young male practitioners I interviewed also expressed appreciative and positive views about social media on their parkour experience: "A lot of YouTubers have given me a big influence" (Jayden, interview, August 2017); "I communicate with people that aren't in NZ . . . like Jason Paul and Pasha[19] . . . I like feedback from really big well known people" (Jackson, interview, November 2016). These comments highlight the penetration of technology and the importance of digital mobility in facilitating parkour's glocalisation and shows how it can develop feelings of proximity and community amongst NZ's male parkour practitioners.

The proliferation of digital devices and increased access to the internet means that in action sports, conversations and influences of an international and/or global flavour are never far away. Thus, the mobility afforded by the internet connects parkour practitioners in NZ, with each other, and the rest of the world. Although imaginative mobilities and digital mobilities may be important for a practitioner to discover and decide to take up parkour, *physical mobilities* are arguably the most significant forms of mobility in parkour. Without the physical moving body in particular, there would be nothing to film, no online community to interact with, and nothing to imagine doing.

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[19]Red Bull sponsored athletes and members of Team Farang, a popular freerunning group based in Thailand.

Physical Parkour Mobilities

Physical mobilities includes the corporeal travel of people, the physical movement of objects, and human bodily movements. The physical mobility in parkour begins with the physical displacement of practitioners from place to place, as they make their way to their local training spots by various physical and mechanical modes of transport. These mobilities are essential for bringing practitioners together around their preferred training locations, and thus the formation of local parkour communities. In contrast, if there is a lack of local community within a town or region, it may drive NZ practitioners to mobilise themselves further afield. 'Teddy Leftside', a NZ practitioner who has lived in several cities around the country since taking up parkour, attributes his corporeal travel to a desire to live in cities, even countries, which have larger and more active parkour communities:

> [Training is] what I'm most interested in doing . . . [I'm] literally considering moving cities because there's going to be no one to train with . . . I know there are plenty of people internationally and in wider New Zealand that are [training], so I'll go find somewhere else (interview, November 2016).

This has led Teddy to move from city to city around NZ and migrate (albeit short lived, overseas). This demonstrates the significance of the mobility options afforded to practitioners in NZ, due to the nation's economic and political context, and the power of the NZ passport (see "New Zealand passport ranked the 8th 'most powerful' in the world," 2018). Additionally, it demonstrates that the size of the community and the frequency of training within those communities influences the physical mobility of its current or potential members. In other words, drawing

from Leanne's story, the participation and involvement of local parkour community's impacts on the travel and migration of its community members.

In parkour's globalised but early history, the only things that moved were bodies and digital media, however, "materials too are on the move" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 207). Thorpe (2014) identifies that the 'object mobilities' of transnational action sport participants include equipment such as "board bags carrying surfboards and wetsuits, or snowboards and boots, or bike boxes and so on" (p. 110). However, unlike surfing, snowboarding, BMX, or mountain biking, parkour requires little equipment. Nevertheless, the increase in parkour's commercialisation means that there is now a growing number of available parkour apparel, shoes, and other merchandise traveling around the world via local, national, and international shipping circuits. The digital, financial, and transport mobilities that permit the purchasing and acquiring of parkour goods enable NZ practitioners to support and/or feel connected to specific parkour teams and brands from around the world. In cities that are always populated by non-parkour practitioners, that is, *all* cities, this allegiance to commercial parkour entities facilitates recognition between practitioners in the community who may not know each other, but can identify each other's general involvement in the community and even specific training interests by their apparel, as these two stories convey:

I saw someone jumping around and I thought . . . if he is doing parkour then he might know what this [shirt] is, so I went down the street and did a couple of jumps with my UrbanFreeFlow shirt just to see if he'd notice . . . we had a good chat after that, that was great (Anonymous, interview, July 2017).

I was walking down the road in my Feiyues [shoes] and harems [pants] and

made eye contact with the random dude in full WFPF branded clothing

with the KO's [type of shoe]. As our eyes met, we shared a deep and

profound moment of mutual understanding that we both enjoyed jumping

on and off things . . . (Digital respondent).

It is significantly more obvious in the sea, snow, sky, park or bike track, whether

somebody is an action sport participant. If not simply for their presence there,

their equipment makes it evident (see Figure 4.1 of "snowboarders marked by

their luggage as they wait at an airport", in Thorpe, 2014, p. 111). Thus, although

parkour lacks the easily recognisable equipment of other action sports and even

though there are different parkour fashions, the mobility of merchandise can

facilitate recognition between practitioners who were previously strangers to

each other.

Although action sport scholars have focused on the first of those two

physical mobilities (see Thorpe, 2012b), few have examined the actual sporting

mobilities of practitioners. Sharpe (2013) identifies parkour as an activity that

"dramatically insists on the body's status as a moving, sensing body" (p. 167). In

parkour, walking, running, jumping, climbing, swinging, vaulting, rolling, sliding,

crawling, and other mobilities move the parkour body, with purpose, from one

spot to another. Thus, when investigating physical mobilities in parkour, we must

necessarily include the embodied practice of parkour itself. Of course, the

trajectory of parkour's development and global spread, the fact that these physical

mobilities are even occurring in NZ, is subject to and parallels the growth of the

internet and social media technologies. However, in turn, if these physical

mobilities had not first begun in France, there would be no practice to participate in, no parkour media being mobilised through cyberspace to inspire or entice imaginative and physical mobilities, and no parkour merchandise moving around the world for practitioners to use for recognition of each other. Thus, the imaginative, digital, and physical mobility of objects, people, ideas, and media afforded through digital technologies is often contingent on the actual physical practice of parkour, and vice versa. As Büscher and Urry (2009) have explained, the various types of mobility form and re-form the contours of social life and are symbiotic; they rely on, relate to, or feed into and off each other.

Undoubtedly, these different but intersecting mobilities are important for many parkour practitioners' local and global experiences of parkour. However, it begs the question, are these experiences of mobility uniform? Do some practitioners experience more or less (im)mobility? Therefore, the intertwined relationship between parkour experiences and imaginative, digital, and physical (im)mobilities is of particular interest to me. I unpack these questions in the next section, within the context of gender and ethnicity.

The Mobilities of Minority Parkour Participants in Aotearoa New Zealand

Fay (2008) has said that to understand contemporary mobility, we must not only consider geographical mobility, but also the cultural, political, social, and theoretical mobility contexts within which that mobility takes place. It is important to understand then that parkour practitioners regularly cite parkour as being an inclusive activity that is open to everyone (Wheaton, 2013c). Indeed, many

scholars have also reported that parkour encourages behaviour and attitudes that are accepting, non-competitive, and supportive (De Martini Ugolotti, 2017; Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011; O'Grady, 2012; Wallace, 2013). This has made parkour appealing to many people, especially young people who have tended not to engage with or feel supported by traditional sports (Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011). However, "we should not forget that some individuals move through the world more easily, safely, and often with more agency than others" (Fay, 2008, p. 70). Cresswell and Uteng (2008) state that all aspects of mobility "movement, meaning, practice, and potential" (p. 2) have gendered differences. Indeed, it is long established that men and women for example, have had different access to, and patterns of, movement (Sheller, 2008). But understanding the various ways that gender and mobilities intersect is complex, as both concepts are imbued with "meaning, power and contested understandings" (Cresswell & Uteng, 2008, p. 1). For instance, Cresswell and Uteng (2008) explain that interpretations of gender are "historically, geographically, culturally and politically different, enabling a certain slippage between the different realms in terms of how genders are 'read'" (p. 1).

Despite the claims of parkour's blanket inclusiveness, and reflecting many other male-dominated informal sporting cultures (see Kusz, 2004; Thorpe, 2010; Wheaton, 2000), scholars have found parkour to offer a "predominantly masculine space where male gender norms of muscular physicality, independence and leadership [are] both challenged and enforced" (Pavlotski, 2016, p. 14; see also, Kidder, 2013). However, concerns regarding ethnicity and gender, their relationship to inclusion and exclusion, and how they "play out as a lived reality in

parkour" (Angel, 2011, p. 134) has received limited academic attention (see Kidder, 2013a; Stagi, 2015; Wheaton, 2016; Wheaton & O'Loughlin, 2017).

Sport scholars have not given much focus to mobilities and their relationship to gender. Yet, a mobilities approach, encourages us to ask questions about gender and movement, attending to 'everyday routines' that intersect with "economic, cultural, racialized or age-related" (Murray, Sawchuk, & Jirón, 2016, p. 544) dimensions. Wheaton (2016) reflects on the importance of mapping within parkour specifically, the "differences in gender and its intersectionality with ethnicity and religion . . . to expose the complex and contradictory articulations of identity in these informal but increasingly globally widespread spaces and settings" (p. 130). These intersections are important because they enable us to observe the constantly shifting scales of action that, due to technology use, can be simultaneously global and local (Murray et al., 2016). It is therefore important to investigate the different mobility experiences of different gendered practitioners, and investigate how a mobilities approach helps to illustrate both the complex ways that gender in parkour is 'read', and how minority participants experience glocalisation. In the sections to follow on women's and Māori mobilities I attempt to address questions left unanswered by Wheaton (2016) (in her study of female practitioners in the UK): "What are the barriers and challenges they face? How do they negotiate space and identity?" (p. 129) and "Does parkour offer . . . disruptive potential where gender [and racial] norms can be challenged, reworked and reshaped; and if so for [whom]? I begin with a discussion on male mobilities in parkour before transitioning into female mobilities, and finally Māori mobilities.

Parkour Mobilities and Masculinities

There has been a long history of research exploring sport and masculinity (Adams, Anderson, & McCormack, 2010; Anderson, 2002, 2015; Carrington, 1998; Dunning, 1986; Hickey, 2008; Messner, 1990b; Monaghan & Atkinson, 2016), including the NZ context (Crocket, 2012; Hokowhitu, 2004; Joseph & Falcous, 2017; Pringle, 2004; Pringle & Markula, 2005; Tagg, 2008). Much of this research, following Connell (1995), problematised sporting masculinities or 'hegemonic masculinities'. Connell (1995) "stated that contemporary forms of hegemonic masculinity link exalted notions of manliness with toughness and competitiveness" (as cited by Pringle & Markula, 2005, p. 474). In their revision of the concept, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) have suggested, "practices cannot be read as simply expressing a unitary masculinity" (p. 852). There is now an acknowledged diversity of masculinities, such as 'alternative' (Beal, 1996), 'ambivalent' (Wheaton, 2000), and 'inclusive' (Anderson, 2009) masculinities. Crocket (2012) suggests that these studies are each identifying 'moderated' masculinities, as opposed to 'hyper-masculinities', in that they have less problematic power effects. Further studies have also recognised, concurring with Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), that different members of the same sport culture can exhibit contrasting masculinities (see, for example, Pringle & Markula, 2005; Thorpe, 2010; Wheaton, 2000). In parkour for instance, Kidder's (2013a) analysis of male parkour practitioners in Chicago presented them as symbolically asserting their power and muscularity over the city, whereas, my analysis below demonstrates a more diverse representation. A mobilities approach helps us to

understand the motivations behind male practitioners' 'moderated masculinities' as they explore the glocalisation of parkour in NZ.

In the practice of parkour, the physical landscape provides the fundamental (im)mobility opportunities for the practitioner. In parkour training without acrobatics, physical mobilities, or movement skills, are ascribed value based on their practicality. As a result, men embrace physical skills typically associated with women, such as agility and balance (Wheaton, 2013c). However, the importance of the physical landscape also means that parkour is "often measured by the distance or height of something" (Hannah, interview, December 2016). This 'measuring' immediately creates the opportunity for the exaltation of physical prowess, and using it as a measure of social standing. Commenting on the masculinities of such displays of physical prowess, Teddy Leftside notes that at some parkour gatherings, "the first day and a half is like a dick measuring contest . . . to see who can do the gnarliest shit" (interview, November 2016). Because of the significant masculinisation of parkour, many of the core movements of parkour are themselves gendered (see, for example, Tran, 2008). For instance, Tim, a member of the Parkour NZ board, talking with Hannah (his wife), states that at past parkour classes, cat-passes/kongs (a vault for passing over a waist-height wall) were one of the first movements taught, and that was problematic for her:

> Hannah you've described how that is probably harder with a female who has a lower centre of gravity to get their legs through, whereas a guy whose weight is all up in their shoulders basically just leans forward, puts hands down and he's over (Tim, interview, December 2016).

This example demonstrates the ignorance of many male practitioners on what physical skills and progressions are initially appropriate for teaching women. Ignorance of how men's mobilities affect women's mobilities was a common theme in my data. As Hannah explained, "they [male practitioners] don't even realise the effect it'll [male mobilities] have on the girl" (interview, December 2016).

Kidder (2013a) also found that men's mobilities had "unintentional and unfortunate exclusionary results" (p. 6), however, he interprets these mobilities as providing male practitioners with opportunities to take risks and therefore prove their manhood. In fact, action sports research on masculinity has considered and associated gender with displays of physical prowess and approaches to risk taking (Atencio et al., 2009; Laurendeau, 2008; Wheaton, 2013a), including parkour as discussed in Chapter Two. Some forms of international parkour media celebrate particular forms of risk taking associated with a youthful masculinity. Storror's (2017) 'roof cult(ure)' brand is one global example that aestheticises training on high rise buildings. Locally, parkour practitioners draw on such international examples to inform their own media production and explore their own masculinity. The actions of Christchurch group Aura, emulate Storror to a certain degree—particularly the attempt to aestheticise a grungy urban look to their media production. Jacob, an Aura member, explained that the rational for trespassing and going into the Christchurch red zone was not for "pissing around . . . but if we're filming a video and we want it to look urban . . . we'll do the shot and we'll get out . . . it's more for show, for film" (interview, November 2016). Further, Jacob acknowledged that such 'masculine displays', were comprehended positively and negatively by different people, including practitioners and the

public, but explained that despite the contention around the kind of media that they and Storror produce, "realistically, broken buildings and skyscrapers just look good on camera" (interview, November 2016).

Irrespective of media production however, my interviews and observations of men and women practitioners in NZ showed a relatively homogenous attitude towards risk and, depending on experience and physical size, practitioners could perform many of the same kinds of physical mobilities. However, these physical mobilities are a central component to establishing the social hierarchies present within the community. As Teddy Leftside explains, "when determining people I like training with, attitude is the first important thing, and secondly, physical capabilities" (interview, November 2016). Despite Teddy Leftside's virile account earlier of competitive 'dick measuring', other practitioners contested this view: "I went over to Australia and it's just kind of a competition of who's better than who and I don't think that's how New Zealand operates" (Jacob, interview, November 2016). Indeed, like De Martini Ugolotti (2015) in Turin, Italy, I did not witness overt macho displays of skill at local parkour community events. Nor did I see the same kinds of masculine displays identified by Kidder (2013a) in his Chicago cohort, such as 'shirtless o'clock', or Wheaton's (2016) description of male practitioners purposefully displaying their 'chests and pecs'. This is an important observation because it demonstrates that the glocalisation of parkour in the NZ context has resulted in different expressions of masculinity than in other nations and communities overseas, suggesting no homogenous global representation of masculinity in parkour. This also demonstrates why Boundary Object Theory (Star & Griesemer, 1989) is valuable here, because it does not reject different male

parkour practitioners/groups who display different masculine characteristics based on the social construction of parkour in their area.

Though not exclusively so, many of my male participants described to me their dislike of traditional organised sport, particularly team sports. For example, Barnz said, "I was forced to play [sport]. I hated them all . . . I didn't really like that competitive or the team environment" (interview, October 2016). They did however enjoy being physically mobile, "I'd only really clicked in my last year of high school that I even had a body . . . I can, take part in this kind of physical realm. . . [but I had] no interest or anything in any sort of rugby that all my friends were playing" (Terry, practitioner from Invercargill, interview, November 2016). Thus, in their adoption of parkour they were attempting to distance themselves from the performative masculinities of NZ sport associated with other forms of physical mobility (see Pringle, 2004), and of a sporting identity diverging from dominant NZ narratives (see Falcous, 2007). A parkour coach in Dunedin sees this shift reflected in the participants he coaches, "We're slowly getting the boys that are going 'I'm not going to play rugby anymore, I'm just going to do parkour'" (interview, July 2017).

As discussed above, physical mobilities link tightly with digital mobilities. The quotes from male practitioners like Maika, Jayden, and Jackson suggest that the connections made available to the parkour community via digital technologies create a tight-knit global community. However, the notion of the world in general being a global village conjures up some potentially misleading images of stability and comfort (Fay, 2008) that are not universally experienced. This is equally true of the parkour world. Thus, considering how these male parkour practitioners

regard digital mobilities as a positive force in developing a cohesive community (both real and imagined), and the understanding that parkour's physical mobilities (as in movements) are gendered, it is important to understand how women practitioners navigate their physical, imaginative, and digital parkour experiences.

Women's Parkour Mobilities

Since the mid 1980's, the sociology of sport literature has observed across different sporting and national contexts, that "sport is a gendered cultural form that has been dominated by men and masculinity" (Theberge, 1985, p. 193). Similarly, "feminists have long asserted that mobility, as a social value and material practice, has been more available to men than to women" (Clarsen, 2013, p. 96), including sport. Research into the multiple and diverse ways women negotiate space within male dominated action sport cultures has been growing steadily over the past 20 years (Olive & Thorpe, 2011; Pavlidis & Connor, 2016; Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2014; Pavlidis & Olive, 2014; Thorpe, 2008; Thorpe & Olive, 2016; Wheaton, 2002, 2016; Wheaton & Beal, 2003). During the advent of many action sports (such as skateboarding, snowboarding, surfing, and climbing), women, though fewer in number, were often participating alongside men, and thus action sports don't have the same institutionalised and historic sexism that afflicts many traditional sports (Thorpe & Olive, 2016). Contemporary understandings of parkour talk about its conceptualisation by nine young men and reveal few records of women training in the very early days of its development (see Angel, 2011, 2016). Of course, this does not mean that these men's partners, mothers, sisters, or other women were not actively involved in parkour's development, only that

their stories have not been widely told[20]. Thus, I draw on the recommendation of Clegg and Butryn (2012) to conduct a "line of research directed at the experiences of female parkour participants" (p. 337).

Although parkour is dominated by men at the present time, the culture "perceives itself as having a participatory gender inclusive ideology" (Angel, 2011, p. 134). The last few years has seen an increase in the global number of women participants (Gravestock, 2016). The institutionalisation of parkour (see Puddle et al., 2018; Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017; Wheaton & O'Loughlin, 2017) has resulted in formalised lessons and commercial indoor spaces. Although this has taken parkour from public spaces into private spaces, it has also created an inverse situation among women, taking the "female bodies out of the private space into the public one" (Stagi, 2015, p. 303). Wheaton (2016) notes that women often feel safer in indoor spaces, away from the scrutiny of onlookers. The institutionalisation of parkour has also included the development of women only or women-centric parkour events and initiatives. International examples include See & Do (Angel, 2018), shecanTRACE (Parkour Generations, 2018), and women's only classes and gatherings around the world (Womens Parkour Movement, 2018). Some of the women's gatherings also invite men to participate, but the

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[20] In surfing for instance, contemporary narratives have often rendered women surfers and islander women as sexualised bodies for selling products. However, in-depth historical analyses reveal that Hawaiian women were important and active participants in the development of surfing in Hawaii, prevalent in both Hawaiian oral histories and observations by European voyagers (Walker, 2011).

organiser's emphasise it as being a women's event that is open to others, hence 'women-centric'.

Questions about what kinds of bodies belong in what spaces have been asked in both the mobilities and sociology of sport literatures (see, for example, Subramanian, 2008 on mobilities, Hargreaves, 2002, on sociology of sport, and van Ingen, 2003, on sport and space). In the context of parkour, Wheaton (2016), asks "who is materially, spatially and discursively included and excluded from the 'imagined community' of parkour"? (p. 114). However, from a mobilities paradigm perspective, the questions that come to the fore are about the juxtaposition between these gendered physical and digital mobility experiences. Scholars in the fields of mobilities, sociology of sport, or other scholars interested in parkour, have not yet fully addressed these questions.

Women Parkour Practitioners Stories of (Im)Mobility

In order to understand women parkour practitioner experiences of mobility in NZ and how glocalisation processes impact on this mobility, I introduce the experiences of four women (including Leanne) and a self-identified non-binary participant to "illustrate the further complexities of mobility" (Carter, 2011, p. 18). I tease out two broad mobility complexities that the parkourscape of NZ teaches us about glocalisation: First, the relationship between digital mobilities and physical mobility for women practitioners. Second, the social and physical mobility dynamics of parkour, that simultaneously create mobility opportunities and immobilities for women practitioners, and the relationship between these (im)mobilities and identity. Throughout, I include examples of the ways these

women negotiate and navigate the 'maleness' of parkour. In so doing, I demonstrate how investigating the mobility experiences of women parkour practitioners informs us about how minority practitioners experience parkour's glocalisation unevenly.

The men I studied were more likely to be digitally mobile than the women. In other words, more men filmed and uploaded videos of their training online. Leanne, for instance, who I introduced in the beginning of this chapter, remarked that she was often hesitant to post parkour content online, "I get quite anxious about posting stuff" (interview, November 2016, see also, Marwick, 2012; Trottier, 2012 on interpersonal surveillance on social media). Although some have argued that social media has the potential to transform the images and stories and thus the representation of women's sport (Bruce, 2016), Leanne felt that posting her videos on social media would open her up to potentially receive criticism. However, Leanne immediately couched her statements in language reinforcing parkour's community spirit by explaining, "The parkour community is really welcoming generally" (interview, November 2016). Despite this, she also spoke to me about an incident in Hawaii where she was involved in coaching a 10-week women's parkour course. One of the lessons was filmed and posted online, receiving comments such as, "oh these women can't move, look at their landings" (Leanne, interview, November 2016). The women's bodies and their parkour mobilities were immediately compared against the normative[21] athletic male

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[21] This normative standard is one that has developed over the last 14 years, since the advent of YouTube. In the early dissemination of parkour, there were no clear athletic norms.

standard, reinforcing the "trope of sport . . . that men are bigger, stronger faster and 'better' then women" (Pavlidis & Connor, 2016).

An oft touted parkour 'philosophy' is "to be and to last" (Henry, 2016; Herrmann, 2016; Parkour NZ, 2014), in other words, sensible development over time in order to continue participating. These women taking their time doing small jumps to improve their landings is supposed to be an acceptable and praised progression. But women's sport, and therefore women's sporting achievements, continues to be largely classified as "'less than' – less hard, strong, tough, fast . . . [representing the] . . . constant comparison to 'men's sport'" (Pavlidis & Connor, 2016, p. 1351). Indeed, Hei Sang, a Korean NZ practitioner, who trains irregularly, explained that she often gets discouraged by seeing male practitioners regularly performing big challenges in online videos, because any women doing the same is immediately compared to their male counterparts. "When a lady manages to do some really great parkour stuff, on the comments they say 'a man can do better'" (Hei Sang, interview, August 2017). As Pavlidis and Fullagar (2014) note, increases in women's sport participation has not "automatically generated an equitable environment" (p. 5), and "still privilege the masculine" (p. 6). The proliferation of athletic male bodies demonstrating highly skilled parkour mobilities online has created a space where this has become the expected norm for online viewers.

The prosumers of digital media in this context also tend to be men. Omnicore Agency (2018) estimate that 62% of YouTube users are male and have greater interest in watching sport related videos. There is no way of having certainty what gender the YouTube viewers and commenters in Leanne and Hei Sang's stories were, or if they were parkour practitioners for that matter.

However, "it is well known (if sometimes exaggerated) that there are issues in YouTube with abusive comments, exacerbated by anonymity" (Burgess & Green, 2009, p. 96) sometimes directed to a higher degree towards women prosumers (see, for example, Wotanis & McMillan, 2014). There are a higher number of participating men with both high physical mobility (setting a now expected physical standard for many viewers) and digital mobility (including a somewhat hostile YouTube culture that includes anonymous viewers who may also be non-practitioners). In a glocalised and technologically advanced world, women practitioners must contend with the cultural practices of parkour as well as social media that challenge their digital and physical mobilities (as well as the mobilities of less skilled and aging bodies). This account of glocalised parkour is a good example of what Newman and Falcous (2012) define as the 'paradox of mobility', "whereby freedom of movement – through the circulation of moving/sporting bodies simultaneously produces immobility" (p. 50). This dichotomy between able and less able bodies causes these particular women to have a fear of mistreatment, causing them to produce less digital media.

Maika, Jayden, and Jackson, the male practitioners I introduced earlier, feel inspired via their digital mobilities, but Leanne and Hei Sang's comments suggest that such connections can result in negative repercussions for some women. This is because "mobilities are highly dependent on technological innovations, and technology is itself highly gendered in its design, distribution and systematic affects" (Sheller, 2008, p. 261, citing Wajcman, 1991). Although some of these women accept these challenges, others challenge it. For instance, women parkour practitioners in NZ have created their own spaces online. The description of the Facebook group 'Parkour girls NZ', a private group only for women practitioners

created in August 2018 with 11 members, reads 'A group to encourage and empower girls in parkour, where we can share footage, ask questions and meet up and train!' These women, like other young women using Facebook, use their digital agency to turn turn Facebook into a place for "personal understanding of their friends as well as themselves in ways that are 'nonjudgemental', 'entertaining', and 'not stressful'" (Dean & Laidler, 2014, p. 122).

Other NZ women use their digital mobility to challenge behaviour within the international parkour community that they see as sexist. One woman practitioner commented "sexist" on a Facebook post and shared it to her network, asking other NZ practitioners if they thought her comment was valid (see Figure 16). The ensuing conversation demonstrated that although the post did not outrage NZ women practitioners, they felt that it reinforced the idea that all practitioners are men, and did not encourage women's participation.

Tricks Before Chicks

Do you have a girlfriend?

— No —

Good. Keep Training!

— Yes —

Does she do Parkour?

— No —

Does she want you to hang out with her instead of going training?

— Yes —

Dump her now. Ain't nobody got time for that!

— No —

Does she come out with you when you go out training and at least try stuff?

— No —

— Yes —

Is she good with cameras? (to film you doing parkour)

— No —

— Yes —

— Yes —

You can keep her!

TAKE FLIGHT

👍 Like   💬 Comment   ➤ Share

👍😄❤️ ████████████

Sexist
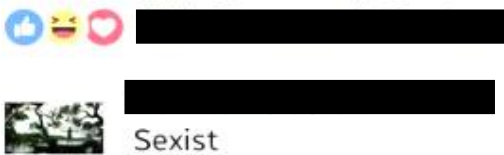
Figure 16. 'Tricks before chicks' image posted on Facebook by Take Flight, an American parkour brand with comment by a women participant from NZ. Screenshot by the author.

It has been argued that NZ women's involvement in sport is mediated by gender relations that have them servicing the interests of males (Bruce, 2013, 2015; Thompson, 1990). Although ostensibly tongue in cheek, the image above replicates this notion. It suggests that women are welcome within the parkour community and welcome as romantic partners, provided they are active participants or otherwise make themselves available to film their active boyfriends, so long as she's 'good'. One women commenter explained, "It's not

something I'll lose sleep over . . . [but] it still alienates female practitioners, something we should be trying to combat not make worse" (digital respondant). Indeed, Sport NZ has recently announced a new strategy for "championing equality for women and girls" (2018b) in NZ. This is, however, a stance that NZ women themselves have historically campaigned and protested for (see Thompson, 1988, on challenging the racism and patriarchy of NZ rugby). The digital mobilities of male practitioners and other internet users challenge both the physical and digital mobilities of their women counterparts. In turn, the women practitioners that were part of this research exhibit a range of behaviours, from removing themselves from online spaces in order to avoid reproach, creating private enclaves within which to connect with and support oneanother, and challenging the sexism they see within the community. Thus, women in NZ continue to encounter, contest, and negotiate the male-ness of the contemporary sport culture of parkour, as they have done historically with other sports (see Thompson, 2003, on women in sport in NZ), including within the new online spaces that women and parkour occupies.

Parkour is primarily an individual pursuit, but there is also an important "culture and ideology of community among [practitioners] through their shared interest in the discipline" (Angel, 2011, p. 136). As with other action sports, parkour epitomises personal attitudes and practices, and yet it thrives on well-formed communities (Clegg & Butryn, 2012). In the words of Clegg and Butryn (2012), "parkour's non-hierarchal and accessible group dynamic [is] highly appealing and unique in comparison with other traditional or lifestyle sports" (p. 335). But the informality of much of how parkour is practiced means that these shared interests have, through an organic process, also created segregation

(versus traditional organised sport where segregation is imposed by formal rules and structures). Emily, a practitioner who identifies as gender non-binary, explained that the way groups and cliques form is informal, primarily based around levels of physical skill. The male groups tend to be larger, or form first, thus causing non-male practitioners to seek each other out in order to find a place. Emily says, "Part of me wishes I could engage with them when I'm admiring them from the side lines, but I feel like my own skill level disqualifies me from having that" (interview, November 2016). A lack of formal hierarchies does not mean that all social groups in parkour are accessible. There are still informal hierarchies in the parkour community where male bodies dominate, even while attempts are made to promote and encourage women's participation (Wheaton, 2013c, 2016). These organic formations can be fleeting and fluid, built around training on specific obstacles, challenges, and physical and imaginative mobilities. I saw some men and women successfully negotiate training with groups of varying age, gender, skill level, and training style. However, anyone who is unfamiliar or uncomfortable with the particular physical movements being explored, like Emily, can feel that they have nothing to contribute, and this can result in the same people being regularly excluded from these groups.

A general theme from my data is that women in NZ feel self-conscious about their physical abilities when in the presence of men practitioners, especially when these men do not attempt to accommodate them. Amy, for instance, a Wellington based practitioner and coach, described being home in Nelson for a visit and attending a local jam, "it wasn't as inviting and inclusive [as her experiences in Wellington] . . . it was a lot teenagers and teenage boys specifically" (interview, August 2017). Their age may be a contributing factor, but their

behaviour had the biggest impact on Amy; they were not "deliberately inclusive" (interview, August 2017). Amy remains optimistic, stating that parkour itself "informs an ideal of inclusiveness" and "draws out a sense of community" (interview, August 2017). However, she acknowledges that while it does encourage diversity, it "doesn't necessarily come across in all parkour communities" (interview, August 2017). Although Emily and the women I interviewed could not recall having experiences of overt sexism, there is an assumption by some of the male members of the community that if women want to do parkour they will just do it. Becky Beal, in an interview in Thorpe and Olive (2016), explains similar encounters where skateboarders assume that "if females aren't skateboarding it is by choice" (p. 32). A prominent man within the local community shared this very same sentiment with me regarding women's participation in parkour. But, as wider literature on gender and action sports illustrates, individual choice is not that simple. The organic group formations of more physically mobile male practitioners, formed around their shared mobilities, has inadvertently prevented women practitioners (as well as other practitioners who fall outside this masculine norm) being or feeling a part of these groups.

Despite this recurring theme of inadequacy or imposter syndrome, there are women in the NZ community that I observed purposely participating with men, even if their level of physical mobility was not on par with their male counterparts. Instead of making spaces for themselves by grouping together with the other women, these women deliberately inserted themselves into the training spaces of males. A digital respondent from Germany who spent several years in NZ suggested that changing herself was easier than trying to change others:

If I think the furthest jump shows the most skill, I'll have a hard time just training with taller and more powerful guys. But if I value precision, control, creativity, flow or fun just as much or even higher, I've got a lot of things I can get confident in if I train towards them - no matter who I'm training with (December, 2018).

She found this task easier in NZ than in Germany because in NZ she was often the only woman. While some women criticised the atmosphere created by males, saying it felt more competitive and exclusive than it used to (due to men imitating competitive behaviour's exhibited on social media), this participant suggested that women have a part to play by examining and adapting their own physical and imaginative mobilities.

Nonetheless, "the male body is culturally performed as a more mobile body, while the female body becomes more restricted and spatially circumscribed" (Sheller, 2008, p. 259), made manifest in sport through throwing like a girl type arguments. These notions can make it harder for many women to feel comfortable inserting and asserting themselves into 'male' spaces (see, for instance, Wheaton, 2016, who discusses Muslim women's parkour participation). Contrary to this, however, some women, in some circumstances have experienced greater physical freedom than their male counterparts have. Men, whether in groups or by themselves, are often told by security personnel to stop training and move on. Leanne however, said that when training by herself, she could not recall any security asking her to leave. As Holton and Finn (2018), drawing on Cresswell (2010) and Adey (2006), suggest, "all mobilities must be understood in relation to one another and that there is no absolute immobility, just relative mobilities" (p.

429). Therefore, although women practitioners have their mobility challenged in ways that may discourage them and cause them to become less mobile they are not immobile. In fact, in some situations, their training presence is also unchallenged. I argue that this is because the way some women perform parkour movements is visibly less 'masculine', less aggressive and/or seemingly risky. Leanne's movement, for example, regularly reflected 'precision, control, creativity, flow or fun', the descriptive words that the digital respondent from Germany used in the quote above. Many men, however, performed their movements in ways that appeared to value speed, overcoming greater distances/height, and explosive power, reflecting common global parkour media trends. Thus, although men and women perform many of the same kinds of movements, the way these physical mobilities are performed and how their bodies are read, influences how security perceive their presence, and therefore whether their physical presence and mobility is accepted.

Final Word on Gendered (Im)Mobilities

Despite the ways women's experience challenges to their mobility in parkour, women practitioners attribute significant meaning to their physical mobilities. For example, Amy explains: "[parkour has] given me a massive boost in personal confidence about what I can do and what I can achieve in the world" (interview, August, 2017). Her heightened confidence was not simply psychological, but related to how she can, "literally, physically move in the world"; making her feel safer and more comfortable living 'in the world'. Hence, "the layers of meaning of mobility are not merely a question of movement but of the making of particular

identities" (Fay, 2008, p. 77). The physical, imaginative, and digital parkour mobilities that these women are exploring occur within a predominately-male space, but are equally important for establishing their identities and ways of being in the world.

The spread of parkour, particularly by means of digital mobilities, is not influencing all people in the same ways. In fact, my analysis has demonstrated that glocalisation does not occur evenly. The experiences of women participants have challenged the notion that parkour is constantly inclusive. Indeed, the privileging of certain mobilities helps to marginalise women's mobilities when they do not match with the dominant culture. Thus, glocalisation is not providing the same parkour opportunities for all ages, stages, and genders. The gendered digital, physical, and social dynamics of parkour create complex situations that, without intervention by majority practitioners, minority practitioners must negotiate successfully in order to experience parkour as an inclusive activity. More work by the parkour community is necessary to turn their activity into a truly inclusive reality.

Māori and Racial (Im)Mobilities

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it is important in an investigation of the development of parkour in NZ to begin a preliminary exploration of how Māori parkour practitioners experience mobility. However, I recognise that any account I make of Māori mobilities in parkour is problematic as I am Pākēha, furthermore this project was not informed by a Kaupapa Māori research methodology. Kaupapa Māori theory is underpinned by critical theory, providing

a space for the "validity and legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge and culture" (Smith, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012, p. 12). In other words, it is "research controlled by Māori, for Māori, and of direct benefit to Māori" (Barnes, 2013, p. 6). Nonetheless, while recognising that I do not want to, nor can I speak on behalf of Māori, I feel it is important to acknowledge Māori experiences of parkour and Māori mobilities. Due to the limitations of this short account, I strongly recommend it as an avenue for future research.

It is important in all research not to make assumptions about homogenous experience, and so I specifically want to privilege a Māori experience, given the significance of Māori to NZ. I note here that Māori are also not a homogenous people[22] (Borell & Kahi, 2017; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Smith, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012). Rather, Māori are a collective of numerous iwi (tribe), hapu (clan), and whanau (family) hailing from various parts of NZ with regional differences in language, traditions, and practices (Borell & Kahi, 2017). In order to provide an account of a Māori parkour experience, I privilege a story by Purere, a parkour practitioner of Ngāpuhi decent, and one of Northland's most prominent practitioners. His story highlights key mobility issues that he faces as a Māori parkour practitioner.

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[22] Indeed, historically, Māori were groups of extended family numbering into the hundreds (Brown, 2014). They called themselves the *tangata whenua*, 'the people of the land'. The word Māori actually means 'normal', and only came into use after increased immigration by European settlers (Hokowhitu, 2008a).

Herrmann (2016) claims that parkour is a culturally inclusive practice because its history is rooted in a multicultural group, it has become popular in many nations, and that its practical nature transcends language barriers. Indeed, parkour appeals to people from a wide range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Wheaton, 2016). Purere described to me that his group of parkour friends, Team 72, are equally culturally diverse, with practitioners identifying as Māori, Pacific Islander, Filipino, and Pākēha.

In one exchange Purere explained how he and his friends use the coastal terrain to experience and enhance their physical, imaginative, and communicative parkour mobilities: "we go out there, we jump rocks, we like to meditate, we like to take photos, do some bombs, [and] put up a video" (Purere, interview, July 2017). But Purere's father's view of what physical sporting and cultural mobilities have value within such a space, particularly for his son, is markedly different.

> My dad, even to this day, you know, regardless of how good I get he will always say 'mate, you don't go to the beach and jump the rocks aye, you go to the beach to catch food for your family. . . If it's not gathering food in the garden or hunting or diving out on the water, then it's not of use for your family, and that's the sole belief of how the Māori families work (interview, July 2017).

Māori tikanga, i.e. customary practices and behaviours, is "analogous to all Māori values and culture" (Harmsworth, 2005, p. 127), and puts significant emphasis on familial values, including such concepts as whanaungatanga (kinship), manaakitanga (hospitality), and as Purure explains, food provision, or ahuwhenua (see Harmsworth, 2005, for a list of key Māori values and definitions). Clearly,

Māori have distinct cultural values that inform perceptions of mobility. However, as Pavlotski (2016) notes, hecklers of parkour practitioners in Australia sometimes articulate their disdain for parkour in terms of their perception of it being idle or immature. Thus, this lack of perceived value for parkour, and its impact on practitioner mobility is not unique to Purere's dad, or to Māori. Nonetheless, there are some potentially important implications worth considering.

I relayed Purere's story to a Māori colleague, Dr Jordan Te Aramoana Waiti (Ngāti Pikiao, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Māhanga, Ngāti Haupoto). He explained that although not reflective of all Māori families, this attitude towards recreation activities conducted near or in the ocean is typical of many of his grandfather's, father's, and even his own generation. In his own case, his personal interest in surfing was where these attitudes were directed (personal communication, July 2018). In other words, some Māori perceive that providing food for your whanau rather than other physical pastimes should be the focus of personal interactions with the beach/ocean. However, ngā taonga tākaro (historical Māori games, sports, pastimes, etc.), such as ki-o-rahi, were historically played on the beach and other flat open spaces (Brown, 2010). Surfing, diving, cliff jumping and waka ama (canoeing) were also common (Borell & Kahi, 2017), in addition to the hunting and fishing for kai moana (sea food) that Purere's dad values.

For ancient Māori, ngā taonga tākaro were significant social pastimes (Brown, 2008) as they were regularly linked with spirituality, genealogy, conveying oral history, and passing on important cultural concepts (Hokowhitu, 2008a), as well as training for warfare (Borell & Kahi, 2017). During colonisation in the 19th century, however, European missionaries (in the first instance, and educators in

the second) began discouraging, and banning outright, many Māori pastimes, (Brown, 2008) and thus they disappeared (Hokowhitu, 2008a). Only recently have these activities begun to experience a resurgence (see Brown, 2008).

The opinions of Purere's family regarding traditional and historical understandings of Māori tikanga, but also contemporary understandings, affect his mobility:

> My mum . . . my sister . . . they all saw [parkour] as something that would never get anyone anywhere . . . Even my whanau in Dargaville . . . I go over there and we go to the high school, I start flipping off stuff or doing a cat pass and they're just like 'why did you do that for? That's not made for that!' Yeah, and then you're like 'this is freerunning' and they're like 'that's stupid . . . let's go kick the ball over the goal post' . . . 'why don't you [keep] to tradition?' you know 'why aren't you expressing that sort of energy in kapa haka or on the rugby field' (Purere, interview, July 2017).

Over time, Māori ideologies have come to afford NZ sporting pastimes like rugby (a British export) significant worth. Hokowhitu (2003) describes NZ rugby being a cultural collaboration between Māori and Pākēha, but one heavily impacted by colonial ideals. Sport, and rugby in particular for Māori men (Watson, 2007), is one of the areas that Māori have been 'allowed' to excel, "the only mainstream activity where Māori could achieve success and compete with Pākēha on an 'even playing field'" (Hokowhitu, 2003, p. 209; 2004) earn mana and gain their community's respect (Hokowhitu, 2004). Thus, many Māori, especially young Māori, see traditional sport as an opportunity to become a NZ celebrity and earn a good salary (Thomas & Dyall, 1999), a means of upward social mobility and status within their

communities. To Purere's family, parkour lacks value and wider cultural adherence from Māori and is thus perceived as unable to provide the opportunity for economic mobility, or perhaps more importantly, cultural significance and a lack of traditional values. Carrington (2010) contends that "European colonialism profoundly shaped not only western liberal democracies and industrial capitalism but also sport itself" (p. 17), and if we stop to think about racial sporting tropes, we are likely to discover that "white colonial desire and therefore anti-black racism" (p. 4) continues to be reproduced. Purere's experiences therefore demonstrate how these various understandings of sport are contested and complex social constructions, in some measure, inherited by European colonisation.

Subramanian (2008), citing Razack (2002) and Mohanram (1999), argues that "the gendered and racialized body is marked by a lessened ability to move and by its belonging to particular spaces" (p. 36). Indeed, European mobility as seen by colonisation was the key driver for Māori immobility that now, generations later, is manifested in opinions that represent at least a partial fracturing of Māori relationship with the land (see Kidman, 2012). Indeed, Brown (2014) contends that ngā taonga tākaro were the "great constant of 'traditional' Māori society" (p. 14). Thus, contemporary Māori relationships with the land and to sport are, like Brown (2014) says referencing contemporary Māori tangi (funerals), "tremendously influenced by Western ideals and is in fact now a cultural collaboration" (p. 14). Hokowhitu (2004) explains, in his critique of colonial racism on Māori masculinity, that historically racist notions have developed into contemporary portrayals. He argues that NZ sport and physical education has reinforced stereotypes of Māori bodies being innately physical but

lacking intelligence (Hokowhitu, 2003, 2004), and are thus repressive, not progressive. As Ryan (2007) says, a fruitful investigation would be to follow the line of thinking that sporting choices are influenced more by social and cultural factors than by physical or mental characteristics. In this instance, the colonial narrative that limited Māori mobilities many years ago established a new narrative that, over generations, for some Māori, has become the dominant narrative that now challenges new Māori mobilities—like Purere's whanau being unsupportive of him and his friend's parkour training.

The colonial history of NZ impacts on particular racialised perceptions (Fitzpatrick, 2013) and is valuable for understanding race, identity, and opportunities for Māori mobilities, an important feature of the glocalisation of parkour in NZ. This short account of Māori (im)mobilities has shown, from the perspective of one man's story, that the glocalisation of international sporting practices like parkour is uncovering challenges for some of NZ's Māori population, as they negotiate identity, belonging, and their own mobility, still deeply impacted by British colonisation.

Concluding Remarks

An understanding that much of the world is in motion, or is otherwise 'on the move' (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2009) has resulted in an increase in the interest of global and local mobilities; the things that move and don't move, including people, technology, machines, and ideas. These things and their (im)mobility, and how they impact on social, cultural, and political processes, has been a focus of the many new inquiries within the broad field of mobilities studies (see Sheller &

Urry, 2016). To date, however, there have been few inquiries into the mobilities of human bodies, particularly sporting bodies, and how investigating their movements (or lack thereof) can inform us about processes of inclusion, exclusion, identity, and glocalisation within contemporary sport cultures.

In a physical activity like parkour that places significant emphasis and worth on mobilities, it is important to understand the way in which those mobilities are experienced and how they influence the social mobility of the community. It is clear that the parkour community in NZ experiences imaginative, physical, and digital mobilities as they negotiate their lived parkour experiences. Investigating these mobilities has revealed the sometimes small but significant ways in which the mobility of people, technology, ideas, and media constitute a glocalised parkour experience in NZ. Although this case is of an action sport population, by understanding what and who moves or does not move (or moves less), we can begin to see the uneven patterns of inclusion and exclusion that occur during processes of glocalisation. This chapter, therefore, has focused attention on the different mobilities of men and women parkour practitioners. The bicultural history of NZ also compelled an exploration of Māori experiences of mobility in parkour. As such, this chapter identified ways in which one Māori parkour practitioner navigates historical and contemporary (im)mobilities that impact his experience of parkour in NZ. Māori, as with men and women, are not homogenous however. Thus, this research has focused on the experiences of parkour practitioners that were part of my research cohort only, and are not representative of all parkour practitioners.

Despite the evolutions that have provided increased opportunities for, and visibility of, women's parkour bodies, parkour is still largely performed by teenage and young adult male bodies (Kidder, 2012). Unfortunately, this dominant group are often unaware of the potentially exclusive practices present within the parkour community. As Rannikko, Harinen, Torvinen, and Liikanen (2016) succinctly explain in their case analysis of inclusion/exclusion in lifestyle sports:

> Even though lifestyle sports hold the potential for openness . . . The exclusive practices of lifestyle sports are not necessarily visible to the ones [who] are not excluded – as is usually the case in every social scene . . . In our analysis, for example, young women recognise gender based exclusion that was not seen by most male practitioners (Rannikko et al., 2016, p. 1105).

My interviews and observations of the parkour community in NZ corroborate this view. For instance, in some cases it was clear that the behaviours driven by mobilities demonstrates a 'paradox of mobility', whereby the proliferation of mobile men's bodies produces immobilities among women. However, Adey (2006) makes it clear that there is a 'contingent relatedness' between different mobilities. Therefore, women parkour practitioners are not immobile; they are mobile in different ways, ways that are largely not as culturally respected in some parkour communities and hold less cultural power.

When women experience challenges to their mobility they find ways to negotiate these challenges by making private digital spaces for themselves, and other times they make efforts to change themselves by inserting themselves into predominantly men's spaces. Finally, although the more powerful male physical

abilities I observed at trainings enabled men to overcome obstacles and access areas that some women could not, in some cases women's mobilities allowed them to continue accessing spaces that male practitioners are regularly kicked out of. This of course needs to be understood amidst the plethora of research that discusses the city streets as being gendered and unsafe spaces for women (see, for example, Gardner, 1995; Green & Singleton, 2006; Macmillan, Nierobisz, & Welsh, 2000; Scraton & Watson, 1998; Wesely & Gaarder, 2004).

Parkour has the potential to provide much in the way of physical, imaginative, and digital mobilities for all genders and ethnicities, but the lived reality of NZ practitioners' show that these mobilities are complex and gendered, highly influenced by contemporary and historic glocalisation processes. "In the context of everyday mobility, it is not only the impact of global ideologies but their interpretation within everyday social experience that is formative" (Murray, 2008, p. 51). More than that, however, the material conditions that enable or constrain mobilities are also central. The view that sport is a 'man's world' (Hargreaves, 2002; Messner, 2002; Thorpe & Olive, 2016; Trolan, 2013) continues to be reproduced, as does the notion that "Māori are successful only in areas of society that do not threaten their dominant representation as a physical people" (Hokowhitu, 2003), especially traditional sport. Both of these issues have filtered into the parkour community in NZ, showing that glocalisation has contributed to the (im)mobilities discussed in this chapter. While parkour may have an inclusive reality for some, it requires action by those within the culture in order to ensure that that is true for others:

The community has given to me a sense that there is a massive place for women . . . we need more women in parkour, we need more girls and women and feminine perspectives . . . The women and girls that are already in parkour are . . . trying to bring everybody in and I think that's a really good thing (Amy, interview, August 2017).

In fact, "it is important that all of us become involved in changing the way sport is perceived and valued" (Trolan, 2013, p. 225) so that women's bodies and non-Pākēha bodies *actually* belong, not just *theoretically* belong, a struggle present in many contemporary action sport cultures (see Thorpe & Olive, 2016).

The next chapter tackles the behaviours and attitudes of the parkour community in NZ towards more macro-scale phenomena, specifically, the national and global institutionalisation of parkour.

Chapter Six – The Grobalisation of Parkour: Aotearoa New Zealand, Gymnastics, and the Olympics

In the previous two chapters I explored how global and local flows produce the glocalised parkour experience, and how various (im)mobilities within those flows establish inclusionary and exclusionary realities within the NZ community. In this chapter, moving on from the respective meso and micro analyses, I critically engage with Ritzer's globalisation dialectics: the 'glocalisation' and 'grobalisation' of 'nothing' and 'something' to highlight the macro powers and flows of traditional international sporting organisations and tensions with local and global parkour community.

The chapter consists of four main parts. First, I discuss Ritzer's globalisation dialectics and the challenges reconciling Ritzer's (2007) globalisation scholarship with Robertson's (1995). Second, I describe the organisational establishment and development of Parkour NZ. This includes a discussion of local practitioners' attitudes towards professionalisation and commercialisation, an important element related to the local community's feelings towards globalisation. Third, the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) grobalistion of action sports, and significantly, the International Gymnastics Federation's (FIG) appropriation of parkour. I also examine the local community's involvement in the global struggle over parkour's authenticity and sovereignty, with their support of a new international parkour federation. Finally, I summarise the chapter and provide some concluding thoughts regarding parkour's value in illuminating the issues and processes of globalisation in the contemporary moment.

Robertson and Ritzer: Globalisation, Glocalisation, and Grobalisation

I have been explicit throughout this thesis in my use of the term glocalisation by Roland Robertson (1995) to describe how parkour experiences are developed through relationships and flux created by the global and local flows of people, information, ideas, money, and media, etc. In other words, glocalisation is the concurrent presence of globalising and localising forces, or the '*duality of glocality',* as Giulianotti and Robertson (2009, 2012) refer to it. But, and crucially so, Giulianotti and Robertson (2009) understand glocalisation to be a more accurate understanding of the globalisation process, as it includes the "possibility of both homogeneity and heterogeneity" (p. 45). Ritzer, another prominent globalisation theorist, argues that focusing on glocalisation, as I have done so far, has resulted in the growing hegemony of glocalisation as a concept and even its elevation as a theory or paradigm in its own right (Ritzer, 2007). This is because Ritzer's understanding of glocalisation is different to Robertson's. Ritzer (2007) agrees with Robertson, that there is always a mix between the opposing forces of globalisation. However, Ritzer (2003b) states that "it is increasingly difficult to find anything in the world untouched by globalization" (p. 207), and therefore 'glocal' is the true representation of the local. He therefore advances the idea of adding an additional neologism, the term 'grobalisation', as a parallel concept (Ritzer, 2003a, 2003b, 2007; Ritzer & Ryan, 2002; Ritzer & Ryan, 2003) to, in his intimation, provide a more balanced view of globalisation (Ritzer & Ryan, 2002). He argues that other scholars pit the forces of globalisation and localisation against each

other (see Ritzer, 2003b), whereas he is maintaining the idea that globalisation is an umbrella term that encompasses the key processes that are in conflict (i.e. 'grobal' vs 'glocal') and therefore cannot represent one side of the conflict (Ritzer, 2003b). Some of these scholars have contested his view, claiming that 'grobalisation' is both convoluted and redundant (Khondker, 2004), leading Giulianotti and Robertson (2012) to argue that the "redefinition of glocalization has the potential to confuse rather than assist wider understandings and debates with respect to these [homogenisation and heterogenisation] processes" (p. 439).

Global forces, an implicit part of the glocalisation (as understood by Robertson, 1995) process, play a significant part in shaping the parkour experience, as demonstrated in the thesis thus far. However, the forces I described did not always have a succinct or unified direction, strategy, or agent driving them. In other words the global forces discussed so far have not necessarily been pushing an agenda, or being pushed by certain global entities upon local practitioners. Rather, these forces have been part of the milieu that make up the global parkour imaginary; undoubtedly present, but not necessarily replete with specific targets or goals to be impressed upon NZ and its parkour community. Ritzer's conceptualisation of grobalisation, however, specifically represents the imperialistic ambitions and desires of nation states and organisations involved in furthering the globalisation project (Ritzer & Ryan, 2002), and thus their own agendas, by attempting to *grow* (hence gro-balisation) their influence, power, and profits (Ritzer, 2003a).

Ritzer's globalisation scholarship is arguably more focused on homogenisation and primarily as a consumption based phenomenon—a tenet

core to his theory of McDonalidisation (see Ritzer, 1983). Ritzer's McDonaldisation and globalisation scholarship are part of a "broader motif in critical approaches to the cultural homogenization thesis that emphasize 'coca-colonization', hyper-consumerism and a world of increasingly Westernized cultural uniformity" (Robinson, 2007, p. 140). This has led to some critics questioning the dominance of grobalisation within Ritzer's theory, compared to the other potential outcomes (see Hoogenboom, Bannink, & Trommel, 2010). But grobalisation is inexorably a dominant (or dominating) force, and therefore helpful in accounting for the power games that are being played by international sports federations.

According to Kellner (2005), Ritzer's models of globalisation "adds a wide range of important insights into globalization, whilst providing useful categories and distinctions to describe globalization itself" (Kellner, 2005). Ritzer's globalisation models also provide a theoretical shift that puts greater attention on the grobal pressures rather than local resistances (Beal & Smith, 2010), though both will be discussed. Therefore, in contrast to the previous chapters, herein, I use the terms glocalisation and grobalisation to represent Ritzer's globalisation continuum; glocalisation and its resulting heterogeneity at one end, and grobalisation and its resulting homogeneity at the other.

Ritzer's glocal-grobal continuum is also closely linked with his conceptualisations of 'nothing' and 'something'[23], further concepts key to this

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[23] In order to differentiate between 'nothing'/'something' in their common usage versus their usage as theoretical descriptors, they will be written in single quotations when referring to Ritzer's globalisation theory.

chapter. 'Nothing', refers to social forms that are fairly devoid of distinct content and are thus 'empty' (Ritzer & Ryan, 2002). In contrast, 'something' refers to forms that are fairly rich in unique content and are thus 'full' (Ritzer & Ryan, 2002). There are also five dimensions and subcontinua of the 'something'-'nothing' continuum that help us to identify a product or phenomenon's substance (Ritzer, 2007), as shown in Table 2.

Dimension	Something ⟵	⟶ Nothing
Complexity	Unique (One of a Kind)	Generic (Interchangeable)
Spatial	Local Geographic Ties	Lack of Local Ties
Temporal	Specific to the Times	Not Specific to the Times (Time-Free)
Human	Humanized	Dehumanized
Magical	Enchanted	Disenchanted

Table 2. "The Something-Nothing Continuum, its Five Dimensions and Subcontinua" (Ritzer, 2007, p. 42). Reprinted with permission from Globalization of Nothing 2 (p. 42), by G. Ritzer, 2007, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Copyright by SAGE Publishing.

Ritzer (2012) describes society as being increasingly characterised, particularly in regards to consumption, with 'nothing'. 'Nothing' is generic, and therefore, arguably more palatable for mass production and, typically, more successful dissemination around the world. Football (as in soccer) is perhaps a good sporting example of 'nothing'. What was once a loose selection of folk ball games in England, the standardisation of its rules enabled dissemination to the point where it is described as the 'global game' (see Vamplew, 2007). This standardisation process has gone beyond its English roots however, with football being governed globally by the powerful and controversial FIFA (see Tomlinson,

2014). As such, grobalisation is associated primarily with the spread of 'nothing' (Ritzer, 2003b).

'Something' on the other hand is unique and more likely to be indigenously controlled with rich local ties (Ritzer & Ryan, 2003). The Māori game of Ki-o-rahi is a good example of a sporting 'something'. There are facets of the game, such as field markings, that are generally the same between regions. However, teams negotiate via a process called 'tatu' to decide what the rules of play will be for that particular contest (Brown, 2010). Ki-o-rahi has been glocalised, after Māori soldiers taught French soldiers during World War Two and its introduction more recently to 31,000 schools in the USA (Brown, 2010). With no governing body, the tradition of tatu, and the expectation that participants will "layer the game with their own ideas and directions" (Brown, 2010, p. 13), ki-o-rahi is thus 'indigenously controlled'. Glocalisation, then, is associated primarily with the spread of 'something' (Ritzer, 2003b).

Although Ritzer appears to place greater emphasis on grobalization's homogenising forces, he acknowledges that the apparent "confrontation between glocalization (and something) and grobalization (and nothing) . . . is much more complex" (Ritzer, 2004, p. 95). Therefore, Ritzer (2007) further describes four main 'subtypes' of the 'Something–Nothing' continuum that he refers to as the 'nullities', that provide opportunity for further analysis: Non-phenomena of 'non-places', 'non-things', 'non-persons', and 'non-services'. Ritzer (2003b) provides examples of these subtypes in relation to their position on the Glocal-Grobal and 'Something-Nothing' continua (see Figure 17).

```
                            Glocal
                              :
    ①                         :                         ②
                              :
 Place:    Craft Barn         :   Nonplace:   Souvenir
 Thing:    Local Crafts       :   Nonthing:   Tourist Trinkets
 Person:   Craftsperson       :   Nonperson:  Souvenir Shop Clerk
 Service:  Demonstration      :   Nonservice: Help-Yourself
                              :
Something ---------------------⟨X⟩-------------------- Nothing
                              :
    ③                         :                         ④
 Place:    Museum             :   Nonplace:   Disney World
 Thing:    Touring Art Exhibit:   Nonthing:   Mouse-Ear Hat
 Person:   Knowledgeable      :   Nonperson:  Cast Member
           Guide              :   Nonservice: Queuing for
 Service:  Guided Tour of     :                Attractions
           Collection         :
                              :
                            Grobal
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Figure 17. "The relationship between glocal-grobal and something-nothing with exemplary (non-)places, (non-)things, (non-)persons, and (non-)services" (Ritzer, 2003b, p. 197).

Ritzer's choice of terms might suggest that 'something' is good and 'nothing' is bad, but he is not suggesting that 'something' is inherently positive or 'nothing' inherently negative. Indeed, his definition does not speak to the desirability or undesirability of social phenomenon (Ritzer, 2012). Rather, they are both neutral states that only make conceptual sense when paired and contrasted with the other, but also, don't necessarily align with how people feel about them (Ritzer, 2012). Nonetheless, Ritzer's conceptualisation of 'something' and 'nothing' appears to be underpinned by a binary understanding that commercial is inauthentic and participant driven or non-commercial is authentic. This dichotomy has been widely commented on in debates about the reproduction of

culture, and has been discussed in a range of leisure studies contexts (see, for example, Arthur, 2006; Driver, 2011; Hare, 2017; Salome, 2010; Wheaton & Beal, 2003). Practitioners in NZ have involved themselves in debates regarding authenticity and thus, a key point for analysis within the globalisation of parkour is the tensions between the forces of grobalisation and glocalisation, between 'something' and 'nothing', and how globalisation forces from within and from without (geographically and culturally) impact on the parkour experience. Indeed, in this chapter, power is not only understood as the grobal domination of international sports organisations, but also the glocal power of the parkour community to have sovereignty over its own affairs. Further, the nuances of 'something' and 'nothing' demonstrate that although different organisations and groups have different levels and access to power, these nullities can be generated with and without specific attempts to exercise power. A key question therefore, is what stance does the NZ community take and how do they participate in these power relations?

Before attending to these questions however, I note that sports scholars have tested Ritzer's 'grobal-glocal' and 'something-nothing' before me. Sondaal (2013) for instance, explored the evolution of the Liverpool Football Club from a 'local institution' to a 'global brand' in the English Premier League. He argues that although helpful at the level of 'analytical construct', grobalization is rigid and unable to explain the ways that local and global forces interact. More specifically, "it does not allow for the opportunity that local entities can be the driving force in transforming globalization by leveraging the local in an attempt to succeed globally" (Sondaal, 2013, p. 497). Similarly, Eriksen's (2007) discussion of the uneven globalisation of various sports concludes with an account of Irish sports

such as hurling and Gaelic football that have not globalised. He argues that Ritzer's

globalization of nothing theory, while entertaining and insightful, is limited as it

rules out that which is exclusively local. Despite not being grobalised, Gaelic

football and hurling do not represent the glocalisation of something, therefore, a

third category is necessary to account for the phenomenon that is not marketed

overseas (Eriksen, 2007). In contrast, Shor and Galily (2012) argue that more

attention should be placed on Ritzer's (2007) model because of its value for their

investigation of the "overwhelming influence of American culture, practices,

discourse, and players" on how basketball is played and understood in Israel.

In action sports scholarship, Beal and Smith (2010) draw on Ritzer's (2007)

something-nothing binary as they explore the use and commercialisation of

Maverick's, a surf break south of San Francisco, USA. They identify the situation as

complex and contradictory. On one hand, Maverick's represents ideas of

'enchantment' and 'something', where the unique geography creates opportunity

for highly skilled surfers to have transcendent experiences. On the other hand,

long time Maverick's surfer Jeff Clark has developed the company Mavericks Surf

Ventures to market and share these unique traits and experiences to a global

surfing (or surfing fan) audience, i.e. the process of creating 'nothing'. By using

Ritzer's (2007) theory of the globalisation of nothing, Beal and Smith (2010)

accurately portray the tension between action sport enthusiasts (surfers in this

case) desires to explore unique experiences and their desire to personally profit

from these enchanting opportunities through global marketing.

Conceptually, Ritzer's (2007) model offers a potentially helpful way for

looking at the spread (i.e. glocalisation) of parkour as 'something' (as viewed by

its practitioners) and the increase of parkour's institutionalisation, the process of grobalising 'nothing'. However, Sondaal (2013) and Eriksen (2007) both argue that although conceptually interesting, grobalisation is too inflexible to adequately explore empirical processes of globalisation in traditional sport. In contrast, Beal and Smith (2010) offer no criticism of Ritzer's (2007) model, instead they continually demonstrate how the dynamics of 'nothing' and 'something' are played out in the Maverick's surf community. Shor and Galily (2012) argue that it is not enough for scholars to demonstrate the existence of glocalisation, they should examine grobal-glocal interactions in order to understand the intricate dynamics that occur. Despite their interest in Ritzer's (2007) models, none of the above studies have employed both the 'glocal-grobal' and 'something-nothing' continuums. Thus, despite and because of these conflicting accounts, it is worth a full adoption of Ritzer's (2007) model for the analysis of the institutionalisation of parkour in NZ. I begin this discussion by describing the formation of Parkour NZ.

Parkour NZ – Tauhōkai Aotearoa: Towards a Distinctive Model

Dimaggio and Powell (1983) contend that an ongoing process of organisational 'isomorphism' exists, as organisations throughout the world attempt to mimic each other's growing rationalised and bureaucratised systems. Weberian rationalisation, the "process of systematic ordering" (Kaesler, 2017, p. 319) within western society, is a modern theoretical perspective that underpins grobalisation, as these rationalised systems are often replicated around the world (Ritzer, 2007). In the section to follow, I argue that Parkour NZ, while adopting a rationalised and

thus grobalised organisational structure, is in fact closer to the glocalisation end of the spectrum through its adaptation to local constraints and adoption of parkour specific traits. This in turn empowers the parkour community in NZ to support a similar international pattern in Parkour Earth, an international parkour organisation, discussed later in the chapter.

Formation of a Glocal Parkour Organisation

The motivations for founding Parkour NZ, officially incorporated on February 9th 2011, had both similarities and differences to other national contexts. Parkour UK's formation appears to have been catalysed by the desire for legitimation, particularly risk insurance and established coaching structures (Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2011). The Australian Parkour Association's (APA) formation was also due to the need for legal liability cover. Both of these cases represent the glocalising of national sports systems in order to conform to local legal and organisational structures. In NZ, it was felt that a national federation would on one hand provide credibility to the developing practice in the eyes of the public as it would fit existing NZ sporting structures and on the other hand help people get into it safely–though there was no explicit focus on liability cover like the previous examples. The forums described in chapter four, provided a platform for conversation surrounding the representation and legitimacy of parkour in NZ. It was one such conversation between practitioners throughout the country that ultimately led to the formation of Parkour NZ. Max, a founding member of Parkour NZ, speaking to the *Dominion Post* explained "when we first started there was nothing like that [Parkour NZ], no organisations, no clubs, so we wanted to help

people get into [parkour]" (Speer, 2012). Another founding member explained that "there was a feeling that we needed to increase the representation of parkour in New Zealand . . . if we had official representation . . . then we could . . . bring some credibility to the practice" (Wilfred, interview, November 2016). Parkour NZ's creation was spurred on by the hope of using it to improve the public perception of parkour, despite its informal nature, and in turn increase participation and safe training practices. Ryan Mattingley, founder of Parkour NZ explained that an incorporated society/non-profit model was used in order to "fit into the structure of mainstream society" (interview, November 2016), referring to the mainstream NZ sports system.

Nations have different levels of government intervention in sport, and in some contexts none at all (see Ferrero Camoletto et al., 2015). As a British colony, NZ has inherited its sporting forms and governance infrastructures from the UK (G. Ryan, 2007). British sports and sports governance were grobalised to NZ, but they have since become more glocal forms. Unlike in the UK, Sport NZ, the government body overseeing sport and recreation in NZ, does not administer a sport recognition process. Instead, they operate an investment framework where government spending is allocated to selected national sport organisations (NSOs), national recreation organisations (NROs), and regional sports trusts (RSTs). Investment is outcome-driven and priority is given to organisations that are best able to help Sport NZ and High Performance Sport New Zealand (HPSNZ) achieve their respective aims of seeing more people engaging in sport and recreation, and "more winners on the world stage" (Sport NZ, 2017). In other words, organisations that can help, both, glocalise and grobalise NZ's sporting success will be investment worthy. This national framework creates space for parkour, and

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Parkour NZ more specifically, to be glocalised; developed in expected but also unique ways, conforming to and redefining expected norms.

By 2013 many within Parkour NZ began to recognise that parkour was having a deep personal impact; claiming that parkour practice was having a significantly positive influence on their lives:

> Of course it's . . . fun, of course it keeps you fit, but what is the full potential of it? . . . It means lifestyle. It means change. It means growth. It means ambition. It means progress . . . positive progress. Maturity really . . . Above all else it means true freedom (Purere, interview, July 2017).

Thus, the Parkour NZ leadership felt that being a charity was more reflective of how they viewed and experienced parkour: "In business you're taking to uplift yourself, but with a charity you're doing the opposite and that's what parkour is" (Ryan Mattingley, interview, November 2016). As Ferrero Camoletto et al. (2015, p. 309) have asked, "if [parkour practitioners] can re-write the city . . . how and to what extent do they re-write . . . organisational space?" Ryan sought to use another global organisational structure (charities) to further represent and glocalise parkour governance in NZ. Under this charitable model, parkour became the vehicle for "positive self-development, health and education", as described on the organisation's website (Parkour NZ, 2017c), rather than a goal in and of itself.

What began as a collective community effort to show the NZ public that parkour is not only legitimate, but an empowering activity that should be taken seriously, is now one of the world's first national parkour organisations. Parkour NZ is considered by Sport NZ to be the NSO/NRO for parkour in NZ (Parkour NZ, 2017a), opening the door to becoming a Sport NZ investment partner in the future.

This returns us to the discussion of capital, in the development of parkour in NZ, omitted from Chapter Four, an important element of the globalisation of parkour.

Global and Local Flows of Funding and Resources

O'Grady (2012) states that parkour is "free from the constraints of economics" (p. 25). Certainly, parkour offers a thoroughly active sporting experience without the typical economic constraints of personal equipment, uniforms, and stadia that characterise many sporting pursuits, such as hockey, football, and even other action sports like snowboarding that require lots of money to participate. But parkour is not at all devoid of economic flows. Indeed, although it was not the primary motive, it is undeniable that there were other incentives for Parkour NZ seeking charitable registration, including tax exemption, donee status[24], and favourable public and commercial perception (Sport NZ, 2014).

The globalisation of parkour has in turn resulted in its increased sportisation (Puddle et al., 2018; Wheaton & O'Loughlin, 2017), such that parkour is no longer an "underground activity with low participation rates" (Gilchrist & Wheaton, 2013, p. 74). Thus, as "parkour increases in popularity and becomes more embedded in [the] public consciousness, so will its practice likely become contingent upon an ability to pay the price of admission" (Raymen, 2014, para. 9). Raymen (2014) is suggesting that the increased globalisation of parkour will result

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[24] In New Zealand, donee status allows donors to claim tax credits on donations over $5.00 NZD. Becoming a donee organisation is a separate process to becoming tax exempt.

in its embeddedness within, or acceptance of, the mainstream economic system and regular financial flows will become central to participation. Or perhaps, that parkour was 'something' and as the flows of capitalism penetrate the culture, it is at risk of becoming 'nothing'.

Parkour, in most cases, is 'something'. The typical experience of parkour training in NZ is that of local practitioners getting together and finding ways to overcome obstacles in their local spaces. It is not centrally controlled, everyone is training in their own way, and the locales are unique. But as parkour businesses proliferate and national bodies are established, parkour is, in general, moving towards the 'nothing' end of the continuum. In fact, the glocalisation of parkour as 'something' to parkour as 'nothing' has been part of parkour's development from early in its history via the marketing of parkour teams, labels, and fashion (see Henry, 2016). This is evident even among parkour's founders, considering their involvement in TV shows, movies, and stage performances like Cirque du Soleil (Angel, 2016). This is despite many communities and practitioners claiming they are resolutely opposed to the commercialisation of parkour, initially and often seeing it as a dilution of the practice and its values (see Clegg & Butryn, 2012; De Freitas, 2011; Henry, 2016). Donnelly (2006) highlights this paradox within other action sport communities (see also Booth, 2001 on the history of surfing), particularly the promotion of an anti-commercialisation image, while simultaneously supporting and being supported by passionate entrepreneurs within that same community.

The globalisation of parkour has enabled NZ practitioners to consider their stance in relation to parkour, commercialisation, and the flows of money as they

observe global and local parkour initiatives, media, personalities, as well as grobal sport. This has led to Parkour NZ rejecting gambling proceeds for its funding endeavours, despite most sporting organisations in NZ receiving the majority of their funding from community trusts that operate gambling (gaming machines or 'pokies'), estimated at over $130 million dollars in 2012 (Steve, 2013). Leanne, ex-Parkour NZ secretary/treasurer, introduced in chapter five, explains that she felt "that we wanted to set up an organisation that stood for the values that we felt strongly about", with particular emphasis on *being* "the sort of community we wanted to build" (interview, November 2016). In other words, where Parkour NZ's funding comes from is important to the community.

In the same way that Parkour NZ decided that there is, in essence, good and bad money, there is also good or bad globalisation depending on who is driving and benefiting from it. Terry believes that a robust parkour economy is a positive and empowering landscape when led by the parkour community itself, but when outsiders seek a leading role within that space, it is exploitive (see Edwards & Corte, 2010; Kellett & Russell, 2009):

> I want there to be money circulating within parkour, but I don't . . . want someone from outside of parkour to get into parkour for a career, cause then they'd bring without realising it, subtle undertones that don't belong, whereas if someone is super passionate about parkour . . . then I want them to . . . earn money (Terry, interview, November 2016).

This quote exemplifies the aforementioned authenticity discourses present within parkour and communities of leisure more broadly. As various scholars have explained, some parkour communities have been consistently wary of outsiders,

people who they perceive as a threat (Pavlotski, 2016)—as documented across a range of other action sports (Wheaton & Beal, 2003)—particularly when in positions of power, and so able to influence the direction of parkour (see Wheaton, 2013a).

NZ's relative population size, economic growth, and parkour development has meant that there is a smaller and slower growing parkour economy compared to other countries, such as the more market oriented community in the USA (Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017). For example, at the time of writing NZ has five parkour or hybrid indoor facilities. Whereas, in February 2016, Musholt (2016) published a list of 65 commercial parkour gyms in the USA alone, and this has undoubtedly grown in the last three years. Parkour NZ is however involved in the globalisation of parkour in more formal spaces, such as primary and secondary education, alongside countries like Spain (Fernández-Río & Suarez, 2014), Denmark (Grabowski & Thomsen, 2014), and the US (American Parkour, 2018). An inevitable consequence of globalisation is the evolution of the practice, but it has also enabled the local community to pick and choose the behaviours it wishes to display, and the initiatives it wants to support, by observing other communities overseas. This is one of the reasons why the NZ community formed Parkour NZ, a glocalised form of 'nothing' (a generic organisational model) that protects and empowers the parkour community, 'something' (varying local interpretations of the activity).

As parkour's popularity and publicity is increasing, it is attracting new participants. Mowery, Garst, Brookover, Stone, and Gagnon (2017) identify that this influx of participation may sour the image or culture of action sports due to

new participants having contrasting values. This issue is part of the authenticity argument present within all action sports and one that scholars regularly grapple with (Donnelly, 2006; Salome, 2010; Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017; Wheaton & Beal, 2003). But it is not only the influx of new participants that are causing authenticity debates within the community, it is grobal sports organisations who are also recognising the popularity and market potential of parkour. Thus, the grobalisation of parkour by organisations outside the community is perceived by many within the community as a threat.

News from the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG)

President Watanabe wants to broaden the base of gymnastics, especially to the youth . . . There are many groups around the world who do parkour, so we will invite all of them, we will tell them what we want to do, and we will invite them to cooperate with the FIG in order to develop this discipline into a sport. At the moment they are not organized. Their basic spirit is to be free, not to be organized. Yet they want to have competitions. But if they want to do competitions, obviously they need minimum rules and environment to make attractive competitions. I'm sure the FIG is the international federation most qualified to further develop parkour

- André Gueisbuhler, Secretary General of the International Gymnastics Federation (Kavkaza, 2017, para. 8).

OK so, let me get this straight. FIG claims Parkour belongs to it, and now it does? Because that's what it sounds like to me. And that's what it looks how everyone's treating it. I didn't know it was so easy to just claim things.

I thought they were "creating" their own sport "inspired" by parkour? So they're just straight ur claiming governance now, huh?

sport is built on a world wide community and you International Gymnastics Federation - FIG are not a part of it, nor have you ever been a part of it. Parkour is not yours to take. Don't think you are doing t any favors by taking it over. #wearenotgymnastics Our #weareparkour

Some wonderfully clearly condescending comments from the secretary general of FIG. If anyone has ANY doubts that FIG wants to appropriate and encroach on parkour it is here in the article above. Don't get sidetracked by the 'should there be competition or not' argument. In his own words " I'm sure the FIG is the international federation most qualified to further develop parkour."

I'm surprised the parkour community hasn't thrown more shade at david belle for supporting them on this. Shame on you David Belle, shame.

They never had any claim in or involvement with our culture and practices, and now recently they've gone "that's a nice movement dicipline you have there. You made this?
....I made this. IT'S MINE NOW."

Why let it go to some outside group? The evidence is there that this kind of relationship does not work as the bigger entity ends up running the show as they see fit.
Snowboarding, skateboarding, wind surfing, bmx... they all god owned by bigger unrelated but not dissimilar entiti parading that they had their best interest at heart.

How can parkour be the 8th discipline of something that is performed on standardized equipment indoors, when it is a creative sport on unstandardized outside environments?

Goofy suits please stay in your boardrooms

I think we know that FIG are not going to to suddenly take the whole scene but its the underlying problem of outside governance that is the issue here I think.

Fig is shit. We are not gymnastics, and should not be forced into a gymnastics styled competition/events. They are trying to take over our community and the culture we have carried

In conclusion... Fuck. FIG.

The founder of parkour has potentially sold out and handed parkour over to gymnastic's control 😟 Hope this isn't true!

#weareNOTgymnastics we have our own governing bodies who represent us well. We do not want gymnastics values integrated into our discipline and do not want FIG representing what we do.

Yeah, im a bit impartial personally bc i dont think i will notice the change, but for anyone half-decent this sounds like a hell of a blow
Spend enough time doing either parkour or gymnastics to

Growing the competitive side of parkour with championships, olympic inclusion, etc (like it's been said in reports that FIG is planning) is something I'd personally like to see. However I'd like the competitive side to be lead by practitioners and the community in a way that develops parkour, not FIG appropriating parkour into their own sport in a way that grows their own sport.

There are so many issues with FIG, but my biggest problem is the arrogance shown by them just "taking over" without the permission from most of the parkour community. If they're just going to blunder their way into our community and ignore what we say from the get-go, then there is definitely no way that they are fit to lead us. I predict we will turn incredibly commercial and lose many of our core values; such as integrity, respect and resourcefulness. Parkour will not be the same.

Stay away from parkour. Fuck you.

Figure 18. Digital respondents' reactions to FIG claiming parkour as a new gymnastic discipline.

I was in the midst of my data collection on February 24th, 2017 when the FIG published their press release announcing their intentions with parkour. A few days later, before I had caught wind of it, an international contact, who was a central protagonist to pitching parkour to FIG, called to fill me in. He was filled with

enthusiasm about the connection with FIG and the opportunity for parkour to go to the Olympics under their banner. I was equal parts incredulous as I was dumbfounded and I don't remember offering much of a challenge to the words I was hearing besides suggesting that a lot of people might not be happy with this approach. Indeed, Figure 18 above is a testament to that.

Never would I have anticipated something of this magnitude taking place within the parkour community while studying my PhD, let alone it be a topic of significance for a thesis on the globalisation of parkour. Further, although having only a few digitally mediated conversations in the past, I had no expectation that the person on the other end of the phone would be excited about the prospect of handing parkour over to an unrelated community. Those feelings clearly contrast with the argument I present in this chapter, that the grobalisation of action sports by the IOC network is well substantiated. This shows how I perceived of the parkour community being significantly more homogenous than I do now, and perhaps even my naivety prior to this event.

Needless to say, the FIG situation quickly became a centrepiece of my world. FIG related discussions and media quickly populated my news feeds and become a key part of my digital ethnography. I thus found myself straddling multiple roles within the saga (as I had already): practitioner, administrator, and scholar. The roles were often intertwining as I attempted to navigate a complex problem. As a practitioner I was confused and concerned about how parkour would be represented by a community not my own and I soon found myself part of both the guerrilla and formal opposition processes. As an administrator working for a national parkour federation I was angry that the years of effort that the

parkour community—and I—had put in to developing itself might be claimed by an outside body, with no obvious international system in place to prevent such an occurrence. Relationships with other federation leaders were, when they weren't already, quickly formed. I become a key agent in the formation of Parkour Earth, initially as a representative of Parkour NZ, and then as an elected director on the board when the organisation was incorporated. As an academic I was fascinated by the varying responses from the parkour community and my own personal feelings. I began drawing from my personal feelings, administrative experiences, and growing academic skills to regularly write about different aspects of the situation. Initially on my personal blog, but it quickly became apparent that this was an event of great meaning and consequence to the globalisation of parkour and was going to become an important chapter in the thesis. In the remainder of the chapter I draw upon Ritzer's (2007) globalisation of nothing thesis.

The Grobalisation of Action Sports

The establishment of international sports organisations has facilitated the standardisation of sport around the globe, with major international organisations such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) being at the forefront of this global system of sport (Andrews & Grainger, 2007). Initially, these organisations were not commercial entities (Croci & Forster, 2004). However, the grobalisation of organisations and institutionalisation itself is now closely linked to capitalism (Ritzer, 2007) with organisations like the IOC having acquired the capacity to "generate and control hundreds of billions of dollars, which has made them [] profit making structures" (Croci & Forster, 2004, p. 4). There is likely no force that

has contributed more to globalisation, and grobalisation more specifically, than capitalism (Ritzer, 2007). Equally, there is perhaps no force that has contributed more to infusing the Olympic movement with capitalist ideals than television coverage and the rights and fees to broadcast it (Real, 1996). Sport has now been rationalised in accordance with "corporate values and a logic of profit maximisation" (Andrews, 2003, p. 4). This appropriation of sport by capitalism makes it apparent that the maximisation of profit has become the key goal, and thus a 'pathological' behaviour (Walsh & Giulianotti, 2001) of international sports organisations. Capitalist organisations always have global ambitions and are therefore interested in grobalisation (Ritzer, 2007). It is therefore "inconceivable to think of sport as anything but an important arm of the global capitalist order" (Andrews, 2003, p. 2).

The IOC's grobal ambitions have driven the Olympic Games, now over 120 years old (see Hobsbawm, 1983), into the enviable spot of most watched sporting event in the world. However, there is a significant decline in US audience ratings (Flint & Vranica, 2016), with younger viewers representing the biggest drop off in numbers (Chang, 2016). Of course, capitalist organisations "must continue to expand, or they will die" (Ritzer, 2007) and thus the IOC is concerned with the aging of its viewer demographics (Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018a). Sports that were once "popular and prestigious a few decades ago have dwindled dramatically" (Eriksen, 2007, p. 160). Clearly, the IOC must make substantial changes if they are to "respond to criticisms and stay relevant (and dominant) moving into the future" (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2019, p. 16). Thus, the IOC and their associated International Sports Federations (ISFs) now find themselves looking for solutions. One of the IOC's strategies to combat this trend, as outlined in their Agenda 2020, is to make

the Olympic Games more youthful by, for example, including action sports (surfing, skateboarding, and climbing) at the Tokyo 2020 Summer Games (Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018a) and likely beyond. The IOC is attempting to grobalise action sports in order to make the Olympics more popular and thus more profitable. In so doing, they are not simply demonstrating their imperialistic ambitions, but their *need* to impose themselves (see Ritzer, 2007).

The grobalistion of action sports via commercialisation/commodification is of course an older tradition, with the likes of ESPN's X Games, launched in 1995, being the inspiration for the IOC identifying action sports as a vehicle to reach the lucrative young adult market (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2011). And indeed, the IOC, although incorporating windsurfing in 1984, followed up with mountain biking in 1996, snowboarding in 1998, and BMX in the year 2000 (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2011). However, a key difference between the commercialisation of action sports by the likes of ESPN is that they do not claim governance over the sports within their commercialised events. In contrast, the IOC presides over a system of international and national sports organisations[25] that Croci and Forster (2004) call

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[25] Associated international and national organisations that are part of this international system of sports governance include the Association of IOC Recognised International Sports Federations (ARISF), the Global Association of International Sports Federations (GAISF – formally SportAccord), Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC), the Association of Summer Olympic International Federations (ASOIF), the Association of International Olympic Winter Sports Federations (AIOWF), the International Sports Federations (ISFs), and also the NOCs (National Olympic Committees) of individual countries.

the 'International Olympic Network', who provide each other mutual legitimacy and help reproduce the IOC's hegemonic position. In fact, the Olympic Movement is so large that its membership outnumbers that of the United Nations (Andrews & Grainger, 2007). This network has developed a certain degree of 'isomorphism' within the modern global sport order (Andrews & Grainger, 2007) presided over by the IOC who, as Forster (2006) argues, perceive themselves as a law unto themselves. This creates a system of interrelated organisations who are central to the claiming, usurping control of, or otherwise grobalising action sports via their uptake by IOC recognised ISFs into the Summer and Winter Olympic Games (see Allison & Tomlinson, 2017, on the hegemony of sporting international non-governmental organisations).

This grobalisation of action sports alongside traditional sports by the IOC and its ISFs has been a story less about sport diversity and more about the homogenisation of governance. This pattern has been successful for attaining power over windsurfing via World Sailing, snowboarding via the International Ski Federation (FIS), and BMX via the International Cycling Union (UCI)—though not without controversy (see, for example, Humphreys, 2003, on snowboarding; and Leggat, 2012 on windsurfing being temporarily voted out of the Rio Olympics in favour of kitesurfing, a newer action sport). In fact, it appears that the impetus for these ISFs to grobalise these action sports comes directly from the IOC themselves. The IOC requested, for example, that the UCI in the first instance (Thorpe & Wheaton, 2012) and later the International Roller Sports Federation (FIRS, now World Skate after merging with the International Skate Federation) accommodate skateboarding into their Olympic programme (see Baldwin, 2011; O'Neil, 2012; Reid, 2011; Smith, 2016).

Although there are some similarities and shared characteristics between action sports, they each have their own specific histories, cultures, and patterns of development (Wheaton, 2004). They are unique 'somethings' with "very different cultural histories to . . . earlier periods" (Forster, 2006, p. 80). While the ISFs of new sports may not be perceived as a threat to the global sport order, the impact of these sports on audiences is clearly palpable (Forster, 2006). In their IOC commissioned report on action sports, Thorpe and Wheaton (2016) encourage the IOC to work with action sport ISFs "in contrast to fitting within existing I[S]Fs that may not understand and respect the unique cultural value systems . . . within these sports" (p. 130). However, the grobalisation and appropriation of action sports under the vision of the IOC has continued in recent years despite this call to action. For instance, the controversial merging of FIRS and the International Skate Federation to form World Skate in order to deliver skateboarding at Tokyo 2020 (Butler, 2017c), the UCI abandoning work with the International BMX Freestyle Federation now that BMX Park Freestyle is at Tokyo 2020 (Hoffman, 2018), the lack of support from the IOC for the International Surfing Association (ISA) who are fighting off the encroachment of the International Canoe Federation (ICF) over stand-up-paddleboarding, despite the ICFs lack of history in the activity (Butler, 2018), and FIGs misappropriation of parkour as a new gymnastic discipline that they hope to take to Paris 2024 (Palmer, 2018).

The participation of ISFs in appropriating action sports is central to the IOCs grobalisation of sport. Indeed, only IOC recognised ISFs can propose sports for the Summer and Winter Olympic Games and therefore contribute to and receive the significant sponsorship and broadcasting revenue paid to and distributed by the IOC. This has "resulted in the relatively rapid establishment of a global sporting

hegemony through which many traditional pastimes became either subsumed within, or largely expunged in the face of, the unrelenting march of the modern sport order" (Andrews & Grainger, 2007, p. 484). Although Andrews and Grainger in the above quote are actually talking about British imperialism, this picture succinctly parallels the IOCs power in establishing a grobal sport order that allows FIG, probably the oldest ISF (Forster, 2006), to grobalise parkour whilst ignoring the voices of the global parkour community (discussed later in the chapter). The representatives from ISFs like FIG claim that their intentions are noble and that they wish to see action sports grow and develop. Yet, Thorpe and Wheaton (2019) criticise the IOC's claim of supporting action sports. They suggest that any modifications to the IOC's organisational behaviour represents only skin-deep 'organisational adaptation', and not "deep learning and structural and philosophical changes" (p. 16). Indeed, Humphreys (2003) identifies, it's not difficult to see that behind these justifications lies healthy profits for the IOC and their ISFs. In other words, "grobal forces are strategizing ways of seeking to capitalize on, to exploit, local sporting practices" (Ritzer, 2007, pp. 143-144).

Indeed, to ratify the decision to appropriate parkour as a gymnastic discipline the FIG Executive Council is only required to ask their national member federations for their permission; national member federations who, bar a select few, have zero relationship with or jurisdiction over parkour or their national parkour communities. This demonstrates the high independence and unaccountability afforded to these international sports organisations (Croci & Forster, 2004), adding to the growing concern of the self-governance of these global organisations (see Forster, 2006). For Purere, introduced in Chapter Five, the fact that there is no obligation for FIG to seek permission or support from the

parkour community itself in order to govern it, is absurd, representative of many of my digital respondents and other overseas communities:

> It's the wrong approach how they done it. They've already done it without considering the rest of the world, you know . . . They should have come to the whole worldwide community and say 'hey, what are your thoughts on this?' rather than saying 'we're going to do this' (Purere, interview, July 2017).

And yet, "international sports law is concerned more with the governance of athletes' behaviour, and their relationships with their organisations and rules than with the organisations themselves" (Forster, 2006, p. 73; see also, Allison & Tomlinson, 2017).

Despite the above examples, Andrews and Grainger (2007) believe that the Olympic Games are "inveterately local in performance . . . despite their global reach and philosophy" (p. 487) and are therefore not seriously contributing towards grobalisation. One basis for their views comes from the 'glocalised' opening ceremonies that reflect various local depictions (Ritzer, 2007). But when the glocal demonstration of the opening ceremony is complete, we are left with "globally uniform processes and technologies" (Andrews & Grainger, 2007, p. 488). Thus, their analysis fails to account for the IOC's grobal agenda that seeks to subsume and gain governance control over popular action sports in order to sell them as spectacle, marginalising existing action sport ISFs. This situation provides an "important cautionary warning that major trends of globalization are destroying individuality and particularity, and producing standardization and homogeneity" (Kellner, 2005, p. 269).

Next I discuss how parkour and FIG gymnastics fit on Ritzer's (2007), 'something–nothing' continuum, a precursor to discussing how and why local practitioners experience this global parkour struggle, before finally exploring the battle itself between FIGs grobalisation of parkour and some of the parkour community's attempts to glocalise itself through an alternative international organisation, Parkour Earth.

Parkour is 'something'. Gymnastics is 'nothing'

The clear hegemony of the International Olympic Network is enough to frustrate and mobilise some within the parkour community against FIGs actions. However, given the infancy of the parkour community and the relatively young average age of its practitioners, the majority of the community has their main interest in parkour's physical practice. To practitioners then, the key concern is what parkour, under FIG would be presented as, and what that means to them personally. As such, I now turn my attention to the 'something–nothing' continuum (Ritzer, 2007).

For parkour practitioners who subscribe to an idea of parkour being what you make of it, it would perhaps seem hypocritical to be opposed to local, national, or even international development of parkour by FIG. However, evolution within the global parkour community has been primarily internally driven to date. FIGs involvement represents a dramatic shift in that evolutionary process by introducing a governance aspect that can seize control of parkour at the international level without the consent of the parkour community. The prevailing understanding by practitioners in NZ is that grobalisation of parkour by FIG, will

turn it into something it's not. Or rather, parkour is 'something' and under FIG it will become 'nothing' (see Figure 19). Indeed, this is almost inevitable, as, when 'something' becomes grobalised and mass-produced, it will likely change into 'nothing' as it moves from its original position on the continuum (Ritzer, 2012). Martini Miller, one of NZ's senior and respected practitioners, sums up this feeling:

GLOCAL

Place:	Park	**Non-Place:**	Parkour Park
Thing:	Obstacle	**Non-Thing:**	Defined Challenge
Person:	Practitioner	**Non-Person:**	Coach
Service:	Jam	**Non-Service:**	Class

SOMETHING ← → **NOTHING**

Place:	Mobile Setup	**Non-Place:**	Gym/Competition Location
Thing:	Bespoke Equipment	**Non-Thing:**	Standardised Equipment
Person:	Parkour performer	**Non-Person:**	FIG Judge
Service:	Parkour performance	**Non-Service:**	FIG Competition

GROBAL

Figure 19. Parkour on the glocal-grobal and something-nothing continuums. A parkour version of Ritzer's 2x2 matrix.

> It's going to be traumatic for current practitioners, to witness what they will do to the discipline. The things that parkour borrows from the play cultures of children are the very things that make it unique and have given it such a following worldwide. It is unstructured, it is fully customisable and it is intrinsically motivated . . . Parkour is different for some very unique reasons, and those unique reasons are what [FIG] gymnastics is going to

take away from parkour in order to standardise it, in order to make it translatable to the Olympics (interview, June 2017).

As previously explained, 'something' and 'nothing' are not synonymous with 'positive' or 'negative' respectively. I explained in chapter five that the institutionalisation of parkour has been shown to have positive benefits for women for instance (see Stagi, 2015). However, for some practitioners like Martini Miller, the grobalisation of parkour by outsiders is seen wholly negatively.

The standardisation of gymnastics has, while creating clear technical mastery in its athletes, also developed significant distinguishing features that separate it from parkour. In its relationship with parkour, FIG gymnastics is 'nothing', as 'nothing' is "lacking in distinctive substance . . . generic . . . [has] no local ties . . . [is] time-less . . . [and] dehumanized" (Ritzer & Ryan, 2002). The grobalisation of gymnastics by FIG has turned it from a less standardised athletic pastime into 'nothing' (Benn & Benn, 2004), and the threat to parkour is the duplication of this process. This is characterised by Ritzer's (2007) nullities: *Non-places,* such as gyms and venues hosting international competitions—artistic gymnastics for example—with very similar footprints to cater to all the necessary pieces of apparatus whilst giving ample viewing for spectators and the media. *Non-things,* such as the FIG standardised equipment resulting in identical apparatus in size, specifications, and manufactured by FIGs official suppliers (Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique, 2017b). *Non-persons*, such as the gymnasts themselves who are tasked with performing only those movements which FIG have approved, including certain compulsory exercises that all competitors must perform (Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique, 2015). Finally, *non-services,*

as represented by the competition programme and judging itself which is highly structured, having specific protocols for the running of the event and how gymnastic exercises are evaluated and scored (Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique, 2017a).

These nullities clearly demonstrate international gymnastics as being centrally controlled by FIG and being stripped of 'distinctive content'. Although there are several FIG gymnastics disciplines, contrasting uniforms between countries, and gymnasts creating individual routines, when interpreted through Ritzer's model, it appears that FIG gymnastics is significantly more representative of 'nothing' than parkour is. While not necessarily popular in all nations, gymnastics doesn't come into conflict with different cultures because, using Ritzer and Ryan (2002), it is empty of unique characteristics. As such, FIG gymnastics is significantly more 'minimalist' than parkour, and is thus "easy to replicate over and over" (Ritzer & Ryan, 2002, p. 51). It is this replication that NZ practitioners perceive as a threat:

> I think that it's very very bad. Tremendously bad. It's the baddest thing . . . It can't translate. And that's something that I'm really scared of, the fact that they are wanting to just strip it of all that is good and just leave it as this husk that does not represent the discipline that I practice at all (Martini Miller, interview, June 2017).

Not only can parkour be considered as 'something', but it turns nothing into something, by reimagining the world we live in and how it can be used (Ameel & Tani, 2012a). Although Roche (2006) argues that the relationship between the Olympics and globalisation is complex and involves particularisation as well as

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standardisation, as a 'cultural carrier' of grobalising forces, the Olympic network is a "disseminator of a standardizing and uniform form of sport culture" (p. 30). This has already been demonstrated by the standardised nature of the courses FIG have used for their parkour competitions (see FISE, 2018), in contrast to the flexible and evolving formats being developed, for example, by the Sport Parkour League (2018) in North America.

In comparison to gymnastics, parkour has spread rapidly around the world not because of its minimalism, in the sense of it being 'nothing', rather, its unique use of existing outdoor space and relatively low barriers for participation has made it a very accessible 'something' (see Clegg & Butryn, 2012). Parkour may not be as mainstream as riding a bike, but parkour's popularity and global uptake has *not* primarily been via grobalisation thus far. Eriksen (2007) contends that "fortuitous coincidences may account for the sudden proliferation [of] . . . cultural phenomena" (p. 155). Certainly, the development of social media technology at the same time as parkour's public showcasing is clearly a 'fortuitous coincidence', and of course the "world of transnational flows in sport is arguably less spatially bounded than most of the world's ecosystems" (Eriksen, 2007, p. 165) allowing deep penetration across the globe. However, Eriksen (2007) also notes that some things have globalised due to the nature of their intrinsic qualities. I argue that although social media aided in the dissemination and proliferation of parkour, it is parkour's intrinsic qualities that enabled such rapid uptake prior to parkour's more recent grobalisation.

Without comparisons, some elements of parkour's glocalisation would be considered to be heading towards 'nothing' without the help of FIG—a franchise

parkour gym for example. Unfortunately for grobalisation opponents, Beal and Smith (2010) also argue that alternative sports are popular because they allow people to "experience physical activity in non-bureaucratic ways. This allows corporations to easily appropriate discourses of re-enchantment to sell their products, especially to non-participants" (p. 1112). The popularity of parkour, and its increasingly ubiquitous nature, means that FIG feels primed to step in, excite non-participants about bringing it the Olympics, and sell romantic ideas of sporting glory to parkour athletes. Ironically, grobalising parkour requires making parkour more palatable to wider, particularly TV, audiences. Thus, FIG must strip it of that which makes it 'something'. The notion of the Olympic platform being used to portray a 'lesser' version of parkour to the masses is causing the parkour community concern. A highly standardised version of parkour grobalised around the world would be encouraging new practitioners to follow a mould, completely contrary to parkour's ethos. As Purere explains, "that's like trying to put Jesus back on the cross in a sense, that's taking away life, cause then everyone goes back [in]to the box again" (interview, July 2017).

Glocalised parkour is characterised by: Unique *places* made up of local environments that can be urban or natural, densely or sparsely populated both by people and obstacles, and by experiencing a variety of weather conditions. *Things*, such as the obstacles themselves can also be extremely varied, including trees, rocks, walls, curbs, benches, sculptures, water, railings, signs, gaps, stairs, ramps, etc. all of different sizes and configurations. Parkour practitioners, the *persons*, have very different motivations and interests. Their individuality is reflected in the way they train, including for instance, their movements, attire, training ethics, peer groups, where they like to train, etc. However, Ritzer's use of *person* is linked

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to the underpinning nature of consumption, and is therefore centred on the role or job of that person. Considering the previous chapter's focus on how certain people experience challenges to their mobility, it may also be important to consider *bodies.* Parkour *bodies,* although not as varied as the parkour community thinks they are or wishes them to be, depict a diversity of associated body markers such as gender, ethnicity, age, physical shape, fitness level, etc. Finally, if a FIG gymnastics competition is the *service* used above, then the most appropriate comparison is a parkour jam. Jams are unstructured training sessions involving any number of practitioners, sometimes led by senior community figures but otherwise entirely self-governed with variations in length, location, and challenges. Additionally, because there have been parkour bans, anti-parkour signage, and regular conflict with security and police described elsewhere in the thesis, it reflects Ritzer and Ryan's (2002) description of 'something' being more likely to come into conflict in different locales as it has been found to be offensive to various traditional, cultural, and capitalist sensibilities.

In the beginning, parkour exemplified Ritzer and Ryan's (2002) characterisation of 'something', "indigenously conceived and controlled and relatively rich in distinctive content" (p. 51). Even now that parkour has glocalised, parkour still sits on the 'something' end of the spectrum compared to FIG gymnastics. The development of parkour governing bodies, a process that started before FIG entered the picture, seems to have followed a trajectory that allows 'something' to remain, despite the use of more grobal organisational structures (as discussed above, and, for example, Puddle et al., 2018). These national bodies, among other more guerrilla tactics, are being used by the NZ and international parkour communities as ways to fight against FIG, as discussed next.

#FightTheFIG: Glocalised Guerrilla Tactics

> On February 24th, 2017 FIG published a press release that announced their
> intent to "develop … [parkour] … in order to broaden even further the
> appeal of [gymnastics]". This has caused a global controversy and
> significant kickback from the international parkour community who,
> largely, wish to govern themselves (Puddle, 2018b para. 1).

The FIG press release announcing their intent to develop a new gymnastic
discipline based off parkour was thinly veiled propaganda meant to disguise their
desires to grobalise parkour itself (Puddle, 2018a), in line with IOC ambitions to
grobalise other action sports. Their central aims of co-opting parkour and
subsequent hopes of taking parkour to the Paris 2024 Olympics (they were
unsuccessful in their Tokyo 2020 bid) fully revealed in November, eight months
later (Butler, 2017a).

NZ practitioners have responded to FIG's "encroachment and
misappropriation of parkour" (Parkour Earth, 2018) in local and glocalised ways.
Locally, practitioners have engaged in parody and mockery, pretending that they
are living and training under an oppressive FIG regime: "If you ever get hurt doing
parkour and need ACC[26] remember to say you where partaking in FIG approved

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[26] ACC or Accident Compensation Corporation is the government entity that
oversees injuries, including sporting ones, in New Zealand. ACC is also the term
used for the injury cover the corporation provides.

Urban Gymnastics" (digital respondent, February 2018), "I think there's a spectator fee, payable to FIG" (digital respondent, April 2018), and:

> Good street gymnastics training everyone. There was some pretty high
> scores on the wall apparatuses and also on the concrete gymnastics floor.
> Train harder though and sort that technique or you will never make it to
> the Olympic Games and it will be all for nothing (digital respondent, June
> 2017).

Glocally, NZ practitioners have engaged in online social media activism through several US and UK based anti-FIG campaigns. US based MÜV Magazine, an online parkour magazine has been principal in creating the #FightTheFIG campaign. This online campaign has involved a multi-prong approach including one of several community petitions, #wearenotgymnastics and #weareparkour graphics that parody FIGs tagline 'We are Gymnastics' for sharing on social media (see Figure 20), as well as encouragement to give negative reviews on the FIG Facebook page[27] (see Figure 22. Additionally, NZ practitioners have also purchased 'Fuck the FIG' t-shirts from The Motus Projects, a UK based apparel brand, sponsor, and enterprise that plans to use the proceeds of their campaign to fund community parkour projects. "The fund was initially created as a means to oppose & take action against the encroachment & misappropriation of Parkour by FIG & is currently being funded by profits from our 'Fuck FIG' & 'Fight FIG' t-shirts" (The

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[27] At the time of writing, FIG no longer includes reviews on their Facebook page because of the high quantity of negative feedback received by the parkour community that severely lowered their rating.

Motus Projects, 2018). Others like myself have been personally involved in the process. My own involvement has included blog posts discussing the historical precedence of FIGs actions (Puddle, 2017), a timeline of events to date (Puddle, 2018b), and commentary on their questionable ethics (Puddle, 2018a). Additionally, I have been interviewed by MÜV Magazine, and have been elected as a director on the board of Parkour Earth.
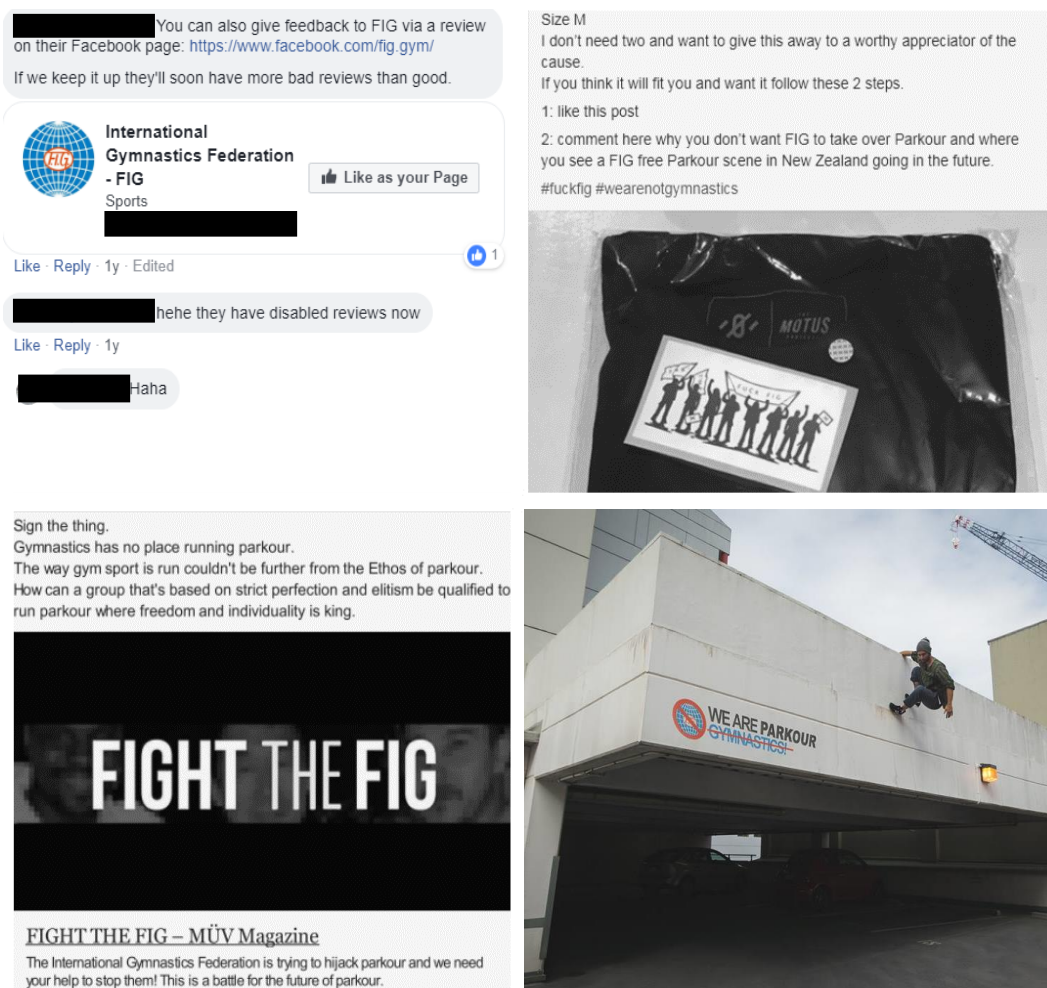

Figure 20. Social media activism against FIG by NZ practitioners. Created by the author.

However, not all NZ practitioners are as concerned about FIGs grobalisation of parkour. Amy for instance believes that "parkour is an idea, and you can't control, steal, buy, or take over an idea" (Amy, interview, August 2017).

According to Amy, practitioners will continue to practice parkour how they choose to define it and therefore parkour itself is not under threat, but the parkour organisations who support the community who are likely to be at odds with FIGs motives, actions, and standardisation, will be the ones who bear the brunt of FIGs grobalisation. It is feared that Olympic parkour under FIG will undermine the progress made by parkour communities and organisations around the world attempting to convey the rich non-linear diversity of the parkour culture. Although current practitioners may be able to stand strong in their personal parkour ideologies in the face of FIGs grobalisation of parkour, new practitioners may not have the luxury or opportunity to experience parkour in the rich glocal way described in the previous chapters if such organisations are damaged in the process. However, considering my framing of parkour as a Boundary Object, such a conceptualisation of parkour must now necessarily include how FIG gymnastics choose to understand parkour. Of course, bearing in mind that I conceptualise the varying parkour communities as the different social worlds that interact and form the global/local understandings of parkour, this is a social world outside parkour that has forced its way into the parkour community—a factor that is important to the parkour community and their authenticity debates. Additionally, considering Ritzer's (2012) argument that 'nothing' is not synonymous with desirable or undesirable, it begs the question of whether a gymnastics version of parkour is less meaningful to the practitioners who experience 'gymnastics parkour' compared with practitioners from the 'core' parkour community.

Ritzer identifies that "those who oppose the grobal form of globalization must support the glocal form . . . [as] important vestiges of the local remain in the glocal" (2003a, p. 199). The use of these community driven guerrilla tactics is

helpful for the local community to vent their frustrations and feel part of a united global community effort against the grobalisation by FIG. Thus, other glocal opportunities to be involved in opposing FIG have also been adopted by the NZ community, principally through their support of Parkour NZ's participation in forming Parkour Earth, an international federation that aims to protect NZ and international parkour interests on the global stage.

Parkour Earth: Protecting Something with Nothing

Significant international connections have been made between practitioners, communities, and national parkour bodies since 2003. During this time, various attempts at establishing an international federation for parkour, from as early as 2004 (see Constantine, 2017) have been made, though none were ever truly successful. In every case, the fledgling organisations were the efforts of a select group within a single nation that never received local support let alone international support—the International Parkour Federation (IPF)[28] is perhaps the exception. FIGs announcement therefore, was an important catalyst in spurring the international parkour community into action. Parkour Earth was formed

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[28] The IPF are a USA based organisation that also claim to represent parkour internationally. The relationship and history between the IPF, Parkour Earth, and FIG is too complex to describe in detail here, however, in January 2018 the IPF signed a memorandum of understanding with FIG to "work together in mutual cooperation towards the possible successful inclusion of parkour into the Olympic programme under the aegis of the FIG" (Morgan, 2018b).

through the federation of ". . . six founding National Federations[:] Parkour UK, France's Fédération de Parkour, New Zealand Parkour, Australian Parkour Association, Parkour South Africa and [the] Polish Parkour And Freerunning Federation" (Etchells, 2017). At the top of its website, Parkour Earth asserts its position as the international federation for parkour and to be the "custodian of the philosophy, integrity, and sovereignty of the sport, art, and/or discipline of Parkour/Freerunning/Art du Déplacement internationally for and on behalf of the international community" (Parkour Earth, 2017a). Since its inception in July 2017, Parkour Earth has endeavoured to carry on the dialogue with the IOC and FIG, initially spearheaded by Parkour UK in the months prior to Parkour Earth's formation, through open letters (McInnes, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c) and a subsequent in-person, though arguably unproductive, meeting at FIGs offices in Lausanne, Switzerland (Butler, 2017b).

Taken at face value, Parkour Earth, like FIG, could be described as 'nothing'. It is following a grobalised model like other ISFs, set up to oversee a sport at the international level, and is thus following the isomorphic traits of existing international sports organisations. For instance, it accounts for typical international federation expectations and jargon within its constitution, such as adherence to the Olympic Charter and abiding by world anti-doping regulations. However, the nuances of Parkour Earth's constitution, and statements in its open letters reveal its intentions to fight the grobalisation of parkour with the glocalisation of parkour. For example, its intention is to protect the "diversity and non-standardised practice, coaching, teaching and education" (Parkour Earth, 2017b, p. 4) of parkour throughout the world. Parkour Earth then is not attempting to or being forced into, like FIG, the creation of 'contentlessness' but is decidedly

interested in the creation of "different content" (Sondaal, 2013, p. 496) by empowering its national member federations and their subsequent parkour communities. At the time of writing Parkour Korea also joined Parkour Earth but then withdrew due to national conflicts resulting in the organisation being disbanded and potentially rebuilt. Suomen Parkour Ry (Parkour Finland) and the Swiss Parkour Association are they newest members, with other extant federations also expressing interest in supporting Parkour Earth. Other national communities have also been spurred on to develop their own national federations. Thus, "supporting the glocal as an alternative to the grobal may be a . . . successful strategy, recognizing the fact that the glocal is an increasingly important source not only of cultural diversity, but also of cultural innovation" (Ritzer, 2003a, p. 199).

Morinari Watanabe, the FIG president, has claimed that parkour will have, and is experiencing, "great autonomy" under FIG (Morgan, 2018a). But this cannot be the case, given that autonomy is defined as "the right or condition of self-government" and "freedom from external control or influence" ("Autonomy," 2018). Any commission or committee within FIG is under the external control and influence of the FIG Executive Council and thus parkour under FIG would never have the right to govern itself. In contrast, not unlike Parkour NZ's inclusion of parkour community values within its structure (Puddle et al., 2018), Parkour Earth is a project that is seeking to protect 'something' with 'nothing'. Already, the use of multiple terms associated with the practice represent Parkour Earth's commitment to supporting multiple definitions/understandings of the practice. Additionally, in sharp contrast to FIGs attempts at grobalising parkour into the Olympics without permission of, or choice from, the parkour community, Parkour

Earth's constitution makes it clear that the decision to pursue Olympic inclusion is up to its national member federations and not its executive board (Parkour Earth, 2017b).

The NZ community's support of Parkour Earth glocalising parkour is made manifest through its support for Parkour NZ's participation in forming the international organisation. The NZ community's own experience with the national glocalisation of parkour through Parkour NZ has evidently influenced their perception of the globalisation process, and thus cemented their support for Parkour Earth (see, for example, Figure 21). However, on April 26th, 2018, a digital respondant posted a poll on Facebook asking other NZ practitioners what their preferences were regarding the governance of parkour internationally. The collective response—though not representative of the whole NZ community—was overwhelming in its stance against FIG (the only person to vote in favour of FIG did so as a joke), however, it is also clear from my interactions and observations that the NZ community would prefer not to have any kind of international governance, or 'ownership' as the digital respondant defined it, if it were possible. My own response to the post was in favour of international representation but with an important caveat:

> If parkour and freerunning could simply "be" that would certainly be my ideal. There are however challenges associated with parkour's increasing popularity, e.g. our (mis)use of public spaces, finding ways to stay involved and provide opportunities for more people, people seeking to capitalise, etc. I feel that the best way to provide the good opportunities and try and prevent the bad ones is through national and international bodies. But they

must be community led/engaged so that they stay infused with the values

of parkour and the host culture (author's response to the poll, 2018).

The discussions I had and observed in person and online lead me to believe

that most of the NZ community agree with this sentiment. They support Parkour

NZ so long as it continues to be an accurate representation of, and broad enough

to encompass, their collective beliefs and values. By extension, they support

Parkour Earth providing it will do the same. However, as soon as either of these

entities focuses on 'grobalisation' over 'glocalisation' or 'nothing' over

'something', practitioners will likely withdraw their support and focus on what

they are most interested in, doing parkour the way they understand it.

Figure 21. Parkour Southland, a regional parkour organisation in the south of New Zealand, supporting Parkour Earth.

It has been argued that the governing monopoly of global sports organisations is waning (Croci & Forster, 2004). But FIG, like other established ISF is well positioned to exploit revenue opportunities, because of their monopoly position (see Forster, 2006), by grobalising parkour, like their compatriot ISFs before them. Given that the effects of globalisation are not pre-determined, "institutional capacity to withstand unifying pressures" (Sondaal, 2013, p. 495) remains. And so, as seen by its proponents, Parkour Earth, offers hope in the face of the "deeply troubling . . . hegemony of grobal phenomena" (Ritzer, 2003a, p. 199) present within the modern sport order. However, the recent vote by national gymnastics federations to include parkour as the eighth gymnastics discipline of the FIG, effectively annexing parkour for themselves, coupled with the silence of the IOC and other prominent world sporting organisations, challenges the assertions of Croci and Forster (2004) above. Time will tell whether Parkour Earth and the global parkour community efforts in glocalising parkour will be sufficient in preventing FIG from fully grobalising parkour on behalf of the IOC.

Conclusion

Most aspects of the modern sport order are now driven and demarcated by grobalised capitalist processes, such as corporatisation, spectacularisation, and commodification (Andrews & Grainger, 2007). The pervasiveness of this capitalist, grobalised model of sport, through its homogenising pressures, has "produced a distinct degree of sameness" (Andrews & Grainger, 2007; Sondaal, 2013, p. 490). Traditional sports and their international sports organisations have become extremely isomorphic in their attempts to solidify their monopoly on global sport; to claim their position as "the ringmasters of sport" (Forster & Pope, 2001, p. 1).

Ritzer's (2007) 'glocalisation–grobalisation' and 'something–nothing' continua have been helpful in identifying the grobal agenda of the IOC and FIG to perpetuate the modern sport system through the International Olympic Network. They do this by governing a myriad of standardised and replicated activities that are, as Sondaal (2013) says, citing Sandvoss (2003), "stripped of their sociocultural heritage in order to appeal to fans globally with the ultimate aim of securing new revenue" (p. 490). However, sports are cultural constructs shaped by, and to fit, the realities of the people involved in them (Forsyth, 2005). The existence of action sports is evidence that there are less dominant, though nonetheless potent, realities experienced by those outside traditional sport.

Many in the parkour community are passionate about defending their diversity ('something') against FIGs encroachment and misappropriation of parkour ('nothing'). The glocalisation of parkour driven internally by the parkour community itself, whether by local practitioners, national bodies like Parkour NZ, or international bodies like Parkour Earth, is perceived as a positive force in the face of this grobalisation.

The NZ community, whilst adopting the grobalised organisational structure of traditional sports, has adapted 'nothing' to protect 'something'. The lived realities of action sport participants and leaders have many complexities that inform the administration of their chosen activity. The NZ case illustrates how parkour practitioners' value systems can inform both their practice and their organised operations, creating glocalised experiences. These intricacies help us to understand the interplay of grobal and glocal forces and how they influence the globalisation process on emerging sport administration.

"Parkour belongs to the ones who live it, not the ones who want to

live thanks to it"

– David Belle (Inspiring Quotes, 2018).

Chapter Seven – Landing the Jump: Research Reflections, Implications, and Concluding Remarks

In this concluding chapter I begin by providing a summary overview of the whole thesis, drawing out the key points from each chapter. Following this, I offer a series of reflections. These include my reflections on the challenges and values of specific methods, my reflections on utilising three different theoretical approaches for exploring an understanding of the glocalisation of parkour in NZ, with short accounts for each approach, and thoughts on how my 'self' as researcher, and of the research journey itself. Next I discuss the contribution that my research brings to socio-cultural understandings of action sports, globalisation literature, and its resulting policy implications. I close with some limitations of the project, questions that arose during the research process, some possible directions for future research, and my final concluding remarks.

Thesis Summary

To account for all the possible global and local forces that influence the development of parkour within a specific locale would be impossible, but these forces are ever present and deserve serious scholarly attention. Thus, in this thesis I employed three different theoretical approaches to reveal nuanced understandings of different aspects of glocalisation processes. More specifically, this project sought to answer the following overarching research question: How has parkour developed in NZ under the impact of global and local influences?

In Chapter One I provided an important contextual backdrop to my research question. This included a description of parkour and its transformation from niche French pastime to global phenomenon. I describe some of the schisms within the terminology and understandings of parkour, as inherited by its founder's fractured relationships. I then position parkour in NZ within the broader economic, political, and cultural context. Here I describe NZ as a multicultural/bicultural nation in the South Pacific, with, like parkour, important local histories and signifiers but inextricably linked with global flows. I then followed this by describing the nature of parkour and its growing community in NZ with reference to its short history and demographics. I explain that understanding the experiences of parkour practitioners in NZ is important due to its position as an emergent part of the nation's growing interest and participation in action sports and recreation activities.

Scholarly research forms part of the growing global interest in parkour with research occurring in both the global north and south. Therefore, in Chapter Two I covered some of the key themes within action sport literature that compare and contrast with the parkour research within the humanities to date. These have included, for example, investigations into parkour and gender (Kidder, 2013a; Stagi, 2015; Wheaton, 2016), embodied experiences (Clegg & Butryn, 2012), relationship to the environment (Ameel & Tani, 2012a, 2012b; Atkinson, 2009), and institutionalisation (Puddle et al., 2018; Sterchele & Ferrero Camoletto, 2017; Wheaton & O'Loughlin, 2017). This growing body of research draws attention to the significant challenges associated with understanding and categorising parkour within academic research because of the diverse ways it is practiced and understood. In order to avoid the consequences discussed in the section above I

suggested that Boundary Object Theory (Star & Griesemer, 1989) provides a way forward for classifying parkour in a way that doesn't privilege any particular interpretation over another (except a pluralistic one). Attending to my overarching interest in parkour and globalisation, I identify and expand on the approaches I use to overcoming the gaps in the parkour literature. First, my overall drawing of Robertson's (1995) understanding of globalisation as glocalisation. Second, Appadurai's model of global cultural flows. Third, the mobilities approach. And fourth, Ritzer's (2007) 'Glocal-Grobal' and 'Something-Nothing' continua.

In Chapter Three I explained my overall research framework. This involved describing my broad interpretivist approach and social constructionist paradigm, participant recruitment, the mixed-methods I used for collecting data, and how I conducted my data analysis. I described the importance of being reflexive and accounting for the power relations embedded within insider research.

In Chapter Four, the first empirical chapter I begin the work of describing the development of parkour in NZ by expounding on the various constitutive global and local flows of people, technology/media, ideas, and climate via Appadurai's (1990, 1996) model of global cultural flows. In other words, the various 'scapes' that constitute parkour in NZ. I further advanced these ideas by investigating their influence on several common training landscapes found in NZ. The NZ community is geographically isolated and is less involved in the international itinerant patterns of many European and North American practitioners. As such, it sometimes draws heavily from global technology and media relating to parkour, particularly from Europe and the USA, increasing, for example, the local population's interest in competitive parkour events and indoor

training facilities. Concurrently, this isolation has also helped to bond the parkour community in NZ and allow it to take its time considering what cultural avenues are important to pursue. Thus demonstrating the role that time and space has on the glocalisation of parkour in NZ.

In Chapter Five, the second empirical chapter, I took a closer look at the lived experiences of practitioners and their mobilities. Particular focus was directed towards gendered and Māori experiences of parkour and how minority practitioners negotiate the glocaisation of parkour. I used a mobilities approach to explore how these (im)mobilities of parkour create embodied, spatialised, and emotional experiences for these more marginalised practitioners. In so doing I revealed some of the 'paradoxes of mobility' (see Newman & Falcous, 2012), demonstrating how the glocalisation process is not felt the same by all practitioners. Of significance was the different ways that women make space for themselves in a male dominated activity, and how historical (im)mobilities impact the contemporary (im)mobilities of the Māori participant I privileged.

In Chapter Six, the third and final empirical chapter, I investigated the institutionalisation of parkour in NZ and how the NZ community, often via Parkour NZ, involves itself in international institutionalisation processes. I emphasis the ways in which the parkour community embraces certain aspects of the NZ sports system in order to try and provide legitimacy and protection for themselves whilst still attempting to retain glocal parkour cultural values and nuances. This is evident in Parkour NZ's refusal to use gambling proceeds to support its mission in changing people's lives through parkour. I also reveal conflicting discourses of authenticity relating to parkour's economic flows, with comments from local practitioners

supporting aspects of commercialisation within parkour, but only by those they deem to be part of the core community. These discussions provide a platform to unpack the ongoing "illegitimate and unilateral encroachment, misappropriation and attempt to usurp Parkour by the FIG", as described by (Parkour Earth, 2018, para. 1), a significant and ongoing process of parkour's current international institutionalisation. Throughout the chapter I make use of Ritzer's 'Glocal-Grobal' and 'Something-Nothing' continua, helpful conceptualisations for plotting the ways that parkour practitioners value system informs both their practice and the way they respond to internal and external processes of institutionalisation.

Methodological and Theoretical Reflections

In this section I share my thoughts concerning the particular methods I utilised, reflections on my various globalisation theories, and reflections on my 'self' as the project evolved. These are my 'ah-ha' moments, "the appearances of new sensibilities, times when [I] became aware of issues [I] had not imagined before" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 540). I conclude this section with some key experiences relating to the research process as a whole.

Reflections on Methods

In this project I used multiple qualitative methods of inquiry in order to get a broader perspective of the experiences of parkour practitioners in NZ. Now at the end of my journey, I provide some critical reflections on the methodological insights and challenges that these methods provided.

Going into the thesis I knew that the digital ethnography on Facebook was going to be a crucial part of my data collection. However, the ubiquitousness of social media within the parkour community meant that I wasn't even truly aware of its significance. My personal and academic journey of using and observing the parkour community's use of social media over the last few years has shown me the true magnitude of its relevance in NZ. Social media is how NZ practitioners socialise with their parkour peers when they can't be physically present, it is how they keep tabs on each other's progress, it is how they organise their events and local trainings, and how the consume parkour as entertainment. It is how they stay up to date with the creation of new movements, view high profile events and competitions, watch interviews with community figureheads, how they find places to train, eat, and sleep in NZ and abroad. This is how they do their research on the community, by following aggregated posts, photos, and videos, curated by hashtags and algorithms. Social media is unreservedly one of the most significant forces that facilitates the glocalisation of parkour in NZ.

An important related topic of note is that a section of the parkour community in NZ (and worldwide) continues to adapt and evolve its communication practices as digital communications advance. I chose to focus on Facebook as the main social media platform for my digital ethnography because of its heavy use by the NZ and global community. However, by the time of writing this conclusion, so much of the parkour community's social media interactions occurs on Instagram. Instagram is owned by Facebook, and so numerous posts on Instagram are filtered across to Facebook, but not entirely. Instagram is the place for photos and even more so in parkour, for short training clips and live videos. It is this quick, even instantaneous connection that parkour practitioners are hungry

for. Even now, parkour specific apps are being developed and some NZ practitioners are making suggestions that the community should move off the current mainstream platforms in favour of these insider apps. I am a parkour practitioner and social media user and find myself increasingly interested in only the parkour media, scrolling past sponsored ads and posts from other connections just to make sure I'm keeping track of everything in the parkour world. But now, on the cusp of entering my 30's, I find myself getting used to these mainstream social media platforms and finding it difficult to understand the desire to use something else.

These rapid changes in digital behaviour and the ubiquitousness of digital mediated interactions during everyday life is palpable. The parkour community represents a microcosm of the way youthful communities are developing around the world. It is crucially important that scholars of globalisation, action sports, and parkour in particular, incorporate digital ethnographic methods into their research if they are to make sense of the way young people understand their world.

At the beginning of my data collection I thought that the media analysis of NZ radio, TV, and print media on parkour would provide valuable contrasting voices to the voices of my practitioners and therefore critical insight into the glocalisation of parkour in NZ. However, although it was helpful for cross-referencing other sources, deepening interview dialogues, and describing specific historical events, it ended up revealing more about the global media flows on my local understanding of parkour. I have read and watched numerous pieces of news on parkour over the years that do indeed clash with local and global understandings and representations of parkour—particularly in relation to risk.

Indeed, I have seen NZ practitioners voice their opposition to international media depictions of parkour in the past. However, it is now clear that this global media, and indeed, the global parkour imaginary, caused me to believe that *all* media, including NZ media, regularly misrepresented parkour as being inherently dangerous. My data analysis revealed that I was mistaken.

My intention had been to use 'versus coding', the binary identification of conflicting groups (see Saldaña, 2013), for comparing and contrasting the news media and practitioner voices. However, when it came to coding my news sources, examples of conflict between NZ media representations of parkour and the parkour community were scarce. Although the news media representations of parkour were often simplistic—and would often portray parkour as being new to the country, despite articles being written as early as 2006 (see de Graaf, 2006)—by and large the media depictions of parkour reflected the comments and practices of the parkour practitioners being interviewed.

This has interesting implications when considering the glocalisation of parkour and other action sport cultures in other national contexts. For instance, if other media outlets overseas reflect the way NZ media depicts parkour—that is, their descriptions accurately reflect the practitioners being reported on—it is entirely credible that some media depictions of action sports have been unfairly vilified by parkour communities.

As an insider to the community, I had no difficulties in accessing participants for my data collection. Like Thorpe (2012a), and many other scholars researching sport or youthful cultures, my many past and present roles within the community gave me ready access. Mercer (2007) describes this insider status as

in a state of constant flux, from each location, interaction, topic, and moment to the next. Though perhaps not so fitful or unpredictable as Mercer, Thorpe's (2012a) insider status with the snowboarding community also evidenced shifts along an insider-outsider continuum. My experience differs however, in that my insider status did not seem to fluctuate significantly during my data collection. There are many potential contributing factors, including the small size and connected nature of the NZ community, and the ongoing prominence of my roles.

Because of this familiarity I was afforded, I found data collection to be thoroughly gratifying experience. Interviews in particular were one of, if not the most, enjoyable part of the research process for me. As an insider, taking the time to sit and speak in-depth with passionate present and past practitioners about their parkour experiences was a real delight and something I will treasure for a long time. My feelings echo Maika's words, "I haven't talked about parkour for so long . . . thank you for giving me the opportunity to talk a whole heap of shit. It's been great" (interview, October 2016). Except that my feelings are compounded by the many interviews I performed. Of critical importance however, was that the interviews allowed me to delve into topics to greater depths and challenge practitioners on some of their assumptions whilst also giving me important information to 'fact check' against their physical training, social and online behaviours.

Perhaps even more so, however, it challenged my own insider understandings of my participants, and was therefore valuable for questioning my own assumptions. Although I had some knowledge of all the practitioners I interviewed, I had not met or trained with all of them. However, in some cases I

had witnessed or been a part of online interactions with them, including seeing their training videos. From these exchanges I had painted mental pictures of these practitioners that my interviews sometimes challenged. For instance, I had been somewhat cautious of Jacob based on the behaviour I had seen in his training videos. In speaking with him however, I was able to contextualise some of these behaviours, and recognised that they were not dissimilar from many of the actions of other practitioners that I had not created the same mental pictures of. Thus, unlike Taylor (2011), I felt no increase in friction between myself and those I had established relationship with, rather, I felt that the interviews provided the opportunity to build intimacy, despite some of the challenging discussions we had.

Theoretical Reflections

One of the purposes of social theory is to contextualise social practices and cultural forms into the "broader social environment within which it took shape and assumed its particular meaning and function" (Hartmann, 2017, p. 6). Hartmann (2017) argues that "theoretically and engaged sport scholarship can contribute to a better, fuller understanding of sport . . . [and] its relationships with society" (p. 11). In each of my empirical chapter I drew on a different theory of globalisation to both contextualise and comprehend the relationship between parkour and societal processes. Here I revisit these approaches: Appadurai's (1990, 1996) model of global cultural flows, the mobilities paradigm (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007), and Ritzer's (2007) globalisation of nothing thesis. I offer critiques of these theories and engage in dialogue across and between them, considering what they offer youth-focused activities like parkour. Further, I also

continue some of my methodological reflections, discussing how in some cases, the theories were helpful in revealing aspects of my own subjectivities.

In framing their research, Carrington and Wilson (2002) declare that Appadurai's (1990, 1996) model is both a useful and comprehensive guide for analysing the "dynamics of global cultural transmission" (p. 83), and more specifically, their research into British dance music cultures before social media was so significant. Appadurai's (1990, 1996) theory of globalisation via the disjunctive flows of several 'scapes' has stood the test of time, remaining equally relevant for the analysis of 'global cultural transmission' in parkour. Appadurai's (1990, 1996) 'scapes' were helpful in elucidating the various economic, political, technological, media, and migration patterns within the local parkour sportscape. These 'scapes' clearly define the majority of flows that occur within the parkour community and is therefore helpful in understanding the ways in which parkour in NZ has developed, and in turn, how this community experiences processes of glocalisation. Although drawing conceptually from the idea of landscapes, Appadurai's (1990) framework extends the ideas of imagined worlds, rather than the tangible world of the parkour practitioner. Therefore, the importance of the physical landscape to parkour, and especially as a local influence, demanded its inclusion.

Appadurai's (1990) framework appears somewhat neutral on the topic of various important sociological concepts, such as power. Critical scholars interested in "empower[ing] subordinate groups or expos[ing] dominant relations of power" (p. 115); those concerned with specifically being "part of a broader project of progressive social transformation" (McDonald, 2002, p. 100), may find

Appadurai's (1990) model disinterested in power. However, I argue that the value of his framework is that it enables data to speak through the model. My examples in the ideoscape section on risk and the impact of organisations intent on building purpose built parks draws attention to how parkour practitioners experience and push back against institutions, spaces, and bodies who hold power.

Few scholars have investigated gendered mobilities with respect to the physical moving body within sport cultures. Consequently, responding to the call by Newman and Falcous (2012) to bring the moving body into the mobilities frame, and attending to questions of gender by Wheaton (2016), I explored the relevance of mobilities as an approach in and of itself. I asked whether a mobilities approach could ask different questions, than existing literature on parkour, of the complex phenomena of gender and ethnicity, and teach us more about the glocalisation of parkour in NZ. Mobilities approaches are expressly concerned with both movement and non-movement allowing me to consider the ramifications that glocalisation has on women and Māori practitioners. I found a mobilities approach important for understanding the experiences of these more marginalised participants. Although the prevalence and significance of the various mobilities within the parkour experience make a mobilities approach useful, the value of such an approach cannot solely be placed on convenience. McAllister (2011) has argued that mobilities has been set up in such a way that it often fails to question the status quo. Clarsen (2013) suggests that the long engagement between feminism and women's mobilities has been one of the new mobilities paradigm's political and intellectual antecedents. Thus, I found that a mobilities approach forced me to consider how the moving body and movements of the body and mind (physically, imaginatively, and digitally) influence the cultural mobility and social

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hierarchies of minority practitioners. More specifically, it drew attention to the exclusivity created by social hierarchies developed around the performance of difficult parkour movements and challenges. This helped to uncover participant motivations and revealed that the physical mobility choices of men, in particular, often undermine claims of parkour's inclusive social nature. As Kaufmann (2014) states of mobilities scholarship broadly, this chapter demonstrates that "the ability to move is becoming increasingly important for social . . . inclusion" (p. 10).

In the words of Cattan (2008), "highlighting the influence of women . . . or any of the spatial and social levels at which globalising processes occur, makes it possible to break away from the constant reiteration of a single dominant view of the world" (p. 91). Thus, a mobilities approach helped to confirm that the glocalisation process of parkour in NZ is not experienced evenly by all participants. Furthermore, Sheller (2008) argues that "greater awareness of the incompleteness of gender mainstreaming and ongoing issues of social exclusion may help to promote better research into underlying causes and comparative analysis of best practice" (p. 263). A mobilities approach, can contribute significantly to this project.

Focusing now on Ritzer's (2007) theory, I first note that it appears to have roots in, or at least is easily associated with authenticity dichotomies. Debates regarding authenticity, however, are central to both the history of parkour, and its institutionalisation. Ritzer's (2007) framework has therefore been highly useful in understanding that ways that parkour practitioners in NZ understand the institutionalisation process in juxtaposition to their cultural sporting values. Further, it has been helpful in comparing gymnastics and parkour, the two

conflicting sports at the centre of the debate in chapter six. I recognise that there are several issues with using Ritzer's (2007) theorising within a thesis underpinned by Robertson's (2012) glocalisation thesis and one with a holistic view on the categorisation of parkour.

Firstly, Ritzer's (2007) globalisation definition (i.e. global includes glocal and grobal) clashes with Robertson's (2012) definition (i.e. global is glocal due to simultaneous universality and particularly). However, as I understand it, both scholars have an ultimately similar understanding of globalisation, but they use different and conflicting terminology to describe it. Although I ascribe to Robertson's (2012) understanding of globalisation as glocalisation, the processes of power inherent to grobalisation discussed by Ritzer (2007) are helpful in understanding the contentions surrounding the FIGs appropriation of parkour.

Secondly, one might argue that the holistic way I have attempted to understand parkour via my use of Boundary Object Theory (see more below) is in opposition to the binaries and continuums of Ritzer's thesis (2007). Parkour as a boundary object cannot fit on Ritzer's (2007) continuums because it represents all potential versions of parkour simultaneously. However, I maintain that Ritzer's (2007) globalisation of nothing theory actually helps to explain some of the various understandings of parkour. Indeed, competitive parkour and non-competitive parkour are versions of the boundary object conceptualisation of parkour, but they also sit on different points of the 'something-nothing' continuum, experiencing different elements of Ritzer's (2007) definitions of grobalisation and glocalisation. Additionally, in relation to my own reflective processing, the appreciation that 'something' and 'nothing' are not analogous of

good and evil—only different products serving different ends—has given me valuable perspective on how different interpretations of the practice and definition of parkour are socially constructed and contested between the likes of the core parkour community and FIG gymnastics. It has also, however, consolidated my own opinions on the contestation of parkour. McDonald's (2002) experiences regarding racism in cricket led him to use his research to intervene "against dominant relations of power" (p. 115). Thus, like McDonald, my experiences have led me to become "committed to the production of knowledge that would expose and explain injustice and unequal relations of power" (McDonald, 2002, p. 114).

Overall, this thesis not only demonstrates that Robertson's (1995) 20th century concept of glocalisation is still an apt description of the globalisation process, but that now, 20 years later in the 21st century—a vastly different digital age—it remains an incredibly relevant and applicable approach to understanding how young people experience globalisation. Using different approaches to understanding glocalisation within the parkour community was helpful, though not necessarily simple. We can't access all aspects of our identity that inform our projects, but engaging with these different theories and associated literature helped me to tap into some of my subjectivities, helping to build my academic craft. Although there were challenges to consider and account for, such as the seemingly incompatibility of Robertson (1995) and Ritzer (2007), or the flexibility of Boundary Object Theory (Star & Griesemer, 1989) and Ritzer's (2007) systematic approach, there were also opportunities for the theories to support each other, such as using the mobilities paradigm (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007) to explore gaps left by Appadurai (1996). Ultimately, these approaches to

understanding globalisation elucidated key information about how the different scales of these processes are experienced, and contributed to providing a richer understanding of the glocalisation of parkour in NZ.

By way of concluding this section it is worth nothing that the initial focus of this thesis was not a critical one. However, during the research process, these theories of globalisation and my experiences with FIG/Parkour Earth in particular, lead me to a much more critical stance. Throughout the research process I become much more aware of the power and politics underpinning the experiences of women and Māori, and the contestation surrounding parkour's sovereignty.

Reflections on Self throughout the Research Process

Wheaton (2002) has said that "despite reflection on the 'self' as cultural insider, researchers have often failed to investigate the 'self' as gendered or racialised subjects" (p. 240). Thus, at the end of Chapter Three, I raised the importance of reflecting on the deeper elements of 'self' and signalling that I am aware that these elements have impacted the research process. I have however, left those critical reflections until the end of the thesis because of the relevance of my empirical chapters on this discussion.

As I mentioned in my methodology, I am an adult, heterosexual, Pākehā male with a Christian worldview. These are the parts of myself that Wheaton (2002) refers to as being the "most personal and most obvious" (p. 262). They are that with which I have to grapple with in order to create critical distance and understandings between (my)'self' and the 'other' (Wheaton, 2002, citing Atkinson, 1990). However, even though I recognise that "reflexivity must be

central to any critical ethnography" (Fletcher, 2014, p. 258) I also recognise that the reality of keeping those parts of myself visible and at the forefront of my mind during the research process was difficult. Despite viewing my participants as socially constructing their understanding of parkour, and acknowledging that I am not objectively separate from that but am an active participate in that process, I did not get to the state where I was able to deeply comprehend how various elements of my being were influencing that social construction of knowledge in practice. It is only now, through writing that I am able to make any real sense of myself in my work (see Richardson & St Pierre, 2005, on writing as a method of inquiry). As Olive (Forthcoming) explains, "reflexivity is key to effective participatory research but, clearly, it is a very difficult practice to establish" (para. 7). This reflexive process is ongoing and one that the PhD process continues to teach me, nevertheless, I have not yet learned the depth of how my interpretations are specific to my personal subjectivities, or as she discusses drawing from Probyn (1993) how to "think the social through myself" (Olive, Forthcoming, para. 8). Equally, I cannot necessarily isolate the subjectivities that I have discovered into distinct categories to show how they individually influenced particular parts of the research process. Furthermore, I also recognise that there is growing critique of reflexivity (see, for example, Adams, 2003; Lynch, 2000; Probst, 2015) with suggestions of it being too difficult to analyse its value and impact, as well as accusations of navel gazing. However, my intention here is not to "empower or critically disable[]" (Lynch, 2000, p. 46) myself through this reflexive process, but rather to account for my growing awareness of how I impact my research. Therefore, I discuss two examples of where one or more of these elements of self, impacted my research.

During subsequent drafting of Chapter Five, it became clear that I should write about men's mobilities in parkour before venturing into women's mobilities. One of the rationalities behind this for my supervisors was because, as a male practitioner and researcher, writing about parkour masculinities would be something I am familiar with. But I was not familiar with writing or thinking about masculinities at all. I am a man, and I am conducting sociological research, but writing about masculinity was still foreign to me and I struggled to incorporate that lens into my work—a critique that feminist scholars have long made of many researching sport (see, for example, Laurendeau, 2008). I was understanding gender as a "variable that must be taken into account" (Messner, 1990a, p. 136) in my research, certainly, hence the inclusion of men's and women's mobilities. However, like the critiques Free and Hughson (2003) laid against sports ethnographers Giulianotti (1991, 1993, 1995a, 1995b) and Armstrong (1998), I may have 'unselfconsciously' reproduced gendered views as being "naturally given attributes" (p. 140) because I had not considered "the social construction of gender . . . [as] a "basic theoretical category through which . . . [to] understand the world" (Messner, 1990a, p. 136). Further, it was also the case that while I wanted to explore the intersections between gender and ethnicity, my non-male and ethnically dissimilar interview participants did not open up to me in great detail about their gendered and/or particularly their ethnic experiences of parkour. I was uncomfortable probing deeper in order to try and reveal this information, which I attributed to my own ethnicity and maleness. Thus, because of the identity conflict I experienced as a male Pākehā researcher, I was unable to attain greater depth regarding my gendered and racial analysis of my interview participants.

At the end of the project, one question I have considered is 'did I privilege particular places, spaces, or people?' As I laid out in chapter three, my attendance at events outside Hamilton was primarily contingent on my ability/availability to attend. However, when I was in those locations for interviews or participant observations (PO), where I went to conduct PO was influenced by elements of self. For instance, comprehending the implications of researching practitioners engaging in potentially criminal behaviour (see, for example, Dekeyser & Garrett, 2018; Pearson, 2009), such as PO of Christchurch practitioners entering the earthquake red zone (mentioned in chapter four), could easily have been an ethical process. However, my comprehension of this situation was not driven by considerations of the ethical implications of conducting such research, rather, my decision to focus only on legally accessible training areas was influenced by my masculinity, and associated statuses of father and husband, and likely my Christian values. My current attitudes towards risk and ethical training echo many of the sentiments expressed to me by my participants in chapter four, and feel the same as they did prior to marriage and fatherhood. However, nowadays, in addition to thinking about my own wellbeing, I also consider the impact that an accident or controversy would have on my wife and daughters.

Drawing on ideas from Robertson (2006), Laurendeau (2008) asserts that the ways action sport participants ""do" risk are also—and simultaneously, and always already—ways that they negotiate gender" (p. 304). He argues that choosing to participate in action sports are constitutive of risk constructions and gender projects (Laurendeau, 2008). I agree that all such statuses impact on decision making, but based on the similar understandings of risk across gender found in my research, including mothers and fathers, gender may not necessarily

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be the determining factor in all circumstances. For instance, my role as CEO of Parkour NZ weighed more heavily on my decision making regarding PO in potentially incriminating situations. My position means that my behaviour is likely to end up under increased scrutiny if I was found to be in a situation deemed controversial. In their information on outdoor training, Parkour NZ's (2019) website states "your actions will often inform their [the public] opinions of parkour. It is, therefore, important to be a good ambassador for the practice". It felt hypocritical, as one of the mouthpieces and most visible faces of Parkour NZ to operate outside this advice, even for research purposes. I therefore chose not to engage in some of the more marginal practices engaged in by certain pockets of the NZ community.

Research Implications

My research makes an important contribution to parkour, action sport sociology, and globalisation literature, while also drawing out key outcomes that can impact policy.

Contribution to Socio-cultural Understandings of Action Sports

The majority of sociologically-informed parkour research has focused on specific local cases (e.g. Atkinson, 2009; Kidder, 2017) but haven't consider how global *and* local influences shape the communities of interest. Similarly, no parkour research has attempted to look at NZ specifically, or how geographic isolation—as opposed to political isolation (Thorpe & Ahmad, 2015)—impacts on the glocalisation process. Moreover, my research offers a new account of action sport in NZ, adding

to the understanding of sport in NZ society. Thus, my research has investigated a yet to be explored area, namely the development of parkour in a national context, with consideration for the global and local influences that have inspired that development. In so doing I have reinforced the importance of investigating national contexts in an increasingly connected world.

The growing institutionalisation of these activities, for instance, increases the importance of understanding how these activities are understood, performed, bought, and sold in different countries. This case of parkour in NZ, Parkour NZ, and its involvement in international parkour politics identifies the power struggles between international sports federations within the Olympic network, Parkour Earth, and the grassroots parkour community. This issue is not only relevant to parkour, but to a range of emergent action sports that are currently undergoing different degrees of institutionalisation nationally (e.g. Ellmer & Rynne, 2018) and internationally (e.g. Batuev & Robinson, 2018a; Batuev & Robinson, 2018b), driven largely by co-optation by the Olympic network (Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018a). This has important implications for, among other things, gender equity (Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018b), competition structures (Strittmatter et al., 2018), coaching (Ojala & Thorpe, 2015), issues of governance and cultural legitimacy (Hoffman, 2018), and power and representation (Batuev & Robinson, 2018a).

Boundary Object Theory (BOT) (Star & Griesemer, 1989) has been fruitful for articulating the glocalised understandings of parkour. Although parkour is perhaps one of the more salient examples of the ways action sports fragment and develop, these processes are also common within other action sports and physical cultures (Strittmatter et al., 2018; Thorpe & Wheaton, 2013; Wheaton, 2013a),

and thus BOT may also be a helpful tool for conceptualising other physical cultural forms in comprehensive and inclusive ways. As an insider, it was personally helpful for reconciling other ways of understanding parkour that were contrary to my own. Even though they differ, it has given me an appreciation that other understandings have still come-to-be through the social construction of certain glocal narratives and therefore valid, even if they are contested. The inclusion of BOT is a unique contribution, but it remains to be seen whether its use can help facilitate the analysis of such complexities beyond a helpful framing device.

Mobilities is a growing area within the sociology of sport, with the unique movement and travel patterns of action sport participants offering interesting insights into influences and manner in which youthful formations are (im)mobile. My attempt to push a mobilities approach to its limit by analysing physical, imaginative, and digital mobilities of minority persons without the pairing of— often, but not exclusively—feminist theories is one such project that demonstrates how analysing the varying mobility of sports communities can teach us about their lived experiences. In particular, my work included an account of how investigating the physical mobility of parkour practitioners can answer questions concerning the social (im)mobility of minority participants.

I believe my digital ethnography to also be a unique and key contribution to action sport sociology, one that future analyses of parkour and action sport cultures should seriously consider. Much of the action sport literature presented in the literature review in chapter two was conducted before the rise of social media, and thus used traditional ethnographic methods. Despite my commendation for these methods, "action sport participants are prolific users of

social media" (Thorpe, 2014, p. 26). Therefore, utilising both online and offline methods, physical and digital, "can be helpful in developing rich and comprehensive understandings of relationships between online and offline cultural life" (Wilson, 2006). Even more so, digital ethnography is highly necessary for investigating the cultural life of action sport participants who, in this case on parkour, see little separation between online and offline worlds. Thus, repeating Thorpe and Wheaton's (2013) argument that I presented in chapter one, twenty-first century scholars ought to utilise "multi-methodological and theoretical, contextual, and political approaches" in order to "(re)imagine more meaningful action sports research" (p. 353). What is more contextual than researching action sports participants in online spaces that have become, to a certain extent, inseparable to their physical lives and their politics? Understandings of the world are informed by the cultural knowledge that people obtain (Wilson, 2006), and social media is a highly significant medium by which parkour practitioners acquire cultural knowledge. What is more meaningful then, than "understanding the dissemination of a dominant form of knowledge for young people" (Wilson, 2006, p. 309)?

Contribution to Globalisation Scholarship

Continuing the line of thought above, Wilson (2006) identifies that consideration of the relationship between physical and digital ethnographies is an area ripe for growth due to the lack of work that reflects on how these two methods can be integrated to support scholarly work on cultural groups and "especially on cultural flows – a topic of particular interest for those who study the globalization of

culture" (p 309). A key contribution then that this thesis offers to the existing globalisation scholarship is an understanding that, like above, utilising both methods facilitates the capturing of a more thorough picture of how globalisation is experienced by young people growing up in this digital age (see Robards, 2012, for example, on growing up on social media).

The participants in this study do not experience glocalisation in only the physical realm or only the digital realm, they live in and through both realms. They experience and contribute to glocalisation in and through both realms, as extensions of each other. The digital extends the physical, as it enables the physical mobility of parkour practitioners to become further mobile via the currents of the internet. The physical extends the digital, because the body is able to personify and test out the dreams and challenges presented online. This demonstrates the relevance of using action sport case studies to examine globalisation processes.

The parkour community, like the snowboarding community before it (see Humphreys, 2003), have resisted the co-optation of their activity by the Olympic Network (proponents notwithstanding). Historically, "from the local to the global levels, movements struggle for public visibility as granted (or refused) by the mass media" (Rucht, 2004, p. 27). However, what is evident about the case of parkour, over 20 years since snowboarding made its Olympic debut, is that the current digital age has facilitated a significantly more rapid and global response. Indeed, even as I type this, it has just been announced that parkour has been voted in as the 8th gymnastic discipline at the FIG congress in Azerbaijan, a decision that will have a marked impact on parkour's global and local trajectories. Yet I was made

aware of this news not from a newspaper or the TV. Rather, Danish Gymnastics sent word of the outcome via email to Street Movement, a Danish parkour company, who in turned posted it on social media, which has since been shared worldwide (Street Movement, 2018). This ability for the smaller voices of the parkour community to be heard amidst the Olympic megaphone demonstrates the reduced dependency on mainstream media outlets (Poell & Van Dijck, 2015). Unlike the fleeting formation of protest movements that "inevitably dissolve when social platforms algorithmically connect users to the next wave of trending topics" (Poell & Van Dijck, 2015, p. 534), physical cultural groups like the parkour community are less likely to be dispersed, thanks to both the general embeddedness of their participants, and the ability to archive and preserve the history of these current affairs in Web 2.0 (see Puddle, 2018b). Thus, these new digital politics are important for understanding contemporary action sport cultural formations.

Policy Outcomes

In addition to reminding scholars of the importance of focusing on national contexts, studies into action sports in specific nations have important implications for the generation of policy.

For instance, an important policy outcome is the understanding that Workplace Health and Safety (WHS) reforms can have unintentional consequences for parkour participants and associated activities. Parkour participants understanding and experiences of risk parallel contemporary research on the value of risky play for holistic childhood development. These findings suggests that

the NZ government and WorkSafe NZ ought to consider how an ideoscape of 'welfare' championed to protect people in high-risk industries may have unintended ramifications for young people, potentially preventing them from participating in the very activities that may be necessary for their wellbeing.

In another example, Jeanes, Spaaij, Penney, and O'Connor (2018) reveal that organisations and key actors can obstruct participation in informal sports (they include action sports in their analysis), rather than support their growth. This suggests that research that informs national and local government as well as national and local sports organisations on the lived experiences of action sport participants is highly valuable. Jeanes et al. (2018) recommend that collaboration between informal sport communities and local and national agencies would provide better opportunities to help and grow these activities and their budding communities. They also recognise, however, that there is tension between supporting without overly formalising and losing the appeal that informal sports have, recommending this as an area that warrants research. Understanding the values and experiences of participants in the glocal practice of parkour in NZ offers valuable insights in this area. My research demonstrates that although informality is a significant draw card for parkour participants, they also support formal structures that can act as fences to protect and aid them in their endeavours, provided these structures embody their values and don't seek to dictate how they can participate.

Of special significance in both these areas is the continued efforts in understanding how the experiences of minority and marginalised practitioners are

constructed differently and may not always reflect majority opinions regarding risk, institutionalisation, and action sport values more specifically.

Limitations, Questions, and Future Research

Throughout this concluding chapter I have addressed a number of experiences that highlight some of the limitations of this project, raise thought provoking questions, or point to possible directions of future research. I summarise those limitations here.

First, although I included participants who trained irregularly or had stopped training altogether, my focus on the development of parkour has not included the voices of other central people whose involvement is not that of a practitioner. My own wife for instance, has been a huge supporter of my own personal work in parkour, and much administrative support for Parkour NZ since we've been married. In fact, many NZ practitioners have non-participating partners and spouses who are nonetheless contributing to how parkour has developed in the nation. This is but one example of a group I omitted to study, but there is a wide network of actors who have contributed to the development of parkour in NZ in various ways. Non-practitioners within action sport cultures are usually targeted as inauthentic or even damaging to the activity's culture, but how have non-practitioners contributed to their development? In parkour, non-practitioners likely include friends, mentors, parents, and other family members of practitioners, non-practicing community and Parkour NZ volunteers, funding organisations, and staff of regional sports trusts and other organisations, etc. It

would therefore be valuable to ask practitioners what other non-practitioners have been important in motivating, encouraging, facilitating, challenging, or preventing their participation. Future research should consider how these people influence the development, direction, and understanding of parkour in global and local contexts.

Second, 24 of my interview participants identified as men, leaving only 8 of those participants being able to speak to non-masculine experiences of parkour in NZ. To sufficiently address the gendered experiences of parkour practitioners, future research needs to increase its focus and involvement of women in the parkour community.

Third, although I began the first work of discussing the experiences of Māori parkour practitioners in NZ in chapter five, and as mentioned there, I did not undertake a Kaupapa Māori approach. Such an approach would be more culturally appropriate and significant. Also, despite including other Māori participants, I only drew on the experiences of one of them. Further, although I had participants of Thai, Korean, and Chinese decent, I did not focus on how their racial experiences of parkour. This raises a number of questions and possible research focuses. How do other Māori practitioners experience parkour? How do these experiences compare and contrast to Pākehā experiences? Are the gendered experiences of Māori practitioners similar or different to those presented here? Despite the challenges to Māori participation in parkour raised in chapter five, Parkour NZ has delivered some workshops and curriculum lessons at Māori schools and events. How do Māori understandings of parkour differ between iwi and training contexts? Moreover, how do other ethnic minorities

experience parkour in NZ? Indeed, although parkour is gaining in popularity in many nations overseas, refugees and ex-pats from those countries in NZ do not make up a visible portion of the national parkour community. Thus, how do the experiences of ethnic minorities in host nations compare to the experiences of their compatriots in their home nation? Even more broadly, how are these questions being addressed in other national contexts, other action sport and physical cultural research, and what are the policy implications?

Fourth and finally, a key thought emerging from chapter six, is now that parkour has been co-opted internationally by FIG, what are the implications for the future of parkour's dissemination? How will FIG portray and share parkour moving forward? Despite the critiques I have laid against the appropriation of parkour by FIG, what are the possible benefits to those who experience FIG parkour? Many within the core parkour community would consider their experiences to be inauthentic, false, or perhaps even dangerous, but how do they value and negotiate their experiences in the face of the expressions of the core community?

Final Concluding Remarks

Drawing upon multiple methods and three different theories of globalisation processes, this thesis has recorded the complex processes of glocalisation as lived experiences, embodied by parkour participants. Parkour in NZ is heavily influenced by global processes of finance, media, technology, ideas, and travel, facilitated by developing digital technologies. However, despite the influence and regular

embrace of these global processes on and by parkour practitioners, NZ's history, climate, culture, and geographic location are ever present local influences that have significant implications on how parkour is understood and experienced. This glocalisation process is not an even experience for all practitioners, with minority practitioners such as women and Māori practitioners experiencing additional challenges to their mobility and participation.

The rapid changes in technology that provide different opportunities to connect, travel, and communicate are having a significant impact on globalisation processes. The ability of individuals to travel and connect with much the same speed and efficiency, as has been previously afforded to large national and multi-national corporations, means that individuals and local communities continually attempt to make themselves heard. Collectively, the NZ community supports the general premise of parkour's institutionalisation, but make significant efforts towards protecting their values and using them to influence the NZ sport landscape. In turn, via Parkour NZ, they work hard to involve themselves in the fight for parkour's autonomy and sovereignty internationally.

Young people, particularly those participating in action sport cultures like parkour, are growing up in a technologically connected world, where the global and the local are increasingly intertwined and can have significant ramifications in short spaces of time. The importance of understanding glocalisation within these communities, therefore, cannot be ignored, and that has been the crux of this thesis.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Participant Demographic Data
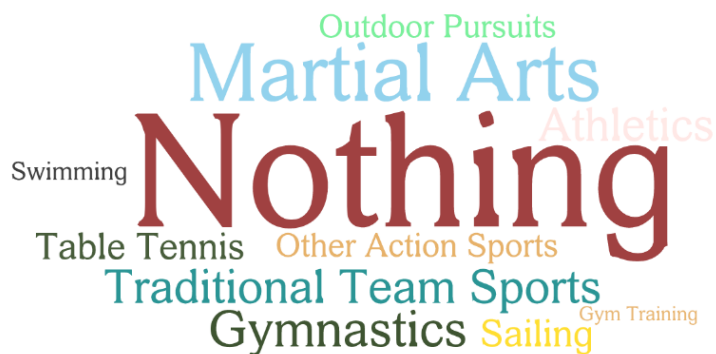
Towns Represented

Occupations

Pre-Parkour Participation

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

<u>**Key Themes**</u>

- Personal story (i.e. how they came to do parkour) - "How did you come to start training parkour?"

- Meaning (i.e. how they define parkour) - "What is parkour? How do you define your practice?"

- Training (i.e. how they practice parkour) - "What does your typical training session look like?"

- Community (i.e. how they interact with others) – "How would you describe the New Zealand parkour community?"

- Risk (i.e. perceptions and attitudes towards voluntary risk taking) – "Can you describe your relationship to risk for me?"

- Technology (i.e. how they use and explore technology) – "How does technology like video cameras and social media play a part in your training?"

- Evolution (i.e. parkour in the future) – "Is parkour different now than when you first started?"

<u>**Potential Schedule**</u>

Personal story (i.e. how they came to do parkour)

- *How did you come to start training?*

    o How long have you been training?

    o Where did you start training?

    o Who or what had the biggest influence on your early training?

    o Have your participated in other sports or activities? / Do you still?

        ▪ How do they influence your training?

Meaning (i.e. how they define parkour)

- *What is parkour? / How do you define your practice?*

    o What do you call your practice?

    o What do you call yourself?

    o What is involved in your practice?

    o Does your practice have any philosophies?

        ▪ Can you explain what those philosophies are?

    o Do you experience any benefits from your training?

- o Are there any drawbacks from training?
- o Can you describe your motivations for training?
  - ▪ Have they changed over time?

Training (i.e. how they practice parkour)

- *What does your typical training session look like?*
  - o How often do you train? / How long is each session?
  - o How would you describe your training style?
  - o Can you describe any other training principles you adhere to?
  - o What are your favourite types of locations to train?
    - ▪ Would you train anywhere, even if you had to trespass?
  - o Who do you train with?
  - o What do you like to wear?
    - ▪ Do you wear parkour brands?
  - o Can you describe the terminology you would use when out training?

Community (i.e. how they interact with others)

- *How would you describe the New Zealand parkour community?*
  - o How would you compare the New Zealand community to the communities overseas?
  - o How would you describe your local training scene compared to other New Zealand scenes?
    - ▪ And what about the scenes overseas?
    - ▪ What are your favourite things about training in New Zealand?
    - ▪ What are your least favourite things about training in New Zealand?
  - o How do your family feel about your training?
    - ▪ Your friends? Bystanders?

Risk (i.e. perceptions and attitudes towards voluntary risk taking)

- *Can you describe your relationship to risk?*
  - o Can you take me through your build up to doing a new jump?
  - o Do you feel that you take risks?
  - o Can you describe any injuries you've had from training?
  - o What is your relationship with fear?

- o Can you describe any experiences you've had with security, police?

    - ▪ What influenced the decisions you made in those situations?

Technology (i.e. how they use and explore technology)

- *How does technology like video cameras and social media play a part in your training?*

    - o How are videos important to your parkour practice?

        - ▪ What are your top three favourite parkour videos? [Lets watch them]

            - Why are these videos your favourite?

    - o What goes through your head when you edit your videos?

    - o How is social media important to your practice?

    - o What are you looking for when you search parkour online?

Evolution (i.e. parkour in the future)

- Is parkour different now than when you first started?

    - o Can you describe what's changed?

    - o Who or what has been your biggest influence in recent years?

    - o What are you feelings about parkour competitions?

        - ▪ Would you enter a parkour competition?

    - o What are your feelings on the commercialisation of parkour?

    - o Would you want to earn a living through parkour?

    - o How would you like to see parkour change in the future?

Appendix C: Consent Form for Participants (Over 16s)

FACULTY OF EDUCATION *Te Kura Toi Tangata*	THE UNIVERSITY OF **WAIKATO** *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

Project Title: *'Examining the Development of Parkour in New Zealand'*

I have read the **Information Sheet for Participants** for this research project and have had the details of the project explained to me. My questions about the project have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw myself and my data from the project at any time prior to approving my transcript, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the project. I agree to provide data to the researchers under the conditions of confidentiality set out on the **Information Sheet** and recognise that while my data will be documented under a pseudonym, anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

I understand that the data I provide will be used in the completion of a doctoral thesis and may also be used in other scholarly publications that will be publicly available as well as conference presentations..

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the **Information Sheet** as (tick one):

Fully Anonymous ☐   *Partially Anonymous* ☐   *Identified* ☐

Email Address: _____

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Principle Researcher:
Damien Puddle
027 747 8426
dlp20@students.waikato.ac.nz

Supervisor:
Associate Professor Belinda Wheaton
07 838 4466 ext 6205
bwheaton@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix D: Consent Form for Participants (Under 16s)

<table>
<tr><td>

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Te Kura Toi Tangata

</td><td>

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

</td></tr>
</table>

Project Title: *'Examining the Development of Parkour in New Zealand'*

I have read the **Information Sheet for Participants** for this research project with my child and have had the details of the project explained to us. Our questions about the project have been answered to our satisfaction, and we understand that we may ask further questions at any time.

We also understand that my child is free to withdraw themselves and their data from the project at any time prior to transcript approval, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the project. My child agrees to provide data to the researchers under the conditions of confidentiality set out on the **Information Sheet** and recognise that while their data will be documented under a pseudonym, anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

We understand that the data my child provides will be used in the completion of a doctoral thesis and may also be used in other scholarly publications that will be publicly available as well as conference presentations.

With my child's agreement, I consent to letting my child participate in this study under the conditions set out in the **Information Sheet** as (tick one):

Fully Anonymous ☐   *Partially Anonymous* ☐   *Identified* ☐

Contact Email Address: _____

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____

Parent/Guardian Name: _____

Parent/Guardian Signature: _____

Date: _____

Principle Researcher:
Damien Puddle
027 747 8426
dlp20@students.waikato.ac.nz

Supervisor:
Associate Professor Belinda Wheaton
07 838 4466 ext 6205
bwheaton@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix E: Information Sheet for Participants (Over 16s)

FACULTY OF EDUCATION	THE UNIVERSITY OF
Te Kura Toi Tangata	WAIKATO
	Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Project Title: *Examining the Development of Parkour in New Zealand*

Overview

Hi, my name is Damien Puddle and I am a PhD student at the University of Waikato in the Faculty of Education. My doctoral thesis is exploring the development of parkour in New Zealand, with a specific focus on the global and local influences that have played key roles in shaping the way parkour is experienced and practiced in New Zealand.

Invitation

I would like to extend an invitation to you to participate in this research project. Your participation in the project is entirely voluntary and you may decline to participate. Please take whatever time you need to discuss the study with your family and friends, or anyone else you wish to. Your decision to participate or decline will not result in any rewards or detriments to you.

Why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have been identified because you fit a specific demographic within the New Zealand parkour community that has been recognised as a valuable voice for inclusion.

What will I have to do and how long will it take?

If you agree to participate in the research you will be asked to participate in one interview session about your parkour experiences. The principal researcher will be the interviewer and interviews are expected to take between 60 and 90 minutes in most cases. If you agree to participate, we will talk further in order to ascertain the interview date and location.

The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed verbatim (word for word). You will have the opportunity to give a further 60 to 90 minutes to review, amend and approve the interview transcript.

What are the risks involved with my participation?

During the interview you will be asked to recall information about your parkour experiences. These discussion topics are unlikely to cause any significant anxiety. If you are or have been a volunteer, employee or client of NZ Parkour, you can be assured that participation, non-participation, withdrawal or any information you provide will not affect your relationship or position with the organisation or the principal researcher.

What are the benefits involved with my participation?

It is reasonable to expect that reflection on your parkour practice and experiences will be an enlightening experience, however, we can't guarantee that you will personally experience benefits from participating in this study. You and others may benefit in the future from the collective information shared by this study on its completion.

What will happen to the information collected?

Your interview responses will be used to help write the thesis for this research project and may also be used in other scholarly publications such as

conference presentations or journal articles. The completed thesis will be publicly available via the University of Waikato Research Commons on their website and any conference presentations or journal articles will be available based on the subscription protocols of the specific publisher.

As per the University of Waikato Ethical Conduct in Human Research and Related Activities Regulations (2008) guidelines, all information collected during the research project – including consent forms – must be kept for at least five years to allow for academic examination, challenge and/or peer review. This information will be stored in a secure location as per the regulations under section 9(4)(a).

You will own your own raw data collected during the interview process and the principal researcher will own the thesis and any other scholarly publications.

Participant Acknowledgement/Privacy
You have the option of deciding how your data is identified:
1. Fully Anonymous – A pseudonym will be used when referring to your data with no other information.
2. Partially Anonymous – A pseudonym in conjunction with demographic descriptors (e.g. gender, age, training experience, location).
3. Identified – Recognised via your first or full name along with demographic descriptors as mentioned above.

If you choose to be 'Fully Anonymous', your data will not be recognised by name in text or analysis. If 'Partially Anonymous', your identity will be safeguarded via the use of a pseudonym and/or age, gender or location as is pertinent to the research. Collected data will be coded to ensure privacy from persons outside of the research team.

As the researcher, I reserve the right to decide to increase your anonymity for the purposes of the research.

Confidentiality
While every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality, this cannot be guaranteed. The parkour community in New Zealand is still relatively small and it may be possible for people to discover your identity based on the things you say and other potentially identifiable data (age, gender, location, etc.).

Withdrawal Procedure
If you decide to participate in the project you may withdraw yourself and your data at any stage for any reason without consequence up *until* the approval of your transcript. Once your transcript has been approved, you will no longer be able to withdraw your participation or data from the project. If you wish to withdraw, you may converse with the principal researcher directly or use the contact details below.

Research Results
You will receive a digital copy of the final manuscript after the completion and submission of the research project. This will be sent to the contact email address you provide on the consent form.

Dispute Process
If a dispute arises during the course of your participation, please make contact with the principal researcher in the first instance. If the dispute cannot be resolved, you may then contact the supervisor (see details below).

<u>Declaration to participants</u>

If you take part in the study, you have the right to:

- •Refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time up until you approve your transcript.
- •Ask any further questions about the study that occurs to you during your participation.
- •Be given access to the completed manuscript when it is concluded.

<u>Further Inquiries or Concerns</u>

If you have any questions or concerns about this research project please contact the principal researcher using the details below:

Principal Researcher:
Damien Puddle
027 747 8426
dlp20@students.waikato.ac.nz

Supervisor:
Associate Professor Belinda Wheaton
07 838 4466 ext 6205
bwheaton@waikato.ac.nz

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and consider your participation in this research project.

Appendix F: Information Sheet for Participants (Under 16s)

FACULTY OF EDUCATION *Te Kura Toi Tangata*	THE UNIVERSITY OF **WAIKATO** *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

Project Title: *Examining the Development of Parkour in New Zealand*

Overview
Hi, my name is Damien Puddle and I am a PhD student at the University of Waikato in the Faculty of Education. My doctoral thesis is exploring the development of parkour in New Zealand, with a specific focus on the global and local influences that have played key roles in shaping the way parkour is experienced and practiced in New Zealand.

Invitation
I would like to extend an invitation to your child to participate in this research project. Their participation in the project is entirely voluntary and consent to participate from both you and your child must be given in order to participate. Please take whatever time you need to discuss the study with your child, family and friends, or anyone else you wish to in order to come to a decision. This decision will not result in any rewards or detriments to you or your child.

Why are they being invited to participate in this research?
Young people under the age of 16 have been identified as a fast growing demographic within the New Zealand parkour community; their voice is therefore extremely valuable to this research. Your child has been recommended by a key figure in the parkour community who they have an existing relationship with, either a friend or coach.

What will they have to do and how long will it take?
If mutual consent to participate is given, they will be asked to participate in one interview session about their parkour experiences. The principal researcher will be the interviewer and interviews are expected to take between 60 and 90 minutes in most cases. If you/they agree to participate, we will talk further in order to ascertain the interview date and location.

The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed verbatim (word for word). They will have the opportunity to give a further 60 to 90 minutes to review, amend and approve the interview transcript.

What are the risks involved with my child's participation?
During the interview your child will be asked to recall information about their parkour. These discussion topics are unlikely to cause any significant anxiety. If you or your child are or have been a volunteer, employee or client of NZ Parkour, you/they can be assured that participation, non-participation, withdrawal or any information they provide will not affect any relationship with the organisation or the principal researcher.

What are the benefits involved with my child's participation?
It is reasonable to expect that your child's reflection on their parkour practice and experiences will be an enlightening experience, however, we can't guarantee that your child will personally experience benefits from participating in this study. Your child and others may benefit in the future from the collective information shared by this study on its completion.

What will happen to the information collected?

Your child's interview responses will be used to help write the thesis for this research project and may also be used in other scholarly publications such as conference presentations or journal articles. The completed thesis will be publicly available via the University of Waikato Research Commons on their website and any conference presentations or journal articles will be available based on the subscription protocols of the specific publisher.

As per the University of Waikato Ethical Conduct in Human Research and Related Activities Regulations (2008) guidelines, all information collected during the research project – including consent forms – must be kept for at least five years to allow for academic examination, challenge and/or peer review. This information will be stored in a secure location as per the regulations under section 9(4)(a).

Your child will own their own raw data collected during the interview process and the principal researcher will own the thesis and any other scholarly publications.

Participant Acknowledgement/Privacy

Your child has the option of deciding how their data is identified:
4. Fully Anonymous – A pseudonym will be used when referring to their data with no other information.
5. Partially Anonymous – A pseudonym in conjunction with demographic descriptors (e.g. gender, age, training experience, location).
6. Identified – Recognised via their first or full name along with demographic descriptors as mentioned above.

If they choose to be 'Fully Anonymous', their data will not be recognised by name in text or analysis. If 'Partially Anonymous', their identity will be safeguarded via the use of a pseudonym and/or age, gender or location as is pertinent to the research. Collected data will be coded to ensure privacy from persons outside of the research team.

As the researcher, I reserve the right to decide to increase their anonymity for the purposes of the research.

Confidentiality

While every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality, this cannot be guaranteed. The parkour community in New Zealand is still relatively small and it may be possible for people to discover your child's identity based on the things they say and other potentially identifiable data (age, gender, location, etc.).

Withdrawal Procedure

If you and your child decide to let them participate in the project you or your child may withdraw themselves and their data at any stage for any reason without consequence up *until* the approval of the transcript. Once the transcript has been approved, withdrawal of participation and data from the project is prohibited. If you/they wish to withdraw, converse with the principal researcher directly or use the contact details below.

Research Results

You/they will receive a digital copy of the final manuscript after the completion and submission of the research project. This will be sent to the contact email address you provide on the consent form.

Dispute Procedure

If a dispute arises during the course of your child's participation, please make contact with the principal researcher in the first instance. If the dispute cannot be resolved, you may then contact the supervisor (see details below).

Declaration to participants

If your child takes part in the study, they have the right to:

•Refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time up until the approval of your child's transcript.

•Ask any further questions about the study that occurs to them during their participation.

•Be given access to the completed manuscript when it is concluded.

Further Inquiries or Concerns

If you or your child have any questions or concerns about this research project please contact the principal researcher using the details below:

Principal Researcher:
Damien Puddle
027 747 8426
dlp20@students.waikato.ac.nz

Supervisor:
Associate Professor Belinda Wheaton
07 838 4466 ext 6205
bwheaton@waikato.ac.nz

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and consider your child's participation in this research project.

Appendix G: Digital Ethnography Disclaimer and Information

Disclaimer:

This is the Facebook research page of Damien Puddle, PhD candidate at the University of Waikato. By 'friending' this Facebook page you agree to be a part of my doctoral research, working title: 'Making the Jump: Examining the Development of Parkour in New Zealand'

Involvement:

I am using this Facebook page as a tool for 'digital ethnography'. Digital Ethnography = the systematic study of people and cultures via online methods. Those methods may include:
- participant observation (observing you and other parkour practitioners posts, photos, videos, discussion and general Facebook activity)...
- engaging in discussion/informal interviews with parkour practitioners through private messaging, Facebook walls, on pages, or in parkour discussion groups...

Any data that I can observe through this account may be collected for my thesis, though much of your activity may not be relevant for analysing global and local impact related to parkour in NZ and will therefore be ignored. I will also be using this account to update participants on the progress of my research. I will be collecting data from now until approximately July 31st, 2017.

Usage:

Data gathered from the above methods will be used for research purposes only; in the publication of my doctoral thesis and/or in published journal articles and conference presentations.

Confidentiality:

You will not be identified by name. However, the New Zealand parkour community is small, so it's possible that your data may be able to be linked back to you be readers of the final research.

Withdrawal:

You can personally withdraw from this study by simply 'unfriending' this account. This are no consequences for withdrawal and you may do so at any stage.

Rewards/Consequences:

There are no positive or negative consequences associated with your participation or withdrawal.

Role Conflict:

It is important to note that I am also CEO of NZ Parkour. However, this research is not being undertaken for NZ Parkour, they have no financial involvement in the research, and this account is being used for the sole purpose of my research. Any personal or work related posts will continue from my personal account - https://www.facebook.com/damien.puddle

NZ Parkour:

This research is being undertaken as part of my Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of Waikato and is not related to my work as CEO of NZ Parkour. NZ Parkour is not funding or commissioning this research.

Ethics:

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee on July 1st, 2016

Conflict:

If you have a conflict relating to this research you can contact me directly via this page. If we can't resolve the dispute you may contact my head supervisor:

Associate Professor Dr Belinda Wheaton
bwheaton@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix H: Transcript Review Instructions

- Turn on and use Track Changes (Review > Track Changes) for all editing.

- Only edit content. Don't worry about spelling, grammar or formatting issues you may come across.

    o Commas (,) in the text typically denote a pause in the flow of speech

    o Ellipses (…) in the text denote us speaking over the top of each other/cutting each other off

- Only edit text recorded under your name.

- Read through the entire document and make any content changes you feel necessary (e.g. complete a thought that you left half finished, fix any statements that are incorrect, add anything you think is missing, etc.)

- Send the copy back to me. Once you have submitted it you can no longer withdraw your data from the research.

Interview Details:

Name:

Interview Date:

Residence:

Sex:

Age:

Started training:

Occupation:

Anonymity:

Appendix I: Proposal Topic Brainstorm