A social climbing world

Impaired corporeality and the meaning contents of physical activity

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To my parents

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Abstract

This project is a sociological investigation of meaning experiences in persons with physical impairments who engage in physical activity.

A group of climbers with impairments has been studied through participant observation and individual interviews. This has been point of departure for an explorative investigation that has built especially on the connection between corporeality and the social dimension. The comprehensive realm of meaning which the climbers experience in relation with their activities, is denoted as *the social climbing world*. In the investigation, the bearing structures of this 'province of meaning' are revealed and analysed.

The study is a contribution to disability research in general, and more specifically to the branch that has been called a 'sociology of impairment'.

The methodological approach is grounded theory. The theoretical perspective is phenomenologically oriented sociology. During the encounters with the empirical material, and inspired by the *body schema* concept of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *corporeal-social meaning* has been constructed as a sensitizing concept. The perspectives of Alfred Schütz have been used in the handling of the empirical material in accordance with the phenomenological perspective.

According to the study, persons with impairments who engage in physical activity may experience dimensions of meaning where the impairments are not "relevant" - this realm of meaning is denoted as *the special game*. A central finding is that there seems to be a tendency that the impairments are still being brought in when these meaning experiences are to be represented. This is understood as *colonization*, and is assumed to be the result of a certain prevailing *rehabilitation discourse* that is embedded in common culture, and that forms the ways one thinks and talks about the relation between impairment and physical activity.

Within its own field of study - the intersection between impairment and conducting of physical activity - the investigation thereby serves to widen the understanding of the mechanisms that are involved in the creating and sustaining of difference between people with impairments and non-impaired. In turn, by revealing such mechanisms, the project can also contribute in the promoting of social acknowledgement and inclusion opposite people with impairments.

Contents

Part 1   Introduction

This project is an explorative investigation of meaning experiences in a group of persons with physical impairments engaging in a challenging sport activity - climbing.

With a phenomenologically oriented point of departure, the meaning experiences are understood in a comprehensive sense, as pertaining to the climbing activities both directly and indirectly: it has to do with personal senses of physical and psychological coping, identity of self, and social relations. The comprehensive realm of meaning which the group members experience by and through their climbing activities is denoted in its totality as *the social climbing world* (SCW).

The connection between an extended and prolonged understanding of corporeality - *bodiness* - and the social dimension is central in the investigation of the social climbing world. The constructed conception *corporeal-social meaning* has originated from the encounters with the empirical material, and has been further inspired by Merleau-Ponty's understanding of the *body schema*. In combination with the social phenomenology of Alfred Schütz, this has formed the ambition of understanding the social climbing world by identifying and exploring the relations between its bearing structures - *the structures of the social climbing world* (SSCW) (Schütz 1997, 1974).

A *grounded theory* approach has been used in open and explorative encounters with the empirical field. This has led to the construction of a set of mutually corresponding conceptions and tables - together these circumscribe and define the social climbing world, and they are used extensively in the analysis.

The relation between two mutually corresponding categories is especially emphasized, as it is regarded to make the social climbing world unique. It is about the interplay between adaptive climbing, on the one side, and the special game, on the other: where the former points to contexts involving explicit assistance for persons with impairments conducting physical activity, the latter refers to the group's own "normal" climbing which has developed over time, and which is not characterized by such explicit assistance.

The investigation bears with it an assumption that there exists a prevailing rehabilitation discourse within common culture, politics and interest organizations. This discourse is assumed to frame the way impaired corporeality is understood, related to and

talked about, and also to constitute a normative framework for understandings of how the meaning contents of physical activity are to be conceived of in relation with impairment. With inspiration from Jürgen Habermas' ideas about "the system world colonizing the life world" (Habermas 1995b, 2005), the findings in the study are assumed to indicate that some of the meaning that the climbers experience by their activities is being *colonized* by the rehabilitation discourse. The following assumption is that an analysis of these mechanisms can contribute to a wider understanding of the relation between impairment and meaning experiences in physical activity.

The investigation of the empirical case marks the point of departure for a broader sociological analysis of the relation between impairment and physical activity. In addition to functioning as a coherent framework for the understanding of the social climbing world, the different sets of conceptual constructions and tables are also meant to point beyond it - that is, to also give a wider theoretical contribution both to research on the intersection between corporeality and meaning experiences in general, and to understandings of the relation between impairment and physical activity more specifically. Hence, the theoretical explorations in the project are both *about* the empirical point of departure - the climbing group under study, channelled into the understanding of the social climbing world - and also depart *from* this material, in the sense that wider theoretical stances within disability theory and related traditions are connected to and discussed.

The overall ambition of the project is to give a contribution to disability research according to the phenomenologically oriented branch that has been called a "sociology of impairment". The notion is borrowed from Paterson and Hughes (1999) and is used in a general and non-committal sense: with its own analytical framing, the project is meant to contribute with a new understanding of the social meaning contents of impaired corporeality in connection with physical activity.

1.1 The focus group and the social climbing world (SCW)

In the following presentation of the focus group[1], basic lines in their historical development are included. The reason is that central features of its development remain as bearing constituents of the social climbing world. The historical features are also presumptions for the colonization mechanisms that will be analysed.

The *Rocks*[2] climbing group was established in the North Norwegian town Tromsø in 2007. The background was the integration project 'Climbing for everybody' (*Klatring for alle*) initiated in 2005 by the Norwegian climbing pioneer Sjur Nesheim in collaboration with Tromsø Climbing Club and with financial support from the Troms county council. During this project a number of persons with physical impairments[3] got acquainted with sport climbing under special surveillance of instructors.

When the integration project had come to an end a couple of years later, some of the participants wished to continue climbing on a regular basis. This marked the start of the Rocks climbing group. Since then, Rocks - although also a climbing group on its own terms - has been an integrated part of Tromsø Climbing Club, and the members have been climbing on a weekly basis in their common climbing hall. Regarding arrangements and practical issues, they receive some financial support from The Norwegian Climbing Federation (NKF), The Norwegian Association of Disabled (NAD), and/or The Norwegian Association for the Blind and Partially Sighted (NABP).

The group has an instructor who they have learned to know over a long period of time. He is a young local climber who contribute with training tips and practical issues. He will be mentioned on a few occasions in this project, but his role is not to be discussed explicitly as it is not of importance according to its bearing presumptions.

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[1] It is a focus group in the sense that it is a group in focus of a discussion about impairment and physical activity.

[2] In this project, the group name as well as the names of the individual core members are pseudonyms (cf. elaborations in chapter 4.1).

[3] To give some preliminary explanations (to be further elaborated in chapter 2.3): Where *impairment* refers to the physical and individual phenomenon, *disability* refers to disabling barriers in the surroundings. During the project, the notion disability is occasionally used about the general phenomenon where it can be understood as intermingled with impairment, such as also in the general notion *disability research*. Where disability is used specifically and exclusively about socially constructed phenomena, it will be clear from the context. In the outset, all references to impairment and disability in the project point to physical and sensory variations. Mental or cognitive impairments - i.e. intellectual and developmental disabilities - are not issued.

There are seven core members, who also constitute the focus group in the project. In addition, there are approximately three to five associated members joining in from time to time. The core members are three women and four men. Five of them - three men and two women - are visually impaired, of whom one has no vision at all, and the others have different kinds of reduced vision. The other two - one woman and one man - have experienced loss of motoric functions and proprioception (the innate sense of balance and positioning of the limbs) due to accidents. (It should be remarked that the use of the 'focus group' notion does not imply that there was made any focus group interviews. Even if they were at times observed as a group, the members were interviewed individually - cf. chapter 4.1).

Since the formation of the group, the members have developed skills regarding the integrating of their different capabilities - physical and psychological alike - into the collective entity Rocks. They started out as more or less strangers with an interest in climbing, and have eventually become a combination of climbing group and to some extent friends in a general social sense. How to communicate in different ways, and "read" each other's movements while conducting the activities together, is of fundamental importance in Rocks. This communication is related to senses of coping, solidarity, and identity - components that are generally conceived of as important gains in conducting of physical activity (Kissow 2015, Meld. St. 34 2012-2013).

The climbing group: From adaptive climbing to their own climbing (the special game)

A central point by issuing this specific group of climbers was that they had left the explicit *adaptive* climbing context many years ago (the following explanation bears with it results from the analysis): When they initially started climbing, it was in an explicit rehabilitation/integration context where they *adapted* to the sport in an explicit sense, according to their impairments. Such explicit contexts of adaptation, integration and/or rehabilitation seem to have a predominant focus in existing research on disability and physical activity, cf. Kissow (2015), Silva & Howe (2012), Elnan (2010). Their experiences of meaning in the activity thus also related explicitly to their impairments, as the adapted character was according to these. Later however they established their own climbing group and continued climbing on a weekly basis for several years outside of such contexts of explicit rehabilitation and integration. An important point is that they in this new context

gradually developed their own climbing on their own premises (terms), where their impairments became a "natural" constituent of the activity - that is, their own variety of climbing as *the normal* climbing. This implies that the impairments gradually ceased being perceived as something one had to *adapt* according to *in order to* climb. The investigation of these mechanisms is assumed to reveal important insights into the social meaning dimensions pertaining to the intersection between impaired corporeality and physical activity.

As understood in the project, both *adaptive climbing* and *the special game* (the group's own normal climbing) are structures[4] within the SCW at present, and the relations between them are important and change with context. To give a slightly simplistic example, anticipating the main analyses: In the meaning contents of *the special game*, the impaired corporeality is the normal, in the sense that it is not explicitly perceived by the climbers as a hindrance (which will be referred to generally as *deprivation*). A central feature of colonization is that the rehabilitation discourse might reduce some of the special game experiences to adaptive climbing, as it seems to be a discursive "demand" that the impairments are to be issued in some sense or another when one is to present the meaning of conducting physical activity when one has an impairment. Eventually, this might imply that the impairments are brought in explicitly in order to define the "original" meaning content of the activity as deprivations one is to rehabilitate from and contest - that is, even if they had perhaps not been experienced this way in the outset. In order to sort out these features it has been developed a concept pairing that denotes *immediate experiences* of meaning in the activity, on the one side, and the retrospective *representations* of this meaning content, on the other. Hence, in our context the idea is that colonization brings with it a *deprivation* in some sense (to be elaborated).

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[4] The five structures (SSCW) are 1 *Adaptive climbing*, 2 *The special game*, 3 *Difference*, 4 *Appearance of the impairment*, 5 *Dedication to the sport*.

Outline of presentation

Parts, chapters and headings

The project is divided into six parts, which are again organized in chapters. With some exceptions (below), there are two numbered levels that correspond with these, respectively. There are four levels of headings defined in the table of contents. For the sake of general readability and orientation, there is also used an additional fifth level in the text.

Due to its relative complexity, the analysis (part 5) has two exceptions from this general setup. For one, it has three levels of numbered headlines. The second level marks its two overall *sections*, and the third indicates the chapters. Also, the analysis section 2 is organized according to *themes* only. These can be understood as equivalents to chapters - but as it has been a point to highlight these five themes on their own terms, they are numbered independently.

Although 'chapter' indicates a certain importance in the heading, it is a general presumption that the denoting of something as chapter is first and foremost about ordering of the presentation within each part. This means that the chapters cannot be compared in terms of importance across parts.

Part 2 Health discourse, physical activity and disability research provides background information. It starts out by giving a general overview of prevailing understandings of physical activity and health. These pertain to the general cultural consensus, and are also supported by research on sports and health and are implemented in institutions promoting physical activity. This serves as a general background for this project, and also points to the normative content of the "prevailing discourses" referred to. Further on it is given basic information about the type of physical activity issued - climbing. It is both about the technical and in-fact constituents of the sport, and the cultural history with which it is associated. It is also given a basic account for adaptive climbing for persons with impairments. Towards the end, it is given a presentation of central lines in disability research and sociological positions that have been adjacent with it.

Part 3 Phenomenology and corporeal-social meaning presents theory. It starts out by explaining how the project is posited according to traditions within disability research and perspectives on disability and impairment that prevail in contemporary society, also in a

common-cultural sense. This section take form of a kind of preparatory theoretical analysis where the reasons for the use of the constructed conception *corporeal-social meaning* (CSM) is accounted for. Following is a presentation of basic lines in the phenomenological tradition, which serves as a theoretical background. In terms of efficiency, the more specific account of Merleau-Ponty and Schütz following from this will take form of a comparison between some of their respective conceptions of special importance to the project. The intention is to provide a kind of theoretical "validity test": in the project, Merleau-Ponty will occasionally be referred to in contexts that follow Schützian lines of thought - it is therefore regarded necessary to have shown in advance how their theoretical stances go together regarding their understandings of central components. Most notably, the themes *intersubjective meaning* and *the role of the body* will be issued. These are chosen as they relate closely with the constructed conception *corporeal-social meaning*. In the last chapter it is given a short presentation of the broader sociological landscape with which the phenomenological approach is related, and which will be referred to in the analyses. Central perspectives are (symbolic) interactionism (Goffman 2005, 1990) and pragmatism.

Part 4 Grounded theory and *Verstehen* presents method. It is divided in a descriptive method chapter and a reflective methodology chapter. The former starts out by accounting for formal approvals and giving reflections on ethical aspects of the project. Thereafter it is given an outline of research design and empirical sources. In the methodology chapter, the elaborations on the grounded theory approach is a central component. Further, there are also given prescriptions and reflections that support the connecting of the theoretical foundations presented in part 3 with the ways of using typifications in the analysis (part 5). Accordingly, relevant lines within the "theory of human sciences" will be drawn upon in correspondence with closer reflections on the relation between the researcher and the field.

Part 5 The social climbing world and mechanisms of colonization provides the main analysis. It is organized in two sections, corresponding with two different modes of colonization. Section 1 focuses on three different settings of climbing for the Rocks group, which have also been the sites of the field works: Their regular indoor climbing (Tromsø), one of their own outdoor excursions (Skibotn), and participation at a gathering for adaptive climbing (Oslo). In this first section, meaning dimensions are investigated through the ways they pertain to the praxis field. Colonization mode 1 is seen in accordance with this: it

indicates how certain features of the rehabilitation discourse are represented in practical conduct at the gathering and in the ways it is organized. Section 2 is focused on the individual interviews. The investigation issues meaning dimensions as they pertain to the members' representations and narrative constructs. In correspondence with this, colonization mode 2 is set to indicate certain features of how the rehabilitation discourse is embedded in these representations and constructs.

Part 6 Closing provides summary and concluding reflections. Critiques and objections that could have been directed at the use of theory and methodology in the project are outlined and thereafter complied with. After some succeeding reflections on the external validity of the project, it is finally given thoughts on its wider relevance, as well as presented ideas on further research.

Tables and constructed concepts will be referred to throughout the project. A collected overview is given in *Tables, typifications and constructed concepts* in the appendix (for which *The internal order and correspondences between tables and typifications* provides a charter). Where regarded necessary for the general overview and understanding along the way, certain tables and typifications are also presented in the main text.

Part 2   Health discourse, physical activity and disability research

2.1   Physical activity and health - understandings and incentives

Within the social policies of the Nordic welfare states, there is a general consensus about the *extended conception of welfare*. The basic understanding behind the conception is that welfare is not about the basic human needs only, but also encompasses a wider realm of physical and mental health, connected with social inclusion and general well-being. A broad participation on civil societal arenas is amongst the guarantors for social capital - in the sense common existential trust and ontological security - as it invokes the members of society with sensations of meaning and mutual trust (Sandvik & Killengreen Revold 2015, Giddens 1999). A basic understanding is that conducting of physical activity in sport and leisure is connected with health, coping experiences and building of self-esteem. It is an arena for contact with others, and hence also strengthens social integration (Thorsen & Killengreen Revold 2014, Lesjø 2008, Mensink et al. 1997). In line with this, the promoting of physical activity is regarded as important from an official point of view. In a Norwegian context, this comes to expression in political documents and in incentives presented in higher learning institutions on sports and health, as also in more specific centres for health and rehabilitation (e.g. Meld. St. 34 2012-2013, *Handlingsplan for fysisk aktivitet* 2005, Hugaas Molden, Wendelborg & Tøssebro 2009). Together these can be said to point to *prevailing discourses* on health, sports and rehabilitation.

Normal bodies and impaired corporeality: Prevailing discourses on health, sports and rehabilitation

The prevalent understandings about physical health and activity entail certain conceptions of *normal bodies*. Necessarily, this also influences ideas about *different* bodies, such as those with impairments (Grue 2004, Shakespeare 2013, Bjelland 1993).

During the historical development of the welfare conception, ideas about how one is to relate to disability and impairment have gone through different stages. Even if it belongs to a former overall agenda within social politics, a normative ideal about *normalization* is

still regarded as a central part of the relations between sport and health in general, and rehabilitation. This means that there is a general and overall incentive about providing opportunities for persons with impairments to engage in normal activities and participate on the usual social arenas as much as possible, eventually by means of necessary adaptation (Meld. St. 40 2002-2003, St. prp. nr. 1: *Nasjonal helseplan* 2007-2010). This agenda within the national social policy is also connected with the general statutes of the World Health Organization (WHO) and its international classification system for disability and impairment, the ICF: International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (2001)[5].

The prevailing discourses referred to in this project thereby point to a set of intermingled understandings regarding health, physical activity and impaired corporeality. In our context they are thought of as representing a Norwegian and/or a general Scandinavian cultural and social-political view. Even if there is naturally a certain similarity with the welfare concepts and understandings of impairment in the other countries ascribing to the statutes of the WHO, it must be taken into account that the ways they are related to in different countries are diverse, as they pertain to local culture and tradition. The statutes of the WHO are also not necessarily binding for the countries ascribing to them - they are often general guidelines open for a variety of local interpretations (Grue 2004). Specific political guidelines are not to be discussed further in this project.

The generally accepted attitudes opposite health and meaning experiences (benefits) in physical activity will hence be denoted in general as the *prevailing discourses* or similar. The *rehabilitation discourse* can be seen as a special variety within the broader health and sports discourse and points more specifically to the right attitudes opposite activity in combination with impairment. The notations can be simplified or taken together according to context. When the overall values of activity and health adhering to the general welfare conception are referred to, it can hence occasionally be given the general reference *the prevailing discourse*, or similar expressions.

A closer elaboration of the *rehabilitation discourse* will be given in the theory part (3), where it will follow from a more specific presentation of disability theory.

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[5] This classification system constituted the conceptual background for the first *World Report on Disability* (2011) - a joint project of the WHO and the World Bank Group - and also for the current *WHO global disability action plan 2014 - 2021*.

Organized climbing and the extended conception of welfare

The Norwegian climbing federation (Norges klatreforbund, NKF) is the overall organization for climbing in Norway. During the last years, the organization has had an explicit incentive of implementing mechanisms of integration in the climbing sport (NKF Tingrapport 2010-2012 and 2012-2014). That means that in addition to traditional incentives of recruitment and inclusion - such as organized climbing for children and youngsters - it has also been an ambition to make it more accessible to disadvantaged groups. Incentives directed at including persons in need of certain adaptations and assistance, such as adaptive climbing for persons with impairments, have been in line with this. Means of making this agenda known and pursuing it have been reports on climbing and disability on web sites, supporting of small-scale integration projects in cooperation with local climbing clubs and related to different groups requiring additional assistance, such as clients of psychiatry, addiction care, or asylum seekers, and arranging of special events for persons with impairments. The arranging of annual climbing gatherings for persons with impairments in cooperation with various disability organizations - an example of which is studied in the first field work in this project - is an example of the latter.

In the period 2010-2012, the climbing federation put an extra effort into establishing a foundation for activities for disabled persons. Amongst else, the federation had an integration consultant hired in a part-time vacancy (NKF Tingrapport 2010-2012).[6]

2.2   On the activity: Climbing

Climbing is an outdoor and indoor activity alike. The overall principle in climbing is to manage your way up (ascend - "send") a route by use of hands and feet, secured by a rope (so-called free climbing). The climbing "team" consists of the climber and the belayer, the latter controlling the rope ("sikrer" in Norwegian). In traditional outdoor rock climbing the climber places belay (security) devices along the route, and the persons in the team can shift their roles as climbers and belayers along the way on longer routes. In sport climbing, however - and which is the focus in our context - the belay system involves permanent

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[6] This consultant was the person in charge of the National climbing gathering in 2010, and also my contact person in this early phase. Other initiatives in which I took some part myself in connection with this project, are listed in *Activities adjacent to the PhD thesis* (Appendix).

bolts that are placed regularly along the route, including an anchor to rappel (or "abseil") from when the route has been topped out. This means that sport climbing outdoors takes place on established "crags" (the cliff and nearby area where the climbing takes place)[7].

In comparison with mountain climbing, sport climbing routes are short, usually between 10 and 25 metres (a standard rope is 50 or 60 metres, hence it usually reaches to the anchor at the top of the route and back down). The belayer uses a belay device for braking the rope at falls and when the climber needs to pause (i.e. hang in it for a moment in order to relieve the arms). The climber has the rope tied to his/her climbing harness. During ascent, the climber clips the rope onto the bolts - this is called lead climbing (one "leads" the route). Another possibility is having the rope already fixed in the top anchor, which is called top roping (in which case someone must already have lead climbed up in order to establish it). In top roping, the length of a fall can be effectively minimized by the belayer, in that the last attach point will never be below the climber (which is a possibility in lead climbing)[8]. This means that one can be held tight from above, or even be lifted to some extent. For many climbers with impairments, top roping is therefore the more convenient way of climbing. Regardless of type of sport climbing (lead or top roping), there is a security rule about there always to be at least two separate bolts in use at the same time (the only exception is when one has just started on a lead climb and not yet climbed past two bolts).

There are all kinds of climbing grades, from easy to difficult. The grade depends on the combination of how good the holds are and their mutual arrangements, the steepness of the wall (slope - vertical - overhang) and the total length of the route. Natural routes (on cliffs) simply are as they are;[9] for many climbers it is interesting to discover new stone "faces" and "lines" in nature and perhaps establish a regulated crag if there are possibilities for several routes. In indoor gyms the routes are created, and various types and grades are

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[7] According to an overall ethic about leaving as few permanent trails in nature as possible, it is normally not regarded acceptable to place bolts in unregulated areas, or at least not where the possibilities for natural protection are good (as it is therefore suitable for traditional mountain climbing).

[8] For instance, if one falls with the last attach point one meter beneath, the fall will be shortly above (but always at least) two meters. The fall will always be more than the double because of dynamics in the "belay chain", such as the degree of slack in the rope, the weight of the belayer, and her distance from the wall while belaying.

[9] Cf. the ideal about not leaving permanent trails in nature: It is often regarded a disaster if someone has made an irreversible impact on a route by using carpenter tools on it, e.g. making a hold better ("chipping") or removing something ("chopping").

assembled according to an overall plan of reaching out to as many different climbers as possible.

Challenging physical activity

An increase in the number of indoor climbing gyms[10] in the recent years have made climbing more known and accessible. This goes together with an overall increase in interest and participation in various kinds of challenging physical activity - e.g. also rafting, paragliding, and mountain biking. (Such sports are also commonly referred to as *risk sports*. In our context it is anyhow about doing such a sport in a relatively non-risky way, hence the preferred term is *challenging physical activity*.) Traditionally, these kinds of sports have largely been regarded as off-limit to persons with impairments. There has been a tendency to consider the few persons with impairments engaging into such activities as a kind of "ideal exceptions" (Overboe 1999,[11] Engelsrud 2006). During the last years, an increased number of persons with impairments have engaged into challenging sports. This offers new possibilities to disciplines such as disability studies and 'sociology of impairment' regarding the social dimensions involved in combinations of having an impairment and participating in challenging physical activity.

The cultural history of climbing

As is also the case in other sports (especially "lifestyle sports"), there are certain socially established ways of "thinking and talking" within climbing. This functions as a framework for the climbers' perceptions of their sport and hence also for the social meaning production within it, and in that sense it can be understood as a climbing *discourse*. This discourse is also connected with a consciousness about the history of climbing, relating it to

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[10] A *climbing gym* can also refer to the climbing wall in a sport center which provides a range of other training facilities as well.

[11] At the NNDR Disability Conference in Turku, Finland 2013 (Nordic Network on Disability Research), the researcher Jan Grue (son of the author referred to as Grue 2004) presented a critical view upon the idealization of the representative roles of such individuals in recent TV entertainment (the title of the presentation was *What we talk about when we talk about "disabled people". Stereotypes and prototypes in Beyond Boundaries*). The focus was the NRK (Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation) series *Beyond Boundaries* (*Ingen grenser*), portraying persons with impairments cooperating in order to reach challenging destinations outdoors. In his presentation, Grue issued - amongst else - the unjust directing of normative expectations towards persons with disabilities in general, on the background of the characteristics of these "exceptional" individuals.

a framework in which certain historical aspects of both culture and nature are central constituents. This could be seen as a socially constructed climbing *narrative* that transcends the mere activity in itself.

In nineteenth century Europe there came to be a wave of fascination for mountains and mountaineering. It has been claimed that this was the result of the "cold and rationalized character" of the increasingly modernized world, where mechanized work and growing technological knowledge, philosophical enlightenment and secular-positivist understandings had served to "demystify" the world and the position of human beings within it ("entzauberung der Welt", as famously formulated by Weber) (Svensen 2011, Calhoun 1995, Wagner 1994). The new fascination of nature and mountains had strong drags of romanticism over it, but was also followed by natural science in terms of e.g. an increasing amount of amateur geology associations, as well as more professional geological research. In addition to the romantic dimension there were hence also clear aspects of description and order, control, domination, and conquest.

In this period, the media (newspapers) drew heavily on certain populist agendas in their use of both words and pictures. Mountaineering and adventures to unknown wildernesses, such as polar expeditions, were presented with a strong aura of heroism and by use of a mixture of metaphors with both religious and natural scientific undertones: it was ascribed a dimension of the *sublime*.

Hence, perceptions pointing to the "coldness" of modern technology and ways of life were not unambiguously dominant in the actual period; this was also the era for "technological imagination" and science fiction (e.g. Jules Verne). An aspect that still pertains to the *friluftsliv* tradition today, is that the culture specific attraction towards nature and "pure experiences" bears with it an embeddedness of modernity - or *late* modernity (in recent years, the Norwegian word 'friluftsliv' has become an established term internationally. It refers to "outdoor life" or "the way of being" in the outdoors). According to Giddens (2001), late modernity is characterized by an "expropriation of existential meaning": there is a need for experiences and phenomena that break through the safety embedded in modern everyday life and tamper common knowledge.

In its early period, mountaineering was conducted by white, educated men from the upper class. People living on the countryside, like farmers and fishermen, still had a practical view upon mountains and could perceive them as straightforward *ugly* and as

obstacles for cattle herding, transport and communication.[12] The mountaineers did not have any practical purposes with their activities, which could therefore be incomprehensible to the locals. The actions of the former could also be perceived by the latter as directly *absurd* in a negative way, as such activities at this time were inherently dangerous.[13] In the view of the "mountaineering gentlemen" themselves it was however about something bigger; mountaineering was perceived as something transcending the mundane everyday human condition in an almost spiritual way. It thereby also got an aura of a kind of "secular religiosity" over it, and it could also serve as the most concrete and in fact representation of existential thinking (such as e.g. "the inner anxiety when confronted with the abyss", as described by the existentialist Kierkegaard (1994).[14]

Mountain climbing was perceived (at least by the climbers themselves) as a brave, distinguished, noble, an inherently *male* thing to do - hence it was for gentlemen. The individual climber became a representative for the overall values which climbing represented, and hence symbolized the *man* in the *man versus nature* relation. In an overall sense, this can also be seen according to the wider anthropological distinction between culture and nature (Shore 1996, Bjelland 1993), where the first is about conquering and disciplining the latter. A further connection along the same line can be seen in the climbing sport as strongly *gendered* in this early period (as was also most of other sports). The special reasons why climbing was regarded for men only had to do with the general reason that women, in comparison with men, were assumed to be weak physically as well as psychologically. This view implied, amongst else, that women were understood as dominated by feelings and impulses, where men on their side represented rationality and strong will. In short, the woman was *nature* while the man was *culture* (Svensen 2011). Ascending a mountain was about conquering it (that mountains were also often given female names, or at least referred to as "her", is probably not a coincidence given the overall historical framing).

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[12] In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (2010) Pierre Bourdieu elaborated the near correspondences between the practical world in which human beings are situated, and their adapted and *habituated* aesthetic evaluations.

[13] It can be debated if it is still so today, and to which extent the common-cultural perceptions of safety in mountaineering corresponds with the actual conditions. Anyhow, the security equipment in the 19th century was very primitive in comparison with the standards in our days.

[14] Peter Wessel Zappfe: *Tindesporten er meningsløs som selve livet, derfor kan dens trolldom aldri dø. (Mountaineering is meaningless, like life itself. Therefore, its magic can never die.)*

The culturally established connection between mountaineering and the educated upper class continued into the twentieth century. In Norway, the philosophy professor Arne Næss introduced a more modern kind of climbing in the thirties. He connected to it ideas and influences which he had obtained as a member of the critical rationalist movement in Vienna in the same period (it had to do with combinations of positivist "hard fact" understandings of nature and more existential features of alienation, amongst else). In his own ways he also challenged traditional views about the "serious nobleness" of mountaineering, by e.g. highlighting the connections between climbing and the spontaneous play of children. He also challenged traditional views on gender as well as proper ways of conducting roles in terms of academic authority, as he for instance brought his female students with him to climb (at Kolbotn in the outskirts of Oslo, regarded by many to be the first established "crag" in Norway).

The extended climbing discourse (and narrative) today bears on some of these features from the past, even though the picture has become more nuanced.[15] A common impression is that especially the distribution of gender has become much more equalized compared with the earlier period. Without going further on these issues in our context, a general assumption to be proposed is that this could have to do with modern perceptions of climbing where it is connected with the more overall adventurous sports discourse, which again can be associated with the late modern projects of self-identity, as indicated before (Giddens 2001). Within this late modern discourse, traditional sociological variables like class and gender are ruled out as legitimate explanation of life choices. (A slight paradox is however that this discourse within late modern culture adhere especially to the middle class, and its consequences thereby becomes self-confirmative to some extent.)

The historical account for climbing and the aspects of social distributions based on cultural patterns given above are meant to serve as a background for the understanding of the historical presumptions of the climbing narrative.

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[15] Other sports that have traditionally had strong class biases, are e.g. golf and sailing. Bourdieu (2010) can serve as a general reference to the fundamental mechanisms involved in what could be called "the social distribution of sports".

Adaptive climbing

In the following it is given basic outlines about climbing as a sport for persons with impairments. The outlines will be in a general form, as the existing variety of physiological capabilities among persons with impairments could not possibly be dealt with in my context. As above, the presentation subscribes to the "standard knowledge" about health, sport, and rehabilitation being promoted by the sports and rehabilitation discourses. (The point is to reveal general characteristics of adaptive climbing in itself; it is not given information about existing climbing facilities, certain rehabilitation programs, or administrative issues.)

How is it to climb with an impairment? Obviously, the answer will depend on person, impairment and context. The departure point here is the general assumption that climbing is a sport suitable for a wide range of physical capabilities in the outset, as long as special adaptations and assistance is taken into account. Broadly understood, a variety of "adaptive" techniques in climbing are also used by non-impaired. An example is active use of the belayer in top roping: the common incident of falling off the route can be eliminated by a constant tight rope (drag) from above (through the anchor). There is then also the possibility of pausing in the rope or even getting some lifting assistance from the belayer, as indicated before. Another common "adaptation" is the use of special protecting pads or tape on vulnerable limbs or other exposed body parts. Then there are however various grades of adaptations that are more specific for persons with impairments - and it is in this sense the notation *adaptive climbing* is understood. Some rehabilitation centres[16] have acquired adjustable climbing walls, meaning that the grade of steepness can be adjusted according to individual capabilities and training agendas. By use of lifting systems, persons with total lower body paralysis have been able to experience climbing by using the arms only. Also, even regarding the climbing limb *per se*, the hand: In recent years there has been developed prosthetic arms for climbers specifically.[17]

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[16] E.g. Valnesfjord Helsesportsenter (VHSS) and Beitostølen Helsesportsenter (BHSS) in Norway.

[17] In Norway there are not yet any established organization for adaptive climbing explicitly. General insights referred to stem especially from electronic newsletters from the *Adaptive Climbing Group*, an American foundation cooperating with the climbing organization *Brooklyn Boulders* in New York (http://www.adaptiveclimbinggroup.org/). In the autumn of 2009 I had coincidentally come to visit this site for adaptive climbing in Brooklyn. I thereby also got a certain inspiration to this coming project.

The Rocks members do not use special technical devices in their activities (though one of them uses white stick, and another a wheelchair in the extended setting of the activities). Apart from the common top roping techniques explained above, their ways of adapting to the sport are in the form of types of communication, the use of memory and reading each other in ways pointing to a *tacit knowing* that has been established through social experience within the praxis field over time (Merleau-Ponty 2012, Polanyi 2009).

Concerning existing climbing facilities outside of specialized rehabilitation centres, indoor and outdoor alike, the biggest challenge for persons with impairments might seem to be that the local indoor climbing walls often have steep sections only, and/or that the outdoor climbing routes (on cliffs/rock) in the local area are all too difficult from nature's side. From time to time, one can also experience the slightly paradoxical fact that the mere approaching of the outdoor climbing area (the crag) proves to be harder than the climbing itself.

When it comes to the intention of making the climbing sport accessible to as many people as possible, this highlights the need for some adaptation opposite persons with impairments. There are some examples of special adaptations at approaches to outdoor crags (e.g. at Hamarøy in Northern Norway). However, in such cases one will have to make thorough considerations regarding the ethics involved in intervening of natural areas.[18]

Health gains in climbing

Seen in accordance with the generally accepted perspectives on sports and health as outlined before, certain physiological as well as psychological gains acquired through climbing can be presented. First, there are gains that are common for most persons involved in the sport, of which some can be mentioned here as they are also constituents of the totality of meaning experienced by the Rocks members.

First, a quite obvious physical gain is that one acquires strength in fingers, arms and shoulders. Over time tendon insertions are strengthened, which can prove to be an advantage also later in life when muscular strength decreases. Characteristic of climbing is also the improvement one might experience in stabilization musculature and in the overall

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[18] At a crag for sport climbing, the level for accepting such interventions is normally lower than in all-natural areas, since the bolting of sport climbing routes will already have made a human impact on the local nature to some extent.

corporal balance. A psychological gain is that one might experience a general sense of coping through improving one's physical climbing skills in combination with conquering of fear (most climbers experience anxiety or fear regarding height to some extent, even if it is not strong enough to qualify for the term *acrophobia)* (Gangdal 2008, Svensen 2011). There are also aspects adhering to late modern culture and identities of self having to do with the positioning of oneself within an "adventurous" domain of sports (ascribed to *nature*), as a meaningful contrast to the "standardized" society and its traditional norms for sports and adherent proper *cultivated* behaviours (to be reissued in the further) (Giddens 2001).[19]

Health gains in climbing for persons with impairments

Regarding health gains in climbing, there can now be mentioned some varieties that can be extra prominent for persons with different kinds of impairments or temporary corporal damages. For example, the rehabilitating of basic muscular and motoric skills after an accident might be a long-lasting, repetitive, and even boring endeavour. To many persons with such conditions, climbing might be to an especially good help in the recovering process. Climbing is a sport where one can very easily "forget" about the corporal work because one is mentally focused on how to solve a certain problem in the wall, in combination with an explicit recognition of (and possibly a slight fear of) the height. According to this one might experience that much of the recovery training just comes along while one is focused on other things (Darling and Helton 2014). In addition to contributing in the increase of muscular and tendon strength, climbing is also good for motoric precision. For example, persons with multiple sclerosis or nerve damages can experience improvement in movability through the mere endeavour of positioning of hands and feet and reaching out to different kinds of holds (this is also to be exemplified by one of the informants in the project).[20]

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[19] A variety of related topics were issued at the *2014 International Adventure Conference*, Sogndal.
[20] There is little or no explicit research on health gains in climbing for persons with disabilities. The information builds on conversations with climbers and instructors, who have also referred to information given to them by medics and physiotherapists.

Psychological and social gains

In a general sense, the health gains mentioned are also experienced by the members of the Rocks climbing group. Regarding this group, it is however a further point that they also seem to acquire certain gains through the special social phenomenon that Rocks is, and that has been sought captured in the conceptualization *the social climbing world*. As all of the members have some kind of physical impairment, they have had to develop different strategies of communicating and coping while conducting their climbing activities. There are some initial compensating techniques, for example the use of hearing to weigh up for lack of sight. When the belayer cannot actually see what the climber is doing, they are very dependent on oral messages between one another. A challenge in that respect, might be - amongst else - that while the climber is on a difficult route, the oral communication does not always flow very coherently. From the climber, more or less articulate messages might often be commingled with "moaning and grunting". There is also a complex set of sounds and noises stemming from the climbing itself, like kicking of feet or bumping of knees into the wall, and clattering of belay carabiners hanging along the route. Also, the higher the climber gets in the wall, the more difficult it also gets to communicate. Learning how to communicate effectively under such circumstances, for example to "read" the inarticulate utterances and the sounds stemming from the individual climbers, takes time. Learning to know each other in this way in connection with the performing of a challenging sport activity, provides the climbers with senses of coping which they experience in Rocks exclusively.

"A game within the game"

During climbing together on a regular basis for a long time, the members of Rocks have thus learned to know each other in a complex set of ways within the framework of the activity. Their mutual "tuning in" on each other's special characteristics and capabilities make them feel as a well-integrated group on their own terms, and through this common experience and knowledge they have developed a certain collective identity.

While climbing on their own premises, they have over time developed some unwritten, and also to some extent unconscious "strategies", or ways of climbing together. A relevant social scientific concept regarding these mechanisms, is the before mentioned

tacit knowing[21] (Polanyi 2009). The concept refers to internalized and incorporated knowledge we are not necessarily aware that we have. *The tacit knowing* is unconsciously activated under certain circumstances, and is also an active component in structuring the development of all other knowledge. The similarities with Merleau-Ponty's *body schema* is strong in many respects (cf. chapter 3.2).

For the Rocks members, this has been about incorporating a certain set of skills that are to some extent different from what other climbers would need to learn. This developing of the Rocks activities into a game on its own premises started out as a result of the practical adaptations which the members needed due to their impairments. Organizationally, Rocks has thereby developed as a "group within a group" when it comes to the relation with Tromsø Climbing Club. In the beginning, this was all about practical purposes as Rocks needed to pay attention to their own physiological presumptions - that is, within a context resembling that of *adaptive climbing*. For example, they needed to have the climbing gym for themselves a couple of hours a week. The reason was, amongst else, their need of hearing each other better to compensate for reduced vision, which in their case was therefore about communication in a more comprehensive sense than it would have been to non-impaired. If there are a lot of other climbers in the gym at the same time, it simply gets too noisy.

In the beginning, Rocks was a group of persons with impairments exploring climbing, in the sense that they attempted to conduct the sport in the same way as others, with the necessary compensations according to their impairments. Gradually they however went from "trying to do it like others do it", by compensating their impairments, to developing the Rocks climbing into *a game in its own terms* (that is, *the special game*). The members' impairments, in connection with the unreflected and "tacit" understanding of each other based on a combination of personal characteristics, social relations, body language, movements, and sounds, have become part of the premises in Rocks' climbing activities. In a sense they have therefore developed their own variety of the climbing sport.

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[21] "Tacit *knowledge*" seems to have been the standard way of formulation in social research (my emphasis). Polanyi himself uses both 'knowledge' and 'knowing', the latter inhibiting a *procedural* aspect. It is worth noting that the second of his main works focusing on this is entitled *The Tacit Dimension*, and that the first part of the book is called *Tacit Knowing*; the popular notation "tacit knowledge" was never used in a title by its originator, and his texts (e.g. 2009, 1962) seem to generally stress "procedural" understandings of the workings of knowledge.

2.3   Disability research and perspectives on disability and impairment

In terms of common knowledge, "everybody knows" - or at least *believes* to know what physical disability is, and in everyday language use the term is frequently and coincidentally exchanged with the related notions handicap[22] and impairment. According to common understanding it is about the body not working "normally", that is, it has a certain deficiency (pathology) or under-development pertaining to it. The *wheelchair* is an international symbol for disability, indicating a more or less persistent need of special accessories in order to assist or compensate bodily functions according to the "normal" (Shakespeare 2013, Siebers 2008).

There are certain historically and culturally established understandings about disability. At some points common-cultural understandings and perspectives within disability research correspond with each other, although there has been an increasing discrepancy during the later decades. For example, disability research today has far more elaborate understandings of physical disability as a socially constructed phenomenon than the prevailing cultural understandings that are embedded in the common 'stock of knowledge' (Grue 2004, Goodley 2011).

In the following, it is first given a basic account for central understandings within disability research. Thereafter follows a reflection on nuances in conceptions of corporeality and bodiness, which is connected with the closer explanation of basic ideas in my project. This also serves as background information for the beginning of the next part (theory), where it is given a preparatory analysis of positions in existing research in order to outline the theoretical landscape in which this project is posited.

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[22] The notion 'handicap' is not used in this project, in line with common consent. According to strict terminology from a social model point of view (i.e. disability as social construction), handicap refers to a concrete dys-function in a situation where the impairment appears as a hindrance because of underlying disabling structures. The notion is therefore sought avoided as it posits the hindrances in the individual body. Similar as with other notions adjacent to disability, the use of it however varies between countries (Grue 2004, Siebers 2008). On this background it can seem curious that the main organization for disabled persons in Norway still uses the notion 'handicap' in its name: Norges handikapforbund (The Norwegian Association of Disabled, NAD).

Disability: Phenomena and concepts

Both the phenomenon disability and the conceptualizations corresponding with it, on one side, and the research traditions investigating it, on the other, can be divided into two intermingled parts. First, the phenomenon itself and the conceptual distinction between *impairment* and *disability*: Where *impairment* points to the individual and corporeal phenomenon (e.g. a missing leg or a visual deprivation), *disability* points to the surroundings - or, more specifically, to the *relation* between the person with the impairment and the material and cultural surroundings. Hence, a person using a wheelchair becomes more disabled when confronted with prejudices (cultural) or stairs (material), even if the impairment itself (e.g. leg paralysis) may be invariable. In this sense, the surroundings constitute *disabling barriers* (Thomas 2010, Hughes 2002). Within the history of disability research, the establishing of this conceptual pairing led to new and more elaborate understandings of disability from the 60ies and 70ies. The idea that *disability can be contested* regardless of the eventual permanent states of the impairments, has had strong empowering effects.

The traditional understanding of impairment as an individual and physical phenomenon points to *the medical perspective*. The new focus on disability as a phenomenon dependent on material and cultural surroundings - hence initiating an "environmental turn" - came to be defining for the opposite position: *the social model*.

In terms of activism, and seen in a historical perspective on post-war emancipation movements, this change (most notably in the Western countries, especially in England and the US) occurred together with other and related movements, such as of civil rights and anti-apartheid (race), anti-imperialism (Vietnam war), gay rights and feminism. These movements also coincided and thus related to the overall emancipative *ethos* of the widespread student uproars in the West from the late 60ies. The total landscape of the diverse movements was much intermingled with the stances of the political left and Marxist understandings, both in terms of political views and social theory. These political-cultural features were hence defining of this period in which also disability activism got a breakthrough (Borsay 2002, Siebers 2008).

Reference points in the history of disability activism and -theory

The social model was established as a result of a cooperation between disability activists and academics. Influential activists in the 60ies were Paul Hunt and Vic Finkelstein, both disabled and reacting "from the floor" upon what they regarded as deficient and disempowering tendencies in the way institutionalized care was conducted. An academic later seen as a main proponent of the social model, is Michael (Mike) Oliver.

The conceptual divide between disability and impairment hence corresponds fundamentally with a duality in the tradition of disability research. In earlier times the linkage between impairment and the medical perspective was alone defining of the prevailing understanding within research, organizations and politics, and also prevail as the dominant understanding within common culture today. This means that the medical understanding of the physiological and individual deficiency has also been transferred to the understanding of corporeal difference in a more overall societal sense: for example, it has been understood as the general reason why persons with impairments have often had a lower grade of participation on central societal arenas. When the medical perspective in this way was lifted out of its individual and medical context and used as a *social explanation*, the physiological impairment was understood as *the* reason for the position of being disabled in society, as a kind of corporeal deviance to be treated or contested, and as inextricably linked with *deprivation* (Siebers 2008, Swain et al. 2007, Goodley 2011). Within disability research, this has been known as the 'personal tragedy' perspective on disability. Such unfortunate situations have further been understood as 'biographical disruption', and strategies to overcome such ruptures have been conceptualized as e.g. 'narrative reconstruction' (Ibid). (The conceptions will be reissued in the analysis section 2.)

The medical perspective is still a central component of the "prevailing discourses" explained before, and is fundamentally connected with the colonization mechanisms that are issued in this project. Its opponent, the *social model*, eventually developed into and was nuanced within *disability studies.*[23] These are social scientific studies focusing on cultural and material surroundings. The basic thought within disability studies is that disability is a phenomenon that varies in relation to societal space, social encounters, and self-perception

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[23] *Disability studies* is hence a branch within the more overall category disability research. With its heritage from the social model its focus is tendentially on disability as a socially constructed phenomenon.

according to structures in social interaction and politics of identities. Importantly, this implies that it can also be reduced - that is, even if the impairments themselves are to remain the same in a pure physical sense. Bearing on the Marxist inspiration from the social model, the tradition of disability studies draws heavily on theories on social deviance, class, discourse and power (Grue 2016, Goodley 2011, Shakespeare 2013).

Traditional sociological understandings of disability and bodiness

In the following, the sociological traditions usually associated with understandings of disability will be outlined briefly. Although they will not be given lengthier elaborations as they are not used directly in the project, central concepts and understandings from these traditions are however still taken into account as they are generally interwoven with the interdisciplinary disability research - such as e.g. the conceptualizations 'deviance', 'labelling', and 'stigma'.

The traditional sociological disciplines issuing disability specifically can be presented as *functionalism*, the *interactionist perspective*, and *medical sociology*.[24] In the following they will be outlined shortly, and common critiques issued against them will be indicated. In the same token it will also be given a short account for the discipline *biopolitics* (about biopower), although it is not understood as a sociological perspective in the same way as the others.

In the *functionalist tradition* as represented by Talcott Parsons (1991), disability has been inextricably linked with the *sick role* finding its place within the structural-functionalist framework. According to this understanding, the general societal *equilibrium* demands of the holders of deficient roles to work towards normality. Hence, the sick role has been understood to be temporal, and in a normative sense it has implied an overall *duty* of its keeper to normalize and rehabilitate as far as possible.

A critique against this conception of the sick role has been that e.g. persons with disability have been deprived of their positions as equal with others. Following from this, persons with impairments that cannot be "cured" have thereby also been ascribed to a

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[24] There can also be used categorizations for directions within sociological thinking that do not necessarily follow traditional discipline labels. For instance, Goodley (2011) presents 'functionalism', 'interpretivism', 'radical humanism', and 'radical structuralism'. There are considerable overlaps between the diverse labels used in literature.

subordinate status that is to last through their entire lifetime. Within the functionalist tradition this has been legitimized by general references to "the common good" and the objective "in fact" ways in which a society works, and which can therefore not be disputed on normative grounds (Grue 2004, Goodley 2011).

The *interactionist perspective* issues deviance in behaviour and corporeality as stemming from processes of mutual social influences through interaction in micro settings. In interaction, human beings "impose their looks" on each other and thereby shape each other mutually, as "the look of the other" is also the means by which one's perception of self is created. Through interaction, images of the normal and hence also deviance is actively created and sustained. A famous interactionist work on deviance is Erving Goffman's *Stigma* (1968). The central idea in the book is that aspects of actions, attitudes, corporeal features and other sides of one's appearance that are perceived as deviant become symbols of deviance that stick to the person as lasting characteristics. The notion *stigma* indicates that it is a mark which one cannot easily let off. In social interaction one is hence constantly reminded of one's difference, in the sense of deviance. Together with another concept from the same tradition of thought - *labelling* - this can turn into a self-confirming mechanism, as human beings perceive themselves according to the signals (e.g. repeated labelling) being directed towards them from the surroundings.

A critique against the interactionist view upon difference and deviance has been that it does not take into account power dimensions embedded in culture, and thereby fails to understand how disability results from structures of social inequality and socio-material oppression.

Medical sociology - also used interchangeably with *the sociology of health and illness,* and similar notions - is about the social life pertaining to the broad framework of medicine, rehabilitation, and institutionally guided health work. Amongst its focuses is how e.g. disease, different kinds of physiological treatment, medicalization, and pain is conceived of and handled in the relations between health personnel, patients, and caregivers. The medical sociology also investigates discourse and language use in the intersection between medical professionals and clients (Thomas 2010, Mol 2002).

A critique against the medical sociology has been that it has posited its ambitions exclusively within the already existing medical discourse, hence depriving itself of the possibility to investigate its social terms - that is, to set the medical discourse itself as

object for social-theoretical analysis. Its issuing of how e.g. patients relate to the medical system has not been supplied by studies putting the medical system itself under investigation. In this way, it can be claimed, the medical sociology has contributed to the continued preservation of the medical perspective, by adapting to it sociological ways of thought. Hence, it also serves to preserve a view upon disability as 'social deviance' (Scambler & Scambler 2010, Taket et al. 2009).

The critiques directed against these three sociological positions could perhaps be regarded as "unfair", at least to some extent: Obviously, one should be careful to criticize a certain perspective for "what it is not". For instance, the interactionist perspective is per definition not about cultural power relations, as the medical sociology likewise per definition has the medical field and -discourse as its framework. The critiques however still point to an important aspect when taken together: none of these traditional sociological disciplines offer extended social understandings of physical impairment in ways that problematize the conceptions about there "always already" being deprivations connected with it. Given the longstanding tradition of critical thinking and understanding of discursive formations and their powers within sociology, this could be claimed to be conspicuous.

Biopolitics and biopower

In correspondence with the three sociological perspectives on disability there is also another perspective to be mentioned, although it should perhaps be ascribed more to the tradition of social philosophy than to sociology. *Biopolitics*, or the study of *biopower* is not an established discipline, but can be said to consist of a network of mutually corresponding thinking when it comes to understandings of bodies and corporeality as relative according to discursive formations. Central proponents are Michel Foucault and Antonio Agamben.

Biopolitics focuses on how perceptions of corporeality and normality have been defined in mutual correspondence with each other through history, formed by power relations embedded in cultural and technological contexts (Agamben 1998, Žižek 2001). According to its analytic point of departure, a central shift took place during the modernization period: for example, new medical knowledge and statistical recording techniques were in defining charge of their "object" - the human body - and could thereby also adjust the boundaries between normal and "abnormal" accordingly (Davis 1995).

An example of biopolitical thinking is Foucault's investigations of the changing understandings of mental pathologies in the Western countries since the medieval times, and how these ways of understanding - structurally manifested in historical discursive formations as *epistemes* - also implied certain ways of perceiving corporeal sickness (pathologies) and impairment - and also *morality*. Institutionalization and "governmentality" - pointing to disciplinary techniques being internalized in the individual members of society - and the interplay between psychiatric-medical knowledge and common culture is at the core in many of Foucault's works. A variety of this is the individual "body regime", as a way of self-control (e.g. Foucault 2008, 1994).

Important biopolitical issues in our times have to do with e.g. the influencive technological powers connected with prenatal diagnostics, cloning and the *human genome project*. The reason why biopolitics is mentioned in our context, is that its approach to corporeal issues has had an important influence on the understanding in this project regarding the interplay between the prevailing health-, sports- and rehabilitation discourses and the common-cultural conceptions of normal and different corporeality. In general, the idea of prevailing discourses bears strong resemblances with biopolitical thinking.

Obviously, with its empirical focus, this project works on a totally different level than the perspective of biopolitics, as the latter - notwithstanding the fact that it also issues processes of *individuation* - is generally about overall populations and wider cultural and political tendencies (Overboe 1999). Thereby the project can also give a contribution which could not be offered by this more comprehensive perspective, as it would demand a more careful investigation of micro settings. To some extent this also marks a contrast to the biopolitical view: namely, the possibility that corporeality is not just given meaning from outside and that bodies thereby just *represent* dominant cultural and political definitions, but that they can also contribute actively in the making of meaning. Bearing on the body schema concept of Merleau-Ponty, *corporeal-social meaning* is about how corporeality is interwoven with the outer social and cultural space - though not exclusively in the sense influenced and formed by it, but also in the sense that corporeal experiences are fundamentally linked existentially as a "being in the world as a body and with others" (further explanations are given in part 3).

Where the contribution of this project opposite the three sociological disciplines mentioned could be sketched briefly as being about the view upon *deprivation*, its

contribution opposite a biopolitical understanding of disability could be said to be its conception of the *agency* of corporeality (in a fundamentally social sense).

Four overall perspectives: The medical perspective, the social model, empowerment, and the relational model

Apart from the medical perspective and the social model - that seem to be the two most prevalent references in disability research - two more general perspectives on disability can be mentioned: *Empowerment* and *the relational perspective*. The two latter are however less coherent and consolidated than the two former (on the general presumption that these are also not necessarily uniform and coherent themselves. Obviously, there are overlaps and nuances that cannot be issued in my context). It could even be discussed if they should be regarded as perspectives at all. The reason why they will be issued is that they - together with the medical perspective and the social model - can contribute in circling in my own understandings of the conception corporeal-social meaning (as will be shown according to Table 1).

In the two last decades approximately, *empowerment* has become something of a "fashion term" within social work opposite less advantaged groups and individuals (Andersen 2005, Askheim 2003). In the outset it denotes qualities such as autonomy, self-esteem and independence. It has also come to be used frequently in correspondence with other notations that have likewise been used extensively, such as *mastery* and *coping*.[25] Thus, empowerment could perhaps be viewed more like a general way of pragmatic focusing on certain goals than being about what disability *is* and about its causes, like the two former perspectives account for. Coupled with the notions mastery and coping in ways of "thinking and talking" and implying a strong normative lead, *empowerment* takes on characteristics of a discourse on its own. Anyhow, and in general, the empowerment perspective comes strongly to expression in the prevailing sports- and rehabilitation discourses.

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[25] Within the area of social work, the term is connected with a discursive turn in notations, such as from patient and recipient to user, customer, or client. Such linguistic changes mirror a deeper agenda within the overall welfare conception about replacing negatively loaded and disempowering conceptions of "dependent and secondary citizens" (Fook 2016, Tøssebro 2010).

The *relational perspective* can be understood as a combination of the other three. The reason why it can still be mentioned as a perspective amongst the others is that it has become the common notion for the views upon and incentives according to disability in the Scandinavian welfare systems specifically. The basic idea of the relational perspective is to balance the traditional medical perspective with the societal focus of the social model, at the same time as not losing track of the pursuing of experiences of empowerment in individuals. Within Norwegian politics, and following this thinking, disability is understood as the *gap* between individual function and demands from the surroundings. This is occasionally referred to as *the gap model* (Hugaas, Wendelborg & Tøssebro 2009: 3).

Disability research today: Reissuing corporeality

According to the overall health discourse and established cultural understandings, it might at first seem slightly paradoxical that corporeality is something that can be *re*issued in disability research. The reason is - as shown according to the discursively dominating position of the medical perspective within common-cultural understandings - that the body and corporeality is already understood as being the mere *essence* of the disability phenomenon.

The reissuing of corporeality has to do with reactions against the strong underscoring of the social model perspective within disability studies since the 70ies. According to the elaborations given above, this hence means that both of these opposite perspectives have been strongly influential during the same period: While the rehabilitation aspect of the medical perspective has persisted as a cornerstone within the prevailing discourses of politics, organizations and common culture, the social model has been the most dominant perspective within social scientific disability research (this is however a complex picture with many overlaps) (Grue 2004, Siebers 2008).

Körper and Leib

In *The Absent Body* (1990), Drew Leder issues the "decorporealization" of human life and the subordination of the role of the body in Western culture and research since Descartes (to be elaborated in chapter 3.2).

With a phenomenologically sensitive point of view he requests a new focus upon the *living body* through which we conceive of our surroundings - that is, the fundamental

bodiness of being. Merleau-Ponty's body schema concept is a central reference. Leder points to the philosophical distinction between *Körper* - the physical body, the purely "biological" life - and *Leib* - the living body, in the sense *living experience*. Seen in relation to disability research, the *Körper* can hence be understood to characterize the understanding of the body within the medical perspective, while *Leib* relates closer to *body schema*. In my project, Leder's conception of 'dys-function' is also referred to in various contexts (it is especially related with the SCW structure *Appearance of the impairment*).

According to Leder (1990), common understandings of corporeal 'dys-functions' have tended to ascribe the experiences of disabled people to the *Körper* category. James Overboe (1999) touches upon this in his issuing of a topic that is most central also for my project, and which should therefore be addressed shortly.

As the title indicates - *'Difference in Itself': Validating Disabled People's Lived Experience* - the article is about recognizing experiences of disabled people that fall outside of tendential ascriptions to the *Körper* category. With references to Young (1990) and Davis (1997), Overboe writes: (…) *the körper interpretation of the body is the norm as it lends itself easy to demarcating categories of identity. For example, the identity of disabled people who experience cerebral palsy is reduced to their appearance that is (…) the antithesis of the controlled being associated by rationality, linearity, productivity and normality* (Overboe 1999: 18). In this, there are also hints to the understanding of prevailing discourses and colonization in my project. Following, he writes: *Thus, our lived experiences are reduced to classification or körper reading which demands that the able-bodied take some sort of action that implicitly or explicitly controls our lives* (Ibid).

An indication of the colonization mode 2 in my project - *Discursive adaptations*, analysed through *expressions, presentations and narratives* (analysis section 2) - is found in his assertion that: *So pervasive are these projected ableist attitudes that many disabled people also internalize them and replicate a scale of disabilities.*

With reference to Wendell (1989) Overboe also says that (…) *some people have transformed their disability from a perceived detriment to cultural capital by becoming 'disabled heroes'* (Ibid: 19). This last point is about "individual exceptions", as touched upon earlier. A central point which relates to my project, is that the normal "being in the world" for persons with disabilities is not acknowledged in that they are ascribed to either more or less than *ordinary people doing ordinary things* (Ibid., with reference to Oliver 1990).

Sociology of impairment and "carnal politics"

In recent years, researchers have claimed that disability studies have eventually come to "forget" and rule out corporeality, even if the body and bodiness is still of fundamental importance in human experiences, obviously. With a phenomenologically oriented perspective, Paterson and Hughes (1999) called for a reissuing of what they called "the carnal politics of everyday life" [26]. They named their approach the 'sociology of impairment'. In my project, the term is used as a general point of reference, in the sense that I connect to its overall agenda of reissuing corporeality in a social sense.

With the 'sociology of impairment', the authors indicate that the body qua "persistent reality" should be taken more into account also in social constructivist understandings - though not necessarily in the positivist "hard fact" sense. The approach is a reaction against more post-structuralist oriented positions within disability studies, as the basic view is that the state of the body - and thereby also the meaning contents that can be given to it - cannot be socially constructed all the way through. It can be noted that according to the existing landscape of disability research, the term 'sociology of impairment' also has a certain (and probably intended) paradoxicality to it: The *disability* notion is inherently sociological - but *impairment* is not, as it denotes individual and physical phenomena that are to be described in terms of medicine and natural science, in the outset. The point is that the hard reality of the bodily state - that is, physical and "importunate" phenomena that cannot be discursively "defined away", such as e.g. chronic somatic pain - are still *socially handled*. With a phenomenologically oriented perspective it can hence be investigated how disabled persons live with their impairments within the social world, and how the social surroundings thereby influence the ways the deprivations inherent in them are experienced. These mechanisms can take on structural patterns which can be investigated sociologically.

Even if the term 'sociology of impairment' can be said to have represented new tendencies during the last two decades, it could be argued that it still shares a central

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[26] In this context it could be mentioned that at the NNDR conference 2012 in Bodø, Norway, the sociologist Johans Sandvin held an introduction lecture entitled *Resurrection of the flesh; on the re-introduction of the body in disability research.* (My translation. In orig. *Kjødets oppstandelse; reintroduseringen av kroppen i forskning om funksjonshemming*). The title indicates the main contents of the lecture: Sandvin issued how it has been an increasing tendency in recent disability research to approach aspects of corporeality that have for a long time been neglected by dominant social model approaches.

feature with traditional sociological perspectives in the understanding of disability, and which will also be countered in this project: their consequent ascribing of disability to deviance and deficiency - that is, what in this project is referred to with the general term *deprivation*.

At this point it can be indicated how this project offers a contribution to the 'sociology of impairment' with a new approach: Obviously, this project shares with it the agenda of issuing corporeality by means of a phenomenologically oriented sociology. The main difference is however that my project does not connect impairment as explicitly to *deprivation,* which is further to be "lived with" ("endured") and contested (to be elaborated in the analysis). A basic line in this project is that the meaning dimensions that pertain to the intersection between impairment and physical activity also involve the impairments in "non-impaired" ways. This is channelled through the understanding of the *special game* within the overall framework of the social climbing world.

The elaborations on perspectives and traditions in disability research above have had the following purposes: First, they serve as a background for fundamental concepts used in the project. Also, they show a more comprehensive framework for the contents of *the prevailing discourses*. Furthermore - and importantly - they give the background for the pre-analysis constituting the first half of the following theory part, which has contributed in the construction of the conception *corporeal-social meaning* (CSM).

Explaining the idea: The football example

The following constructed hypothetical example is meant to indicate the idea and purpose behind some of the conceptions developed in this project, especially "the non-impaired impairment", "indirect deprivation", and it also points to the contextual use of "colonization". And, not least, it also indicates the central idea about the social climbing world regarding the important tension between its structures *adaptive activity* and *the special game*.

One could imagine that football[27] (of the soccer type) had its origin as an adaptive activity a long time ago. It was originally a sort of *handball*. Then there were some persons

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[27] This example with a ball game is inspired by Merleau-Ponty and Wittgenstein. Merleau-Ponty (1963) uses the situation of being in the middle of a ball game to illustrate the characteristics of the body schema (the immediate perceptions of the relevant praxis field, e.g. the corporeal know-how about where to place oneself on the course). The reflections on impairments as "principles of the game" are inspired by the late Wittgenstein's understanding of *language games* (Wittgenstein 2009).

who could not use their hands but still wanted to play, so they started to use their feet as a substitute for hands. They intermingled with the handball players and tried their best to *adapt* to the existing rules and norms of the normal game. For example, they got the ball thrown towards their feet, and they attempted to pass it on by kicking it towards the hands of their co-players. After some practice the persons with impairments gradually improved their skills in this adapted activity - this also means that they *converged towards the normal* by means of adaptation. For one, it was about bodily know-how. It was also about social acceptance and mutual social learning regarding how to get along and cooperate with the others on the field. Also, there came to be material adaptations resulting from practical experience. For instance, perhaps the impaired players needed shoes that were better at kicking the ball. Obviously, such shoes were not necessary for the other players. One could further imagine that there were eventually established special teams for impaired players exclusively. It was also arranged games where *everybody* used their feet. To put it aptly, these were teams playing *football*, but it was still per definition a kind of *adaptive handball*. According to this, the football players would perceive their activities as adaptive - and so would the surroundings. Simply put, football would have been perceived in general as a "handball substitute".

Then a long time passed. Football developed into a sport on its own, and also players without hand impairments engaged in it. The use of hands was now actually forbidden, and the hands were perceived as "irrelevant" in the *experience* of the game. Eventually, everybody also forgot about how football had once started out as an adapted activity. It was no longer seen as a way of approaching another normal "standard" than itself (handball): it had become *the normal activity* on its own terms.

One could imagine that in the beginning, when it had been about adapted activity, a player with impairment who was asked about how it felt to play, could have answered something like "it feels really good to be able to participate and do this, given that I can't use my hands". One could then counter this by imagining a soccer player being interviewed after a game today, saying "I think we did well today, despite we weren't allowed to use our hands". The first answer would be meaningful, but the latter would be nonsense. The reason for the difference points to important aspects and connections in this project.

A special feature of the social climbing world is that it to some extent has come to contain both of the varieties indicated in the example above. Even if the climbers have of

course at no point forgotten about their origin in adaptive climbing, they have still developed the special game as their own normal game within the overall SCW (which also contains adaptive climbing). While within this special game framework, their impairments are parts of the physical terms of the game - or else it would not have been a special branch of the activity to begin with - but they (the impairments) are not "impaired" in these contexts of meaning production. To use another example that is hypothetical, though nevertheless reasonable: When playing blind cannonball, the blindness is a physical premise for the activity, but not in a way perceived as an impairment within the game itself. If a player could see, she would simply not be playing blind cannonball. Hence, it would be meaningless to perceive her blindness as amongst the reasons for an e.g. especially bad performance on the course. It is like use of hands in soccer: they are not to be used anyway, and are therefore also not missed. The difference is that the blindness in blind cannonball still bears the name impairment per definition, while the soccer player's hands do not. This also points to an inherent and seemingly inescapable deprivation in both of the notions *disability* and *impairment*. Regarding these concepts there is thereby also a strong bias in a pure linguistic sense, which adds to the deeper differences opposite "the normal" existing in terms of the more comprehensive discourse (to be elaborated).

In this project, the points above are assumed to be amongst the reasons for colonization. As the analyses will indicate: even if the impairments are not experienced by the climbers as deprivations within the special game contexts, they can still be *represented* as such later - and this is assumed to be by means of discourse. A variety of colonization is that the impairments are brought in as reasons for the meaning contents of the special game. Therefore the conception "indirect deprivation": it is about a meaning experience (in a good sense), therefore it is not about a (direct) deprivation - but as the good meaning experience is presented as the *result* (i.e. an effect) of something bad (impairment/ deprivation) being contested, the impairment is brought into the representation as an *indirect* deprivation. (For a more detailed setup, see 4C - *Experiences and representations of meaning in the activity*). As indicated, this project differs from other disability research in that it includes perspectives of "non-impaired impairment" and "indirect deprivation" in a more comprehensive understanding of meaning dimensions in the intersection between impairment and physical activity.

Existing research on disability and physical activity

Most of the research on the intersection between disability and physical activity has been conducted within the overall domain of medicine, sports, physiotherapy and rehabilitation (Kissow 2015, Goodley 2011). Also in existing research within social science and adjacent disciplines, there seems to be a strong bias towards the same paradigm of understanding disability (i.e. the prevailing discourses) (Kissow 2015, Elnan 2010, Huang and Brittain 2006). Themes and perspectives pertaining to the research have been e.g. 'personal tragedy', 'biographical disruption' - and reactions upon this in the form of e.g. 'narrative reconstruction'. Other notions are e.g. 'loss of self', 'stigma' and 'oppression' (Scambler & Scambler 2010, Titchkosky 2000, Siebers 2008).

In *Participation in physical activity and the everyday life of people with physical disabilities: a review of the literature* (2015), Anne Merete Kissow provides a literary review on existing research on the combination of (physical) disability and physical activity. It is an investigation of how personal participation in physical activity can impact participation on other arenas. The theoretical framework is critical psychology and social learning theory. Based on a search on seven databases for the period 1987 - 2009, six themes are identified. They can be listed here as they can be said to indicate certain biases that correspond with the overall intentions within the prevailing discourses, as defined in my context: *Learning social rules, being disabled in a in an able-bodied society, perception of identity, being part of a community, empowerment, maintenance and independence* (Kissow 2015: 144). As a general remark, and without elaborating the methodological terms of the study further, it can be noted that all of these categories - with the exception of 'perception of identity', which is relatively neutral in this context - point to some kind of "subordinate position" and/or processes of managing to "move away" from such and *become* included. According to the conceptions of my study, Kissow's literary review hence strengthens the assumption presented before about biases in existing research. The same bias can also be seen in Ingrid Elnan's overview of existing Nordic studies on disability, in the studies listed under the sections 'Disabled persons and leisure time', 'Disabled persons and physical activity', 'Disabled persons and rehabilitation', and 'Disabled persons and sports' (Elnan 2010: 52-68).

A phenomenologically oriented study can also be mentioned for an individual comparison. The reason is that some of its basic characteristics could be claimed to make it

adjacent to my project in the outset, and it thereby becomes a point to also indicate central differences. Also this project adheres to the categories of "other research" as described above. In his doctoral thesis *Relations of meaning. A phenomenologically oriented case study of learning bodies in a rehabilitation context,* Øyvind F. Standal (2009)[28] used Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology in a study of embodied and social learning in a group of wheelchair users. As his study is focused on social relations within a rehabilitation context, it can be understood to position itself in the intersection between the general categories medical and adjacent studies, on the one side, and social scientific studies, on the other. In combination with the educational theory *situated learning*, Standal focuses on the *mutuality* that pertain to this learning in concrete and practical situations. In contrast to my project, the focus on *rehabilitation* is explicit. Accordingly, (acquired) impairments[29] are understood as " … a loss or disruption of the habits of the body". On this background the rehabilitation was understood as "re-embodiment" and about "(re-)gaining habits of the body" (Standal 2009: iv).

Ending

Part 2 - Health discourse, physical activity and disability research - has provided background information for the project. First, culturally established understandings of health, sports and rehabilitation were issued, followed by an overall account of climbing and related health gains. Thereafter, central lines in disability research and perspectives on disability and impairment were accounted for.

The culturally established understandings were related to the notion *prevailing discourses*. This has again been connected with *adaptive climbing*, which has been understood to represent this discourse. Following from this, it has been described how the climbing focused upon in this project also differs from adaptive climbing, as it is also about a certain variety of *normal climbing* for the informants.

The elaboration of disability research and perspectives on disability and impairment has been especially focused upon understandings of *corporeality*. As a preparation for the

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[28] The Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NIH).
[29] He though uses 'disability', seemingly of practical purposes.

following theory part - where this project is to be positioned according to existing disability theory - the agenda of the *sociology of impairment* has been explained.

Contributions compared with other research

With its empirical basis and analytical approach, my project is assumed to make a contribution on a field that has not been issued by other research. This is especially due to its combination of the following points:

- It departs from a study of a group of persons with impairments conducting a sport that is often perceived as being of the "challenging and adventurous" kind.

- To a large extent, the activities take place outside of an explicit rehabilitation context.

- The conducting of activities with impairments is also studied in ways that do not have an explicit focus on the impairments, meaning that it is also understood simply as *the normal activity*.

- It indicates how the rehabilitation discourse has a paradoxical side in that it - by means of colonization - inserts meaning experiences with some of the deprivation (impairments) which it is also its own main agenda to overcome and rule out.

Part 3 Phenomenology and corporeal-social meaning

In the following, I will first give reflections in the form of a preparatory theoretical analysis in connection with Table 1 (p. 43). In an overall sense, these will serve to explain how the project is positioned opposite other disability research. More specifically, the reflections will issue the *analytic status of corporeality* within disability research, compared with the overall perspectives elaborated before: the medical perspective, the social model, empowerment, and the relational model. The result points at an area within disability research which I understand as being both under-theorized and under-investigated when it comes to social understandings of corporeality. This has contributed to my own use of the conception *corporeal-social meaning* (CSM) in this project.

After this preparatory analysis, I will give a presentation of the phenomenological perspective, followed by more specific outlines of the stances of Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Alfred Schütz. Regarding Merleau-Ponty, a *social* view on the body schema will be emphasized as a way of relating to the CSM conception. Regarding Alfred Schütz, a central issue is his understanding of ideal types, and about how knowledge about the lifewordly experiences of other people are to be obtained.

It is also given a theoretical preparatory analysis about the correspondence between Merleau-Ponty and Schütz. In the way they are set to correspond with each other in the project, they will have to be compared regarding aspects set to underscore the use of the conceptualization corporeal-social meaning in the coming analysis. More specifically, it is made an investigation of how the phenomenological stances of these theorists can be seen as mutually consistent when it comes to the themes *intersubjective meaning* and *the role of the body*. The investigation will take form of a comparison of Schütz' concept of *ideal types* (derived from Weber's initial definitions), and Merleau-Ponty's concept *body schema*.

In this theory part, the conception corporeal-social meaning will hence be anchored in two theoretical discussions: The first points to a certain neglect within existing disability theory regarding the field of "collective and corporeal meaning". The other connects the conception to a phenomenologically oriented understanding of what could be called the "sociality of the body schema".

The use of phenomenology in the project bears fundamentally on chosen works of Merleau-Ponty and Schütz, respectively. A natural departure point regarding the *body schema* concept is found in Merleau-Ponty's main work *The Phenomenology of Perception* (2012). Central insights regarding extended corporeality and perceptive reality is found here as well, as also in his earlier work *The Structure of Behavior* (1963), which overlaps with *PhP* in central respects. On some occasions there are given references to concepts and ideas presented by Merleau-Ponty in his last and unfinished (though highly valued and acclaimed) book *The Visible and the Invisible* (1968). The lines of understanding presented in these works are generally understood as being mutually coherent and fulfilling (Disprose and Reynolds 2008, Landes 2012).

The use of Schütz relates to two works especially: His main work *The Phenomenology of the Social World* (1997) and *On Phenomenology and Social Relations* (1970). Both elaborate the author's fundamental project about providing the grounds for a phenomenological understanding of social phenomena through the fundamental conception of *social meaning*. The latter (1970) is a collection of texts that also includes material from another and much sited (though not in this project) collection: *The Collected Papers*.

Where phenomenological literature from other authors is referred to, it is of additional purposes (e.g. commentaries, or for indicating wider scopes of relevance).

3.1   Positioning of the project according to perspectives on disability

Within disability research, there have been considerable challenges when it comes to defining and relating to corporeality. This can be understood as the "analytical status" of corporeality: it is about the body and how to understand characteristics of bodily experience in general, and further about how the actual experiences of persons with impairments are to be conceived of within different disciplines. Outside of academic disciplines there are also the prevailing perspectives within politics, bureaucracy and organizations. Here, normative and ideological understandings of corporeality come more to expression, and analytical approaches are not in focus. The academic disciplines and these other prevailing perspectives influence each other mutually.

It could be claimed that within the research literature on disability, ontological, epistemological and normative aspects of corporeality often appear in complex and not always clear contexts. In the following it is therefore attempted to give a reasonably systematic overview over the analytical status of corporeality within the different academic disciplines, seen in comparison with the prevailing perspectives on disability.

The body as analytical challenge

The elaboration can depart from the main critiques that are held against the central perspectives: The focus of the *social model* is exclusively on societal restrains, and it therefore disavow the significance of the somatic impairment in the experiences of disabled persons. The *empowerment* direction has met a similarly oriented criticism for reducing corporeality to an "epiphenomenon" opposite attitudes, intentions and definition powers. Within the *medical perspective*, psychological and social experiences of being disabled are not taken into account.

When compared with each other, these basic "neglects" point to certain theoretical challenges when it comes to understanding corporeality. An intersection point seems to be the explicit dichotomy between corporeality, on one side, and consciousness/culture on the other (which is occasionally referred to as Cartesian dualism). This distinction has been central within the social model and disability studies, as these have focused exclusively on cultural and ideological aspects in their understanding of disability.

In close correspondence with the renewed focus upon corporeality within disability studies from the 90ies, the "sociology of impairment" attempted to embed somatic corporeality into social understandings of disability. As a sociological discipline with such an intention it was a challenge not to lose terrain to the medical paradigm, as both general ways of understandings and social scientific research are brought closer to a biological reductionism where corporeality are perceived as fixated ("conceding the body to medicine"). In order to not having its approach associated with the medical mode, notations like "embodied notion of disability" has been used (Paterson & Hughes 1997, 1999).

An overall dilemma for the social model has been that a stronger emphasis on corporeality could easily come to reduce some of its focus on social barriers and identity politics, and thereby also reduce some of the emancipative potential that was originally

obtained by it. Also, if the social model was eventually to reinstate corporeality, it could be accused of "self-treachery" opposite its own history, as it was initially about a consequent bracketing of corporeal characteristics. It could however be remarked that it is not given that the social model would suffer from a stronger focus upon corporeality within disability studies. For example, Carol Thomas (2010) describes how the social model has had a more profound significance for the everyday life of disabled persons than for "theoretical clarity".

In more recent research literature, it has been launched tentative slogans like "impairment is social and disability is corporeal" (Thomas 2010). The inherent theoretical challenges do not cease to exist by this, however. On one side, it has been seen as necessary that disability studies continues to hold a mainly social constructivist focus, and thereby a disciplinary distance opposite (even if not as a antagonism according to) the medical perspective, something which again must be balanced with an increased accept also within disability studies of the corporeality as also bearing with it somatic intruding and "importunate" reality. On the other side, approaches overlapping with the disability/impairment distinction will face the danger of both weakening the emancipative force of the social model and leading to ambiguity between the medical-naturalist and the social scientific disciplines.

Within approaches adjacent to sociology of impairment in the last decade there have been made phenomenological and interactionist analyses of *lifeworldly* everyday experiences amongst persons with disabilities, e.g regarding coping mechanisms and identity work (Scambler & Scambler 2010). The intentions have been to overcome the analytical divide between body, on the one side, and consciousness, identity and culture, on the other.

It has been claimed that a weakness sticking to such approaches is that they have tended to be predominantly descriptive on a micro- and individual level, and hence have not been able to contribute to the understanding of emancipation on a larger societal scale (Shakespeare & Watson 2010).

A further challenge by the use of phenomenological approaches has been that the phenomenological philosophy, in which they have found their inspiration, is elaborated in a distinctive and unique language that is not easily adaptable to a social scientific discourse. And, not least, the mere possibility of using phenomenological theory in correspondence with empirical-methodical procedures is disputed. As a general result, social scientific

approaches going under the phenomenology label is often about something quite different than the original philosophical orientations, but without this being clear (to be elaborated in chapter 3.2) (Fay 2003, Hekman 1980).

Corporeality as "blind spot" (Table 1)

If the aspect of challenges pertaining to "in-fact corporeality" experienced by disabled persons is seen in accordance with corresponding theoretical challenges within disability studies, two analytical dichotomies can be emphasized as significant: individual/micro level - collective level, and corporeality - consciousness/culture. If these dichotomies are further set to be represented by the prevailing perspectives on the understanding of disability, an "analytical blind spot" will appear when it comes to the conceptualization of corporeality.

Table 1

	Corporeality	**Consciousness/culture**
Individual (micro) level	The medical perspective *The relational model*	Empowerment *The relational model*
Collective level		The social model *The relational model*

Set up in a four square table, the following picture take form, given the previous definitions: Individual/micro level combined with corporeality is per definition covered by the medical perspective. Individual/micro level combined with consciousness/culture is per definition covered by empowerment. Collective level combined with consciousness/culture is per definition covered by the social model. The problem appears in the last coordinate - collective level combined with corporeality. Given their basic definitions and agendas, the

perspectives do not cover this coordinate.[30] According to these perspectives, the square could even appear as contradictory: A defining of a "collective corporeality" where the bodiness is not understood plainly as subject to societal construction would have to inhibit a kind of social *identity work* - hence empowerment - with a basis in corporeality itself. However, the empowerment perspective either brackets corporeality, or makes it into a formable object for "the empowered mind". On the collective level, the social model likewise focuses on shaping of social identity and collective varieties of empowerment, and is inherently ignorant of corporeality. The medical perspective focuses on corporeality, but does not take into account whether the collective level, shaping of identity, or empowerment.

It is necessary to make a methodological reflection upon the square "collective corporeality". It could in the outset appear as an artificial and not very meaningful construction, as it could simply have resulted from the chosen schematic setup and hence not necessarily correspond with a real analytical problem within disability research. The bearing idea in our context is however that this is a category offering real challenges in need of investigation. An assumption is that its seemingly "unnatural character" has also contributed in keeping it out of the established research discourses, hence underscoring one of the points made in this project about the workings of colonization: A field for which there is no established language can easily be framed within existing discourses.

According to the perspectives for understanding disability, there could now be indicated a general field within disability research where this category could be of use. It regards the relation between corporeality and empowerment, and also relates further to the social model. As shown, the relations between both corporeality and empowerment, and between corporeality and the social model are problematic, and of much the same reasons (social constructivism). When it comes to what the new category could offer, the thought is that if corporeality can be understood also to *give*, and not only *receive* (be included in) dimensions of meaning and coping, and in this way function in shaping identity and empowerment both in individuals and smaller groups, there are no hindrances in principle for taking these aspects into account also on a collective level - that is, in the domain of the social model.

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[30] As explained before, the relational model can be seen as a combination of the other perspectives. In my context, it hence does not contribute with any analytical content on its own.

This could be regarded as a contribution to - amongst else - the ambition of the sociology of impairment regarding the bringing in of corporeality into disability studies without at the same time reducing it to a "somatic object" in a medical sense. Simultaneously, this could function as an objection against stances claiming that social scientific studies of corporeality necessarily undermine the social model, or even place themselves in antagonistic positions opposite it.[31]

At this point it can be given some remarks preparing for the use of the phenomenologically oriented conceptualization corporeal-social meaning in this project. If the "collective corporeality" category is to be a relevant point of departure within social scientific research, it must also be shown theoretically that corporeality can in fact have a meaning-generating function and be empowering in a collective sense. This is necessarily a challenging endeavour, but there are possible theoretical points of departure. In his phenomenology of perception, Merleau-Ponty (2012) conceives of the body as an epistemological principle (to be explained more thorough in the following section on phenomenology). Bodily perceptions are understood to be "always already" loaded with meaning contents defined by intrinsic feelings and motivation (Merleau-Ponty 2012 and 1963, Crossley 2001). The individual orients itself opposite the world in, with and through the body schema, and intentional relations decide "what and who" is be included in the perceiving self. As the Cartesian subject/object dualism is dissolved there are no clear principal borders between other subjects/persons and the *Umwelt* more generally. This means, strictly speaking, that other persons can be included in our own body schema, with an immediate connection to the meaning with which this is already loaded. This further implies that it should be possible to account for this "corporeal-collective meaning", and also that it should be compatible with the perspectives empowerment and the social model.

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[31] If corporeality via empowerment can be assumed to also contribute with cultural definition powers, it could also serve as a new approach according to the social-theoretical field of biopolitics. In the outset, theories on biopolitics (and biopower) are on a macro level, eventually understanding "effects" on the micro level. If corporeality could have political effects through empowerment, it could however also go the other way. Corporeally defined empowerment would however have to take place on a micro level in the outset (small groups, closeness in time and space).

The rehabilitation discourse and colonization

A central thought in this project is that there exists a *rehabilitation discourse* within social work, interest organizations, and common culture when it comes to approaching and understanding physical impairment. The assumption is that the discourse constitutes a framework of accepted understandings of disability that bears a certain ideological characteristic; impairment is thoroughly conceived of as a deprivation one is to contest, play down, forget about and rehabilitate from, and something one should not allow to have a defining role in one's everyday life (Goodley 2011, Shakespeare 2013, Silva & Howe 2012).

The white spot in Table 1 can be understood in connection with the rehabilitation discourse and related mechanisms of colonization. A point is, as indicated, that its character of being undefined terrain has left it open to be filled, or "occupied" (in a non-normative sense in the outset) by established understandings. In the following, the rehabilitation discourse is to be given some further elaboration in relation to the academic field.

In general, the rehabilitation discourse seems to imply a fundamental and immediately perceived legitimacy through its *normativity of care.* In the text *Care: Putting practice into theory* (2010) Annemarie Mol addresses this aspect, which is fundamental within established social work. A point emphasized is that even if care as a *practical conduct* seems to have been "forgotten" within traditional academic traditions, it still resonates with a deep-cultural appreciation of solidarity. This point can be adapted to the understanding of why the rehabilitation discourse has been naturalized within common culture, as well as within the fields of politics and organizational life: even if care for disadvantaged is not sufficiently carried out in practice, there is nevertheless a prevailing normative structure within common culture stating how it should be. If one is to follow this normative line over to disability more specifically, it is a natural part of the prevailing rehabilitation discourse that one should think positively about the impairment, and this view upon corporeality and activity is embedded in language: it is expressed in sayings such as "one should focus on the possibilities instead of the limitations", "there are no limits", "most of the limitations are between the ears", and by extensive use of notions like

empowerment, *coping* and *mastery* in rehabilitation work and about disabled people's experiences.[32]

My understanding of the rehabilitation discourse is much based on trends and tendencies found in political incentives, organizational statutes, and in sport- and disability research, though also without it necessarily being given explicit references there in terms of concrete notations (again: contributing to "put a name on" this phenomenon is exactly amongst the incentives of this project). There can however be mentioned two academic works where it has been issued quite clearly, and with a critical dimension: Ingunn Moser's *The Rehabilitation of the Cyborg* (1998) (my translation, original title in Norwegian: *Kyborgens rehabilitering)* and Carla F. Silva and David Howe: *Difference, Adapted Physical Activity and Human Development: Potential Contribution of Capabilities Approach* (2012). Although these texts have quite different themes and approaches in other respects, they point in the same direction when it comes to the understanding that there clearly exists a rehabilitation discourse, and regarding what its main constituents are.

Moser (1998) provides a set of investigations into Donna Haraway's conception of the *cyborg[33]*. In the outset, Haraway's use of the concept points to the (late) modern construction of human identities. A central claim is that in analyses of human identity work, conceptions of essences - such as e.g. gender, race, and nationality - must be dismissed as "given" conditions. The *cyborg* is a conception to be understood comprehensively - it is about understanding the identities of modern human beings as inextricably connected with power relations exercised by technologies and ideologies. In her work, Moser (1998) uses the concept in an investigation of disability as a constructed category. In her addressing of the (specifically Norwegian) normalization ideology opposite persons with disabilities, she claims that there exists a "rehabilitation philosophy and -ideology": *Rehabilitation is about "the human"* ("the human" in the sense "what makes us human"/the human condition (in Norw. *det menneskelige*). *Rehabilitation is a discourse and a praxis which in daily situations and confrontations constitutes what this human is* (Moser 1998:42)[34]. The passage is

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[32] The "positive thinking" of the rehabilitation discourse has also come to expression in recent media entertainment. Some of the titles are quite explicit according to the positive thinking and also correspond with the understandings within common culture (cf. Mol 2002). Examples are Beyond Boundaries (Ingen grenser) - NRK series, and Beyond the Limit (BBC series, portraying persons with impairments attempting to climb Mount Everest).

[33] A combination of man and machine; a term associated with science fiction.

[34] My translation from Norwegian (also the following excerpts).

directly followed by an explicit concern regarding what I have denoted as *colonization* in this project: *And I am alarmed* [foruroliget] *that the attempts to include are always countered by processes that systematically produce inequality and reproduce exclusions - as in a kind of perpetuum mobile* (Ibid:43).

Moser uses the expression 'rehabilitation discourse' straightforward. She understands it as a producer of normality and thereby also of that falling aside of this normality - that is, that which is different. Hence ... *the rehabilitation discourse* (...) *constitutes ability on the one side, and disabilities on the other* (Ibid: 43). By her own analyses she hopes to ... *challenge the rehabilitation discourse*. *To interrupt, disturb, and lead us, all who have interests in these knowledges and practises, in new directions; directions making better terms and other opportunities for persons with disabilities* (Moser 1998: 44). Moser thus also seems to be aware of the same mechanism that I have denoted as "indirect deprivation" in this project (to be elaborated under the next paragraph).

Silva & Howe (2012) issue what they understand as a mismatch between intentions and praxis within *adapted physical activity* (APA). They claim that elder paradigms - strongly inspired by the medical perspective and hence stressing correction and normalization (the *facility based* and the *service based* paradigms, respectively) - have remained within organizational culture and within the minds of social workers, even if the formal incentives of today emphasize new ideals (the *support based* paradigm). Within their own context, they share Moser's concern that these tendencies embedded in disability work can have *possible adverse effects* within the overall integration perspective (Silva & Howe 2012: 25). This should be counteracted: in order to confront the mismatch they call for a stronger emphasis on what is referred to as *the capabilities approach*, involving extended ethical reflection. It is about conceptualizing social justice ... *in terms of equality of opportunities for the individuals to be and do what they value* (Ibid: 27)[35]. Two central constituents of the ideal are put forth: The first is a moral demand that it is the right of each individual to seek well-being. The second is that this right (or freedom) is to be understood in terms of capabilities - the real opportunities to do and be what the individuals themselves value ... *and not in terms of human rights, basic needs, resources, or preferences satisfaction as in other approaches to well-being and qualities of life* (Ibid: 27).

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[35] Main theorists for the approach are Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum.

In comparison to my project, the latter (the cited "established truths") coincides with the prevailing discourses, as outlined. It also seems clear that the agenda of the authors touches upon the conceptions 'colonization' and 'indirect deprivation'. The former is represented by the elder normalization and correction paradigms in that they "overrule" the new conceptions of difference within APA. The latter is represented by the degrading of the physical differences which the impairments constitute (in the sense that they are to be corrected) in the name of (and camouflaged by) the good intentions embedded in the normalization ideology (cf. also Mol 2010: "the normativity of care").

In the previous part (2), *biopolitics* (/biopower) was given a short presentation. In their analysis, Silva & Howe make use of the related conception *governmentality* (Foucault) in order to identify and explore both the historical-cultural premises underlying the ideologies of the APA, and as an instrument *… to explore the potential for adverse effects of current and past practice in* APA (Ibid: 27).

Colonization and indirect deprivation

When both Moser (1998) and Silva & Howe (2012) point to dangers following in the wake of the established (rehabilitation) discourse within their respective contexts, a clear relation is seen to the term *indirect deprivation* that has been sought conceptualized in this project. The general idea about the conception is that in some cases the good intentions and "positive thinking" of the established discourses can - paradoxically - involve and camouflage aspects of subordination and ascription to *difference.* For one: In adapted activities - such as those being conducted in rehabilitation institutions - the meaningful experiences within the activities are naturally linked with the impairments which the participants manage to contest or rehabilitate from (following from the lingual expression of the *rehabilitation* discourse itself). However, some of the same thinking seems to also have been adhering to arenas outside of such explicit rehabilitation situations. This is a characteristic of the rehabilitation discourse: the impairment is in some way or another understood as an underlying and *omnipresent* reason for the meaning experiences within the activities. An assumption is that this bears with it a *reductionist* view on the meaning content experienced by persons with impairments conducting sport activities. Seen according to Silva & Howe (2012), this aspect is contrary to the intention of the International Federation of Adapted Physical Activity (IFAPA) when it comes to detaching

from a *reductionist view of difference,* which is understood to having adhered to earlier paradigms for understanding disability (for which the medical perspective has been defining) (Silva & Howe 2012, Stothers 2009).

In an understanding relating closer to the immediate experiences of persons with impairment conducting physical activity, the expression indirect deprivation can be used about perceptions of mastery (/coping) to the extent that they are being consequently (in the sense "unjustly") presented as a result of a contesting of an impairment (to be investigated in the analyses). The perception is "all good" in itself, but relies on the presumption that there is something "bad" (deprivation) having been contested. Indirect deprivation takes place when the impairments are being posited as the reason for the meaning experiences in that they are contested. When perspectives on impairment and the meaning of physical activity bear on these characteristics in a tendential way, all perceptions of mastery can in principle be understood as being connected with the impairment in one way or another, hence resulting in a kind of "camouflaged reductionism". It is assumed that the rehabilitation discourse implies these characteristics.

In the analyses, the colonization will be understood in two varieties: Type 1 as ways of material adaptation and in-fact conduct, and type 2: discursive representations (cf. the indications above).

3.2   The phenomenological approach

As initiated by Edmund Husserl (1859 - 1938), phenomenology is the study of the transcendental and constituting features of human consciousness. At stake are the essential characteristics being present in every act of consciousness, regardless of the actual content of the act. Hence phenomenology is, in its traditional sense, fundamentally essentialist and transcendental, distancing itself from both "psychologism" and historicist explanations of human inner life.

A special contribution of phenomenology is that it issues human experience as direct and unfiltered as possible in the outset: it is about going *zu den Sachen selbst* ("to the things themselves"), as the famous slogan from Husserl goes. The point is to investigate experiences departing from *how they are in fact experienced*, without adding to them

culturally constructed content and ordered categories, such as e.g. the classical distinctions mental/physical and subject/object (Husserl 1964, Sokolowski 2000).

The term *phenomenology* can be explained as the "investigation of" or "knowledge about" (*-logi*) "that which reveals itself"/"that which appears" or "appearance" (*phenomenon*). (The term *object* is deliberately avoided as it is regarded to be "metaphysically polluted": it is already ascribed an independent existence which cannot be justified in the outset).

The idea is that in order to attain unequivocally true knowledge of the structures of being, one must first see beyond all previously constructed reference points for knowledge. Thereafter the pure descriptions can be the basis for strict *logical investigations* (which is also a title from Husserl) of the structures characterizing human experience.

The phenomenological project was thereby inherently sceptical to the fundamental assumptions in the Western tradition of thought, which were regarded to rely on culturally embedded understandings that had not been sufficiently scrutinized.

Famously, René Descartes had attempted a similar "radical doubt" in his *Discourse of the Method* (2009) - but paradoxically, he also came to have a high influence on views that were later to be perceived as problematic according to the same way of thinking. According to both phenomenology and disability theory, one of Descartes' mistakes - which came to influence both common culture and academic tradition up to our time - was the clear-cut distinction between the *body* and the *soul/consciousness,* ascribed to the material world (*res extensa*) and the realm of thinking (*res cogitans*), respectively (Lübcke 1996, Leder 1990, Sokolowski 2000).

Even if adhering to a purely philosophical domain in the outset, these reflections have also come to be highly relevant for the understanding of basic theoretical presumptions within disability studies. Traditional conceptions about disability, and not least the influence of the medical model, can be traced back to Descartes (Leder 1990, Siebers 2008, Grue 2004). This has further contributed to prevailing understandings of what normality and deviance is about, and how e.g. disability is to be conceived of and handled. The phenomenological critique against Descartes that was put forth on purely philosophical grounds in the first part of the twentieth century can hence still be recognized today, e.g. in phenomenologically oriented life world studies of living with disability, as opposed to purely descriptive medical accounts of impairment.

Pure description and strict analysis

On the one side, phenomenology can be said to come very close to "life itself" in its descriptions, as it attempts to take into account how human beings *actually* experience their own being. Normal human experiences can be both immediate and unreflected, characterized by sudden inclinations and flows of perhaps ambiguous and even contradictory sensations and feelings. [36] We can jump between different places in our minds, associate back and forth in time (the phenomenological inner time conception was much elaborated by Henry Bergson), and bodily sensations are followed by various grades of attention, and at times perhaps not at all. Within the academic world at the beginning of the twentieth century, taking such "disordered" aspects of human reality into serious consideration was still perceived as peculiar. Then there are also reflected thinking, planning and determination, where analytical order can be imposed onto this immediate "experience in itself". All of these features adhere to our natural way of being in the world.

On the other side, the following agenda for phenomenology is the strictly logical investigation of this "pure being" in order to reveal its fundamental structures ("phenomenology as strong science"). [37] Together with a peculiar language that is a result of the attempt to avoid cultural and ideological charges in traditional academic language, this "close to reality" discipline thereby also becomes rather abstract and at times not very accessible.

Basic phenomenological concepts

Intentionality is a most central phenomenological concept, resulting from Husserl's analyses. It denotes a fundamental structure of human reality. In a radical sense, our consciousness is not an "entity" or quality pertaining to an object (the brain) - rather, consciousness is at all times *about* something, in the sense *directed towards*. In phenomenology, consciousness is hence always to be understood as a *directedness* and *consciousness-about*, as an immediate unity of the notions. In this project, 'intentionality'

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[36] This is also taken into account in the analysis of the SCW - most explicitly in the *Ambivalence* theme (analysis section 2).

[37] Husserl's method involves "eidetic reduction" followed by "-constitution", i.e. a kind of "deconstruction" (reducing) of phenomena to their basic features before reconstructing them. "Eidos" points to "the core of being", or the "essence of phenomena" (Husserl 1964, Lübcke 1996).

will not be used directly and in itself, but is to be seen as embedded in another term that is however used very much - *perception.*

Perception could be explained as a combination of *experience, (immediately) understand, sense, and feel*. It does not necessarily involve understanding in a strict meaning, such as in an intellectual sense or as "conceiving of" something. In the outset, the concept 'perception' transcends the distinction between physical/biological and mental/intellectual. Hence it cannot be reduced to e.g."sense[38] something" as biologically understood (hear something, feel the cold), or to mental phenomena such as e.g. understanding a number. When used in this project, the meaning of the term should follow from the context. The main reason for using it - for example, in terms of "meaning perceptions" - is that it connects with the adaptation of Merleau-Ponty's thinking (*phenomenology of perception*) with which the *body schema* concept is also profoundly connected.

Life world (/lifeworld) points to the totality of basic structures defining the world as it is experienced. It is hence the background on which our more specific life contents become meaningful. The life world is an *intersubjective* world; it makes mutual understanding possible, in spite of different life contents and personal biographies.[39]

The *natural attitude* versus the *scientific attitude* points to ways of "being in", approaching and understanding the world. The *natural attitude* is the everyday attitude where one simply relies unreflectedly on common knowledge (the 'stock of knowledge', in Schütz' expression). The concept adheres closely with basic understandings within e.g. symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology. The *scientific attitude* denotes the analytic distancing of oneself from the natural attitude, when one is to e.g. investigate or order phenomena according to an agenda or system. Glimpses of the scientific attitude take place on different occasions in daily life. Obviously, it comes most prominently to expression in scientific work.

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[38] The English word 'sense' has offered challenges to these areas of study as it is used in many senses (sic.) and can be ambiguous, not least in translation. It can be e.g. a physical sense (like seeing), make sense of something, in a "literal sense", something is explained as "in the sense … ", and more. In English translations, 'sense' can be used interchangeably about 'Sinn', 'Meinung' und 'Bedeutung' in German semiotics, pragmatics, and analytic philosophy (Munitz 1981, Lübcke 1996).

[39] The intersubjectivity of the life world is however a much disputed topic within phenomenological research. Apart from some basic reflections regarding the phenomenologically oriented sociology of Alfred Schütz, and in the methodology chapter (4.2), this will not be touched upon in this project.

The division between "natural attitude" and "scientific attitude" thereby has a certain correspondence with the explanation of phenomenology as consisting of "pure description" and "strict analysis", respectively. As will be shown, these "attitudes" have also been significant for phenomenologically oriented sociology, as they are connected with the methodological aspects regarding the understandings of the persons under study (*first order interpretations*) opposite the understandings of the researcher (*second order interpretations*), as elaborated by Alfred Schütz (1970).

Phenomenological orientation in social science and disability studies

With its "Cartesian" premises, meaning radical doubt directed at revealing essential features, phenomenology is from the outset a purely theoretical and metaphysical approach. It is focused on the investigation of structures of human existence laying *beyond* (but also at the same time constituting) every *actual* experience, and it can therefore not in the outset contribute in the understanding of historical formations and context-dependent empirical reality. Still, phenomenology has nevertheless inspired empirically oriented social research, especially investigations of the *actual experiences* of people in certain life contexts. Its initial interest in *real life* states and its 'life world' concept seems to have been main points of attraction (Aarø Engen & Fuglseth 2012, Hekman 1980).

The transmission of phenomenology into a social scientific procedure is a controversial issue in itself, due to the points mentioned (transcendental essentialism versus empirical and contingent information). The use of the phenomenology term in social science and social work has therefore also been disputed, as it can be confusing. Given this, the use of phenomenology in connection with social understandings in this project is to be understood generally as phenomenologically *oriented*, in the sense *inspired* by the phenomenological tradition. This is also presupposed in the use of the term phenomenological sociology (or social phenomenology) in the tradition within sociology for which Schütz and Berger & Luckmann (1966) are the central proponents (within sociology and social work the latter two are by far the most known) (Fuglseth 2012 a, b).

In the following, I will first give a general outline of themes and approaches within disability research regarding how they have in fact been used in correspondence with the phenomenology label. Thereafter I will however also give a more specific and critical

reflection about empirical studies versus the use of this perspective, and in the same token underscore in what sense my own project has a phenomenological orientation.

In disability research, there has been made phenomenologically inspired micro-level research on how it is to live with impairments. These have been alternative approaches opposite materialistic or ideological macro-level studies of disability, such as e.g. investigations of socio-cultural power relations (Scambler & Scambler 2010).

In part 2 it was indicated how existing social scientific research seems to be biased towards the rehabilitation discourse, and this has also been the case for phenomenologically oriented projects. For example, instead of using labels such as 'personal tragedy' or 'biographical disruption' on *general experiences* amongst many persons with disabilities, these have been used in studies of *particular* life experiences. It can e.g. be about how specific individuals perceive and handle their disabilities within the frames of their unique and personal everyday life experiences, on the background of their individual life worlds (Scambler & Scambler 2010, Grue 2004).

Also, issues having to do with 'narrative reconstruction' 'loss of self', 'stigma' and 'oppression' have been approached in their individual varieties. It can be about how they are constructed, experienced and perhaps also *enacted* in the immediate situational context in which the persons find themselves. These phenomenologically oriented studies have often presented outspoken wishes about being alternatives to e.g. studies in medical sociology, where the more comprehensive life experiences and -contexts are left out of the understandings of how impairments are experienced by people in "real life" (Thomas 2010, Goodley 2011, Siebers 2008).

A reflection on this study as phenomenologically oriented
In their introduction chapter to *Phenomenological Approaches to Sport* (2012), I. Martínková and J. Parry (editors) present a critical reflection upon a variety of sport-related empirical studies subscribing to the phenomenology level. They conclude that a large amount of these studies are not really phenomenological, because - amongst else - the proponents have actually misunderstood what the uniqueness of phenomenology is, and/or that they have had too superficial understandings of its distinctive vocabulary (e.g. confusing the intentionality concept with the more general use of "intention"). As I see it, a core problem by the adaptation of phenomenology seems to be of a similar type between

sport studies and disability research (including other domains of social studies as well): the term has been widely understood as a tool for (approximately) describing the informants' own understandings, and in general to be "aware" of aspects that might be hard to categorize into simple terms. That is, phenomenology is widely understood to be about the ("real-life") *experiences* of certain individuals or groups of people, in the sense "what *they* perceive as reality, and what is meaningful to *them*". Following, such "real-life interpretations" have thereby (falsely) been understood as distinct phenomenological features in themselves, rather than being mere points of departure for a phenomenological investigation. In order to clarify what is required from an empirical project if it is to be called phenomenological, Martínková and Parry (2012) uses a conceptual distinction between *phenomenalism*, *phenomenography*, and *phenomenology*. In the following, I will give a short-cut overview of these conceptions. For the sake of order, I will point out how my project corresponds with them. Naturally, the third - phenomenology - is to be seen as the central focus. In comparison, the first - phenomenalism - is not much relevant in this project (to be shown). The main point of connection will be the structures of the social world (SSCW), as they are at the core of the phenomenological orientation in my project.

Phenomenalism denotes the view that ... all our knowledge comes from passively received sensations that are caused by external objects in the world; and that all we can know are the 'ideas' in our minds that are associated with these sensations (Ibid: 4). In general, this perspective hence corresponds with the classic empiricist tradition of thought, as well as with positivist approaches to epistemology (Habermas 1995b).

Phenomenography denotes the features described before, and which are often confused with phenomenology: it is about the *experiences in people* regarding how situations and phenomena in the outer world "are". Opposite phenomenalism, phenomenography is therefore not about the (actual) "things in themselves", but about the (not less *actual*, though in another sense) perceptions and experiences of these.

Phenomenology is about the *forms* or *structures* characterizing the *ways* these experiences and perceptions are (cf. elaborations given before).

In my project, the five structures of the social climbing world (SSCW) could be related to all of these categories in the outset (descriptions p. 362 - 363). It should suffice to point to a few relations in order to underscore the point (the same line of thought will go for the other structures as well). As my project is directed towards actual experiences (cf.

phenomenography) and the structures of these (cf. phenomenology) far more than towards describing "fixed entities" in the world (cf. phenomenalism), there is no demand that the latter must be accountable regarding all of the structures. (For instance, it could be argued that e.g. *The special game* and *Dedication to the sport* are all about perceptions and experiences, and hence could not be accounted for in terms of phenomenalism altogether). In the following, the term phenomenalism is therefore used with some important presumptions: For one, none of the "hard fact" features of the SSCW would mean anything outside of a perceptive and experiential social context. Also, "concrete phenomena" is used in a quite general understanding - that is, it also includes what could be called statistical facts, in the sense "countable information"). The three notions are now to be exemplified shortly by the SSCW *Adaptive climbing* (1).

The *phenomenalist* aspects of SSCW 1 *Adaptive climbing* would be the concrete phenomena in terms of events and practical-material frameworks. There is a concrete event taking place (e.g. the Oslo gathering) with an actual number of participants within a certain geographical space, and with a certain amount of money on the budget. The notion would eventually also include concrete accessories having been constructed for adaptive climbing, and that were used at the event (e.g. prostheses).

The structure Adaptive climbing can also be given *phenomenographical* descriptions. In my project, this is revealed in the various ways adaptation is referred to by the informants, and which again point to how it is experienced by them in context. It also comes forth in conduct, as interpreted by myself.

Then - importantly - the structure Adaptive climbing can also be understood in a *phenomenologically* oriented sense. In this project, adaptive climbing is amongst the central "ways" according to which the actual meaning perceptions within the social climbing world take place - and it is in this sense that I understand it as being amongst the *constituting features* of this world (together with the other SSCW). As a structure, it can be understood as constitutive of the actual experiences of the participants within the SCW (the latter pointing to the actual content of their experiences, and their own descriptions of it - the description of which would hence be phenomenography, which in turn can serve as a *departure point* for phenomenological analysis). The difference opposite Husserl's transcendental structures (e.g. intentionality), and which also simultaneously underscores

this as phenomenological sociology, is that the structure Adaptive climbing is a *socially constructed* feature. The same goes for the other SSCW as well.

Merleau-Ponty: Phenomenology of perception and the body schema

Whereas the term *transcendental phenomenology* designates the initial approach as developed by Husserl in the beginning of the twentieth century, the generation succeeding him is generally associated with the so-called *existential phenomenology*. The turn consists of a strengthened attention towards the essential characteristics of the *actual and immediate experience* of the *being-in-the-world*. The most influential figure within phenomenology after Husserl, Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), stresses the *material existence* in space and time and the *perceiving body* as inseparable from the main structures of being. For Heidegger, *practical engagement* is of uttermost importance. Following from this, Heidegger regards Husserl's transcendental terms as being beside the point when it comes to the basic characteristics of human existence as a fundamentally *lived* experience (Heidegger 1973, Fløistad 1993).

With Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961), the phenomenological attention opposite corporeality comes to its uttermost expression. For Merleau-Ponty, *being* is in its fundamental existential sense *corporeal* being. Not that he stresses the other half of the mind/body distinction: when it comes to the basic principles of human being-in-the-world, Merleau-Ponty considers this distinction a remnant of the Western academic as well as cultural traditions having led to an overall misrecognition of the constituting principles of human life (at this point he agrees with Husserl and Heidegger). Inherent in his philosophy is a suspension of the mind/body distinction altogether, as well as of the more general conceptual division (especially in a positivist sense) between subjective and objective reality (Merleau-Ponty 1963 and 2012).

Merleau-Ponty understands corporeal and perceptual dimensions as being defining of every meaningful experience. Not as thought of, but as constitutional, in the sense that the experience is given in and with these dimensions. Corporeality is at the same time part of and background for every meaningful act, and even contributes to the whole context encompassing it. Albeit being a constituting principle, corporeality cannot be reduced to transcendental principles in a Husserlian sense (Merleau-Ponty 2012, Crossley 2001).

The immediate human experience is not of being a subject in (objective) surroundings, but more as a process of "being-in-and-with-the-surroundings" where one is intentionally directed towards certain points of interest. Strictly speaking, meaningful experiences - like for instance an experience of coping in relation with physical activity - is hence not rooted in the *relation* between consciousness and the body, as the mere expression "relation" initiates a false distinction. Drawing on the important Husserlian concept *intentionality* ("consciousness-about"), Merleau-Ponty (2012) elaborates the concept *intentional arc*, denoting a constant "circular directedness". The intentional arc can be understood as a wholeness (totality) of immediate experience, where aspects of mind, body, past, present, and anticipated future are all "one" in a single meaningful experience.

Merleau-Ponty argues for the primacy of practical over reflective forms of being. Our primary relation to the world is not as much a matter of reflective thought as it is of practical involvement and coping. As Crossley (2001: 100) puts it: *We have a "grip" upon our world before we come to know it.* Hence - to put it into a context related with meaning contents of physical activity - the body and corporeality cannot be reduced to a domain that is merely "given" meaning through e.g. processes of coping. Coping - as well as other similar experiences - will have to be understood as perceptually rooted in the pre-cognitive world. Merleau-Ponty develops the concept *body schema* ('schéma corporel') to explain the fundamental *situatedness* in which human beings interact with the world. The body schema constitutes our *being-in-the-world*, at the same time giving and being given contexts of relevance.

The body schema inscribes the surroundings in itself and can therefore not be understood as being posited in the surroundings in terms of purely geographical coordinates. *(…) my body's spatiality is not, like the spatiality of external objects or of spatial "sensations," a* positional spatiality*; rather, it is a* situational spatiality (Merleau-Ponty 2012: 102, emphasis in original). It is about an *… anchoring of the active body in an object, and the situation of the body confronted with its tasks* (Ibid: 103). The borders between the object perceived and the perceiving subject are somewhat repealed; we somehow "are" the structures of attention towards the world. Things and happenings, as well as other persons, are given meaning relative to their contextual positions within the body schema (Merleau-Ponty 2012, Ellis 2006).

Alfred Schütz: Towards a phenomenologically oriented sociology

Although inspired by Husserl's search for the transcendental structures grounding human consciousness, as well as Heidegger's focus on lived experience, Alfred Schütz (1899-1959) implements a fundamental shift with his own use of the term phenomenology. In what is often referred to as sociological phenomenology, social phenomenology, or phenomenological methodology, he leaves behind most of the partly ontological and essentialist features of the two phenomenological generations preceding him (Schütz 1997 and 2005, Hekman 1980). Schütz' point of departure is a quest for establishing a throughout methodology for the social sciences, based on the grounding social-philosophical definitions of Max Weber (1985). Instead of perceiving phenomenology as a purely epistemological and philosophical approach, Schütz sets forth the ambition of adapting it to the development of a social scientific methodology: that is, as a means to preparing for the methodical handling of empirical information (Schütz 1997, 1970).

If that project is to make any sense, the basic defining of the phenomenological approach, as initially presented by Husserl and later modified by Heidegger, must be altered. Social science is about contingent, contextual, and historically situated phenomena - exactly the area of knowledge with which phenomenology has very little to do, at least in its traditional sense. It is also a fundamental re-defining of the phenomenological point of departure that enables Schütz to adapt this approach to empirical research. In a sense similar to that of the symbolic interactionism within sociology, Schütz sets the *everyday knowledge* and *lived world* as analytic point of departure. Instead of transcendental structures of consciousness or the Heideggerian *existentials* (the main structures of the being-in-the-world, the *Dasein*), what is searched for is *meaning as it is constructed through social interaction.*

Meaning is, in all its varieties and complexities, the basic feature of social life. To start with the overall perspective: Schütz shares the interactionist view that the types of meaning most relevant to social science are those constituted by social actors during interaction. Further, it is the social establishing of meaning embedded in the social contexts of the everyday world that should be held as the focal point of phenomenological sociology (Ibid).

Already at this point it is obvious that Schütz and Merleau-Ponty have some quite different agendas when it comes to the concept of meaning. Even if they share interest in

meaning in its deeper sense, the latter does not have the additional ambitions of elaborating a methodology. Hence, Merleau-Ponty does not intend to develop his theory in a way which makes it methodologically adaptable to the type of social meaning relevant to social science (social contexts, like e.g. contingent cultural and historical phenomena). However, as will be shown further on, this does not imply that the views of these theorists are mutually inconsistent regarding intersubjective meaning. The reason is that social meaning - in the sense indicated above - does not necessarily exhaust the intersubjective meaning constituting it, thought in a deeper sense. As it will also be argued later on, the understandings of intersubjective meaning underlying the ideal types, and Merleau-Ponty's understandings of intersubjective meaning according to the body schema, can be regarded to be mutually consistent.

In order to establish a throughout methodology, it is necessary for Schütz to identify different dimensions of the meaning sought for, as well as elaborating the principles on which the researcher is given the possibility of accessing these. First, there are the different levels of meaning embedded in everyday life, that is, in the *common sense* world, or the *life world*. Second, there are the meanings appearing for the researcher, constructed through her scientific endeavour towards this everyday world. And third, one could add, there is the mere communication between these two different "worlds of respective internal relevance" - that of the informants studied, and that of the researcher.[40]

During his analyses of Weber's basic sociological terminology, Schütz considers it necessary to specify the latter's use of the concept 'subjective meaning' further. Weber (1985) synthesizes two aspects of meaning under this concept, which however - according to Schütz - have to be understood as two separate (though interrelated) domains if meant to contribute in the developing of a coherent social methodology. Following Schütz, Weber's 'subjective meaning' encompasses two levels of meaning within the everyday world: the meaning that is constituted within the consciousness of the individual actor, and the meaning constituted through social interaction.

Schütz defines the first level of meaning as meaning in its "primordial" sense. On this level there exists an "essentially subjective" component which is not accessible to other

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[40] In his phenomenological methodology, Schütz' thoughts on the role of the researcher is of severe importance. It is elaborated according to the distinction between the 'natural attitude' within the common sense world, and the 'scientific attitude' within the realm of social scientific conduct.

individuals, even if this is also constituted within an intersubjective context. The important point here is, however, that due to its intersubjective origin, there are also some features by this "primordial" type of meaning that are always accessible to other individuals.

The implications of this highlight the important difference between phenomenologically oriented sociology and the philosophical phenomenology: all meaning is fundamentally *social* and embedded in an eternally ongoing process of establishing and changing of meaning. Hence, all types of meaning *... are established in a frame of reference (meaning context) which is common to the social actors rather than in a "private" realm inaccessible to the observer* (Hekman 1980: 344). On a general level, this fundamental intersubjectivity is the principal reason why participants in the everyday world can have some common understanding at all in the first place. It also explains how it is possible for the researcher qua researcher to access the shared meanings of that world.

Finite provinces of meaning and zones of relevance

In the project, the use of Schütz' theories can be seen as concentrated into four aspects: The first two are the use of *ideal types* and *typification*, and the following understanding of the researcher's role opposite the social world under study: the relation between *first and second order interpretations*. As outlined above, these aspects are generally related with the investigations - that is, both to the social realm under study (the social climbing world), and to the methodological presumptions for the investigations of it (to be elaborated in the methodology chapter). The two next are the conceptions *finite provinces of meaning* and *zones of relevance*. These will be referred to thorough the analyses, as they are fundamentally coupled with the overall SCW and the internal dynamics of its structures (the SSCW). In the project, the social climbing world is to be understood as a *finite province of meaning* (this will be explained further in the analysis part section 1, in correspondence with the description of the SCW).

Finite provinces of meaning: In Schütz' understanding (Schütz 1997 and 1970) a *finite province of meaning*[41] denotes a certain area for meaningful activities and experiences within a person's life. This means that the finite realms of meaning exist within the overall

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[41] For simplicity's sake, the pre-notion "finite" will usually be left out, but still presupposed.

frame of the *paramount reality* encompassing our actual day-to-day life, which again rests on the founding intersubjective structures of the life world.

Different provinces of meaning vary regarding importance, both having to do with importance in themselves and in the way they eventually also influence other aspects of one's general life situation. Within sociology, family and work qua *social institutions* are generally perceived as the provinces of meaning *per se* as they very often bear the highest importance in people's lives. Even though not important in the same sense and to the same degree, other areas of interest can however also be highly important, e.g. if they are at the core of identities and lifestyles.[42] In our context the SCW is regarded in general as a domain with much importance and with a lasting influence on the participants' lives, and also beyond the borders of the mere activity itself. The social climbing world is therefore understood as a province of meaning in the lives of the informants.

Zones of relevance: In his works, Schütz uses various notations for different sets of overlapping systems of relevance. In this project, *zones of relevance* is used as a general reference, based on the descriptions given in the further. In every experience there is something being at the attentive focus for the individual, whether consciously or unconsciously perceived of (cf. intentionality). Accordingly, there are different layers of background for this focus, varying in terms of attention and perceived importance within the actual meaning context. Based on Schütz' elaborations given under the heading *The cognitive setting of the life world* (1970: 79-125), it can first be given some simplistic and formalistic descriptions of four zones of (decreasing) relevance. Thereafter these are given some content by exemplification in terms of the climbing activities of the focus group. Further information about how the thinking around zones of relevance are used in the understanding of the internal mechanisms of the SSCW, is given in the methodology chapter and in the analyses themselves (part 5).

First zone: The perceptive core of the event, phenomenon, action, or project in focus. It can perhaps be *within reach*, meaning that it can be handled and changed by ourselves through action.

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[42] Obviously, for some people such areas can be the most important provinces of meaning. It is not unusual that such references are found in reports on adventurous leisure activities, as they relate to the romanticized narratives of "inner drives" in man ("woman" as the tacit other, conspicuously) towards nature (Svensen 2011).

Second zone cannot be directly influenced by us in the context, but offers tools, artefacts and other kinds of resources that underscore one's project.

Third zone is outside of the project area. It is underlying and taken for granted. It becomes object for attention only if there are changes in the context ("relatively irrelevant", according to Schütz).

Fourth zone is "absolutely irrelevant". Changes in the zone cannot influence my project. It belongs to our general stock of knowledge, and an unreflected "taken for granted" knowledge about it suffices ('prepredicative knowledge').

It can be remarked that it of course seems paradoxical that this last zone is described as totally irrelevant while still being regarded as a zone of relevance. According to my interpretation, the zone indicates a background knowledge that is indirectly relevant in that it provides a kind of possibility condition for one's project. In that sense it could perhaps be described as having a kind of "irrelevant relevance".

Zones of relevance in climbing (sketched points for exemplification):

First zone: While in the activity (the game - cf. Figure 5): The climbing of the route with its characteristics (e.g. movement features and difficulty). One's position and progress according to eventual exhaustion, the "clipping" of the rope into the carabiners, the trust in the belayer. One can handle the project according to how one relates to it (e.g. make a continued effort in a passage, or choose to take a pause instead).

Second zone: The climbing hall and the available equipment, the other climbers present; "they see us, and we them", there is a certain indirect relation.

To exemplify how the internal order of zones change with context, one could say that this becomes second zone for the game (the activity itself) but first zone for the extended game (being "near the activity", e.g. observing and commenting). Because: When one is *in* the activity as climber or belayer, these features are "put in brackets" as one is "absorbed" in the *here and now*-situation. That even the use of the belay device for the belayer or the clipping in of rope for the climber (i.e. use of equipment) can be seen as ascribed to this second zone whilst in *the game*, is because it becomes "incorporated" in the actual project, as explained according to the body schema. It is however first zone for *the extended game*. The reason is that while one watches the climber as an 'audience' without belaying oneself, one participates in the climbing activities on a more general level. While watching, one

perhaps simultaneously has conversations with other people in the hall, and one can for example discuss features regarding the hall, equipment or other conditions more *explicitly*.

Third zone: This could be the statutes of the climbing club, and eventual plans about re-arranging routes. The relevance comes forth under special circumstances only, like for example when one then needs to put an extra effort into one's project route in order to "send" (ascend) it before it disappears, or that one must use the time in the session as efficiently as possible because the hall is to be closed in the next week due to construction work.

Similar as with the reflections given above about change of relevance, this can be seen as third zone for *the game*, and second zone for *the extended game*: In the extended game, the wall as such with the different routes comes more in attentive focus and are perhaps reflected about. Perhaps one looks around (if one can see) to find routes one would like to attempt before they disappear, and talks about it with other climbers. Whilst in the game, one is too occupied with the activity itself to perceive these aspects as very relevant (there and then).

Fourth zone: This could be organizational life, and common-cultural understandings of disability and physical activity. This is part of a general background knowledge with no direct relevance for the activity context in the game, though it can be of higher relevance in the extended game, cf. the mechanisms explained above. (In order to avoid the touch of paradox, I would have preferred to describe this as being "relatively irrelevant" rather than as "absolutely irrelevant", as Schütz does himself opposite zone three and four, respectively). That this is hardly relevant in the climbing must therefore also be understood on the presumptions made before: In contextual turns they can be "promoted" to higher levels of relevance, for example if there happens to be an episode of misunderstanding or prejudice in the climbing hall having to do with culturally established understandings, or if a conversation comes to touch upon such phenomena. It is anyhow a relevance zone (however the last one in this scheme). Organizational life and common-cultural understandings could be seen in accordance with the suggestion made above about seeing the fourth zone as a kind of possibility condition: If the climbers had not had a certain background knowledge and a minimum of participation in forums having to do with disability - such as organizations and contact persons - they would not have had any contact surface with this climbing group in the outset.

In the following, a closer comparison between central conceptions in the theories of Merlau-Ponty and Schütz are made. The focus is upon central understandings regarding the field of interest defined in this project.

Comparisons: The body schema and typification

Regarding intersubjective meaning and Merleau-Ponty's understanding of *the other*, with whom meaning is shared: The body schema is to a high degree developed and structured during encounters with other persons. Certain aspects of social conduct are repeated and established as part of an overall structure of meaning common to the persons involved, thereby finding their ways into the body schemas. This implies a kind of intersubjective meaning understood as cognitive premises for all other understanding. This regards the mere possibility of shared meaning in the sense of e.g. ideological or cultural understandings - the latter being closer to the more general understanding of social meaning, as explained earlier.

Returning to Schütz: In the ordinary everyday world, the variety of things, incidents, imaginations and sensory impressions must be categorized in order to be understood. Cognitively, this has to do with the amount of information - it would simply be impossible to get hold of the world if everything had to be taken in and defined as singularities. For Schütz, then, *typification* is a most fundamental mechanism. We make sense of the world through types, and they are also constituting for language*: … the founding relations are such that the structure of language presupposes typification but not vice versa*. (Schütz 1974: 233).

Some types must be prioritized before others in the everyday situations if any meaningful conduct is to be possible at all. At the same time building on and transcending purely cognitive categories, the world is also constructed as meaningful in different ways according to various experiences, like feelings or daydreaming. Again, these will have to be adapted to various types, consciously or - which is most often the case - unconsciously. How the types operate according to each other depends on the actual situation: *Every type in the lifewordly stock of knowledge is a meaning-context "established" in lifewordly experiences. Otherwise expressed, the type is a uniform relation of determination sedimented in prior experiences.* (Ibid: 230).

The *ideal type* is a concept of crucial importance to Schütz, as it was also to its inventor, Max Weber. An ideal type can be conceived of as the "point of sameness" common to all entities falling under the category, outlined in a "pure form"; that is, the main characteristics of these entities, relative to the actual meaning which serves to define the category within the actual context. An ideal type is therefore an abstraction, though functioning as a highly pragmatic (and also highly necessary) cognitive mechanism within the everyday world (Weber 1985).

At this point one can catch a glimpse of a certain similarity between the concepts ideal type and body schema when it comes to their *categorizing* functions: The body schema provides cognitive and sensory (which are interrelated) possibilities of meaningful experience in that it constitutes the "area of contact" with the surroundings; or rather, an *embedded positioning* establishing the basic point of view opposite the world. Also, encounters with the world will be experienced as meaningful insofar as they "fit" to the extended structure that "is" the body schema. In other words, the body schema integrates and categorizes impressions according to its own dynamic constitution.

The body schema provides a fundamental coordination of the self and the world. Its dispositions are however also open to some change in the process, for example in encounters with new kinds of experiences: *The corporeal schema is an incorporated bodily know-how and practical sense; a perspectival grasp upon the world from the "point of view" of the body. It is a point of view that may be enlarged or diminished, moreover, through the corporation of alien elements.* (Crossley 2001: 102).

Similarly, the ideal types developed within the life world become "markers and receptors of meaning". Impressions that do not immediately fit to the ideal typical understandings, will tend to be sorted out, or, if experienced as "intrusive reality" - that is, impressions from the world that cannot be ignored - they will tend to be assimilated or adapted to the ideal types.[43]

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[43] There is hence a similarity between these epistemological mechanisms and the working of colonization, as issued in this project. For example, a discourse used to define a meaning experience could be understood as equating assimilation to an established type.

Intersubjective meaning and the role of the body - the body schema and the ideal types

The concepts *body schema* and *ideal types* can now be analysed further in relation to intersubjective meaning and the role of the body. To start with the role of the body: As shown, Merleau-Ponty operates with a fundamental connection between body and world, expressed through his concept body schema. With his focus upon the cognitive and existential realms, he tends to ignore ideologically and culturally defined contents of bodily representation (even if, however, he might make use of such contingent phenomena in order to highlight his theoretical understandings).

For Schütz, the role of the body is to be understood in connection with the ideal types. In a cognitive sense, bodily aspects provide meaning for people in that they are being categorized according to much the same principles as are constitutive for things and happenings confronting human beings in the life world. For example, certain bodily expressions tend to occur regularly in given situations, hence are being typified to correspond with the same context, and are thereby also given meaning as *representatives* of that context. In this way, the body is also for Schütz very closely connected with intersubjective meaning, in that it is part of the extended language system, so to speak.

> *I immediately perceive another man only when he shares a sector of the life-world's space and of world time in common with me. Only under those conditions does the Other appear to me in his live corporeality: his body is for me a perceivable and explicable field of expression which makes his conscious life accessible to me. It is possible only then for my stream of consciousness and his to flow in true simultaneity: he and I grow older together* (Schütz 1974: 62).

For both theorists, then, the body plays a central role in the basic intersubjective understandings of the world, even if Merleau-Ponty is more fundamental on this point. For him, the body and corporeality constitute the main epistemological principle of the being-in-the-world. For Schütz, the body is more of an advanced tool that is used in expression, and which makes it possible for human beings to understand each other's intentions. For Schütz, the body and corporeality are part of the overall system of symbols and language making communication between persons possible. Merleau-Ponty, on the other hand, does not conceive of the body and corporeality as "mediums" in the same way. He understands

them as ontological foundations of being, though not in the traditional sense of ontological presumptions existing prior to (and "preparing for" the possibility of) meaning contents; even in the sense of an ontological presumption, the corporeality is still "always already" situated in a meaning context.

When it comes to intersubjective meaning, Merleau-Ponty sees it as inseparable from the body schema through which the participants in the social world develop their understandings and interact towards each other. Given that all meaning is at the same time connected with and expressed through the body schema, one could argue that for Merleau-Ponty, there is an intersubjective component in all meaning, as it is also for Schütz, though on different premises (cf. meaning in its "primordial sense"). For Schütz, intersubjective meaning is a basic constituent in human life. As shown, even the subjective meaning in its primordial sense contains a component of intersubjectivity, hence making all subjective intentions accessible to other individuals (in principle). At this point, the difference opposite Merleau-Ponty does not seem to be striking, as the body schema may also to some extent "encompass" the realm of the other. Also when Schütz applies the ideal types to the understanding of intersubjective meaning on the cognitive level, there seems to be a strong similarity in the ways the body schema and the ideal types seem to *categorize* and *integrate* impressions from the world.

At this point it is however important to notice a distinction between two ways of conceiving intersubjective meaning according to the phenomenology of Alfred Schütz. On the cognitive level just mentioned, the claim of similarity between the body schema and the ideal types towards the theme intersubjective meaning can be legitimized. However, Schütz also considers intersubjective meaning on the level of ideologically and culturally defined social life (which is also part of the reason why his theoretical stance is occasionally given the term *social* phenomenology). Schütz writes:

> *The language is a system of typifying schemata of experience, which rests on idealizations and anonymizations of immediate subjective experience. These typifications of*

experience detached from subjectivity are socially objectivated, whereby they become a component of the social a priori previously given to the subject. (Schütz 1974: 234)[44]

With this entering of the socially constructed world, one has to leave Merleau-Ponty behind. For Schütz, studying intersubjective meaning within actual social life means investigating how certain culturally specific expressions of meaning are constructed by the social actors during interaction *within a certain social context*. This is a kind of intersubjective meaning owing its mere possibility to the more cognitive and constitutive mechanisms of intersubjectivity. The capturing of realms of meaning in social contexts can be made by typifications of both the world under study and of the operations of the researcher. This is done thoroughly in this project. (Further elaborations are given in the method part).

Corporeal-social meaning

On this backdrop, the conceptualization *corporeal-social meaning* (CSM) can now be further specified according to the phenomenological foundations of Merleau-Ponty' body schema concept. First an overall comparison will be made. Thereafter it will be given an extra reflection opposite the aspects *intersubjectivity* and *intercorporeality*.

In the outset, the conception corporeal-social meaning bears on the characteristics of the body schema; as the being-a-body in an extended sense, a situatedness of immediately perceived relevance in a field offering certain possibilities. The situatedness bear on earlier experiences and tacit know-how, as perceived dispositions for action. Opposite the body schema concept, corporeal-social meaning is to be seen as an extension, or prolongation towards the social dimension.

The including of *social* as an explicit notation has to do with a stronger emphasis on the other(s) with whom one is in the situation, and with whom one has an "inter-corporeal history". The investigation in this study of how a group of climbers "tune in on" each other in an inter-corporeal sense over time, and thereby create certain realms of meaning (*the special game*, again within the SCW) demands a more socially elaborate conception of bodiness.

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[44] At this level one starts converging towards the so-called *sociological phenomenology*, for which Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966) are probably the most famous proponents.

As indicated in the comparison of Merleau-Ponty and Schütz, there should be a potential of including the bodies of the others in one's own body schema in a more sociological sense. There is no reason why the inherent "culturality" of the body schema (cf. Berentzen 2010) should not also include the immediate perceptions of meaning where an *active interplay* with well-known others is embedded in one's own schema. In this study it is indicated that in some senses one can "be" the immediate perceptions of the corporeal competences (know-how) of the others. This can be seen as a corporeally oriented version of the phenomenological conception of intersubjective culture.

As indicated before, the phenomenological research on *intersubjectivity* makes up a quite abstract philosophical domain in the outset (Sokolowski 2000, Fuglseth 2012 a). In my context it should suffice to give a basic indication of how the aspect of *intercorporeality* can be understood according to the body schema, as a way of preparing for the CSM conception.

The body schema concept transcends the mere body as it extends into the field of relevance in the surroundings. In research on phenomenological understandings of intersubjectivity, there have also been made attempts to come closer to the "materiality" of the body itself, in the sense of *Leib* (versus 'Körper' - as elaborated before, according to Leder 1990). Merleau-Ponty uses the notion *flesh* about the "bodiness of sociality"; the social is embodied (Merleau-Ponty 1968). We could therefore say that we exist as *leib* (and not as a *Körper*) as we are embedded in *flesh*. With his related *reversibility* thesis, Merleau-Ponty underscores the fundamental mutuality between bodies. We can sense because we are sensed, and touch because we can be touched.

> And what we have to understand is that there is no dialectical reversal from one of these views to the other; we do not have to reassemble them into a synthesis: they are two aspects of the reversibility which is the ultimate truth. (Merleau-Ponty 1968: 155).

In this understanding, influences hence do not go "back and forth" between persons. The reversibility is first seen when split up in terms of conscious focus and analysis, as it pertains to a totality rather than describing a duality. This also points to *ambiguity* as a fundamental constituent of the human being in the world. Merleau-Ponty illustrates this feature by his sensations of simultaneously "holding and be held" by himself: I can grab my own underarm with my hand, and at the same time also do the same thing the other way

around (i.e. the hand on the arm being gripped also gripping the arm of the holding hand). If I "relax around this sensation" without reflecting upon it, it is a "uniform" bodily experience. If I however focuses on it explicitly, the *reversibility* comes forth as a relation which can be perceived from shifting sides (to *hold* versus *being held*).

The same reversibility could be said to pertain to the "relation" between bodies in contexts of interaction. According to these dimensions, Dillon (1997) makes a stronger focus upon corporeality by stressing the notion *intercorporeality* from Merleau-Ponty's last work (1968). A point is that persons are *intertwined* with the world also in terms of "common corporeality". This emphasises an understanding of the intersubjectivity of bodiness as something more fundamental than e.g. 'face work' and mutual influences through body language (Goffman 2005).

Merleau-Ponty himself (1968) and Dillon (1997) (in his reflections on the former) give *ontological* outlines of intercorporeality; it is set to point to the sociality of bodiness as a *principle* when people are together. In comparison, my conception *corporeal-social meaning* is more focused on situations of already and over time established corporeal-social know-how. In this project, this is especially connected with the study of *the special game* within the larger framing of the SCW. The conception is therefore not a purely ontological principle, like intercorporeality is in the outset; it bears with it a certain socially established content which relates it to a sociological dimension. It is about the fundamental intercorporeal *familiarity* that have been "inhabituated" in the Rocks members over time in contexts of physical activity. This also makes a connection with the terminology used in disability research, and to the agenda of the sociology of impairment. The social "charging" of corporeality can be transferred to the understanding of *impairment* (versus disability), as it adds to the statement that *disability is corporeal and impairment is social*, as expressed by Carol Thomas (Thomas 2010).

3.3   Symbolic interactionism and pragmatism: A broader theoretical landscape

The use of phenomenology in this project is connected with a broader theoretical landscape, bearing on basic lines from symbolic interactionism, pragmatism, and grounded theory (methodology). The intention is to relate and supply the relatively abstract character of phenomenology with conceptions having been used more comprehensively within the field of qualitative social research. Other theoretical references also relate to the same landscape - such as ethnomethodology, Polanyi (*tacit knowing*) and Wittgenstein (*language games*). In the ways these other perspectives are referred to, they correspond generally with the phenomenological approach as it has been elaborated. In the following, I will give a short overview of the bearing ideas within symbolic interactionism and pragmatism (phenomenology was accounted for above and grounded theory is to be elaborated in the methodology chapter). Symbolic interactionism will be referred to in the main analysis, especially in section 1. Pragmatism will not be referred to as a discipline of its own, as it is to be seen more as a thorough-going characteristic of the other perspectives.

The notion *symbolic interactionism*[45] was first used by Hebert Blumer as a reference to George H. Mead's sociological approach to social psychology. Blumer (1969) described three premises of the interactionist approach that can be said to have persisted as its bearing constituents (Fine 1990): The first premise is that human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. The second premise is that meaning of such things are derived from, or at least closely connected with the social interaction between oneself and one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled and modified through interpretation in the actual encounters with them.

Hence, the basic line within the interactionist perspective is that meaning departs from interaction in context. Taken together, these are therefore the reasons why the perspective is ascribed to the field of *interpretive sociology* (Joas & Knöbl 2009).

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[45] As also in much other literature, the notion *interactionism* will be used thoroughly for simplicity's sake, as the prefix 'symbolic' does not add a meaning content on its own of relevance to my context.

Erving Goffman

Erving Goffman (1922 - 1982) is a main character within the interactionist tradition. For one, he launched some of the basic and overall conceptions mirroring its central ideas. Goffman is also known for his more specific *dramaturgical perspective* on social life, again drawing upon the more general concepts. The idea of this perspective is to illuminate central mechanisms of everyday interaction by relating them to the theatre discourse - that is, by describing them in terms of dramaturgical notions such as e.g. *facade*, *front-* and *backstage*, *audience*, and *script*.

In the analysis, Goffman's concepts will be referred to in various combinations. Central features of his perspective are described below, in connection with some of his basic concepts. The references to Goffman in the analyses are to be understood in relation with this general description. Where other concepts than those described here are referred to, they are to be understood within the same framework.

Situation definition is one of Goffman's bearing concepts (1990). It can be understood as the inclination in all of the participants within a social interaction context to seek to understand "what is going on", and/or to influence and decide what "ought to be going on". This is rooted in the basic human need of understanding and being in control of one's surroundings.

In close relation with this is also the need for the interaction context to simply work out well, to function without difficulty. A central feature subsumed under the general notion *interaction ritual*, is *face work* (Goffman 2005); this is about ways of maintaining the preferred situation definition in a certain social context. For example: If somebody fails to "play the game" according to the tacit rules of the interaction in a way resulting in embarrassment, the other interlocutors will - individually or in cooperation - seek to minimize and repair the "damage" in order to help out the situation taken in its entirety. Goffman denotes this more specifically as *face-saving*. There is obviously an aspect of compassion in this, in the sense that one seeks to help another person. The main interactionist point however is the way such mechanisms are constitutive parts of the interplay between persons in a context, hence creating and maintaining the overall social situation (Goffman 2005, 1990).

Front- and *backstage* adhere to the theatre metaphors. In the interaction, there are various degrees of participating or being in focus of attention. When e.g. being the one

talking, one is *on stage* and is paid attention to by the others, who then become the *audience*. The positions frequently shift between the persons, and in the actual situation the labels may also often overlap. When one is not in focus oneself, one can relax from the quest for defining the situation which adhere to the frontstage position, and become a more passive audience, or even seek a relative retreat in the state of *backstage*. Hence, in the backstage position one can relax more and to a larger extent just "be oneself". This latter point however needs an important precaution: Following Goffman, the playing of different roles in everyday life, and to deliberately present certain sides of oneself and conceal others (*impression control*) is not to be understood as "false" or "unnatural" in the outset. Rather, it is a point that the combining of such mechanisms describes who we are as normal human beings, and therefore it also characterizes normal social interaction. Following Goffman, to "be oneself" (in the sense be "real" and "honest"), and to be "a person with integrity" has to do with the way one combines different sides of oneself (Goffman 2005, 1990). (It can be mentioned that etymologically, the word 'personality' actually relates to 'masks'.)

Pragmatism

According to the descriptions of Schütz' perspective given before, there is a deep line of correspondence between phenomenological sociology and interactionism regarding the emphasis on the specifically *social* dimension of meaning. This correspondence is again related to the even older tradition of *pragmatism*. Having got a label on its own within the history of philosophy, this approach has been associated with a certain period of time (the *American pragmatism* in the latter decades of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth), with the central proponents being William James and C.S. Peirce (Joas 1996, Lübcke 1996).

Pragmatism is about meaning as it is actually perceived, and about the usefulness of actions according to a given goal. This also has a deeply social aspect to it, in that goals and which consequences from actions that are to be perceived as valuable depend on cultural context. This also regards the question about *truth*: As there is no objective standard for measuring truth outside of the human perspective (homo mensura), also the understanding of truth must rely on perceptions of meaning and useful consequences stemming from the culturally embedded praxis field ("it is meaningful if it works").

The theoretical correspondence between phenomenologically oriented sociology, interactionism, and pragmatism lies especially in this emphasis on everyday knowledge and the practical contexts with which this knowledge is inextricably connected. In the post-war period the notion *pragmatic* has been used as a prefix characterizing the "practicality" (practical reason) of attitudes, inclinations and actions. Even if pragmatism as a *discipline* is much ascribed to its own chapter within the history of philosophy (and is often seen as a somewhat peculiar part of this history, due to its character of not being too obliged to strict coherence or logic) it can be mentioned that Alfred Schütz himself associated his theories with the pragmatism with which he got acquainted while living in America from the thirties.

These linkages thereby also connect further with grounded theory: GT bears fundamentally on discovering meaning from the actual and lived interaction contexts themselves, without imposing on them formerly established concepts and anticipated understandings (to be elaborated).

The climbing group as an in-group

The theoretical foundations in this project highlight the social construction of the human world. The *social group* is a strongly related concept. This should be given an explicit elaboration according to the understanding of Rocks, which will be understood more specifically as an *in-group* in this project.

Within sociology, the (social) *group* is a fundamental entity. The general understanding of a group is that it is a social system which involves regular interaction between the members, and in ways providing them with a certain collective identity in the sense of "we-ness". The *statistical group* thereby evades this social dimension of the definition as it is based on a set of chosen characteristics in people without demanding any sense of fellowship or common identity - such as e.g. "persons registered as having physical impairments". Groups can be formal or informal, exist on different societal levels, and have different grades of interpersonal acquaintance and senses of coherence and identity within them. As climbers with impairments, the individual members of Rocks can be said to belong to different group categories in the outset. For instance, they are members of a variety of interest organizations, and occasionally they are part of a larger temporary group coming together for certain aims, such as adaptive sport activities. In these contexts they experience various grades of belonging to a collective and having something in common

with the other members. The Rocks group itself is however a collective with regular internal interaction and a strong sense of fellowship connected with it, and that has developed over time through a pursuing of common interests - hence it can be understood as an *in-group.* Within sociology, this notion is associated with William G. Sumner (Olmstead and Hare 1978). It also corresponds closely with the classical notion 'the small group', elaborated by George C. Homans in his *The Human Group* (1950). As Rocks generally ascribes to the basic characteristics of both Sumner's understanding of the *in-group* and Homans' of *the small group*, it is also valid to approach it as a *focus group* in this project.

Within the history of sociology, mechanisms involved in small versus larger groups have been issued within several classical approaches. A few can be mentioned: George H. Mead denoted the persons with whom one is especially close (e.g. family and friends) as *significant others*, opposite the "generalized" other. As socialization agents, persons in the former category are important as specific individuals in the sense that they cannot be reduced to the more anonymous and general *roles* they inhibit (i.e. the general set of expectations and norms directed at certain social positions). This again corresponds with Emile Durkheim's distinction between *mechanical* and *organic solidarity*, respectively: Seen as types, the relations (and hence also the solidarity) between persons that are close do not bear on utilitarist principles of calculation and specific outcome. Rather, the solidarity is felt as "just given", in the sense that it just exists in a natural way (hence the notion "mechanical"). On the other hand, *organic* points to the solidarity between people who are not very close. It is functional and use-orientated for the sake of overall integration, and it is anonymous in that it is focused more on the roles the persons have, than on the specific persons inhibiting them. (Metaphorically, the notion "organic" stems from the way the different organs in the body work together in that they perform different tasks supporting the whole - cf. *roles*.) It can be added that Ferdinand Tönnies' famous distinction between the two kinds of community - *Gemeinschaft* (small community) and *Gesellschaft* (larger society) - corresponds with these types of solidarity, respectively. (Habermas 1995b, Joas & Knöbl 2009, Wetherell 2009).

When William G. Sumner launched the in-group concept, he defined it according to its opposition *out-group* (Olmstead and Hare 1978). A basic idea is that the identity of the in-group is dependent on the collective's attitudes towards those perceived as *the others* according to one's own group. Within social research, the conceptual distinction has been

much used in studies of deviance and conflict. In its basic meaning it however also points to basic features of social identity versus "the others" in a more general societal sense, and without there necessarily being any conflict, if not to say hostility, involved. It is in this latter sense that the Rocks members constitute an in-group, both in relation to the outer society, non-impaired climbers, and other climbers with impairments (the latter is to be exemplified with the other participants at the Oslo gathering). In different contexts and to various degrees, these become *others* for the Rocks climbers, though not necessarily as *out-groups* in a strict sense. According to context the others can also come relatively closer to the Rocks in-group, and in that sense contribute to a more overall collective in terms of purpose or identity (such as climbers in general, or climbers with impairments). Also, the status between belonging to "the others" or to "the collective" can shift with context (e.g. Table 4B).

Especially two aspects should be emphasised regarding Rocks understood as an in-group: For one, the members understand themselves as a group on their own even if they occasionally take part in larger groups with a certain "we-ness" (this is to be analysed especially in relation with Table 4B: *Experiences of "normal" and "different" climbing within the social climbing world*). Second - and as indicated - their attitudes towards others cannot automatically follow the strict in-group versus out-group distinction stressed by much literature, and where the attitudes towards these others are often understood as negative (even if this is also an aspect of the social climbing world, as will be shown). The point in our context is first and foremost to reveal the sense of common (corporeal-social) understanding that exists between the members. Importantly, the Rocks group identity is also part of an active relation to the social and cultural surroundings. For instance, it is a means by which the members also relate to climbers and other people outside of the group, and hence also constitutes a social base which exceeds the initial status of being "climbers with impairments".

Ending

In Part 3 - Phenomenology and corporeal-social meaning - the theoretical foundation of the project has been elaborated.

Drawing on the background information on health, physical activity and disability that was presented in part 2, it was first given a theoretical analysis aimed at positioning the project according to other disability research. In connection with this, the rehabilitation discourse and the mechanisms of colonization were given further elaborations.

Thereafter it was given a presentation of the phenomenological approach. It was explained how this approach can be both useful and challenging opposite empirical studies. After indicating how phenomenology has been used in other disability research, I elaborated my own use of phenomenology in this project, in combination with the theoretical stances of Merleau-Ponty and Schütz, respectively. Here, the constructed conception *corporeal-social meaning* (CSM) was also given a closer explanation.

In the last chapter I made an outline of symbolic interactionism and pragmatism. These are positions within sociological understanding that are related with phenomenology, and which I have referred to in this project in order to elucidate the correspondences with the broader sociological tradition. Erving Goffman was used as a main representative of interactionism. At the very end, it was given a reflection on the focus group according to traditional sociological group theory.

Part 4   Grounded theory and *Verstehen*

Introduction

This part is divided in a descriptive method chapter (1) and a reflective methodology chapter (2). In the former, research design and procedures are outlined, succeeded by a presentation of the empirical sources. In the following methodology chapter, reflections on the presumptions of the research process and the understanding and handling of the collected material will be elaborated. The methodology chapter provides reflections on the explorative use of the empirical sources in correspondence with the understanding of corporeality and meaning perception put forth in the theory part, and thus prepares for the analyses.

The connecting of the theoretical and methodological understandings with the process of observation and collecting of data is made in correspondence with the grounded theory approach. Reflections on the role of the researcher in the project will be given in the same context. Further presumptions regarding the influence on the interaction with the informants caused by methodical design and procedures will be integrated in the analyses themselves. The same goes for some of the information having been sketched just briefly in the method part, but which it is nevertheless regarded important to contextualize in the understanding of meaning dimensions within the social climbing world.

The bearing features of the methodical design and data collection are participant observation during field works and individual research interviews with the core members of the Rocks group. The participant observation was conducted during three field works: The National Climbing Gathering for Persons with Impairments in Oslo (2010), an outdoor excursion by the Rocks group to Skibotn (2011), and regular indoor climbing sessions for Rocks in Tromsø (2011). At the two first the main research method was participant observation. The third was based on a combination of participant observation and individual semi-structured interviews. The Tromsø field work took place immediately after the Skibotn excursion and lasted from late August to late September 2011. The main incentive was to observe and participate in the usual context of Rocks' climbing activities (Tromsø), and to interview the members. (The observations adds to the other field works as part of the 'first area of investigation', corresponding with 'colonization mode 1', cf. Figure 5. The interviews constitute the 'second area of investigation' and 'colonization mode 2').

At the event of the first field work - the Oslo gathering - Rocks participated together with a number of other climbers. Even if the Rocks group was the special focus at the event, the observations there also took into consideration the extended span and context of this sporting event for persons with impairments, hence also relating to disability work on a broader scale.

4.1 Method

Approvals

The project was approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (Norsk senter for forskningsdata - NSD, letter from 05.09.2010, project number 27715). It is obliged to the standard prescriptions for conducting this kind of research, such as informed consent, and the unconditional option for the informants to withdraw from the project (in the *Empirical sources* paragraph, the procedure of presenting information is given further descriptions). In correspondence with overall terms, and following the letter mentioned above, the NSD gave some remarks specific to my project: As personal health conditions are issued (impairments), the material has been classified as sensitive. The individual informants are also regarded to be "indirectly identifiable" in spite of some anonymization (names), in the sense that it is possible for people who know the group and/or the individual members from before to recognize them from the text. According to NSD, the information given is however not sensitive to a degree that demands a deeper anonymization.

Ethical reflections

In addition to fulfilling standard and procedural demands required for formal approvals, the character of the project makes it necessary to also make further ethical considerations.

I have approached a number of persons with the aim of carrying out empirical research. This has involved observing them within an important field of their everyday life (climbing, i.e. a 'province of meaning'), and to have conversations touching upon issues which can be both personal, difficult, and sensitive (disability). This points to aspects which - in a deeper ethical sense - are not fully clarified by general categories such as e.g. informed consent.

In social research, the relation with the informants involves a mutual correspondence between knowledge, power and normativity (Engelstad 2003). For example, even if one's project has been fully approved by those under study, one should reflect upon the extent to which one's own position as a researcher - i.e. also a "keeper of the generally approved knowledge" - implies a "normative force" that could pursue the informants towards giving their approvals and to participate. I assume that my project could appear as having a "self-evident legitimation" in the outset, as it is adjacent to one of its own dimensions of study: the prevailing health- and rehabilitation discourse. As pointed out in the project, this discourse also represents the informants' attitudes. They also explicitly expressed that they wanted this project to be conducted on the terms they had been informed about, and that they also appreciated all the publicity they could get as a group. They coupled this with the larger realm of acknowledgement and integration of persons with impairments opposite the larger field of sports and organized physical activity. When I take this information from the informants into account, I also reckon the deeper ethical aspects of consent to be clear.

This overlaps with another important issue. It regards to which extent the interests of the informants themselves are taken into consideration, in addition to the obvious interests of the researcher and the wider field of research. With its incentives of illuminating the informants' own meaning experiences in the intersection between disability and physical activity, and to communicate this to the wider research field and beyond, the project can be said to support their own interests. A central point is that it also contributes to the larger field of inclusion and integration of disadvantaged groups, as it adds to the general knowledge base on themes like difference and equality, and which is to the benefit of those often perceived as "different" (this is to be reissued in the last part, *Closing*).

In a more overall sense regarding ethical reflections, there is also the aspect of *empathy*, which escapes "calculations" of values and interests in a "pro aut contra" sense. In the sometimes abstract realm of research, it is important not to lose sight of the unconditional respect for other persons, understood as a fundamental solidarity opposite, and an acknowledging of their personal integrity (Weihe 2008). This could seem obvious - but the reason for mentioning it is that within research bearing on generally approved and legitimized values - such as welfare research, and hence research representing the "prevailing discourses" - one can risk that the attention opposite single individuals or small groups may sometimes suffer to the benefit of "the greater goal" which is already

normatively approved (Moser 1998, Silva & Howe 2012). An incentive in the phenomenological approach that has inspired the search for meaning experiences in this project, is to go to "the things themselves"; that is, to recognize the reality as it is "immediately given" (perceived). Within the field of ethics, an equivalent to this is found in the writings of the phenomenologist Emmanuel Levinas (Levinas 2008, Ribers 2012). Levinas emphasises what he sees as an unconditional moral demand that is embedded in the meeting with the other person (famously expressed as standing opposite *the face* of the other). That is: regardless of the e.g. overall intentions of the research and abstract ethical principles, there is "always already" a fundamental normative obligation pertaining to oneself in the encounter with the other. We are always and unconditionally *responsible* opposite the other: this sticks to the human condition in itself, as we are fundamentally connected within a social world.

Providing statements such as the one stemming from Levinas, as well as stressing general aspects of "empathy", may perhaps seem slightly unsubstantial and "loose" compared with formal ethical guidelines. This does however not mean that they are less important: where the latter can be clarified in terms of concrete procedures, the former call for a constant and "living awareness" (Levinas 2008). In this project I have attempted to merge such reflections with an intention of being "theoretically sensitive" opposite the data (to be reissued). That is; the awareness and sensitivity pertaining to the phenomenological point of departure and the use of grounded theory (cf. the theory part, and the subsequent section on methodology) is followed by an ethical dimension.

Research design

Participant observation and semi-structured interviews

The phenomenological-sociological approach to the empirical material naturally posits the investigations within a qualitative framework. The social climbing world encompasses the material dimensions corporeality, arenas for climbing, and equipment, as well as non-material dimensions of social meaning and identity. *Participant observation* and *semi-structured interviews* have been adapted as the main research techniques in the attempt to study these dimensions in relation to one another. The observations have been directed both towards the climbing activities themselves (the game) and the settings (arenas) where they took place (the extended game). The interviews have been focused on expressions,

presentations and narratives from a point outside of these settings, though simultaneously referring back to them (cf. first and second area of investigation, Figure 5).

The field works

Three main settings were considered to be constituting for the social climbing world, hence also chosen as departure points for the empirical investigations. These are, following the order of the field works: 1) Gatherings for a larger scope of persons with impairments arranged by external organizations (Oslo), 2) Rocks' own outdoor excursions (Skibotn), and 3) the regular weekly indoor sessions of the group (Tromsø). In terms of observation, each of the three field works thereby covers one of these settings.

Reasons for the chosen settings for the field works

The different settings chosen for the collecting of empirical data was the result of a set of intermingled concerns. First, it was due to my intention about exploring different meaning dimensions of the climbing activities of Rocks. Different settings and outer frameworks for the activities provide for different dimensions to appear.

The project is to have an explorative character. It was therefore necessary to make the theme under study show itself from different sides in order to provide a material to work on by means of comparison.

Further, the three chosen settings were reckoned to be enveloping a total of the different framings which Rocks normally engage into: Arrangements with other persons with impairments, organized by interest organisations (represented by the climbing gathering in Oslo), outdoor excursions by and for themselves (represented by the Skibotn excursion), and the usual climbing sessions and training in the indoor hall (represented by the sessions under study in Tromsø). Hence the first setting (Oslo) thereby also represents *adaptive climbing*, where the two others (Skibotn and Tromsø) together represent climbing on the group's own terms (*the special game*).

I conducted the individual interviews during my stay in Tromsø, of basically three reasons. In order of importance: First, I wanted to get to know the participants in an as unformal way as possible before highlighting my researcher role by interviewing them. Second, I needed a pre-established foundation of observation in order to prepare for the interviews. And third, I needed time to make arrangements with the members according to when it was convenient for them to be interviewed.

There were other reasons as well for not conducting interviews in the two first field works. First of all (also going together with the two first points above) it might have disturbed the participants' experiences of the event, in the sense that they might have felt observed (in that case the project would also have taken on an aura of irony in terms of the idea of colonization, obviously). For my own part it would also have taken time from important observation. Further also, the mere being at such an event might have influenced their answers regarding climbing experiences in general, and also their opinions of the interplay between organized events and their usual climbing activities. In Tomsø, the interview settings took place more within the frames of everyday life - which was a point due to the phenomenologically oriented investigation.

Procedures for collecting data

The observations followed a semi-open approach, as did also the later interviews. They were guided by the general focus on the connection between corporeality and social aspects of meaning, and of initial interest were all kinds of conduct, expressions and arrangements pointing to combinations of collectivity (sociality) and meaningful experiences in connection with the activities, as well as social interaction within and references to the extended context surrounding them.

During the field works, I made observation notes on vacant occasions during the periods of observation. These were supplied and written out more coherently in the evenings, when my own experiences with the actual contexts were still fresh in mind. Associations and reflections were kept separate from descriptive information in order to allow for further and independent reflections upon the written material later, without interfering with the purely descriptive parts.

In the third and last field work (Tromsø) I used an audio recorder on a few occasions during climbing activities. This was in order to capture some of the atmosphere in the climbing hall, and I used as a heuristic tool in that it supported me in recollecting the situation during the writing out of field notes and reflections (in general, auditive reminders have strong effects when it comes to recollecting former context-bound experiences (Gallagher 2001, Merleau-Ponty 2012)).

During the field works there were numerous conversations between researcher and climbers, one-to-one or in settings with more people participating, involving themes

relevant for the understanding of the social climbing world. These conversations could often come to resemble the later interviews in form, as the latter were also quite informal in style. Even if they are part of the observation side of the data collection in terms of order of investigation (speech and conduct in context, analysis section 1), these conversations will also be referred back to in the interview analyses (section 2). As the activities are also issued in the interviews, there will be made frequent references back to the praxis field and the observations made there.

Empirical sources

Acquaintance with the field: My first knowledge about the Rocks group had come earlier in 2010 through internet research focused on disability and challenging physical activity. By a link on the web pages of Tromsø Climbing Club, I had come over an article about integration, written by one of the members of the Rocks group.

My first contact with the field in the early autumn 2010 were open and preparatory requests by e-mail and phone to the Norwegian Climbing Federation (Norges klatreforbund), The Norwegian Association of Disabled (Norges Handicapforbund), The Norwegian Association for the Blind and Partially Sighted (Blindeforbundet), the Rocks group (via John and Ada), and to the person in charge of integration issues in a climbing club in Oslo. This was initially in order to inform about my intentions with the project and to get information about actual events regarding disability and physical activity.

Based on this contact and according to prescriptions from the NSD (formal approvals) I thereafter sent an information letter to the integration consultant at The Norwegian Climbing Federation (who was to be in charge of the coming Oslo gathering), John (Rocks member and board member in the Tromsø climbing club, Ada (listed as contact person for the Rocks group), and the organizer in charge for a project about climbing and disability in the Oslo area (*Klatring for funksjonshemmede*) in cooperation with the local climbing club, Kolsås (this organizer was also to be among the arrangers at the Oslo gathering). The information letter was followed by another letter directed at potential informants. According to the character of the project - such as it involving persons with visual impairments - it was made pragmatic solutions regarding the presentation of this letter to the informants, in agreement with NSD. It was decided that it could be handed out to some of the possible informants, and that it could be read and explained thoroughly to others.

The general aspects of consent, anonymity and the possibilities to withdrawing from the project at any time whatever reason and without question, were made clear.

As it came to be, Rocks was defined as the focus group. The other participants at the Oslo gathering were also included in the observation material from the event, though mostly in a quite general sense regarding adaptive climbing, and for comparison with the special features of the Rocks group (i.e. their experiential basis from their own climbing - *the special game*). These other participants were informed by the arrangers both before and at the gathering itself by the arrangers. I also introduced myself in the common introduction round. Here I explained my combined role as a researcher and assistant at the gathering, and also as a climber on a regular basis. I informed about my intentions regarding the gathering, i.e. that I was going to analyse my observations and report them in my thesis. I made it clear that I would not refer any actual names or personal experiences without further explicit individual consent. (All of this had already been clarified with the arrangers on beforehand, but for the sake of clarity I also wished to tell all the participants myself.) I deliberately attempted to give all the necessary information in the form of everyday language, and in an informal tone. I also gave some additional information about myself not having to do directly with myself as a researcher, in order to prevent being understood as "just a researcher" in their eyes (as it turned out, that did not become a challenge).

In the project it is given very few concrete references to individual climbers outside of the Rocks group. The few referred to had approved of the conditions specified in the letter, either by reading it or having it explained to them. No one had any kinds of objections.

As it turned out, it was established two external contact persons for the project in its initial phase: John, as the representative for Rocks, and the consultant in charge of integration work at The Climbing Federation (NKF). It was through the consultant in NKF that I got access to the climbing gathering in Oslo. By e-mail contact and phone conversations we had come to agreement over my own participation and role at the gathering. With John I made more specific agreements about how I was to study the Rocks group. I requested to be allowed to have a special focus upon the Rocks group at the Oslo gathering, and also to follow the group further on. He wrote back on behalf of the group and welcomed me to join in and study them. He was also to bring it further to the other members before the gathering, and agreed to contact me again if anybody was to have

some further questions (they did not). From this point on, most of the e-mails from myself were sent to the Rocks group mail, and John, Ada, or Miriam answered on behalf of the group.

The informants - background information

First are some common descriptive features valid for all of the core members, thereafter more specific individual characteristics are given. Additional basic outlines of more interpreted kind, such as personality characteristics, are given in Table 3A. Together these key characteristics of both kinds are used as a support for the analyses. Where further background information about the informants is regarded necessary in the later analyses, it will be included in the actual context.

Common features between the core members

The following points can be seen in correspondence with the "outer collective features" of the group, as listed in 3B:

- They all have *acquired* impairments, occurring either suddenly or successively from young adulthood or later. This is to say that none of them was born with the impairment or had it as a child or youngster. Three of them bore genetic dispositions causing the later development of the impairment. The impairments of the other four were caused by accidents.

- They are all middle-aged, ranging from approximately 45 to 65 years.

- They all come from the Northern part of the country.

- They have all been members of Rocks for a certain period of time - at least two years - and have participated on a regular basis. They have therefore acquired experience from climbing within the group over time, and have come to know each other well.

- All of them already had the impairment when they started to climb.

- Their introduction to climbing came either via suggestions from health and rehabilitation personnel or persons involved in integration programmes, or via other persons with impairments having already experienced climbing via such contacts. This means that all the members were directly or indirectly introduced to climbing via organized integration and/or rehabilitation incentives.

Individual information: Approximate age, occupation, and impairment.

John: Age 60 - 65. **Occupation:** Academic, computer science (present). **Impairment:** Blind from his twenties after gradual decrease of vision (genetic).

Fred: Age 50 - 55. **Occupation:** Wholesale, transport, storage (former). **Impairment:** Accident, fall with snow scooter in his forties. Movability, back (spine) and core structure.

Peter: Age 50-55. **Occupation:** Coastguard operator (former). **Impairment:** Falling accident in his thirties. Visual field loss (clear vision to one side only, blind on the other side).

Mona: Age 45 - 50. **Occupation:** Stewardess/aviation personnel (former). Degree in gestalt therapy in recent years. **Impairment:** Visually deprived from her twenties. Gradual decrease of vision. (Genetic.)

Konrad: Age 50-55. **Occupation:** Sheltered enterprise (present). **Impairment:** Had one eye with sincerely reduced vision during young age, lost the vision of the healthy eye during a hospital accident in his thirties.

Miriam: Age 50 - 55. **Occupation:** Executive within aviation business (former). **Impairment:** Accident when in her forties, hit by falling armature. Reduced mobility and distortion of tactile sensations in the legs. Uses wheelchair for relief.

Ada: Age 50 - 55. **Occupation:** Organizational assignments, voluntary work (present and former). **Impairment:** Visually deprived from her twenties, after having had some indications from her late youth. Gradual decrease of vision (genetic, not accident).

The field works: Oslo, Skibotn and Tromsø

The following are descriptive accounts for each of the field works, containing basic information about the point of departure for the methodical procedures. (In the beginning of the Analysis section 1 there will be given more elaborate and "close to experience" accounts.)

Field work 1, Oslo - The national climbing gathering

The National Climbing Gathering for Persons with Impairments 2010 was organized as a collaboration project between the Norwegian Climbing Federation (NKF) and The Norwegian Association of Disabled (NAD). The gathering took place over a weekend in Oslo in mid-September. Rocks participated at this gathering along with 14 other persons with

impairments. In addition, there was a number of organizers and assistants, among them my contact person at the Climbing federation.

The gathering had its base at a hostel in the Northern part of Oslo. This was the site of accommodation, common meals and social mingling between climbing sessions. It had a broadly defined target group, geographically (as it was a national gathering) as well as regarding age and levels of experience and skills. This meant that the participants came from different areas and milieus in Norway. The Eastern part of the country - especially the Oslo area, and Northern Norway - especially Tromsø and surrounding areas - were centres of gravity regarding recruitment. Many of the participants did not know each other on beforehand, or did so just slightly.

A few of the participants had no previous climbing experience, making the gathering an arena for them to test out the activity. This means that established climbers and beginners were together, and that members of more established collectives, where the members knew each other well both personally and as climbing partners were alongside "individualists" not being part of such.

The participants accommodated themselves at the hostel during Friday afternoon. The climbing took place at the indoor climbing sites Klatreverket and Vulcan on Saturday and Sunday, respectively.

The climbing setting - indoors (versus outdoors)
The primary intention of the arrangers had been to have the activities outdoors, on a selection of appropriate cliffs in the Oslo area. As had been explicitly pointed out in the written information preceding the event, this possibility however depended on the weather forecast. There was some discussion on the topic in the common information session on Friday evening, after the afternoon meal and the introduction round. It was decided that the forecast was too insecure for the weekend, and it was prepared for plan B: indoor sessions at the two main sites for indoor climbing in Oslo - Klatreverket and Vulcan.

In the further, there are given some basic descriptions of and reflections about the practical settings of indoor climbing (versus outdoors) that were relevant for the process of data collection at this field work. They regard both Klatreverket and Vulcan. (The reason for including aspects of outdoor climbing in the descriptions is that it has a certain symbolical value to it, which was also part of the "ideals" about climbing at the gathering. In this sense

outdoor climbing had a certain indirect influence on the climbing contexts at the gathering. There will also be given references to outdoor climbing in the discussions in the analysis section 1.)

In some respects, there were some clear advantages by being indoors. On the one side, this had to do with the practical arranging and conducting of the activities for both arrangers and participants. On the other, it also regarded the possibilities of collecting data.

The concentrated space seemed to simplify communication between the participants, making it easier for them to initiate and change belayer/climber arrangements, as well as making other kinds of agreements. The spatial density of the routes also made it easy to move from one climbing team (that is, the climber and the belayer) to another as spectators, or for different climbers to communicate with one another while being in the wall at the same time (hence the kind of "around the climbing interaction" denoted as *the extended game*[46]). At the same time this also provided myself with the possibility to move effectively between different climbing teams as an observer, engage in casual conversations, and also to take part in the activities themselves as an assistant (belayer) - that is, as a *participant* observer.

Climbing indoors also has certain benefits regarding "overall convenience". For example, practical advantages were bathroom facilities nearby, stable temperature and furniture for use during breaks. The latter provided good conditions for communicating in a comfortable and relaxed atmosphere, which seemed to be very influencive on the discussions about the climbing one had just participated in, and - following - on the climbers' experiences of the climbing session as a whole. The arranger also brought lunch to the site, making a common break for all the participants.

The indoor setting implied the presence of other and non-impaired climbers at the same time, a feature that opened for experiencing and talking about climbing on a wider scale. Also, the site was quite densely populated, as it was weekend - taken together this opened for communication with other climbers who were not participants at the gathering. (Outdoors, there would not necessarily have been other climbers present at that specific crag and at the same time.)

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[46] Occasionally, terms from the vocabulary that has been constructed to frame the SCW for the Rocks climbers are also used about other climbers when considered useful. This does not imply that these other climbers take part in the SCW, as conceptualized in this project.

Field work 2, Skibotn - outdoors excursion

This was a long-weekend excursion for outdoor climbing in the end of August 2011, conducted by The Rocks climbing group as their own event.[47] We went from Tromsø with a minibus which had been ordered especially for this trip, sponsored by the NABP.

Skibotn is an area in the North of Norway, near Lyngenfjorden and approximately thirty kilometres from the Finnish boarder. The name of the more specific localization of the climbing crag is Brennfjell, or "Brentfjell", as it is pronounced by the locals. The climbing crag (cliff) with established sport climbing routes (i.e. bolted) in Skibotn is not very known to climbers. This is not least due to the fact that it is geographically far from other crags for sport climbing, and also that the routes have little variation with regards to grades. Rocks had been at the site before, however. There were four reasons why they had chosen the crag again for this excursion: It is not very far from Tromsø, the grounds in the terrain are plain and accessible (especially valuable to those using wheelchair or white stick), there are good possibilities of top roping at the crag, and - being the most important point - the good accommodation facilities together with the easy approach to the cliff. The crag in Brennfjell is almost immediately adjacent to a commercial campground offering cabins for short-term rent.

All of the Rocks members participated at the excursion, except from Mona and Peter. Miriam's husband was the only external participant except from myself (he was not to take part in the mere climbing activities). Upon arrival, we accommodated ourselves in two cabins lying opposite each other. I shared cabin with Konrad, John, and Fred.

Because of relatively bad weather, we came to spend much time on general socializing compared with climbing. The whole first afternoon and evening, and the last day until departure in the afternoon were spent socializing. We were sitting around the tables in the cabins or outside on the porches, or had small walks in the nearby area. In the evenings, we prepared food at a common bonfire and sat on a large bench that made a half circle around it. On the last day, everybody went for a common hike in the area.

The whole day in between was spent climbing at the crag. This setting of "real climbing", on natural rock, and without a crowd of other people and ready-made facilities

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[47] The excursion had initially been planned by the The Norwegian Association for the Blind and Partially Sighted (Blindeforbundet), which had attempted to reach out to a broader scope of participants. As it came to be, no other participants signed up for the event, and it thereby turned out to be one of Rocks' own excursions, though still sponsored by the NABP. It can be assumed that the reason for the low number of participants was its somewhat remote location, together with more casual reasons.

surrounding them, made the group appear very much on their own "terms". Due to a relatively plain terrain beneath the cliff, I had good opportunities to move around and observe the climber/belayer relations in *the game* (the mere climbing "in itself"). Contrary to in indoor settings, it was also easier for the climbers and the belayers to communicate - and for myself to hear what they were saying to each other.

In addition to being an arena that exemplifies one of the main settings for the group - outdoor excursions - the totality of the setting (also including the bad weather) provided valuable terms for the collecting of information. General socializing amongst the members is an important part of the social climbing world. This excursion was the best source to this dimension in the outset, and the aspect of extra continuous and undisturbed time provided me with important insights into the group identity as well as the members' individual perspectives on their activities.

Field work 3, Tromsø - the regular indoor climbing

This was the most comprehensive of the field works and followed directly from the Skibotn excursion. It lasted approximately one month - from the end of August 2011 to late September. It was about regular indoor climbing in the climbing hall in Tromsø, which is the most common activity of the group - because of access (location in their nearby area), the special possibilities of exercise pertaining especially to indoor climbing sites (in terms of varied activities), and general convenience.

In terms of mere climbing, I participated in and observed six sessions. The group had two hours scheduled[48] to them every Thursday evening in the climbing gym, although the sessions lasted longer than that - normally three to four hours. The observations included five Thursdays and one additional session. An approximate estimate of total observation time for the climbing in Tromsø is 20 hours (the game and extended game combined - cf. Figure 5 and *List of constructed conceptualizations and especially loaded notions*).

Apart from the mere climbing settings and the individual interviews, I participated at one social event. Occasionally the group had an evening out at a certain cafe in the centre

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[48] This was more of a notice or "reminder" for other climbers than a reservation. It had primarily to do with a general cautiousness about persons with impairments in the gym.

of Tromsø known as "the outdoors cafe"[49] or the like: it is a site associated with a certain identity as it has become a hangout for certain kinds of customers, typically outdoors people such as skiers and climbers (although not exclusively so). I took part in an event of this kind taking place in the period of the field work as it represented a social arena within the social climbing world, but also outside of the climbing settings themselves (*the game* and *the extended game*). All the core members participated except from Peter and Konrad. I did not take any field notes at this event, though some aspects of what was talked about have been integrated in the analyses.

Individual interviews

The individual interviews with the members took place during the last two weeks of the Tromsø field work. The interviews did not have an on beforehand defined time limit, but came to last between one and two hours. I used an audio recorder, and transcribed the interviews later. The transcriptions became the basis for the analysis of the "second area of investigation" (Figure 5).

Settings for the interviews

Miriam: In her home. Konrad: At the university library. John: In his work office. Ada: In her home. Fred: In Ada's home. Mona: In the common room of a fitness centre. With one exception - the interview with Konrad in the university library (to be explained in the analyses) - the locations and exact times for the interviews were suggested by the climbers themselves. I did not have a regular face-to face interview with Peter in Tromsø, as he was not available for a meeting. I had the interview with him on phone, and made notes (that is, there was no recording or regular transcriptions). This seemed to be sufficient regarding the overall context. (In the methodology chapter, the grounded theory idea about reaching a "saturation point" of relevant information according to an investigation is issued.)

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[49] The Rocks members referred to it by this or similar notations ("friluftslivkafeen"). The actual name is Café Flyt ("Café Flow", directly translated). In this context it is relevant to mention that *Fri flyt* ("free flow") is the name of a leading (adventure) skiing (backcountry/off-piste) and outdoors magazine in Norway. (Cf. the expression "flow" in the sports discourse, also established as a central concept in this project.)

Overview: Empirical sources and data

Focus group	Place and event	Year and duration	Research design	Approx. observation time/number of interviews
Rocks climbing group. 7 core members.	Oslo. The National Climbing Gathering	2010 Weekend (2½ days)	Participant observation	31 hours
	Skibotn. Outdoor excursion (*Rocks*)	2011 Long weekend (3 days)	Participant observation	38 hours
	Tromsø. Regular indoor climbing sessions (*Rocks*)	2011 1 month (Aug/Sept)	Participant observation	6 sessions, 20 hours activity in total 4 hours social event
			Individual interviews	7

4.2   Methodology

Presumptions: Qualitative methodology and Verstehen.

The project bears on sociological-phenomenological reflections on *realms of meaning in the life world* in its understanding of the social climbing world (cf. chapter 3.2). As it draws on Schütz' phenomenological methodology, it also follows that it has a basis in the Weberian *Verstehen* - "understanding" - a founding term within sociology in general, and especially within interpretative traditions and qualitative methodology (Weber 1985, Habermas 1995a). The basic meaning of the concept is frequently sought expressed in comparison with the opposed (at least in part) concept *explanation* (Luckmann 2012, Chalmers 1999). It could thereby be suggested that *understanding* and *explanation* are theoretically closely related with conceptualizations of disability versus impairment within disability research and -studies, respectively. They are therefore given some reflection in the following.

Within methodology, the concepts are linked with different research traditions. In their pure forms, *explanation* points to the natural-scientific description of law-like

phenomena in terms of "objective" mechanisms of development (*nomothetic*[50]), while *Verstehen* points to the socially established meaning that is to be understood within its own context (*idiographic*). When transmitted to social scientific research the concepts are typically applied within quantitative and qualitative methods, respectively. The reason is the relative associations of these methodological presumptions with the positivism/constructivism scale within the philosophy of science.

Verstehen is a guiding term within qualitative endeavours seeking to investigate meaning within realms of the social world that is not only to be *explained*, but that is also (or rather) to be *understood* on the premises inherent in the social situation itself.

Even if the difference between explanation and understanding becomes especially obvious when one compares extensive quantitative research designs with intensive in-depth qualitative endeavours, both types can also be adapted within typically qualitative contexts.

To exemplify with a general insight within disability research: Social isolation resulting from immobility due to impairments could be investigated through different approaches in terms of explanation and understanding (respectively or in combination). *Why* does the isolation happen? The *explanations* could be of material, social and psychological kinds alike. For example, the possibilities of moving around in an urban space could prove difficult due to poor implementing of the idea of universal design in the area (material); normal social interaction between disabled and non-disabled could be limited due to suppressive mechanisms inherent in cultural norms (social); and/or one may withdraw from social space in order to protect oneself from the extra effort one will have to make there as disabled (psychological). To *understand*, on the other hand, would involve nuances in the experiences, in terms of *how* it feels like (more that *why*). For sure, it might be so that one does not go out in the weekend *because* it is tiresome, and different concrete factors could be recorded for the explanation for it being so (why) - but these factors (which in themselves could also have been registered and perhaps even *counted* within a quantitative research) could also be perceived as mere outer frameworks for the *real experiences* of the persons, and as too limited in themselves for understanding the various

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[50] Unlike in natural sciences, nomothetic explanations within social sciences are however seldom about causality. Structural phenomena can e.g. be caused by rule-following conduct based on general cultural consent, and can thus *appear* as "law-like" (Habermas 1995b, Winch 1990).

feelings and experiences in various contexts making them appear as factors for explanation. On the contrary, a qualitative in-depth approach aiming at *Verstehen* would rather go into these particular meaning essences of context in order to get a grip on the situation as it is experienced by the persons under study. With regards to the terminology of social scientific methodology, "qualitative" points to the characteristics of a certain context or situation; "contextual essence".

Obviously, the same reasoning is evident for my own material with the climbers. The climbing activities can be *explained* in terms of being an area for social identification, as a means of integration, as specifically directed rehabilitation, and as general exercise. To some extent these factors are also evident in this project. The main intention has however been to go beneath such explanations in order to investigate dimensions of meaning within the climbing context itself, that is, investigating the dimensions making this particular climbing world meaningful to the participants, and which could not be reduced to explanations such as those mentioned above.

The hermeneutical and methodological concept *Verstehen* is fundamentally interlinked with the quest for understanding social phenomena on their own terms. It demands the researcher to engage in certain contexts or fields of *praxis*. In social scientific disciplines cultivating the qualitative technique of field work to the full, such as social anthropology, more explicit methodological oriented concepts have been derived from Verstehen - such as *thick* as opposed to *thin description* of meaning contents. As the methodology of this project overlap considerably with the ideas behind thick descriptions, these concepts are given a short reflection in the following.

Thick description is about going into areas of social life where conduct, expressions, and perhaps also artefacts and different arrangements are understood as connected to each other with intrinsic and over time developed symbolical bonds of meaning, which can perhaps be invisible from the point of view of the spectator standing on the outside (Geertz 2000). In order to understand the meaning of the phenomena observed, the researcher needs to "dig deep" into the social circumstances in which these phenomena are rooted. The term thick description points to this anticipation of "thick layers of interconnected meaning", and is thus fundamentally related with Verstehen. A *thin* description on the other hand would be the e.g. explanations which could be offered on the background of

registration of outer and more obvious features (in this sense quantitative methods become thin descriptions *per se*).

On this background a link also appears between the one side of the two concept pairings referred to above - explanation and thin description - and *colonization* type 2 (understandings, presentations and narratives). I perceive the mechanism of colonization as being related to such thin descriptions being part of prevailing discourses. The reason is found in the difference between thin and thick descriptions in general, regarding applicability and conceivability: thin descriptions are simply easier to conceive of and communicate, and are therefore more easily adaptable within everyday pragmatics (cf. also explanations to Table 1). A thick description on the other hand goes further into the phenomena under study, in order to get a glimpse of connections of meaning which are not offered in the "easy" explanations. They are harder to find, and would anyhow be far more intricate to express. These layers of meaning are however what I have attempted to investigate in the coming analyses, where I seek to elaborate aspects of meaning regarding climbing and impairment that go "below the radar" of established discourses when it comes to the meaning persons with impairments experience while engaging in their sport activities. In this sense my investigation of corporeal-social meaning is significantly inspired by the thick description concept within qualitative methodology.[51]

Combining concepts - methodological lines

In the following there is given a short reflection on overall correspondences between explanation and understanding, thin versus thick description, first and second order constructs and -interpretations (Schütz) and colonization type 2. The intention is to show the internal linkage between central concepts making up the methodological foundation of this project, and also opposite colonization as a central aspect of the analyses. To exemplify: A thin description of the reasons persons with impairments give for climbing could be like "because then they can show that they can do difficult physical things even if they have impairments", "because it is very good for rehabilitation, without being boring",

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[51] Within anthropology, the understanding of a social group or a culture on its own terms can also be categorized in terms of *emic* versus *etic* understandings. *Emic* points to the inner relations of meaning as they are understood by the members of the social group or culture themselves, whereas *etic* denotes the understanding of the researcher, constructed outside of the group or culture under study (Geertz 2000, Shore 1996).

"because they simply think it is fun". These could have been given as explanations from the informants themselves, as first order interpretations (Schütz). If they are also registered as such - that is, as explanations - by the researcher, the second order interpretation will follow up this line of explanation.

Some methodological attention should be given to this "transfer" as it relates to the colonization mechanism type 2: In order to detect such features of colonization (that is, representations) it is necessary to interpret the eventual *explanations* of the informants (first order) with an *understanding* approach (second order). For example, it could then become evident that these could be valid explanations, but that they would perhaps not at the same time offer a deeper understanding of the meaning intrinsic in the activity, and which it is the point to investigate with the SCW conception. Colonization type 2 means a kind of representation of prevailing discourses. Bringing forth the explanations of the informants in the way sketched above could provide a further "representation of the representation", and hence be understood to underscore the colonization instead of critically investigating it.

Grounded theory and the explorative research process

The approaching and conducting of the empirical investigation was inspired by *grounded theory*. This followed naturally from the explorative incentives of the project. Grounded theory (GT) is a methodological way of conceiving of the relation between theory and empirical data. It stresses the value of *generating theory* from the empirical data themselves in connection with the researcher's *comparative* interpretation of them, contrary to the other way around: approaching the empirical field with a ready-made theoretical model (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

The origin of GT is usually associated with one iconic book and its two authors: *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967). This work was part of new tendencies within qualitative social science at the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) in the late sixties. The qualitative oriented research milieu at UCSF was heavily inspired by the Chicago School of qualitative research, but saw the need of developing more comprehensive methodologies. The researchers associated with the in general qualitatively oriented Chicago School had not developed such (not even Erving Goffman had cared much about methodological reflections in his famous works). This new

and explorative direction was also in part a reaction upon American positivist and quantitatively oriented social research in the post-war period, especially promoted by the Harvard and Columbia universities (although Glaser himself had ties to the latter, in terms of employment). Glaser and Strauss (1967) claimed that within sociology there was an overall and prevailing ethos about *validating* pre-established "grand" theory, and that this tended to come at the expense of *generating* and developing new theory. In their opinion, there existed a *gap* between theory and the empirical field within temporary sociological research. The authors initiated a new quest for *grounding* theory in the field of study itself, in the sense "discover" the social reality without imposing on it ready-made theoretical categories (hence the title: *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*). A main advantage with grounded theory was regarded to be its fundamental sensitivity opposite the structures of meaning inherent in the social world under study, which let the social reality "reveal itself". The authors assumed that theory generated on these premises (at least within qualitative studies) mirrors the social reality better than do pre-defined theories being tested against and adjusted opposite empirical findings. A central premise of GT is therefore a fundamental openness towards the empirical material, to the extent that some slightly defined preliminary theoretical guidelines are opening up for.

The way GT approaches the relation between theory and empirical data makes it different from both deductive and inductive procedures. Gibson & Hartman (2014: 36-44) describes it as *interactive*. To mention some main features: In deductive approaches, one seeks to test general hypotheses by use of empirical material, which then (at least temporary) serve to verify or falsify them. In inductive procedures, one constructs hypotheses from observation, and then eventually seeks to verify the findings by new observations. A characteristic making GT different from deduction is that it does not rely on clear hypotheses in the outset. A difference opposite induction is that it does not seek to observe in order to form finite hypotheses, which can in turn be tested and validated; rather, it is about a more *continuous* generating and modifying of concepts in an "evolving theory". Gibson & Hartman (2014: 41) refer to Robert Nozick, who has used the notion 'truth-tracking' about this process. One could say that one attempts to form a perspective, in a way "paint a picture" of the reality that gradually appears, and where the features are constantly adjusted according to new information. Concepts and categories are developed and advanced in mutual correspondence with each other, and new information contributes

to further adjustments and integration between them (which makes Glaser and Strauss use the formulation 'constant comparative method').

Concepts that lose relevance during the process, are discarded. The continuous mutual adjustment and integrating between the categories in the encounter with the field, contribute in providing the overall theory building with validity.

The GT approach typically starts out by focusing on a *unit of analysis* (setting, a group of people, a social context), given direction by a loosely defined lead-concept or assumption - that is, an idea about what one is to investigate. Within sociology, this is called a *sensitizing concept* (Blumer 1969). GT is about *discovery* of meaning in context and relations more than *justification*, which on its side is more usual in deductive and inductive procedures. The ideal is that theoretical ideas find their source in (i.e. are *grounded* in) the empirical material - that the "reality itself", as it is revealed to the researcher given his/her relatively open presumptions, provides the premises for the theory being developed (Gibson & Hartman 2014, Morse et al 2009). Amongst the strengths of a GT project, therefore, is its relative opportunity to not being led and "controlled" by established truths within the research tradition (regarding procedure and method, ideology, and theory).

A common critique against GT has been about its alleged belief in the possibility of escaping pre-defined ideas in the study of social life. This also regards eventual understandings that the object under investigation may contain truths "in themselves", and which are to be "uncovered" (discovered) and registered as data (Gibson & Hartman 2014). However, Glaser and Strauss (1967) did not disclaim the understanding that *some* theoretical assumptions are to be regarded as both indispensable and necessary for empirical research, or that all truth in the outset must be conceived of in terms of constructed categories in one way or another. These are methodological presumptions coinciding with the general views in e.g. phenomenological sociology, interactionism and pragmatism (i.e. corresponding in general with the broader theory basis of this project). Still, the characteristic openness of GT makes evident the assumption that it is not *a* (uniform) methodology at all, in the sense of a finite and consistent body of thought; rather, it is to be seen as a general set of related perspectives which methodological

reflections can depart from. Also, the near total absence of concrete and explicit procedural techniques for collecting empirical data makes it even less valid to denote it as a *method.*[52]

Following the basic ideas of GT

The tradition of GT has branched out in different directions, such as Glaserian and Straussian, respectively (as the initiators to some extent parted ways after their years of co-working). Where Glaser remained close to their joint agenda (1967) and stressed the search for core categories and social processes, Strauss - followed by e.g. Juliet Corbin - came to focus more on social phenomena. A so-called "second generation grounded theory" is represented by Kathy Charmaz, who follows a constructivist agenda in her focus upon *meaning*. Obviously, the differences between these agendas may not appear as very clear in the outset, and it can also be hard to spot clear-cut oppositions (Gibson & Hartman 2014). In line with the initial openness regarding ways of approaching empirical materials, GT is also frequently applied without specifying clear directions.

Even if my project can be said to connect with all of the directions mentioned above in different respects, it can be said to have found its general basis in Glaser and Strauss' original co-work (1967). The search for *core categories* has been of fundamental importance in what could be called "the discovery of the social climbing world", consisting of its basic structures (SSCW). So also with the original focus on *social processes*: the understandings of the *interplay* between the SSCW - as shown in the analyses - point to conceptions of inner and systematic coherences in the material (hence theory) which was "grounded" in the study of the focus group. The tables and constructed concepts referred to has been developed along the way, through the encounters with the field and in comparison with other tables and conceptions (as mentioned, Glaser and Strauss highly emphasize the aspect of constant comparison). They describe the inner constituents of the SCW, and point to both core categories and the processes through which the SCW is constantly maintained and re-developed.

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[52] There are exceptions though, e.g. both Janice M. Morse and Juliet Corbin (Morse et al. 2009) frequently refer to grounded theory as a "method". However, as I see it this has more to do with pragmatics of language use that substantial conceptions of the characteristics of grounded theory. In general, commingling of the terms methodology and method, as well as a non-committal use of the terms, seems to be quite common in literature.

From the first field work on - the Oslo gathering - the basic characteristics of grounded theory were adapted as a methodological frame for the data collection. The open and explorative aspect was central - but as to be shown in the next paragraph, the encounter with the field was also characterized by certain pre-defined theoretical reflections.

Preparing for field work: Methodological considerations and presumptions [53]

The main intention behind the first data collection was to investigate meaning experiences in the participants, in the ways these were to be revealed at the climbing gathering. In addition to the general interest paid to the larger group of participants, the focus group (Rocks) was given special attention. I had a preliminary focus on what I later came to denote as *corporeal-social meaning,* in correspondence with the assumption that this was an in part unknown and under-theorized dimension of the intersection between disability and physical activity (cf. explanations to Table 1). This idea functioned as a guide for the kind of information that was to be perceived as interesting enough in the outset to be interpreted and registered as data.

Background knowledge and the role of the researcher

In the first evening of the gathering the procedure for my own participation was mostly social mingling in order to get to know participants and organizers, and in general to get an overall sense of the situation. Especially in this early phase I tried to avoid a too academic approach to the impressions I got. This was however still part of an on beforehand planned academic methodological schema, as a temporary "reflected bracketing of reflection" (Gibson & Hartman 2014, Smart et al. 2014). First, it had to do with the presentation of myself at the gathering - that is, how I wished to be perceived in this particular social setting (*definition of self* - Goffman 1990). Second, and related with the first, this had a methodological reason in terms of the kind of information I was searching for: in order to understand people's meaning experiences in context, the researcher needs to "tune in on" the same context.

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[53] The following includes retrospective methodological reflections on what happened, in addition to describing presumptions made at the time of the field work. The retrospective elements point to factors that came to be influential.

Hence, my *presentation of self* in the actual social context was not in the usual sense according to Goffman (1990) from which the formulation stems, where daily life contexts are focused upon within a symbolic-interactionist framework. At the gathering it was about presenting myself as I wished to be conceived by the others according to the presumptions of my work: as researcher, assistant and climber in a certain internal distribution. Obviously, it had to be clear to the surroundings that I was there because of my research project first and foremost: but at the same time - for the sake of interaction and communication - I wanted to highlight that I also had a genuine interest in climbing (to say it with an analytical category that was later to be developed into one of the structures of the SCW): that I shared the meaning structure *dedication to the sport* with them.[54] This is to say, I attempted to establish a certain balance between myself as climber, assistant and researcher. Opposite them, I wished to be *conceived* in that order in the general interaction, as I assumed this would give me a better access to "their world" than if it had been the other way around. Given the explicit presentation which I had already given of my researcher role, this did anyhow not compromise any ethical aspects regarding "truthful appearance".

Here, there is a certain relation between what they knew about myself "objectively speaking" (a researcher) and how they came to unreflectedly conceive of me in the general interaction (a climber and assistant). This resembles mechanisms found in a variety of participant observation approaches as well as in documentary work within journalism: At any point the observed know about the researcher or journalist (and perhaps their ever-present camera and/or notebook) - but over time and within an informal atmosphere they simply "get used to it", even if they had perhaps perceived it as something "artificial" and conspicuous in the outset (e.g. the typical feeling of *being observed*, hence leading to artificial speech and conduct). Social mingling and "lying low academically" can hence be a way for the researcher to re-establish the natural setting to some extent after first having

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[54] On the presumption that I was never part of the social climbing world as defined in this project, in which this is a structure. It is also necessary to take into account the fact that some of the participants did not have an explicit interest in climbing. For them, my own interest in the activity did not contribute much in giving me a kind of "in-group status" (thought in a very general sense) regarding "us climbers". It is anyhow reasonable to assume that my interest in climbing still contributed in a natural legitimizing of myself being part of the gathering, as it was explicitly about climbing. In this context (*field*) it was a valid *symbolic capital* (Bourdieu 1995).

"intruded" in it, without at any point concealing his/her researcher role (Gibson & Hartman 2014, Smart et al 2014).

At the gathering it was therefore about finding a balance between three components: 1) being a researcher first and foremost, and making this explicitly clear to the participants 2) accessing the social context in which climbing was a central ingredient, and where myself as interested in climbing eased the access, and 3) my role as assistant at the gathering (one of the "crew"). It was about establishing the balance between these as good as possible. There was anyway no possibility for me to escape being associated with different categories - but at the same time it would anyhow have been neither possible nor desirable to become a "true insider" (c.f. to "go native")[55].

To now reissue the reflections on taking a step back as a researcher - that is, about tuning in on the "everyday mode" and letting go of the analytical attitude (although only for a while, and still in a reflected sense). Far from thereby necessarily risking to lose an analytical grip of the situation, this approach might on the contrary turn out to be rather prolific in the developing of a theoretical understanding of the field (Gibson & Hartman 2014, Morse et al. 2009). In his classic study *Street Corner Society* (1955) - methodologically affiliated with the later grounded theory tradition - William Foot Whyte highlights the importance of participating in the activities of the group under study. In a sequence he reflects upon an episode where he had joined a group of men in a bowling session, in order to study them. His conclusion turned out to be that he should not have participated in the bowling in order to study the group - what he should have done, rather, was to study the group by joining the men to the bowling *in order to bowl*. Regarding my situation at the gathering, this corresponds with my second point given earlier - that is, about accessing the social context in relation with the meaning the climbing has to the participants. This provides possibilities of Verstehen. And even if I did never go deep into my empirical material in an anthropological thick description sense, this was anyhow a methodological grip taken in order to better *understand* what was going on (that is, rather than just "explain" it from the outside).

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[55] In the outset, it had not been a demand from the arrangers that I was to help out as an assistant, and in that respect I could have let go of this role. However, as it was a point to come close on the climbers and participate in their activities, the assistant role gave me a natural opportunity to belay them during their climbing and to have conversations with them in general.

For a researcher engaging into a social field, it is not possible - and neither desirable - to be consistently locked within either category - the world under observation, or the researcher role with an analytical distance to this world. It is always about a relative tendency, and even if the transmissions cannot always be controlled by the researcher as one is e.g. intermingled in the practical demands of the praxis field, the tendency can be reflectively handled in an overall sense. This was a central point for Schütz (1970) when he developed his reflections on the relation between first and second order constructions.

At the gathering, I frequently came to "bracket" my researcher role in order to participate "normally" in the social context. Obviously, I could never participate as a climber with impairment - but I could at times be busy as an assistant, which is a natural ingredient in adaptive climbing. Even if it sometimes happened, I did not always *intend* this bracketing: occasionally there was simply much to do, and I had to focus on doing my work as an assistant. Obviously, this was valuable to the dimension of being a *participant* observer (in the field, the relative weight on participating opposite observation might often shift) (Silverman 2010).

In the beginning, and to some extent, I deliberately tuned down my researcher appearance towards the others, a project which also helped myself in the participating role in that I could "lower my guards" in the interaction. To the extent possible I tried to get into the mode of "a participant at the gathering". As it was - and which seems to be a common experience amongst qualitative researchers, not least because data collection through participant observation is an endeavour resembling the ambiguities of the life world (shifts between zones of relevance - cf. chapter 3.2) - I managed to achieve this in part only, in a way characterized by *shifts* (Schütz 1970). On some occasions I could feel "absorbed", or embedded in for example a situation of social interaction, being "one" with the material. In the next moment however I could suddenly become aware of my researcher role again. Such ambiguities and shifts between the two worlds is a common feature in such a qualitative research project, as mentioned, and cannot - and probably should either not, as it is a natural part of the dynamics within such a kind of qualitative endeavour - be sought avoided; it depends on the knowledge the researcher has about these aspects, and the reflections that is made around his/her own role.

Becoming acquainted in such a way as I intended to - that is, actively seeking a "natural social interaction" approach in terms of common everyday social mechanisms

instead of a more technical and categorized approach - is a way of understanding the social phenomena under study. Also the fact that I shared dorm with Rocks and their instructor at the gathering, upon my request, was due to the importance of the *participant* part of the research technique *participant observation*. This helped relativizing the formal researcher-informant distinction and made it easier to get acquainted, hence also influencing the communication between us. It was of the same reasons that I was also to share cabin with the male members of Rocks at the Skibotn excursion in the following year. (A reflection on gender is given towards the end of part 4).

Qualitative endeavours and trust

From the very start, the including of an amount of natural interaction in the project followed an incentive of establishing a basic *trust* between the informants and myself. As I attempted to grasp not only the usual narratives about impairment and physical activity (cf. prevailing discourses), but also indications of *the lived perceptions* of meaning in a more immediate and un-categorized sense, I regarded such a trust as methodologically necessary (Schütz 1997, Woodward 2014). In general, common experiences bring people together and establish relations of confidence, making communication flow more natural. During the data collection I saw indications that I had managed to establish a certain amount of such trust. For example, in the later field works it came to happen that small episodes from the Oslo gathering could be referred to amongst us, in contexts of mutual understanding, in the sense that it presupposed some shared history of past experiences. Implying mechanisms resembling such found in communication between persons knowing each other, this served to highlight the in-group aspect of the interaction contexts, and also to include me in it (at least to some extent, according to the former reflections), and could also contribute in providing new associations to the e.g. interview context by "loosening it up" (laughter, memories).

The participating researcher and the data

There is also an additional aspect of the researcher/field interaction that should be reflected upon, as it goes below the pure methodical technique of collecting qualitative data: it is about the researcher's own presumptions as inextricably linked with the

construction of these data. Following are some basic reflections. Where they are to be understood in context, further elaborations will be included in the analyses themselves.

"Collecting of data" is a frequently used term within social scientific methodology (/method). However, the phrase is slightly misleading. Data are not as such found and collected - data consist of information that has been detected and registered by the researcher on certain theoretical and methodological presumptions, and thus *constructed* as data (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Silverman 2010). Information becomes data when it is already taken into consideration and registered as such. The presumptions interacting with the data are of different kinds: personal/biographical, cultural and academic, and they are intermingled with unconscious factors that are hard for the researcher to grasp.

My observational approach to "the climbing world" could be perceived as a search for *naturally occurring data,*[56] with some precautions (Silverman 2010). As in most social scientific research, I have not deliberately influenced the setting of the field under study in order to construct an environment suitable for accessing information (as could be the case in e.g. an experimental context, which is more common within psychological studies). Naturally, I have however made adjustments *within* the settings, as in deliberately seeking certain persons to climb with or arranging for certain persons to climb. This is a quite obvious aspect, but still important to take into consideration. I did not make such arrangements if they did not adapt naturally to the situation, from my point of view. The decisions might occasionally have been influenced by my research, but not in ways changing the character of what was going on in any significant way.

The researcher's background knowledge

My interpretations of aspects as being relevant or not have contributed in giving the research process its form (as elaborated in the beginning of the chapter). On the one side, the interpretations have been drawing on my own pre-project experiences of the climbing sport and related discourses, making departure points in the search for meaning in the

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[56] The term normally points to registering of conduct that is not influenced by the researcher, research design or -equipment. At the field works, I was actively participating, although it can be argued that this did not affect the participants to any considerable degree in relation to the incentives of the project. For example, there were settings where I was a direct part of the interaction, but where I was not necessarily perceived as a researcher there and then - e.g. when we were engaged in discussions as fellow climbers, and issuing climbing.

empirical material to some extent "pre-established". On the other side, impressions influencing the material have also originated in lived experiences during the research process itself, that is, during participant observation, interviews, and more informal talks with the informants - in short, in the participation in this certain «life form». Thus, the *condensations of meaning* (to be elaborated) have been largely formed by the interaction of these two components; the presuppositions of the researcher, and the meaning-generative processes taking place in the project itself, involving the informants, the researcher, and external factors such as social/cultural and physical/material surroundings. In terms of established traditions of qualitative research, this line of elaboration correspond with basic theoretical assumptions within the Chicago School. Departing from symbolic-interactionist (e.g. Goffman) and ethnomethodological theory (e.g. Garfinkel and Sacks), the proponents of this line of qualitative research usually highlight the meaning-generating capacities of the interaction process itself. Meaning is perceived as arising from relations and interaction rather than originating from single individuals generating social meaning through "negotiating" initial subjective experiences opposite others (individualism). In the search for dimensions of social meaning in a research process the researcher interacts with those under study, hence becomes part of the meaning generation itself. This is not to say that meaning being intrinsic in the social context under study cannot be investigated as such due to the "self-imposing" of the researcher onto the same context while conducting the study; it does however demand that the researcher includes reflections on his/her own conduct in the developing of the research results (Aarø Engen & Fuglseth 2012, Silverman 2011).

The initial exploring phase of the empirical enquiry

My participation at the gathering took place in the very outset of the research project - within two months from its start. Regarding the project plan, my background knowledge consisted of a preliminary framework for what was later to be developed into Table 1: That is, I had an idea of what I later came to denote as corporeal-social meaning as a missing field of knowledge within disability studies. (In the beginning, my tentative notion was "collective corporeality". In the following, I however stick to CSM for simplicity's sake). On this background, I adapted Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological perspective on perception - in particular the *body schema* concept - in order to obtain a theoretical conception of

corporeal-social meaning. On these presuppositions, my intentions with the participation was to get acquainted with the field and to get a sense of the validity of my preliminary ideas.

In this exploring phase, I adopted the open approach inspired by grounded theory. The concept corporeal-social meaning was set to function as a tentative and dynamic focus for the explorations, as I intended to not impose a too specific theoretical model of understanding onto the empirical setting under study. The corresponding inspiration from Merleau-Ponty's additional ideas on perception also had a similar guiding purpose in this initial phase; I wished to view and explore corporeality and impairment in a more open sense than seemed to be the case in other research using the disability/impairment distinction (cf. chapters 3.1 and 3.2). I intended to include surroundings, activity, and other persons in a more embedded sense in my understanding of the corporeal "being-in-the-world". (At a later point of time, I came to connect this dimension more specifically to what I see as a contribution to the 'sociology of impairment', regarding the social meaning of the body and the impairment. At the time of the gathering, however, that connection had not yet become clear to me.)

Presuppositions in research and 'tacit knowing'

The initial phase of a research project is never without certain theoretical presuppositions on some level (Popper 1965, Polanyi 2009). They are there, even if they are to be more unconscious than explicit (Abram 2014, Morse et al. 2009). This is evident in terms of research, but the same line of thought is also found in the context of everyday conception (Schütz 1974). As pointed out in chapter 3.2, Merleau-Ponty (2012) highlights the "always already" dimensions of everyday perception. Schütz (1997) has taken similar considerations into account when reflecting upon the social scientist's possibilities of conceptualizing meaning dimensions of social life. Within grounded theory, it is argued that to be conscious about this, and to take a preliminary departure in a concept or perspective one has made somewhat clear to oneself, is in any way preferable to leaving all presuppositions to the unconsciousness without believing they are there, or without reflecting upon them explicitly - even if the intention in the outset is to be quite open to the material (Gibson & Hartman 2014). One could perhaps object to this by stating that unconscious and unreflected presuppositions will be present anyway - "always already" - in spite of consciously established pre-concepts; perhaps even that such explicit concepts may "trick"

the researcher into an illusionary sense of being in control of the theoretical presuppositions, thereby leaving the "totally unreflected openness" as the better alternative after all. It was with these reflections taken into account I deliberately attempted to take a temporary step back academically at the Oslo gathering, in order to get a sense of the meaning dimensions intrinsic in and evolving within the situations themselves, as they were "lived out" there. As the approach was inspired by phenomenological methodology and grounded theory, it also implied that I did not attempt an "objective observer" position in the outset. From the start I was determined that a certain intertwining of myself and the material was not to be explicitly avoided - on the contrary, it was set as a point of departure for the process of understanding the field (*Verstehen*). Hence my own background knowledge, both in form of academic resources, and tacit knowing and symbolic capital from climbing milieus was recognized and actively adopted in the process of meaning exploration. I attempted to follow Schütz' "prescriptions" for qualitative methodology by balancing the "usual way of being in the world" (first order interpretations) with my researcher role (second order interpretations) as fruitfully as possible, given the circumstances.

Reflection: The research process - between order and mess

Contrary to how they are usually presented in reports, research processes seldom follow a straightforward development (Morse et al. 2009, Law 2004). Qualitative research shares a feature of acquisition of everyday knowledge in that it - in addition to perhaps bearing on hypotheses pointing forwards in time (something to be investigated) - also has strong retrospective elements in it, e.g. when an earlier finding or result is put in a new light. For one, the acquisition of research knowledge might therefore go back and forth, though within a more overall line of development. Also, when one is in the middle of the research, one is also often less in conscious control of what one is doing than the later report might indicate. This has several reasons. Amongst else, the researcher might know and understand "more than he can tell" in terms of tacit knowing, and it is also about the purely practical aspect of making a readable account later (Smart et al. 2014). Christensen (1994) issues similar aspects about tacit dimensions of the researcher's empirical knowledge ("taus empiri").

At the Oslo gathering there were some aspects which I observed but did not reflect explicitly upon there and then, but which turned out to become interesting points later when compared with findings in the later field works. Examples are the social context at the gathering having to do with the mix of age groups, as compared to more clean-cut adult communities in other climbing settings, and climbing at the gathering and outside of it as "different kinds of climbing". This is to be elaborated in the analysis section 1.

Regarding the observations there will also necessarily be aspects not registered in the field notes, as far as they did not meet the code of significance within my mental interpretation scheme at the time of the observations - that is, my overall perception of relevance. There is of course also the standing possibility that some of these "could have been" viewed as relevant on a later point of time, if they had in fact been registered. This is however an unavoidable aspect to all research projects of this kind - the point is simply to know about it and to reflect upon its eventual meaning for the actual project. Obviously, it is also no point in attempting to register all information that "might come to" have influence on the research later. Also, I could not possibly have recorded or written down the greater part of the single expressions coming forth in a variety of different "unintended situations" coming to my attention in the course of the gathering, even if they *were* actually to be regarded as relevant by myself at the time. Again, this is hard to avoid - these are therefore to be perceived as basic methodological reflections and not as objections against the methodical procedures of the project.

At the gathering - as in the other field works to come as well - there were a variety of incidental talks "just happening", and which were relevant to the project even if they were not documented in themselves, in the sense individually registered. Sometimes I took directly part in these conversations, and sometimes not - in the latter case I was anyhow within the extended social setting, as an *audience* in Goffman's sense (2001). Such elements were grouped together as general impressions and registered as such later. Some incidents or expressions could seem to be relevant in themselves, in which case they were registered as single meaningful experiences and/or expressions.

On top of the methodical procedures of registering data, I have attempted to reflect upon the mechanisms of tacit knowing in my own investigation as far as possible. Regarding this dimension of the methodical conduct, I have theoretically explored my own interpretation as a researcher attempting to understand (*Verstehen*) what was going on in

the field by means of conversations and observations, in correspondence with the registering of data as well as my (even more important than written notes, I assume) unrecorded experiences and perceptions of the field. This information was again to be connected with the analyses that I made later on, and that were based on the recorded and transcribed interviews. Following grounded theory, a valid way of detecting connected factors can be through such an endeavour, as the relevant connections of findings will unfold in a process where they can be rationally controlled by the researcher (who is in charge of the totality of the project) (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

As indicated before, within grounded theory there is a widely held assumption that the categories in use within qualitative research processes are to be constructed and consolidated along the course of the research, more than strictly fulfilling the demands of an on beforehand defined conceptual plan. Glaser and Strauss therefore used the description 'constant comparative method' about grounded theory, in order to mark a difference opposite more classic ways of comparative methods (although grounded theory is not itself a method in a traditional sense, as stated before).

A main advantage with a grounded theory approach is its possibilities of revealing contexts of meaning without strict pre-determinations of certain theoretical concepts or hypotheses. Gibson & Hartman (2014) stress how the openness inherent in a grounded theory approach might prevent *forcing*, meaning "compelling the terrain to fit the map": *Forcing (…) is when the researcher imposes their own ideas on to the social world, forcing it to comply with their conceptual schemes about what is happening in the social world.* (Gibson & Hartman 2014:7). A variant of this could be that the common (and utterly normal, as elaborated earlier both regarding everyday life and scientific research) mechanism of sorting in origin unique experiences or information into categories of higher generality is simply taken too far, meaning that the findings are being adapted to a too narrow conceptual scheme. Another variant is that (…) *a premature hypothesis can become a real burden by binding "one's conscience and vanity".* (Gibson & Hartman 2014:7, referring to Dalton 1964). As a comment to this quote one could perhaps claim that this is where descriptive inaccuracy and tacit knowing enters the realm of research ethics (Ruyter 2003).

In many research projects the changing of approach and conceptual points of departure might be useful as well as necessary. It could however happen that the initial hypotheses and theoretical orientations of a social scientific research project are not

changed much along the way; this *could* of course indicate that the anticipations were "all good" from the start - but, obviously, one should then perhaps be extra cautious about the possibilities of forcing, meaning that one might unconsciously have constructed the findings one instead believes to be inherent in the world under study. In the case of most actual research projects, these factors might not seem to cause any real danger, although they should always be reflected upon.

One could assume that the normal conduct of a research finds its way somewhere in the safe zone between the extremes of forcing and conceptual vagueness. As Polanyi (2009) has highlighted with his concept 'tacit knowing', the researcher is always influenced by theoretical dispositions she is not fully conscious about; on the other hand, it can be expected that most researchers know this and take these aspects into consideration, thereby preventing "forcing" as far as possible.

Phenomenological-methodological reflection: Making categories of meaning

In all kinds of social scientific studies, typifications based on interpretation are fundamental on different levels simultaneously (Silverman 2010, Joas & Knöbl 2009). Most qualitatively oriented researchers seem to acknowledge that the fundamental reason for this is to be found in the basic cognitive necessity of categorization within all levels of human perception and understanding. As necessarily funded on these presumptions in the outset, the objectives, methodical proceedings and theoretical understandings of a social scientific study are organized through multi-faceted layers of categorizations and typifications (Gallagher 2005).

Traditions within the philosophy of science differ in their views regarding the interconnections between the interpretational aspects inherent in the natural condition of everyday life, on one side, and in more explicitly rational conduct - e.g. scientific studies - on the other. The view upon the latter's eventual possibilities of neutral and objective knowledge varies from fundamentalist positivism on the one extreme of the scale, to fundamentalist constructivist or creativist (post-structuralist) positions on the other. These positions might again be held regardless of the type of science in questions, such as social science and natural science - or they might on the contrary regard these positions of science as being fundamentally different from each other in terms of "objective" versus interpreted foundations (Gibson & Hartman 2014, Luckmann 2012).

Within theoretical disability research, much of the critique against the use of the medical model in explanations of social phenomena draws on these epistemological lines within the philosophy of science. Regarding the debate within philosophy of science on plausible methodologies, this project follows Schütz' understanding of social science, meaning that social scientific conduct is understood as based on (in the sense derived from) the interpretative mechanisms of everyday life. This also explains the occasional references to my own "lifeworldly experiences" in combination with the field under study in this project, as well as the use of grounded theory. This hence corresponds with a bearing thought in the methodological framing of the project: the structures of the life world constitute the mere possibility conditions for the categorizations and typifications made by the social scientist (Schütz 1970).

In the following - and towards the closing of the method part - it is given a description of the methodological presumptions for the typifying of the empirical material due to meaning dimensions coming forth in the analysis (section 1 and 2). Further nuances are given in the analyses themselves. The presumptions for the analysing of the empirical material draws on the general phenomenological understandings presented in the theory part, as well as on the more specific linkage made between Merleau-Ponty and Schütz. Taken together with the construction of tables and conceptions (see later), it also reflects the idea of the 'constant comparative method', as described by Glaser & Strauss (1967).

In the coming analysis part, the established areas of relevance and themes for investigation are based on a variety of utterances and other expressions of meaning being defined by myself as taking on identifiable characteristics. I have *recognized* them within the interpretative schema of my own experience. I have already described how - following Schütz - the principles of social scientific conduct follow the structure of the life world, as the researcher's second order constructs build on (and are derived from) the informants' everyday categorizations of the first type - and that ideal-typical constructs lay at the core of each of them. Parallel and intermingled with the individual "solitary" worlds of experience there is a level of everyday knowledge where social meaning is collectively experienced and shared. The mere possibility of studying social meaning is rooted in the shared life world of the researcher and the persons under study (Schütz 1970, Hekman 1980). The fundamental constituents of this intersubjectively accessible life world are inscribed in everyday experiences in the *social world*, the latter being the ultimate

foundation of all experience of meaning whatsoever (cf. the English title of Schütz' major work: *The Phenomenology of the Social World*).

In this project it is established theoretical as well as methodological categorizations for conceiving of the material under study, inspired by these basic outlines in Schütz' theory. However, I have not studied everyday life "per se", as an e.g. social anthropologist would seek to understand a foreign culture on its own terms, or - to use an example closer to my own study - as a sociologist would perhaps seek to investigate the everyday experiences of living with impairments in a number of informants. Obviously, my analyses contains certain *elements* of everyday life: I have deliberately asked questions about it in the interviews, and in a variety of contexts during the field works everyday understandings have been at the core of issues talked about or/and observed by me (for example in casual conversations in the evenings). Still, the first order interpretations which I have investigated in the outset - that is, my informants' understandings based on their own ideal-typical constructions - have had *physical activity in a collective setting* as a fundamental point of departure. I should make the reflection: Does this difference affect my project regarding my use of Schütz' methodology? I believe it is not so. My argument is that in my context, the "everyday world" can be translated into the "climbing world" without thereby changing the internal methodological "logic". Even if the "climbing world" could be perceived as existing as a *province of meaning* (cf. chapter 3.2) *within* the everyday world (again bearing on the structures of the *life world*), or overlapping with it (both understandings are indicated in various contexts in the analyses), the *mechanisms* of the informants' first order constructs will be the same - and then also the internal relation with the second order constructs of the researcher.

In connection with this there can be made a further point, which I also see as corresponding clearly with Schütz' own understandings. It regards the characteristics of the "everyday world" itself, which is expressed in different interrelated varieties within the phenomenological tradition, e.g. as the "natural attitude", the "life world", the "natural world", the "paramount reality", or simply as "common everyday understandings" (Fay 2010, Schütz 1997, Berger & Luckmann 1966). One could easily get the impression that the everyday world is the commonly experienced normality on the backdrop of which all other areas of meaning are constructed, as a kind of evolving and adding of new "concentric layers". For some kinds of knowledge areas and to a certain extent this may seem to be

evident, as e.g. regarding analytical categories within phenomenologically oriented social science building on everyday conceptions anticipated to being more fundamental than their own "derived" categorizations. But it is not unequivocally so; the everyday world is also a conglomerate of *intertwining* areas of relevance, just as everyday consciousness transcends "actual" time and space and draws on experiences from different fields of experience simultaneously (what Merleau-Ponty 2012:72 denotes as 'pretention' and 'protention')*.* This is at the core of the fundamental phenomenological understanding of consciousness, following a line from Husserl - the founder of this tradition of thought - over Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, to Schütz. In this project, it is assumed that the structures of the "everyday world" and the "climbing world", respectively, are not different in a way demanding different methodological reasoning regarding the investigating of meaning through first and second order interpretations.

Areas of relevance and "condensation": the analytical defining of the SSCW

The expression "meaning condensation" (and similar) refers to the way of analytically revealing areas of relevance in the material. The idea is that e.g. different kinds of expressions are canalized or pulled in a certain direction due to a "gravitation field" established in the context itself, and are thus being "condensated" into a detectable realm of meaning, similar to the Schützian "zones of relevance" (cf. chapter 3.2). This is to say, even if they are clearly formed by the interpretation of the researcher, the condensated meanings are understood to stick out from the material itself (cf. methodological elaborations in connection with the grounded theory approach). One could describe it as an unveiling of, or as a circumscription of a certain meaning that was already there, in the perceptions of the informants - as the center of the gravitation field, hence also the reason for the gravitation.

Based on the concept *corporeal-social meaning* in correspondence with my overall experiences from the field works and data collection, certain themes of importance gradually emerged from the material (generally understood, not to be confused with the themes used in the organizing of the analysis section 2). Together with the categorizing into tables and constructed concepts (appendix) these became the framework for the analytical investigations. The process of circling in relevant aspects of meaning and developing concepts and tables took place simultaneously - that is, they also influenced each other

mutually. This represents my own use of the 'constant comparative method' (Glaser & Strauss 1967), which I thereby adapt in close correspondence with the process of condensation.

The themes seemed to be "points of gravity" which other concepts "circled around". Based on the interview transcriptions, observation notes, and unwritten experiences from the field works, these were ideal-typically "crystallized" and categorized. By making more clear-cut types by reducing overlaps and highlighting the ideal-typical cores of meaning along the way, 12 initial categories were gradually reduced to 5 simple categories that came at last to be understood as *the structures of the social climbing world* (SSCW).

The analysis of the interview transcriptions involved the identification of passages that seemed to express some kind of importance regarding the climbing activities when understood on the backdrop of the CSM conception. The initial interpretation of a passage as important could be based on the passage itself, on its correspondence with other utterances in the same interview, and/or with other interviews, and/or with observations. These "anticipated meaningful passages" were then evaluated in terms of if and how they corresponded with other passages and/or observations identified in the material. Passages that seemed to correspond sufficiently with others, were kept. Counting as aspects pointing to an area of relevance/theme were issues being addressed often and/or especially highlighted and stressed, and/or which without doubt (from my point of view) seemed to constitute an important aspect of the participation in the activities of the group, and which also seemed to point to common experiences of the members. Issues that were not necessarily reflected about explicitly could also be associated with a certain area of relevance, to the extent that they seemed to point to a «tacit importance».

A reflection on sociological "standard variables"

At this point there should be made an explicit comment about the empirical material in this study, according to what could be called sociological "standard variables".

In social research, there are certain features of social life that have proven to be of high importance, in the sense that they are features that have a general influence on what is going on in social contexts. Some of these features can also be found in my project, in the outset - most notably, gender, work, and age. For example: As in all social groups, there are also gendered dimensions of meaning within the Rocks group. When the members are

together, gender is amongst the distributive factors when it comes to interaction and hence also meaning production. The same goes for work: For example, the way of talking and what one talks about is influenced by one's social background, which is again closely related with education and work (cf. *class* as a standard overall variable). These features influence both the general interaction within the group, and the more specific bonds between the individual members. Also: When people belong to the same approximate age group, they will have some common references and ways of communicating.

According to the reflections given before about the researcher's background knowledge, it can be mentioned that I of course also have a cultural bias according to these variables myself, in the general sense that everybody is necessarily culturally "charged". As a practical dimension in this, it can e.g. be assumed that I in some ways perhaps came closer to the male members by sharing dorm and cabin with them during field works. On the other hand, it could also be assumed that I in other senses also came closer to the female members qua researcher from the outside, as they could then talk to me about "the guys" in their group.

In this project I have conducted a grounded theory inspired research, meaning that I have given significance to aspects of the material based on the presumptions made before - such as the CSM used as a sensitizing concept, the interview guide, and the process of meaning condensation. When aspects of gender, work and age come forth in the analysis, it is based on the ways in which they are revealed by this approach. This means that they have been analysed according to how they have come forth as embedded in the actual contexts (i.e. been "discovered", in a grounded theory sense). When they were not set as explicit and overall categories during the course of the investigation itself, the reason is simply that they did not stick out as bearing structures within the SCW during the process of analysis.

Ending

In part 4 - Grounded theory and *verstehen* - method and methodology have been elaborated in two respective chapters. The method chapter has been focused on research design and descriptive accounts of the empirical material. This has included procedures for collecting data, accounts for the ways in which I got acquainted with the field, information about the informants, and outline of the field works. The methodology chapter has provided reflections on both presumptions and precautions that have had to be made in a project of this type. The aspect of *verstehen* has been central, both in combination with elaborations on the role of the researcher, and according to the use of Schütz' methodology. This has again been related to the use of grounded theory and to the process of "meaning condensation" opposite the structures of the social climbing world (SSCW).

Part 5   The social climbing world and mechanisms of colonization

Introduction

The objective of the analysis is to describe and explore the social climbing world (SCW) in terms of the conceptualization corporeal-social meaning (CSM) and simultaneously indicate mechanisms of colonization. The analysis is organized in two sections, corresponding with two different modes of colonization: Section 1 - *material circumstances*, *organization, and praxis* (colonization mode 1: practical adaptation), and section 2 - *Understandings, presentations and narratives* (colonization mode 2: discursive adaptation).

   Section 1 has as its basis a contextualizing of observation data from the field works. These are used to provide the concept corporeal-social meaning with dimensions of practicality and conduct opposite the mechanisms of the social climbing world, thereby constituting the background for theoretical and explorative analyses. *Difference* is the overall theme for the section and is used as departure point for the explorations. The reason is that difference is an important characteristic within the SCW and also constitutes an important point of correspondence with other disability research. Difference is discussed from a variety of angles as an interplay between the two central components of the SCW being highlighted: *Adaptive climbing,* represented by the Oslo field work - and *the special game,* represented by the field works in Skibotn and Tromsø.

   Section 2 is ordered by a set of *themes*. These can be understood as ideal-typical framings for issues being highlighted by the informants in the interviews, or which in other respects seem to be important points of gravity in their meaning perceptions.

   There are four analytical reasons for the organizing in two sections: First, it corresponds with an overall duality regarding the meaning taking form in and surrounding the activity pointing to outer and practical dimensions, on one side, and dimensions related to inner experiences, on the other. Further, and on a more general level, it also corresponds with the understanding of climbing as consisting of both physical and psychological aspects (e.g. the term challenging activity, where 'challenging' refers to both the physical and the psychological). Second, this divide refers naturally to the order and type of the methodical procedures: The participant observation is closely associated with

practical conduct and outer material framings, while the interviews come closer to the experiences and understandings being presented and narrated in conversation. Third, the divide corresponds with the two modes of colonization. Fourth, they correspond with the conception of the rehabilitation discourse - which is understood as the driving force behind the colonization mechanisms - as having both a material-practical and a cultural-ideological side. The four reasons are thereby interlinked.

The analysis in its totality - that is, both sections taken together - aims at detecting and exploring perceptions of meaning in the informants, as interpreted by the researcher opposite the structures of the climbing world (SSCW) and their internal mechanisms (cf. "points of gravity"). In this project, *contextualization* of the material is understood as the researcher's understanding of the meaning perceptions in the informants as embedded in certain contexts (*situated meaning*).

The two sections address contextualization of meaning perceptions from different angles. The analyses in section 1 concern contextualization focused on material-practical features opposite the SCW. Individual action and social interaction in context - involving both corporeal conduct and speech - are understood by the researcher as portraying certain perceptions of meaning. On the other hand, the analyses in section 2 are about contextualizing of meaning perceptions as they come forth outside of the material-practical contexts themselves - that is, as presented and narrated in the interviews. Hence, the divide in presentation between the two sections of analysis does not mirror fundamental differences in terms of meaning and communication. On the contrary: conduct and verbal communication within the social climbing world refers to the same praxis field and the same dimensions of meaning, though presented in and investigated through different modes in the project. According to this, the way of presenting the material thereby corresponds with the phenomenological understandings of Merleau-Ponty and Schütz, who both understand meaningful adaptation through conduct and conversation alike as being performed as *speech acts*[57] referring to both dimensions simultaneously - physical outer conduct and verbal expressions.

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[57] This term from Habermas (1995 a) corresponds very well with the understandings of Merleau-Ponty and Schütz regarding communication: Use of language in communication is to *do* something, hence it can be understood as *action* (cf. the title of Habermas' major work: *The Theory of Communicative Action*).

The observations of conduct in the first section and the interviews in the second might often approach the same phenomena - episodes, conduct and verbal expressions pointing to corporeal-social meaning - though from different methodical and analytical angles. This also corresponds with the theoretical framing where Merleau-Ponty and Schütz are given complementary roles according to the project: they both highlight the fundamental connectedness between culture, discourse, and shared social experiences on one side, and materiality and physical conduct, on the other (cf. theory part). The division of the analysis in two sections also has a structural purpose in terms of mere order of presentation. It seems natural to first approach the material-practical framing of the social climbing world before going into the understandings, presentations and narratives finding their place within it.

Introduction to the social climbing world (SCW)

The term *the social climbing world* (SCW) points to the totality of meaning dimensions experienced by the members of the Rocks group, also in the form of collective experiences, as they pertain to climbing directly or indirectly.

The Rocks group itself and its climbing activities are at the core of the social climbing world. This further constitutes the point of departure and anchorage for a wider range of related meaning dimensions, such as associations, references and identities that are played out in the daily lives of the participants.[58] The SCW thus includes the climbing itself, the planning of it, conversations at the site, or about climbing but taking place outside of the climbing setting itself, references to climbing in various contexts also opposite persons not climbing themselves, achieved skills, identification with the climbing lifestyle, and physical as well as psychological health gains related to the activities. In a more phenomenological perspective the social climbing world thereby encompasses a combination of material-practical features - including artefacts, equipment and corporeal "know-how" - as well as perceptive aspects of identification, inner experiences, and *tacit knowing*, in part also in a psychological sense. As investigated in this project, the climbing world is fundamentally

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[58] In the outset, the term could obviously have been used about other climbers as well, in the same sense as one could also talk about "the social soccer world" or "the social ice skating world" regarding persons who are much interested and engaged in these activities within social contexts. In this project, however, the term applies exclusively to the Rocks group and its individual members, hence involving impairment as an important feature for investigation.

social. For one, a certain group identity has developed over time by mutual negotiations and adaptations between the Rocks members, also constituting an overall group narrative. This is the group identity in a classical sociological sense. Also, as stated, the group members seem to have mutually "tuned in on" each other over time, in a body schema sense, by means of tacit adaptation and learning. This points to the phenomenologically inspired conception *corporeal-social meaning*.

It is assumed that the SCW has an influence beyond itself, in the sense that the conglomerate of meanings obtained within it - which can fruitfully be understood as *gains* - also transfers to influencing other areas of daily life in terms of identity and self-esteem. In general, the social climbing world is thus regarded to be an *empowering* world.[59] As explained in the theory part, the idea of the social climbing world thereby also corresponds with the Schützian understanding of a *finite province of meaning* which is to be found within the larger and more general contents of the *life world* (Schütz 1997). In a general sense, it will therefore be understood as such.

In the following investigations, the term *social-corporeal meaning* is the theoretical point of departure regarding this understanding of how the climbing activities are connected with a more comprehensive social world. It will be especially highlighted how the *impairments* become intermingled with a broader scope of social meaning dimensions in relation with the climbing activities. A most important aspect of the SCW - and which it is also a main objective for this project to identify and explore - is the tensions between being a "disabled climber" and a "normal athlete". This actualizes the notions *adaptive climbing* - referring to climbing that is especially organized and adapted for persons with impairments - and the in our context constructed notion *the special game* referring to the group climbing on their own terms (that is, to reiterate, the climbing which the Rocks group has become used to outside of explicit adaptive contexts). Both of these aspects as well as the tensions between them are important aspects of the SCW. The relation will be frequently discussed within various approaches to *difference*.

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[59] Some basic indications are given in Table 3A. On the background of her study of existing research on disability and physical activity, Kissow (2015) assumes that there is a general tendency that empowerment effects are transferred from physical activity to daily life. Based on the analysis in this project, this is regarded to be the case for the Rocks members as well, although it is not given an explicit focus.

On tables and special concepts

The mutually corresponding tables, overviews, and constructed concepts that have been developed in the project will be referred to thorough the analysis. They are partly essential categories for the analysis in its totality, and partly descriptions meant as general support for the overall readings. A collected overview is found in the appendix. Where regarded necessary for general comprehension and readability, certain tables and overviews are also presented in the main text.

5.1   Material circumstances, organization, and praxis. Colonization mode 1: Practical adaptations

Introducing this section are presentations of what happens at Rocks' climbing sessions and events. This is to provide a background understanding for the following analyses in that it gives a "close to reality" descriptive indication of how it is for the Rocks members to be engaged in their climbing activities. In certain parts my own participation is included in the descriptions. This is in order to also give some content to the methodological reflections made in the method part, on the relations between the researcher and the field. The presentations follow the chronological order of the field works. The first issues the Oslo gathering and hence represents *adaptive climbing*. The two following issue Tromsø and Skibotn, respectively, which both represent the group's climbing on their own terms - *the special game*.

After the descriptive accounts the analysis starts with departure in the Oslo gathering and *adaptive climbing*. The reflections departing from this setting are the most comprehensive in terms of quantity. The reason is that there are made some core reflections here which also point forth to the next field works, and which also constitute the backdrop for the comparing with these. Importantly, this distribution is a matter of presentation and does not indicate an evaluation of respective importance of adaptive climbing opposite the special game within the SCW (more specific reasons for the way of presentation are given below). In this study, these meaning dimensions are understood as mutually defining of each other within the SCW: the one must be understood in accordance with the other. The part on adaptive climbing thereby necessarily bears with it the special game as an opposite dimension of the SCW, even if the latter is not issued specifically until

later. The eventual issuing of the special game (Skibotn and Tromsø) leads directly into comparisons with the Oslo gathering. This latter part of section 1 provides conclusive theoretical explorations of the conceptualizations corporeal-social meaning (CSM) and the social climbing world (SCW), involving aspects of colonization (mode 1).

Outline

There are three primary reasons for both starting with *adaptive climbing* and for the quantitative distribution of it opposite *the special game*. First: The Oslo event represents the core of the incentives within organizations and sports- and disability research regarding the intersection between disability and physical activity, hence it also represents the rehabilitation discourse. It has been amongst the aims for this project to position the understanding of the SCW according to these incentives. Second: The Oslo event was about adaptive climbing, and thereby also resembles the initial context for the establishing of the Rocks group. Starting with the gathering thus has a chronological correspondence with the group development which can serve as a natural order of presentation for the comparing with the later settings, representing climbing as it gradually developed into the members' own type of activity. Third: Basic sociological understandings on interaction and in-group mechanisms are referred to and discussed in connection with the first field work. This will also function as a backdrop for the understanding of the later field works.

On the first part, *adaptive climbing*: After some basic reflections of more general character regarding the material-practical framings of the event, the Oslo gathering will be analysed with departure in *four examples*, pointing to mechanisms at different levels of meaning construction: Example 1 *Mix of age groups* represents overall organizational features. It opens up for the exploration of a variety of identity perceptions having to do with disabled versus non-disabled climbers, and also more specifically about the Rocks group opposite the other climbers with impairments at the gathering. Example 2 *Climbing in the other room* points to mechanisms having to do with the Rocks members establishing their own setting (*the special game*) within the initial setting of the event (*adaptive climbing*). Example 3 *The introduction round* is about a concrete interaction situation where the adaptive character of the gathering was played out, bringing about certain responses in a participant. Example 4 *The unneeded assistance* points to an episode of micro level interaction where the impairment of a participant was "unnecessarily" brought into the

climbing situation by an assistant at the gathering. The examples will serve simultaneously as junctions for central characteristics by the SCW, and as departure points for the exploration of a variety of meaning aspects within it.

Presentation: The Oslo gathering (first field work)

The National Climbing Gathering for Persons with Impairments 2010 in Oslo started on a Friday in mid-August 2010. During the afternoon the participants arrived at the site of accommodation - a hostel in the outskirts of town.

I met with the Rocks members at the airport early in the afternoon, as we were arriving with different flights at about the same time of the day. This was the first time I got to meet members of the group in person. Their main instructor was also to be joining in at the gathering, but was to come to the hostel a couple of hours later. At the airport we also met with another participant arriving by train, as we were to be picked up by the arranger together and driven to the hostel. Shortly before my meeting with Rocks I however got a phone call from the arranger, who was also my contact person for the event: due to an unforeseen event I had to be the driver myself - hence we leased a car at the airport and headed for the hostel. At the time there were excessive road works around the centre of Oslo. Direction signs were covered, there were alternative routes, and unless you were familiar with the road system you were likely to have a hard time. As it came to be, I got lost on the way (which was also pointed out to me from the back seat, with emphasis) and the ride took far longer than it was supposed to. The good thing about this was that I - however unintendedly - got a good opportunity to get better acquainted with my informants before we met the others at the gathering, and in a quite informal way (at one point I said "you probably won't let me forget about this, right?" resulting in malicious laughter). One thing was the loose tone we developed while spending time in the car. And in connection with that - and importantly, it is assumed - their first impression of me included a variety of sides; I was definitely not "just" an assistant, a driver, or a researcher - I was also a climber like themselves, an aspect which came to dominate our conversation.

The hostel (site for accommodation)

Upon arrival we checked in and started mingling with the other participants. I was introduced to my contact person from the Climbing Federation for the first time (the

arranger in charge) and got a briefing of the arrangement plans. I also eventually got to know Rocks' main instructor.

There was no program scheduled for the first couple of hours. Due to a pleasant late summer temperature most participants were outdoors after the check-in: chatting, exploring the nearby area, playing table tennis, and other. Eventually there was a common reception and presentation round in one of the common rooms in the hostel. Everybody introduced themselves, including myself. The rest of the evening was spent hanging out and socializing. Some of the participants coming from other areas of the country took the opportunity this evening to meet with friends outside of the gathering.

The climbing sites - Klatreverket and Vulcan [60]

The next morning, after breakfast in the reserved diner room at the hostel, everybody went to the climbing site by cars. We arrived around 11-12 a.m. At the site it was first spent some time walking around and "taking in the experience". One looked at posters and gadgets at the reception, which also functions as a desk for the small gear shop. A few of the participants had never been in an indoor climbing gym before, even if some of them might have tried climbing on outdoor cliffs earlier. Then one went to the locker rooms, adjacent to bathrooms, saunas and showers, for changing of clothes and other preparation. Eventually everybody met in the hall. There was given some common information about the site and what was going to happen during the day. The information was given by the arranger from the Climbing Federation, who knew the site well. General security precautions were made and informed about: If someone wanted to climb, they had to contact an assistant for belaying, or get together with another person holding a "brattkort" - a kind of belay certificate.[61] Also, there were aspects which may seem obvious, but which are nevertheless easy to forget by unexperienced climbers. Examples are not to talk unnecessarily to persons belaying a climber (disturbance), not to walk beneath a person who has just started on a route (where a fall could bring the climber to come quite near the

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[60] As the ways of conducting the activities were basically the same at the two sites they are given a common presentation. The differences between the sites in terms of e.g. areal and special facilities are left out as they are not significant in this context.

[61] In recent years it has been common that indoor climbing sites demand from the belayers that they possess such a card, as it shows that they have proved necessary skills opposite an instructor. Earlier, the responsibility and acquisition of necessary skills was more un-regulated and individualized, as climbers were part of smaller and more distinct milieus (cf. climbing as traditionally free, unregulated, adventurous, and outside of "mainstream activities").

ground before getting caught by the rope), or to go near climbers in the bouldering area (i.e. climbing at low height without rope, with mattresses beneath. Falls happen very frequently in bouldering).

There was further general information about the other facilities at the site and the common lunch which were to be arranged, for those who wanted to join in.

Thereafter it was all about the climbing, and it went on to the late afternoon. The single participant climbed a route, or parts of it, from time to time. There could also be longer breaks for some of them, and some even just wanted to "hang around" and socialize most of the time. One watched people climb, or engaged in small talking or conversation with people. One could find a climbing magazine and sit down for a while to read a reportage or just look at the pictures. Perhaps one went window shopping in the gadget store at the reception, or went outside of the building for a moment to get some fresh air.

After a day of climbing (back at the hostel)

Late in the afternoon everybody got back to the hostel. In the evening, there was arranged a common dinner. Before and after there was general mingling without any scheduled program. In order to make some common activities later in the evening, the arrangers initiated various social games in the TV room. For example, people were to sit in a circle in a large sofa group. Then there was held games of the general types "words and associations", "find the pattern", "re-tell a story by whispering from one person to another and see how it develops". The games turned into a general good mooded socializing.

Presentation: An outdoor excursion in Skibotn (second field work)

On a Friday noon in late August 2011 I met with John and Ada at the bus station in the Tromsø city centre. We were to pick up Konrad and Fred along the way. Miriam was to arrive together with her husband a little later, as they used their own car. Even if I had been planning it on beforehand, I had been kindly invited by the group even before I had come to make the request myself. This Skibotn excursion was to immediately precede my Tromsø field work to come, and it was their knowing about this that made them invite me.

After a while we picked up Fred, as we passed nearby where he lived. He wore a hoodie identical with Ada's; it was white with *Rocks!* printed on it. A bit later we picked up Konrad. After some initial chat he pulled out some gear he had been purchasing recently, in

part due to this excursion: a new pair of climbing shoes, and some locking carabiners (a type of lockable hooks used for belay and other attaching to ropes). He made some reflections regarding the different kinds of locks on the carabiners.

Eventually we arrived at our destination in Skibotn, and we accommodated ourselves in the two cabins next to each other which had been reserved in advance. Soon we were heading to inspect the crag. Miriam did most of the way in her wheelchair, which she uses as necessary support (she must reduce her walking to shorter distances). The rest of us walked. Ada and Konrad both have some vision, though blurred, and if the path is even and without obstacles they can walk effortlessly, orienting themselves by their relative visual impressions of the others in the group. John does not have vision at all, but has very good skills at getting around in general. At this occasion he walked along with the rest of us without using his stick. He could follow the path simply by hearing the footsteps and voices from the rest of us, occasionally being explicitly oriented such as "a little to the right here", "now there's a tree two metres ahead", "there's a hole there, looks like a rabbit hole or something. Better not step into it", and the like.

At the cliff we went around inspecting the routes. Those of us who could see told the others how it looked. The others felt on the rock with their hands, trying to get a sense of the character of the surface in terms of clear holds, less obvious structures, and the general friction. They were guided to the start of the specific routes that had been bolted. Then they tried to determine the start holds and spots for foot placements, discussing different possibilities and making suggestions about which routes one was to attempt first. On this first afternoon the sky was overshadowed, and it was rain in the air. As the weather forecast for the next day was much better it was decided to postpone the climbing till then.

The whole evening was spent socializing. In the conversations a vast variety of themes were touched upon. There were many reflections on the routes we had inspected earlier, speculations over the weather forecast, and expectations for the climbing on the following day. As we eventually broke up it was half past one in the night. The next morning everybody got up between 8 and 9 a.m. and had breakfast in their respective cabins. The rest of the day was spent at the crag, and we did not finish before early in the evening.

In addition to being a researcher and fellow climber at this event I was also in the role of an instructor. I was thereby also "useful". They expressed that this was convenient to them, as their usual instructor could not take part this time (if I had not been available,

they would probably have found someone else). As it were, we had to establish top ropes.[62] There came to be some talk about this. There was only one person there except from myself who could have made it - Fred, because he has his vision, and as his impairment (spine) would not prevent him from making it to the top of the cliff by a detour from one of the sides of the wall itself. He was however not used to do such operations and was glad that I was there to assist. There was some talk about these things - ropes, bolts and anchors. John is the one knowing most about it, and could elaborate the principles to the others. He explained how he used to walk over anchors with his hands when he had the opportunity. We discussed that it could perhaps be a possibility that John prepared the anchor while I was watching as a "backup", but the approaching of it was anticipated to be too troublesome and insecure without vision. There was some general talk about security. A point that was made is the need for vision when it comes to elements being outside of tactile reach, such as e.g. a loose rock in a place where it can be set off by the rope.

All in all the atmosphere at the crag was relaxed. It seemed like everybody felt quite confident about how the weekend was going to be like. The only element having some reasonable uncertainty to it was - as it often is at outdoor climbing - the weather. In short, everything indicated that this was to become a climbing excursion in the way it used to be, within familiar frames.

As it was, top ropes were to be established from above. Fred and Ada wanted to join in, as they simply wanted to be present in this situation where practical preparations were made. In order to establish the ropes, Ada, Fred and myself strived our way to the top of the cliff by a detour on the side of it. There was no such thing as a path, and we had to make our way by use of hands and feet up bulky slopes overgrown with moss and bushes. Obviously, Ada had to feel her whole way up mostly by purely tactile sensations. Regarding movement, the vision is her only weak spot. For Fred it is the other way around: his impairment consists of a complexity of aftereffects from an accident, implying that he has to be considerate about his movements. His vision is all good however. On the way up the slope they were both very cautious about their movement, due to their impairments - a phenomenon they shared, though in very different varieties.

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[62] The rope being attached to the top anchor in advance, so that the climber can eventually have a drag from above.

The anchor was on a slight slope on the top of the cliff, a couple of metres from the edge. This suited us perfectly, as all three of us could sit safe and comfortably at the anchor while preparing it (which is usually not the case on sport routes on outdoor cliffs). I attached the ropes with nylon slings and carabiners while explaining what I was doing. Fred watched carefully and showed interest in the procedures. He also occasionally used technical expressions such as "friction", "kinetic energy", "breaking strain" and the like. Ada, on the other hand, felt with her hands over the slings, the locks on the carabiners, the attachment to the bolts, and the knots, in the same way as John had told about before. She explained that she was interested in learning about these procedures, but also that she needed to have "felt it with her hands" in order to feel safe and comfortable about it.

We went back down to the others, and it was all set for climbing. The two routes on the right of the cliff were the easier, and hence the natural place to start. As it turned out, these two routes came to be ascended several times. In the middle of the cliff there were two routes that were harder, but still possible. One of them had an uneven character, in the sense that it had a kind of vertical "pier" sticking out in the middle. There came to some discussion about how to approach that sequence. Miriam and Fred, who could see, explained it to the others. Konrad and Ada could spot the features slightly, but very blurred, and they could not make a judgement of it on their own. It was a "chimney" to the right of the pier, meaning a hollow vertical passage. Two possibilities were proposed: One could either attempt to pass the sequence with the pier through the chimney - or, alternatively, one could try to traverse (climb sideways) towards the left under the pier, and then continue straight up on the left side of it. As it often is, it was hard to tell in advance which one was the better solution. After the discussions the route was attempted by everybody, and in different variations.

In the evening, all the possible routes on the cliff had been attempted (Miriam had also tested out something that had been "obviously impossible", just for the fun of it). The rest of the evening was spent at the fireplace on the campground. In the night the moist weather set in again. Upon inspecting the crag in the forenoon on the next day we found that it was not dry enough for climbing. As the clouded sky did neither give us any expectations of sufficient drying conditions for the next hours, there was a change of plans. The minibus was requested to arrive a couple of hours earlier than originally planned, and we went for a hike in the area. The track chosen was too long for Miriam in the outset, as

she was dependent on wheelchair - but it was possible to go the first part by car, following a detour. Then she and her husband met with the rest of us along the way, at a point where we could turn onto an even forest road convenient for wheelchair. At one point we (those of us who were seeing) came to have a good view of the climbing cliff, from the opposite side of the terrain. We remained standing there for a while, pointing at the formations on which we had climbed the day before, and discussing the routes. Those who could not see wanted to know how it looked like from a distance, and asked if it looked like there could be further climbing possibilities nearby.

When we were back at the campground there was still a couple of hours before the bus was to arrive. There was finally some sun, but as it was anyhow too late for more climbing we were sitting outside of the cabins or walking more or less randomly about. Konrad, John, Miriam and myself spent the last hour or so of the waiting time on conversation outside on the green area of the camping site. Ada and Fred had just finished the tidying up of a cabin and brought out the luggage, and now sat down on the porch, relaxing.

Presentation: A typical climbing session in Tromsø (third field work)

Indoor climbing in Tromsø is the type of climbing activity which the Rocks group conducts most frequently, and on a regular basis (cf. method part). The following is a construct of a typical climbing session based on my own experiences from participant observation at a number of different sessions. The description deliberately emphasizes corporeality and sensory information. At some points it is given references to concrete events; these stem from actual observations that have been "clean-cut" to exemplify typical conversation and conduct. I also give some hints about assumed "inner states" in the climbers. These are supported by explanations given by them in different contexts about how it is to be in the gym, and also by occasional expressions from them whilst in the settings of the activity, as registered in the observations.

It is Thursday around 6 p.m. One by one the climbers arrive at the parking lot outside of Tromsø Tennis hall. This is a sport arena divided into two separate parts, tennis and climbing. Adjacent to the climbing area there is also a separate room for bouldering (low walls with mattresses underneath, for practising strength and hard problems). The climber walks in through the main doors and put away the outdoor shoes. Then goes to the locker

room, if necessary. Then it is paying to the receptionist, before entering the climbing hall. After many repetitions, this is routine. Even with strongly depraved vision, or without any vision at all, one is familiar with the surroundings: the doors, the shelves, the corridor, and the approximate distances between the locker rooms, the bathrooms, the reception, and the main hall.

Before entering around the corner one gets a feeling of presence or absence of other climbers. Talking, cluttering of metal, or dump sounds from feet bumping into the walls is audible already in the corridor. Normally there is some sound. If it is totally silent, or the opposite; if there is a cluster of sounds making a a unison noise indicating many climbers, it is felt as a deviation from the normal.

Most other climbers - outside of the Rocks group - normally arrive a while after 6 p.m. Thursdays between 6 and 8 p.m. are in a way loosely and non-formally "reserved" for the Rocks group. In reality it is more of a kind of signal to other climbers, calling for a certain awareness. Rocks is a unique group in that the members have impairments, and other climbers could easily and unreflectively assume that all the climbers in the hall could see for instance a possible danger. The "reservation" is therefore not to be "enforced", and it is also not known to all climbers in the area. In combination, this makes it likely that there are some, but not many other climbers present at Rocks' sessions.

Just before approaching the door one also senses the familiar odour of the climbing hall - a combination of nylon, chalk, metal, plywood, and rubber - stemming from ropes and slings, the chalk (drying agent for the hands, improving friction), carabiners, the walls, and the soft protecting layer on the floor.

The climbers in the Rocks group enter one by one. Because of the visual impairments there are certain ways of finding each other in the hall. When a member with visual impairment enters, he or she will be called up by seeing members who have already arrived (or eventually the instructor, if he takes part in the session). If there are no seeing members there, the newcomer walks carefully about until he or she recognizes familiar voices or they just happen to meet. Alternatively, they can simply ask another person there. Many climbers in Tromsø recognize or know the group members in person, and if not they can easily spot e.g. "a man with a white probe".

After approximately fifteen minutes most of them are there. If some of them is absent or much delayed, it is likely that some of the others has got a call or a text message.

In the beginning it comes to greeting and small talking. It might be about happenings from the last week, regarding sport happenings, politics, family life, concerts or other cultural events, depending on mutual knowledge about each other and general relations. The mere being there in the gym also makes it natural to instantly connect to last week's climbing, recollecting how one was working this or that route - which is now right there on the wall, and which might become a "project" today as well - and compare each other's attempts and difficulties on different parts of the route. It might be that a seeing member discusses it with another, who might be visually deprived. Then the former could seek with his/her eyes to find the holds corresponding with the descriptions and visualizing gestures of the other, or the other way around, in order to ascertain that they are talking about the same section on the route. One discusses different holds, body postures, falling off, and reasons for this, and related topics. The seeing members might be asked if something seems to be different on the walls - if routes have been changed or some new ones have been assembled. There might also be expressions of relief if a route one has been working on (a project) is "still there, luckily", if there for example had been rumours indicating they were soon to be changed or dismantled.

They start by warming up with easier and well-known routes. There is a section in the hall which appeals especially to new beginners and is much used for warm-up. The holds are good and the wall is vertical (i.e. not overhanging) - that means that one can rest one's body weight on the feet and hence give the arms and hands a soft start. At the time of observation there were especially two routes that were particularly popular amongst the members: there were often made references to "the grey to the left" or "the red mottled in the middle". Climbing these routes was also a way of tuning in on and get a feeling about the activity in a more psychological sense (this is common to most climbers, especially if there has been some time since the last time one climbed). Konrad is the first to go. Even if he knows the route from before, he still comes to hesitate at some points. He requests a pause in the rope (meaning that he sits in his harness for a while). He gives an explanation to the belayer who stands a few metres below him. It can be that he held the holds unnecessarily hard and therefore got "pumped" too soon, or perhaps he went for a hold with the wrong hand and therefore became "locked" in an unfortunate position. Some minutes later he has reached the top and is lowered down. The balayer asks something like "well, how was it?" and Konrad says something about it feeling a little harder than it was

supposed to, but that it was fun anyway. A usual question is (as it often is amongst climbers) if he would like to go for another route right away (to get a certain continuity in the warm-up). He answers "No, I'm good. Got warm already. You have a go." And then the two in the climber/belayer team change roles. Mona has been climbing on the" mottled red" a few metres to the right. During their ascents, she and Konrad has exchanged some comments. They have compared how their respective routes feel, and perhaps discussed the perceived difficulty of them. Mona says that this mottled read feels harder than the grey Konrad is on. He on his side is surprised by this, as he has thought the opposite. He declares that he will go for "the mottled red" afterwards, to compare more thoroughly.

After the warm-up they go for something more challenging. Perhaps somebody will also attempt some new routes. In that case there can be some discussion about lead climbing (i.e. clipping the rope into carabiners along the way) versus top roping (i.e. when the rope is already clipped in in the anchor). For the group members it is also a question about how it is for the belayer or another person to guide the climber on the route. If it seems like it is going to be difficult, the climber will most probably go for top roping (i.e. longer falls are avoided).

In between the climbing there are conversations both between the members and between members and other climbers. The climbing hall is also an arena for general socializing.

After a couple of hours the climbers are tired. Some may call it a day and leave, whilst others may still hang in for another hour or so. Sometimes a member may also choose to hang around after they have all finished their climbing and the others have left, just to socialize with somebody they know outside of the group.

5.1.1   Adaptive climbing at the Oslo gathering

The first and introductory reflections to the analysis of the Oslo gathering and *adaptive climbing* are on central material-practical features which can be understood as more outer and in a sense "unavoidably given" if one - as disabled - has first engaged in a social climbing event at a well-established site for climbing. These represent features which are therefore relatively independent of the more specific organizing from the arrangers' side, which in its turn takes place *within* these outer framings. These first reflections are on a

general level in that they refer to all the participants as a group - that is, including both the Rocks members and the other participants - with observations of some of them set to represent aspects of meaning. Following after this the four examples will be issued in turn, representing material-practical features having to do with the special arrangement of this certain kind of event, and which can therefore also be connected with the understanding of colonization (mode 1). Here the focus is specifically on the Rocks climbers and the social climbing world (SCW), though with occasional references to the other participants for comparisons. On the one side the reflections issue how certain practical aspects were "in fact", as these obviously influenced the conduct and interaction among the participants and thereby their meaning experiences. On the other side, the arrangers' outspoken intentions are also occasionally issued, even also regarding some aspects that did not actually take place (the most significant example being outdoor climbing). The reason for the latter is, first, that certain intentions point to understandings and incentives circumscribing this kind of event as they indicate the "ideals" about it , thereby also transferring the sports- and rehabilitation discourse onto the overall context (for example in being topics for conversation). Further also: as long as they were explicitly outspoken, intentions that were not in fact carried out became a "conspicuous absence" which was actually perceived by the participants, thereby also influencing the meaning dimensions experienced at the gathering.

Being at the climbing site (general reflections: all of the participants)

The symbolic contents of rock in the indoor setting

The *indoor settings* had their positive as well as negative sides for the participants, in terms of how the activities within them were experienced. As explained before about the cultural history of climbing (part 2), climbing has an inextricable aura of nature and outdoors over it due to its historical connectedness with mountaineering. This adheres to the general discourse which climbers share - that is, in the way the activities are talked about, thought of, and what they mean in terms of identification. As indicated before, upon announcing the event the arrangers had openly expressed that outdoor climbing was plan A, even if indoor climbing was regarded to be a satisfactory alternative B in case of bad weather.

First it should be stated that the main loss by having to go indoors seemed to be primarily of a symbolical character: one did not get to climb on real rock in natural

surroundings, which constitute the associative image of what "true climbing" is about. There were also certain gains by being indoors, due to practical issues. To reiterate basic factors (this goes together with the advantages regarding collection of data, cf. the method chapter): The concentrated space and density of routes made communication and changing of climber/belayer constellations easy, and also provided for much and varied activity in a short time. It also made the participants come closer to other (foreign) climbers, and made possible some social mingling with them. From conversations I had with the participants it became clear that this meant quite a lot, that it provided them with a sense of belonging to a climbing community, or at least belonging to the group of people "doing some climbing from time to time". There were also mechanisms taking place which seem to be common in most climbing gyms, such as people not knowing each other starting talking for some reason or another having to do with the activity. One asks someone about a grade or character of a route, or if they happen to be familiar with some of the other facilities at the site, maybe about outdoor conditions in the area, and if so, if they happen to have some tips about them, or one may even need help to loosen one's knot in the harness if it has been too tightened because of a fall. These sources for identification with other climbers and communication seemed to contribute to the meaning experienced in the indoor climbing, in addition to the purely practical advantages by being indoors. These features at the site obviously count as a type of practical gains, providing dimensions of meaning in correspondence with the practical-material field in which the activities took place. They however also seemed to provide their own form of symbolical gains, of other types than would have been the case in outdoor climbing: Conversations indicated that the mere being around a variety of other climbers this way implied a kind of indirect relation with "the real thing" (*rock* climbing).

The reason why indoor arenas are used frequently by rock climbers is partly their accessibility, and partly that they provide opportunities for specific training which one cannot get outdoors.[63] Being in a hall especially constructed for climbing, involving the amount and density of routes, gear, climbers, and information such as brochures, posters, and the presence of instructors, seemed to impose combined perceptions of *engagement* and *trust* in the participants, especially those with little or no experience from before.

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[63] There are however also climbers who never or only rarely go outdoors.

Obviously, there was anyhow a lot of hesitation and uncertainty while climbing, following naturally from the fact that many of the participants were not very experienced. This would have been so regardless of setting, as the activity is challenging in itself. This is also in a psychological sense, especially for new beginners (even if it is still reasonable to assume that it could have been even more challenging outdoors). There seemed to be a combination of trust in the surroundings and an "unavoidable anxiety" regarding the climbing. Both appearance in terms of body language, what was talked about and the way of talking portrayed these combinations of in part ambivalent feelings (see later). Expressions (here approximately put and concentrated) were of the kinds "well, those guys seem to know what they're doing. And they told me it's totally safe so … . And of course it is. But the rope seems so… thin, ha ha. Anyway. How can they know that the knot[64] is totally safe? Have they tested it thoroughly? Well it's safe of course. Those guys over there … falling all the time, and they don't seem to even mind. Impressive. I just asked that girl over there, she looks like a pro … and then I asked that instructor too, just in case. Stupid, I know. It's totally safe. Of course. And anyway there's probably a doctor somewhere in the hall, ha ha … ". There were also some utterances having "gallows humour" over them, such as "Luckily, it doesn't matter if we hit the ground … we're impaired already ".

This can be given a comment before going further with symbolic meanings: Humour is an instrument and an interaction form (van Dijk 1997). It can be used as a way of positioning oneself in interaction. Cultural codes around the presentation of self also defines which kind of humour is regarded as appropriate. It is reasonable to assume that the references above point to ways of alleviating psychological tensions caused by slight fears about the challenging activities. On the other side, it can however also be ways of positioning oneself according to the other climbers, in the sense that is establishes a balance between oneself as *climber* (at least today) and not really being a climber, but just having some fun with it. It can be noted that the humorous comments referred to above could not have been uttered by non-impaired opposite disabled persons without being taken as rude. Making "harsh" humour about *oneself* and one's own group of people can however be empowering in the sense that it gives oneself definitions powers, and also the *right to define* (this is also well-known according to other less advantaged groups, e.g. in

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[64] The double figure eight - the standard knot for tying the rope into the harness.

connection with ethnicity and race) (Grue 2004). Thus, it is possible that the humorous expressions made by some of the participants were ways of positioning themselves in the situational "landscape" in which they found themselves at the gathering.

Symbolic leads in the presentation of self

Identity management can bear much on symbolic references. This is again connected with presentation of self, and what Goffman (2005) describes as "the desire to be well regarded".

"Real climbing" seemed to be a symbolic background at the gathering in the ways the participants behaved and talked around other climbers, not least those who could appear as "professional", or at least as having much symbolic capital within the climbing field (Bourdieu 1995). On the other side, this was also coupled with a "relativizing of seriousness". This can seem to be a feature in other climbing as well: even if one is just climbing from time to time and is not particularly good at it, one is in a zone of slight tension between "being a little like them" (the "significant others" in climbing, that is, those with symbolic capital) as one does some climbing oneself, and - on the other side - stressing that one is not serious about it, and perhaps one also wants to make sure opposite others that one does not have any "uplifted" ideas about oneself regarding the activities. The simultaneous "wanting to be perceived as something" and playing this "something" down is a natural feature of human conduct (Goffman 1990). The general wish to be "well regarded" can be expected to be similar in all cultures, even though there will be cultural differences in how one presents oneself according to it. (E.g. Norwegians are generally viewed as in some senses more reluctant and careful[65] about emphasizing and praising personal capabilities and accomplishments than e.g. Americans, where they in other respects can be perceived as more direct and rude. This is also in terms of which kinds of humour that are allowed in a certain situation. The morality inherent in language use is quite different in Scandinavia and America, to bear further on that comparison. This also regards humour (cf. examples above) (van Dijk 1997, Triandis 1997).

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[65] "Janteloven" ("Jante's law"). A Norwegian saying stemming from the author Axel Sandemose. It is about the deep culturally established morality about being like the others and not "stick out".

Body language and shared experiences

Being in the climbing hall seemed to activate mixtures of awe, coping, humour, regret, anxiety and excitement in the participants. As it is attempted to frame with the conception corporeal-social meaning, these inner perceptions in the participants are understood to be inextricably linked with corporeal appearance through which the participants also influenced each other, thereby implying dimensions of sociality. To use body language as an example: When the climbers hesitated and paused due to anxiety it was normally easily detectable from their bodily appearance: the hands fumbled over holds and sought for better grips elsewhere, before perhaps finding back to the first hold which turned out to be the better option after all, even though also too bad, and during the fumbling the climber had become exhausted without getting any further on the route, accompanied by a frustrated or scared facial expression. The moves could get panicky when the climber felt he or she was losing control; the breath was rapid and the feet shivered. These corporeal features held the belayer on the alert, intensely focusing on and "reading" the climber's appearance. *Talking* was naturally interwoven with this conduct. From the observations it became clear how much talking seemed to mean for comfort and trust (this is anyhow well known in climbing), pointing to a fundamental sociality in *the game*. The belayer and the other persons watching (on their part, *the extended game* - that is, the being part of the climbing session in a more overall sense) perceived the anxiety from the climber's bodily appearance, and uttered combinations of comforting words and pep talking. Sometimes the climbers expressed concern directly in words ("Okay, I don't like this!" and the like). In other situations, the climber explicitly uttered that it was going good, and that she was not scared, while her body language however told otherwise. In those contexts, the perceptions in those standing nearby (the extended game) could be that she was brave, and was "really going for it", challenging herself.

Getting to know each other through direct practical interaction

It seemed like climbing together functioned very well as a way of getting to know each other in certain "direct" ways. It was fundamentally about a co-working and a practicality where corporeality and use of equipment played an important role, in the sense of the body being connected to an extended area of reach within its immediate surroundings

(social-material space) (Merleau-Ponty 2012). At this point it can also be made a comment to standard references to the body schema concept as it is often analytically associated with *tacit knowing*, in the sense accumulated and non-explicable skills, as elaborated by Polanyi (1962, 2009). It should however be noted that in this context it was not about the body schema portraying certain incorporate skills in the sense tacit knowing regarding *these* sets of practices: rather, as both the climber and the belayer (having backup) could be inexperienced, it could rather be about *common experiences of practical uncertainties* involved in attempting a new activity where interpersonal coordination is required. I regard this to be an interesting, though under-investigated (if at all) kind of common experience. Hence, "*being practically unexperienced together*" can be understood as a variety of corporeal-social meaning which should not be neglected. Being unexperienced, uncertain and perhaps even out of control can well have important dimensions of social meaning to it, hence pointing to another variety of the CSM conception.[66]

Even if many of the participants did not know each other on beforehand, they seemed to have gotten something in common, in the sense shared experiences*,* after a climb. This sociality seemed to be fundamentally connected with the corporeal and practical conduct in the situation they were in together. If a climb had been especially challenging and perhaps also intimidating for the climber, it seemed like the communication could often skip the normal steps involving the going from the "formal and polite" type of introductory small talk with a stranger before getting more short-cut and implicit later on. When a climber felt the psychological anxiety, and perhaps in combination with physical exhaustion, the verbal communication was affected. I recognized a feature which I had experienced in other climbing settings before: a message from the climber to the belayer could sound louder than intended, or perhaps even annoyed and angry. It can be noted that all experienced climbers know this phenomenon well, as it is a kind of "in the heat of the moment" feature in this kind of activity. Anyhow: amongst the participants - of which the greater part were not much experienced - this could provide a direct tone between strangers which put them both straight into the activity together, thereby

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[66] Still, in this study seen in its total the corporeal-social dimension of getting to know a person for the first time is not significant compared to the understanding of *the special game* for the Rocks group which - in contrast - implies a social-corporeal know-how that has been established over time (as a fundamental part of the social climbing world), hence also actualizing the concept *tacit knowing* to the full, in its traditional sense (Polanyi 2009).

situating them within the same social experience. This hence follows from the mechanisms involved in the practical setting of the interaction. The immediate reaction in the climber upon his own "unwanted" expression could then often seem to be a kind of light embarrassment, and sometimes the climbers followed up by telling their belayers that they were sorry and "didn't mean to yell", upon which the belayer could reply something like "no that's all right!". This could perhaps be followed by them both somehow confirming that the situation was all good by joking, laughing or just small talking in a loose tone. This corresponds with Goffman's descriptions of *maintaining the definition of the situation* regarding the overall context (Goffman 1990), and the mutual *saving of faces*, pertaining more to the direct relation between the (in this case) two persons involved (Goffman 2005).

Such episodes from the activities could be mentioned in social contexts later in the evening, and thereby the experiences were portrayed for others as well. There could be made comparisons and humoristic comments about it, and there could also be made associations with past experiences, hence making a more comprehensive scope out of the references. For example, in one evening a participant told another that this other had seemed very determined on a certain route earlier that day (it was in the form of encouragement and "cred" for the good effort). Then another person, who knew this person in question well from before, broke in and stated that this was exactly how she also used to be in other contexts as well: that she never gave up, and that she was persistent in activities. In this social context in the evening, the episode in the climbing wall was therefore added to a certain coherent "line" characterizing this person in a more overall sense. As also touched upon before regarding symbolism and self-identity: even if many of the participants did not have narrative biographies positioning themselves as climbers, such connections could nevertheless give the participation at the gathering a narrative weigh or significance as a joint in a larger meaning context.

Regarding the person mentioned, it should be given an additional comment. It is no doubt that the characteristics of the person from the others were correct (it also corresponded with my own observations at the climbing site). This however also goes together with a more practical fact: In a conversation she told me that her persistence at this gathering also had to do with her not having the opportunity to climb very often, because of the impairment. She simply had to make as much out of it as she could, when she had the chance. This aspect was also mentioned by a couple of other participants who

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climbed occasionally, but without being part of a certain group or having any kinds of regularity to it.

Climbing together is to "tune in" on each other

As exemplified above with direct ways of speech, the getting to know each other in the context of the gathering also implied certain variations of social aspects found in ordinary social life. For instance, the *order* of familiar mechanisms could be different. Usually in daily life people might often get to know each other by talking about interests or discussing topics, *before* they later come to invite each other to certain events, such as e.g. sport activities. And, following the same line of development, direct and short-cut communication without explicitly polite phrases also normally find its place after some period of time of getting to know each other (Goffman 1990).

When strangers meet and climb together, it can be the other way around. The reason for mentioning this here is that it can also be used to inform the understanding of some of the social mechanisms at the gathering, although on a different scale. First one experiences each other's corporeal conduct as climber or belayer. Thereafter one starts to get to know each other "the normal way" - and then also by use of the corporeal experiences one has already been sharing. That is, one already has an amount of "common experiential history" (although perhaps very scarce) at the point where one starts getting acquainted the "normal" way. This can be conceived in relation with Goffman's understandings of basic 'interaction rituals': Within contexts of daily life, new acquaintances often cling to the few experiences they have in common, or at least something pointing to the same references. If they do not share experiences it can instead be references to geographical sites, and/or certain persons (in the Norwegian cultural context these are often combined, e.g. "So, you are from (e.g. a certain town)? You wouldn't happen to know (person), do you?"). Schütz (1970) and Goffman (1990) portray such mechanisms in the outset as (supposedly) universal, even if their exact cultural contents can take different forms. Their functions are fundamentally about getting along and making the interaction context work. At the gathering, participants who had the one thing in common that they had climbed the same route could use it as departure point for communication.

I recognized these mechanisms in the ways of communicating at the gathering referred to further above, and they also correspond with reports in climbing magazines and

-films. These forms of communication thereby seem to relate to the character of the sport in itself, regardless of skill and experience level. When interaction between climbers who do not know each other from before is described in climbing reports (magazines, blogs and films) it is mostly about climbers who hooked up to climb together because they both had planned to attempt a certain route, or perhaps to go for a more long lasting and demanding climb (for example mountain climbing over several days or even weeks). In the cases where sport climbing is issued, it is normally about very hard and challenging routes (if not they will normally not have been issued in the magazines or films in the first place). The "narrative" framings around these meetings are often that the climbers came to know each other in certain ways because they had experienced each other in these special settings, and thereby "tuned in on" each other's respective body language, perhaps even before really talking much about anything. In short, corporeal experiences are very social in this sense.[67] Obviously, the learning to know each other through climbing at the gathering was quite different from these examples about other climbers, in several ways. For one the participants were not that experienced, and the social relations were more short-term, as they changed climber/belayer constellations relatively often. There were also the impairments to be especially considerate about (adaptive climbing). Furthermore there was also the fact that this was a special event arranged from outside, rather than the climbers themselves initiating it on their own terms. Still, in spite of these obvious differences, certain varieties of the same mechanisms seemed to be prevalent amongst the participants at the gathering, although on a more vague and indirect level. In conversations at the site or at the hostel later in the evening, experiences from the routes were used as points of reference which other aspects were organized according to. A typified example: A participant could make a "complaint" about a different hold or passage on a certain route. It could have to do with the impairment, for example that one was not able to lift one's foot enough. The other could then counter by stating that she had not had any problems at this point herself - but that she on her part had had problems with finding her way through another passage because of visual deprivation. In this way, the conversation could turn into an exchange of experiences about impairments. A point is that the core of the conversation was then not about the impairments in themselves, but about climbing. Thereby the

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[67] Again, this is a reference to the CSM concept that does not relate to *the special game,* which is about impairments in an embedded sense (it however still points to an interesting feature).

activities became a frame of meaning within which the impairments could be discussed in new ways. Further in the analysis, various related aspects are to be issued.

Four examples: Practical arrangements and their influence on the meaning of the activity

The previous analyses issued meaning perceptions having to do with material-practical aspects of climbing that pertain to a climbing setting for persons with impairments "in itself" - that is, features that will be part of such a setting anyhow, regardless of the arrangers' more specific *concerns and intentions* about the setting. Further on, the focus is upon analysing the Oslo gathering as it took form as an arrangement specifically for persons with impairments, and influenced by the concerns and incentives of the arrangers. As stated, the reflections depart from four successive examples. They will also provide background knowledge for the comparisons with the field works in Skibotn and Tromsø (the special game) in the last part of the analysis section 1. From issuing all of the participants of the gathering as an overall group, the focus from now on is more specifically Rocks within this lager framing of adaptive climbing - hence *the social climbing world* (SCW).

First example: Mix of age groups

A practical-organizational feature of the gathering was the *mix of different age groups*. This feature is to be understood as representing a circumstance according to which the climbers adjust their meaningful conduct. Applying this example helps indicating ways in which the climbers *actively form* the ways outer circumstances are to be conceived of according to their own social climbing world, in that it shows how these are being meaningfully related to. As explained in the introduction, the thorough-going aspect *difference* is used as the way of analytically conceiving of such meaningful constructions. According to this first example, difference will be investigated especially in terms of *perceptions of different climbing*, pointing to ways of actively positioning and relating oneself to outer circumstances (sketched in Table 4B). This theme also touches upon basic elements in the next example - *climbing in the other room* - and hence provides a certain continuation in the discussion about difference. The "different climbing" notation about adaptive climbing points to the special game as "the normal" climbing which this other climbing is different

according to.[68] To reiterate some basic presumptions on behalf of the arrangers: The organizing of the gathering was necessarily a result of political, economic, bureaucratic, and not least pure practical compromises in order to pursue the overarching ambition: to provide opportunities for persons with different kinds of impairments to get together in a sport context by means of necessary adaptations. In order to reach out to as many persons with impairments as possible, the Oslo gathering included all age segments. Necessarily, this also broadened the category of the kind of activity the climbing at the gathering was to be like, and how it was to be understood.

In the outset, the feature mix of age groups influenced the participants both regarding the *in fact* organizing, and also in that it was an explicit *idea* about what the terms of the gathering were. The latter again indirectly influenced the "in fact" conduct at the gathering, as it influenced the climbers' meaning perceptions and ways of behaving (examples will be given). A point is that the mix of age groups emphasized the gathering as an *adaptive* event, and this was explicitly visible during the carrying out of the activities. For example, a couple of very young participants (aged approximately 10-12) brought in constant aspects of "play". Together with other features pointing to the adaptive character - such as the fact that there were a couple of participants there not even interested in climbing specifically, i.e. they joined for more general reasons of leisure activities - the gathering thereby came to inhibit an overall characteristic of difference opposite climbing perceived as a serious sport discipline.

As Rocks is an established climbing group, the members take climbing seriously. At the same time both adaptive climbing and their own perceptions of their own normal climbing are central constituents of their social climbing world. The investigation of their conduct and perceptions according to the feature *mix of age groups* at the gathering can therefore serve to explore their meaningful identity work and maintaining of this *province of meaning* (Schütz). This can be understood to circle around *difference* (which also point to one of the bearing structures of the SCW).

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[68] To reiterate this point concerning the internal mechanisms of the SSCW: Within the SCW, the perceptions of difference can go both ways according to context. Both adaptive climbing and the special game can be "different", depending on which of the SCW structures are defining in the situation. In the overall sense however, since the structures *the special game* (2) and *Dedication to the sport* (5) are understood as the most important structures in terms of identity, adaptive climbing (1) is perceived as *the other* in general - that is, as "different climbing".

Perceptions of difference

In terms of self-identity, the Rocks members perceive themselves first and foremost as *climbers who have impairments*, rather than *persons with impairments climbing* (cf. 3C). The adaptive context at the gathering emphasized the latter dimension, and in an overall sense two dimensions of perceptions of difference were thereby actualized: First, the gathering was explicitly about adaptive climbing, thereby positioning the participants and their climbing as different from other climbers. Second, the Rocks climbers thereby also came in a position of being "between categories" as they also felt as a group of dedicated climbers within this larger group conducting adapted activities, though they also have impairments (if not they would not have attended the gathering in the first place, obviously). It thereby came to some tension calling for varieties of active identity work in order to maintain the meaningful SCW (this points to the overall relation between adaptive climbing and the special game which will be issued thorough the analysis). If seen in terms of the *structures* of the SCW that have been outlined (SSCW), it seems obvious that this relation - or at least *doubleness* - is most central according to the meaning contents of the activity. A clear indication of this is that all of the five SSCW can point to it more or less (depending on the structure or combination of structures being most prominent and defining in a certain context). Understanding the SCW in general thereby implies to understand how its basic constituents are balanced according to each other (cf. the elaborations on contextual "points of gravity").

Colonizing features

A central thought regarding colonization is that assistance and adaptation to some extent "assault"[69] or offend the lifeworld of the adult climbers, as perceived by them, in terms of identity and self-esteem. The mechanisms are not necessarily easily detectable as they are woven together with established discourse and praxis, such as ways of talk and conduct (cf. theory part). The general consensus circumscribing the rehabilitation discourse was also embedded in the carrying out of the gathering, in that the arrangers and the participants

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[69] To adopt a phenomenologically inspired notion from other disability research: "assaults on the lifeworld" (Scambler & Scambler 2010).

agreed on incentives and terms. As it will come forth in different varieties in this project, the phenomenon colonization contains certain elements of ambivalence[70].

First it should be stated that the carrying out of the gathering can be regarded as "successful"; its intentions were followed up (with the exception of the necessity of going for plan B, indoor climbing) and were generally acclaimed by the participants. Which features of the gathering that should have been different and/or should not have been compromised with, would also probably depend on the person asked. For instance, it could be that the youngest participants probably did not mind being together with youngsters and adults (as in other social contexts they might even be more likely to think it was "cool") - but in terms of identity it might not be the same the other way around - that is, for the youngsters and the adults. Again also, for some of the participants the climbing itself might not even have been the main point about attending the gathering. The point here is that even if the gathering was carried out according to the arranger's plans, and was also considered to be successful by the participants (general consent about this was outspoken during the event, and it was also expressed explicitly in the summary and evaluation session on the last day) there were still colonization mechanisms interwoven with it. (There is no contradiction in this; there are rather "logical" connections, taken into account that the prevailing discourse is "everybody's discourse" in the outset).

During both small talk and conversations with the members in between the climbing sequences and in the evenings it became clear that they had an understanding of necessary compromises on behalf of the arrangers. This points to the general understanding between persons with disabilities and the organizations representing and making arrangements for them, rooted in the rehabilitation discourse. The organizations share ideals, interests and incentives with the persons they represent, even if there can be different views upon the exact implementation of these. This also came to expression at the gathering, as it will be exemplified by reactions upon the feature 'mix of age groups'.

As the climbers in Rocks are adult persons with sincere interests in and identities in correspondence with climbing, there was a certain discrepancy. What was perceived as negative sides by the mix of age groups seemed to have to do with two factors especially:

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[70] This is also a feature of colonization in the way it is discussed in prominent social theory (e.g. Habermas 1995 a + b). Also: When the notation 'ambivalence' is used about different climbing and colonization in the following, it might also imply 'ambiguity'.

The restrain of the adult community, and the contextual relativizing of the climbing as a serious sport.

The gathering could not in the outset fulfil the requirement of climbing on one's own premises (the special game) because of the combination of adult established climbers joining the gathering for mainly climbing purposes, and the youngest playing around and mostly "having fun". The latter made the "play" prevalent during the sessions, and thereby also established an aura of necessary adult supervision. Even if accepted as part of necessary financial and practical considerations, and also to some extent appreciated for its social value, this was considered by the adult dedicated climbers as being to some degree dysfunctional. On one side, it influenced the seriousness of the gathering as a sports event, colliding with the meaning structure *Dedication to the sport* (SSCW 5), which - as mentioned - is understood to be one of the most defining of the identity aspects of the SCW (alongside *The special game*, SSCW 2). On the other side it also influenced the need for adult socializing. Hence it came to a certain collision of concerns when the practical arrangement and outspoken incentives about inclusion met the wish for serious climbing in an adult context. Having the arrangement for all age groups together had been a kind of compromise - this again underscored the aura of the gathering as being "between categories", hence pointing to *difference* in a general and overall sense.

Seen apart from practical aspects not being perceived as quite ideal regarding the mere sports aspect (though perhaps as necessary) the "serious climbers" seemed to find the intermingling of different age groups as nice in the outset, of general social reasons. This positive attitude also seemed to be in line with their general support of the arrangers' incentives of inclusion, again an element of the prevailing (rehabilitation) discourse. Obviously, the inclusion feature also pertained to the fact that they had been invited themselves. This seemed to make the discrepancy hard to address, as it was part of the "good, right and necessary intentions" of the rehabilitation discourse which the gathering represented, and which the participants also shared. This exemplifies the *ambivalence* pertaining to the colonization mechanism.

There is also a rather substantial reason behind the use of mix of age groups for analysing aspects of practical arrangements and for the comparing of it with the perceptions of *different kinds of climbing*. A new national gathering in Bergen 2011 (the following year) initiated and planned by the Norwegian Climbing Federation (NKF) was

eventually cancelled due to a low number of registered participants. The fact that the members of Rocks chose not to participate, had a significant influence on this decision.[71] It became clear that Rocks would rather go for an excursion on their own.[72] The experiences with the mix of age groups at the gathering the year before was presented as an important reason: in their view it had made it into "more of a nice and cosy kind of event than a real climbing gathering", as it was approximately put by Miriam in a later conversation. Hence the Rocks members would rather go somewhere to experience ″real climbing" - for instance Hamarøy.

Different climbing

The conception *different climbing* appeared gradually during the observations. From the various talks about climbing I participated in, one feature I started noticing was that the Rocks members occasionally referred to their usual climbing as being "something other than this", or that the gathering was a "nice arrangement on its terms", tacitly indicating - as it seemed - that it was not about "real" climbing though, but something else. This feature was to be even stronger expressed the year after, in Skibotn (to be elaborated in later sequences). Ultimately, this feature also contributed in the developing of the conception of "the Rocks praxis field" that was eventually given the notation *the special game* in the analytical framework of the project, referring to Rocks' "true" climbing[73].

First, in an overall sense, the perception of different climbing seemed to have much to do with the Oslo event being defined for climbers with impairments, obviously, both in terms of explicit and outspoken intentions and the practical organizing taking form as such, hence providing the practical framing within which the interaction was situated, and thereby also providing for the overall meaning context. This implies that impairment was positioned as a *theme*. On one side this was of course intended, and even adhering to the main point with the gathering. On the other side this however also became a reminder of difference with ambiguous side effects calling for certain ways of relating to them in order to make the event meaningful and giving. In short, *relating to ambivalence* also became a

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[71] Phone conversation with a consultant at the NKF, autumn 2011.
[72] Mail correspondence between myself and the Rocks group (group e-mail) in the same period. Miriam and John wrote on behalf of the group.
[73] In correspondence with impressions from the empirical material, the association from 'praxis field' to 'special game' was inspired by the late Wittgenstein's understandings of 'language games' pertaining to certain 'life forms' (Wittgenstein 2009).

matter of *definition work* for the climbers.[74] It is about actively constructing the meaning contents circumscribing the physical phenomenon impairment, within the material-practical framing provided by "others" (the arrangers). The participants will of course at no point be climbers *without* impairments, whether at the gathering or outside of it - but as discussed in various contexts in this project, this is part of complex meaning constellations. In this organizational context in Oslo, difference seemed to be about the symbolic powers inherent in the defining of the gathering for persons with impairments - and further, the concrete material-practical adaptations transferring this definition into the praxis field - that is, into the real experiential world of the climbers, in which they were corporeally and socially situated.

Indications on colonization: When otherwise "neutral" features become symbolically loaded and reacted upon

There were also various aspects of adaptations (from the arrangers' side) below this overall feature of difference characterizing the social context at the gathering (climbing for persons with impairment/adaptive climbing). Three features can be mentioned: First, the aspect that is already in use here as a more comprehensive example for analysis - the age differences. Also, many of the participants did not know each other on beforehand - and then the climbers also varied considerably according to experience and skills in climbing.

An interesting point is that none of these features point to difference in any obvious way *in themselves*. Seen apart from (for a moment, of analytical reasons) Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological understanding that all perceived phenomena "always already" embed a socio-cultural backdrop of meaning (Merleau-Ponty 2012, Berentzen 2010), the features are "neutral" in the outset. This point, to be elaborated in the further, is about how material-practical features are framed by perception in an experience as well as it also being the other way around: such features *invoking* certain perceptions. The overall *difference* being perceived as a signifier for the gathering influences and "colours" a variety

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[74] Cf. the "logic" of the dynamic between the SSCW as elaborated before. Dependent on context, the *difference* structure (SSCW 3) can come in the foreground in various modes, e.g. in form of positive or negative experiences. This points to the *enactive* aspect of the SCW, that is, definition work: On one side, climbing with impairment as *difference* can be perceived as "climbing on reduced terms" (deprivation), e.g. invoking "glances of pity" from other people. It can however also be perceived as "climbing *even if* one has an impairment", pointing to strong personalities and adventurous minds, hence e.g. invoking glances of admiration and acknowledgement from other people.

of in themselves casual characteristics, with which it is related, "in its own picture". Thus, this follows the same line of thinking as is also developed regarding the internal dynamics between the SSCW, inspired by the Schützian *zones of relevance* (theory part).

Colonization influencing perception

Regarding how colonization works "below the radar", following the reflections above: As well as not being indications on perceived difference in themselves, variations in skills, age or grade of interpersonal acquaintance are also not colonizing aspects in themselves. But as they are first linked with difference and thereby loaded with meaning in the praxis field, so the colonization mechanism will also follow. The observations indicated that the features could seem to become *perceived indicators* for the overall defining of the gathering as being *for persons with impairments*, again calling for strategies of reactions and positioning of self[75].

Again, a comparison with climbing in non-impairment contexts can contribute in the understanding of the mechanisms. It could be understood as an indication on colonization that one in other (non-impaired) settings would not need to distance oneself from any of these characteristics in themselves; it was the overall definition of this specific context - in the name of the rehabilitation discourse - which turned them into signifiers of meaning being perceived in this way. And also, obviously, there is a structural element to this, making it relevant for understandings of other areas of disability research as well. It should be reasonable to expect similar mechanisms to take place in other kinds of arrangements as well, as long as they are directed towards participants with impairments and are arranged according to the prevailing discourses about disability and impairment. To clarify the reflections with a parallel: At a climbing gathering outside of a disability context (non-disabled climbers) the fact that the participants had different skill levels, that different age groups were represented, or that participants did not know each other from before would hardly be perceived as indications that something was "not optimal". In fact, the mere issuing of the question seems just awkward in that context. The central question is therefore why they seemed to become designators of something "not optimal" at the gathering, according to comments from the participants.

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[75] Here is a dimension that to some extent overlaps with the analysis section 2 (discourse/narratives) as it concerns the material-practical effects of the discourse. The meaning contents of material and descriptive facts, like the features in question, are fundamentally coloured by discursive formations (Foucault 1994).

Such seemingly trivial factors might be indicators of the discourse at work on a deeper level. I propose the assumption that at the gathering, these characteristics were perceived in connection with the rehabilitation discourse, and also in a way indicating colonization (mode 1). There was a symbolic aura of "*they* have put us together in this way", referring to the arrangers, at the same time as it was hard to express any "legitimate critique", as mentioned. At a gathering outside of a disability context there would not have been a "they" in the same way, with a certain incentive on behalf of the participants, such as in terms of intentions of integration or rehabilitation. The characteristics of the participants regarding age, skills or interpersonal acquaintance would simply have turned out in this or that composition, as it would neither have been intentionally directed towards a certain group - like persons with impairments - nor having been announced through specific channels for less advantaged groups, like The Norwegian Association for the Blind and Partially Sighted (Blindeforbundet) and Norwegian Association of Disabled (Norges handikapforbund). In such other (non-impairment) settings an eventual broad age span would have had a coincidental, or in any way a "natural" cause. When it however was explicitly *intended* to be like that through the planning of the arrangers for purposes of participation and integration, and thereby becoming a practical executing of the prevailing discourse, it became a signal of difference on a broader level, touching upon the climbers' perceptions of identity, and thereby invoking mechanisms of "protest", however without clear addressees.

Again issuing the feature especially used for exemplification, mix of age groups: A certain inner relation between this feature and perceptions of different climbing seemed to emerge, thus exemplifying how material-practical features correspond fundamentally with the internal meaning dynamics of the social climbing world. In other words, in this context the feature functioned as a *frame for perception*. It could be reasonable to assume that for the climbers, the age differences thus came to *symbolize* the event as an adaptive arrangement for persons with impairments - and as a reaction, the mere climbing at the gathering was ruled out as something other than "the real thing".

This also exemplifies the internal dynamics of the SSCW, as understood in correspondence with the Schützian *zones of relevance* (1970: 111-114): The context might call for a certain structure (or combination of structures) to become the "point of gravity" opposite which the other structures are being adapted in order to create a proper overall

framework for the situation. Thus, following the descriptions above: An aspect of the arrangement colonized the climbing world, highlighting the *difference* structure within it (SSCW 3). As a reaction against this, the climbing there was "put in brackets"[76] opposite their own climbing - *the special game* (SSCW 2) - which is also a way of saving the latter (and "true") climbing from comparison with *adaptive climbing* (SSCW 1). Again: Even if both *difference* and *adaptive climbing* are also structures within the social climbing world, there is a need to have them relativized according to the structures given defining powers in that they express the climbers' perceptions and identities of self - that is, set as *defining zones of relevance* within the social climbing world: *The special game* (SSCW 2) and *Dedication to the sport* (SSCW 5).

Second example: Climbing in the other room

The following example describes how the Rocks members seemed to arrange their own sphere within the gathering, understood as a way of distancing themselves from the organizational framing in order to shape a context of the familiar, a context of "climbing as usual". The example thereby also draws further on the already discussed aspect *different climbing,* though this time in a new context. At the same time as the example points to colonization type 1 in portraying a form of reaction upon it, it also underscores the relevance of the concept corporeal-social meaning itself as it shows the interconnection between oneself, the well-known others, and the activity as determining for one's meaning perceptions within the activity.

On the second day of the gathering the climbing took place at Klatreverket. At some point, after general mingling and climbing with other participants in the main section of the site, John, Konrad, Peter, and their usual instructor left the others and went to find another climbing room. I joined them. Later I came to perceive this as seeking a "retreat" within the context of the gathering.

This other room was smaller, a little secluded, felt more intimate and was quieter than the main hall, and also had a more relaxed atmosphere over it than the other rooms. At the venue it felt a little "backstage" (Goffman 1990). As I came to see it in retrospect, the

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[76] Established phenomenological expression, pointing to the aspects in the perceived world being put in the background opposite the perceptive focus (cf. theory part).

social setting of this episode at Klatreverket came to resemble Rocks' own regular climbing in Tromsø, as I was to observe it a year later (Table 4B).

Before starting up there was some small talk with sporadic comments on the walls, the routes and other features at the site. There was also exchange of comments about other themes than climbing, some of which seemed to relate to different aspects of ordinary life. It was obvious that they had some references in common from living in Northern Norway, and that they shared some ordinary experiences from the same geographical and cultural surroundings. There was also something in the way they spoke together, the tone; it had a casualness to it which indicated that they knew each other well from before. I could recognize some of it from the car as we had been driving to the hostel from the airport (cf. the descriptive account in 5.1). Back then the tone had been more humorous and influenced by the travel, but had nevertheless had moments of such tuned-down casualness as I experienced now. Here in this "backstage" climbing session it appeared to me as if they had been in this kind of situation many times before, and that it was well-known to them. As it was to become clear, this assumption was right - and this also led to a significant insight into the social climbing world.

After some easier climbing it was time to try something more challenging. At one point John had just finished a route, and it was Peter's turn to give it a try. I had belayed Konrad on the opposite wall at the same time. Now I got the opportunity to pay full attention to Peter's attempt.

Peter is a less experienced climber than John and seemed to expect something of a challenge. Before starting, he had some questions about the route. He did not seem very confident at this moment. Then, however, with a determined "All right, then!"[77] he went for it. The climbing was obviously a challenge to him, but he went on. After for some time having given utterances indicating sincere dedication while ascending, more to himself than to the others (as it seemed), he started communicating more directly with the others. The communication was tight, short-cut and seemed to me to have character of the way people who have grown up together may speak to one another, or people who have co-worked for a long time - that is, for instance, reading between the lines and giving "tacit" messages that other people would not grasp.

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[77] The expressions quoted are approximate, as I did not make field notes at this site.

There came to some "discussion" between Peter and the other two in this immediate context - Konrad and John (who belayed him). Not of an angry type, but intense and sincere. Most of the time it had the form of the usual "climber wants to give up, but the others attempt to psyche him into going further". Several times Peter told the belayer (John) that he wanted to go down, and every time the others gave him typical messages like "no, come on now!" and "you'll reach at least two more holds, don't give up now". Then at some point Peter said "I'm going down. Now." John instantly replied with an "ok" and lowered him to the floor.

As an observer I perceived this episode as conspicuous. To me, it seemed like the breaking up of the climbing attempt also implied a sudden break of context. Why did this happen so sudden? It seemed like the others had been mutually aware of something and communicating in a way I could not conceive of myself there and then.

The following was how it appeared to me as an observer: This last time Peter said he was going down it was not in a more determined voice than before, and definitely not louder. John's immediate response and the general cease of "arguing" also came sudden and unexpected. After the later Tromsø field work I became quite certain that there had been some tacit communication going on in that situation back then at Klatreverket. John and Konrad had understood something I did not at the time, and they were similarly communicating it in implicit codes I could not detect. There was probably something in Peter's voice, or something in his body language which they noticed due to knowing him and having climbed with him over a long period of time.

This resembles central characteristics of what could be called "embedded sociality", as described in Merleau-Ponty's work. Following a sequence where he has described the immediate and incorporate handling of well-known physical surroundings in a body schema context, he transfers the same point to conversation. He writes:

> When I chat with a close friend, each of his words and each of mine contain, beyond what they signify for everyone else, a multitude of references to the principal dimensions of his personality and of mine, without our needing to evoke our previous conversations (Merleau-Ponty 2012: 131).

Hence, it is a point that there exist an "implicitness" between persons who know each other well, and which might be hidden to "everyone else" (in the sense that even if these

others can see that it is there, they do not know what it consists of). At this point it could be made a parallel to Schütz' understanding of the researcher's possibilities to obtain knowledge about such phenomena. In the situation described, I was far closer to the "everyone else" category than to the focus group, who in this context could be ascribed to the "close friends" category. Earlier I have explained how the second order constructs of the researcher have a connection with the first order constructs of the persons under study: According to Schütz (1997, 1970) the *primordial meaning* lying at the core of subjective meaning also has an intersubjective dimension that makes it accessible to both "close friends" - together with whom it may be given a specifically social content (social meaning of the first order) - *and* to the researcher (second order). In the theory part, it was a point to show how Schütz and Merleau-Ponty can be said to correspond with each other regarding the use made of them in my project. In describing the "close friends" category as containing dimensions which are "beyond reach" of others, it must be understood in the context of ordinary everyday experiences, and not as a methodological barrier; incorporated social meaning can perhaps be *hidden* to outsiders in the context, but that does not mean that it is a *closed* domain to them, in principle. It is interesting that Merleau-Ponty also uses the notions 'primordial' and 'secondary' (cf. order of meaning) - and even if he uses them somewhat "juxtaposed" in comparison to Schütz, this seems to have more to do with their respective language contexts than pointing to different views. Following directly from the quote above, Merleau-Ponty continues:

> *These acquired worlds, which give my experience its secondary sense, are themselves cut out of a primordial world that grounds the primary sense of my experience. Similarly, there is a "world of thoughts", a sedimentation of our mental operations, which allows us to count on our acquired concepts and judgments (…)* (Ibid: 131).

What Merleau-Ponty denotes as *the secondary sense* are closely connected with the primordial world (it is *cut out of* it). Suffice it to say that although it is more abstract, this can be said to correspond with Schütz' conception 'stock of knowledge', which is again fundamentally connected with the general phenomenological expression 'the natural attitude'. In terms of practical conduct, the linkage to Polanyi's concept 'tacit knowing' is also clear.

Regarding the situation with Peter, it is relevant to bring in some information which I was not to obtain before a year later, at the Tromsø field work. At that time I got to know more about his impairment. Peter's visual loss was the result of a falling accident at work. At one occasion, in a conversation with Ada, she had dropped a comment which made me conceive of a larger pattern; she said that he seemed to have got a kind of "anxiety in his body".

It could seem like Peter was making some kind of balancing between confronting the embedded anxiety (or fright), and being suddenly overwhelmed by it. The other members seemed to have learned the codes about this - it is about a sociality which also say something about the climbing in a material-practical sense, pointing to the actual conducting of it. For example, Peter did not necessarily see the point in attempting new routes. He might approach the same route several times within the same session, *fast and confronting*. And it could also be a route which he knew very well from before. To just *climb* and *get up there* seemed to be of crucial importance to him.

This also mirrored explanations about how the visually deprived members had learned to recognize the other individuals in the wall by sounds. For example, they could "read" Peter from his distinct and continuous sound of "effort and determination". If there suddenly came "a hesitation in the sounds" one immediately came into a mode of special awareness. Quite soon there would probably start some verbal negotiation (of the type - "I'm going down" - "no, try some more".)

In Tromsø, the pattern in this became clearer. There I recollected the field work in Oslo the year before, where I had observed that he walked about and in a sense hesitated when it was about climbing a route, and somehow discussed with himself. Then he took a quick decision and just "had it done". The same was the case when it came to a long rappel[78] at the gathering, which some of the participants were encouraged to attempt. He made his decision as another participant had just finished doing it. Later on he said that he had some competitive instinct coming over him, which pushed him into at last deciding to do it. *But then, when I saw her do it, I thought "damn it!" I'm gonna do it, too*. He had been quite scared during the rappel, even if it got better towards the end of it. He felt proud after doing it, as if it had been about a kind of *contesting*. Peter also mentioned this later,

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[78] I.e. lowering oneself along the rope by use of a breaking device.

as a point of reference. It seemed to have become part of his own personal climbing narrative, as well as to the common story of the group.

It is natural to see these features - at least in part - as results of the kind of impairment he has, and the way he had achieved it. It also exemplifies how different individual conditions, including the characteristics and histories of their respective impairments, together make up the social realm of meaning which the Rocks fellowship has become through corporeal experience. They have a praxis community with a group identity pertaining to it, and it relies on their own unique presumptions. My assumption is that they established a contemporary zone of this at the gathering when they went backstage to "the other room" (Goffman 1990). The "climbing in the other room" was "normal climbing" for Peter. At Klatreverket, none of the routes were familiar to him - but he found himself surrounded by his usual *social context* (cf. Table 4B).

When the climbers communicated in the careful and precise way described above, they were fundamentally together in the game, in a corporeal-social sense. This can be assumed to have provided them with an experience which reaches beyond the mere climbing activities: it points to the special game, which is a bearing constituent of the SCW, and which contribute in making their activities meaningful.

Table 4B: Experiences of "normal" and "different" climbing within the social climbing world.

	Setting		Experience	
	Overall site (arena)	**Local site (where the climbing takes place specifically)**	**Material-practical outer setting**	**Corporeal-social experience**
Adaptive climbing	**Oslo** (the national gathering)	**Climbing with the other participants in the main hall**	Different	Different
		Rocks withdrawal ("climbing in the other room")	Partly different, partly normal (the arrangers' outer setting, though with Rocks' own chosen setting within it)	Normal (familiar corporeal-social context)[79]
The special game	**Skibotn** (outdoor excursion)		Normal (unfamiliar crag and routes, but still "as it should be", and chosen by themselves)	Normal (familiar corporeal-social context)
	Tromsø (the usual indoor climbing)		Normal (familiar walls and routes)	Normal (familiar corporeal-social context)

[79] Cf. the example "Climbing in the other room" as portraying an exception at the Oslo gathering, in the sense between or both/and normal and different climbing.

Establishing a sense of the familiar

In the overall adaptive climbing context at the gathering, there was a constant change of belayer/climber constellations. On many occasions, the arrangers had a general overview of who wanted to climb and who was available for belaying, although there also happened coincidental formations of climber/belayer teams. If a participant wanted to climb a route and it happened to be a person there available for belaying, they simply formed a team. In any case, there were many teams where climber and belayer did not know each other well. This was a natural thing and how it was supposed to be at such an arrangement. This can be seen in contrast to the setting which the Rocks members had established in the other room, creating (as it seemed) their own "small-scale private gathering" of *special game* climbing within the larger frame of the national climbing gathering.

In order to make some qualified assumptions:[80] If for example I had been belaying Peter myself in this situation referred to, or someone else outside of Rocks for that matter, something would perhaps have become "wrong" according to the special game. Or, differently put, the climbing context would once again have been that of the gathering "out there". Perhaps some of the safety associated with the familiarity of the corporeal-social context of the special game would have got distorted - not with regards to actual security, obviously, but in terms of "existential safety", and thereby the whole climbing experience. In this situation Peter seemed to need the immediate tacit an *incorporated* know-how of another Rocks member in order to experience the activity in the meaningful way which this special context demanded. If I had "intruded", it would no longer have been a setting of the special game.

Even if this was the only episode of its kind which I observed at the gathering (except from more ad-hoc tendencies of Rocks members seeking together), it may also inform the analysis in a fruitful way along other lines as well. For example, the episode also points to a kind of "concentric circle division" regarding adaptation to impairment. First, the gathering is itself about adaptations due to impairments. Then it is possible that some of the participants might need a free space within these outer adaptations in order to relate to

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[80] As I was not there and then fully aware of this assumed mechanism of establishing one's own climbing within the gathering - and also corresponding with the fact that the conception of *the special game* had not yet become fully established at the time - I did not deliberately break in to observe eventual changes (in the sense attempt to test the hypothesis).

their respective impairments in proper ways in the activity. Here one could also experiment with the thought that there is an additional type of colonization at work, however marginal - in that the general organizing and adaptations at the gathering does not fit all the participants, and that one might therefore need to do something on one's own terms, implying a kind of differentiation from the overall organizational framework (cf. rehabilitation discourse). Even if neglecting of some dimensions of physical varieties at such a gathering is unavoidable in itself, it might add to the feelings already established about the gathering "not really being for people like us (serious climbers)". Here it seems to be a short distance to an implicit opposition towards the "they" who categorize different people together, as discussed earlier (and again there is an obvious similarity with "quazi colonization").

Contexts of climbing with impairment

In this "climbing in the other room", a foreign belayer could have made the situation "wrong"; alternatively, and even perhaps more probable, this *situation* would not have taken place. It would have become another *type* of climbing for Peter. He would not have gotten into the verbal "battling phase" with the others, and would probably have given a clear and unambiguous message to the belayer as soon as he reached his limit of comfort. And when you belay a person you do not know within the context of such a gathering, you do exactly as you are told (you are dealing not just with psyche which can be "pushed" within reasonable limits, but also with impairments you do not know the full characteristics of). This is a feature pertaining to many persons with impairments engaging in sport activities, and especially those with damages one has to be especially aware of (Kissow 2015, Standal 2009). In our context it means it would not be room for tacit and "between the lines" communication.

This provides an extra dimension to the context with Peter in this example, and is also an important finding regarding the need to extend the scope of how a physical impairment is to be conceived of when it comes to its situatedness in certain material and social surroundings. Peter did not have an impairment he had to be especially careful about in a physical sense when climbing (visual deprivation), contrary to e.g. Fred, who has a spine injury (amongst else). Still, it was an influencing fact that his impairment nevertheless *appeared* in the climbing situations (cf. SSCW 4 *Appearance of the impairment*), and then

not in the limited understanding held by common understandings of impairment - that is, as a constant (at least for a period) physical deprivation reducing one's abilities to conducting certain activities in the "normal" ways. It is an important point that Peter's impairment "appeared" from the context of the situation itself. It was not a sting of physical pain which could simply have been ascribed to the interplay between the body and the physical surroundings, as it could be with e.g. Fred and Miriam.[81] For him, the "appearance of the impairment" would have to be seen in the larger context of *who he was climbing with*, and the immediate setting for the activity and the way of interaction. The totality of these factors *constituted* his impairment in the situations where it came forth.

This can be given a reflection departing from the category *present, in consciousness, negative* in Table 2: When still "pressing through" in spite of the impairment (perception of the impairment here in the form of anxiety, not physical hindrance), the perception could seem to turn to *present, in consciousness, positive*; *positive* as he seemed to be relieved and also quite proud when he had "been going for it" and also received praise from the others. It can be noted that within the internal mechanisms of the SSCW this could also turn the *difference* structure over from negative (impairment as deprivation) to positive (climbing with impairment as a sign of courage), again positioning him within this exact SCW context with experiences of mastery and coping. (Following the mechanisms of the SSCW: the other structures would "tune in" according to this variety of the - in this case - defining structure *difference* (hence the "point of gravity"). Therefore, in order to understand the meaning content in climbing for Peter when it comes to the impairment, the traditional understandings of impairment and disability (as elaborated in the theory part) do not suffice. The conceptualization *corporeal-social meaning* seems however to be both significant and enlightening.

To add an observation which underscores the assumptions above when it comes to Peter and the importance of the familiar: When the Rocks members were engaged with climbing with the others at the gathering, Peter seemed to be extra careful when climbing in teams with persons outside of the Rocks group. Occasionally he also - and according to my impression, perhaps more often than the others - politely dismissed proposals from belayers who asked him if he wanted to climb. His answers were of the type

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[81] Cf. Table 2: Present, corporeally felt, negative.

(approximately) "No thanks, I'm good. I'll rather watch for a while." And when he actually let someone outside of the group belay him, he approached routes which were very easy and which he therefore had very good margins with. And still he seemed to finish quite soon, before coming far up. His "carefulness" in these situations indicated that he was outside of his usual climbing context (cf. Table 4B).

Third example: The introduction round

The following example is from the common introduction round taking place in Oslo. It is focused on how one of the participants showed ambivalent conduct in a concrete setting of adaptive organizing. It thus points to a micro-scale variety of how practical procedures could influence identity and interaction at the gathering, and also issues first mode-colonization. The example simultaneously highlights the corporeal-social dimension in that it points to the fundamental connectedness between body language, presentations of self (in this context also quite literally), and the concrete setting in which the interaction takes place.

In the early evening of the day of arrival it was arranged so that the participants were to sit in a circle in the reserved diner room in the hostel, presenting themselves after turn. The person conducting the session was the main administrator in charge. To start with my own impressions: It seemed like the setting had an aura of "integration programme" over it, with elements of supervision and "systematized good intentions" directly passed on from the integration incentives of the arranging organizations. My associations inevitably went to introductory sessions at youth camps, AA-meetings, or self-help groups such as portrayed in popular entertainment (e.g. TV series and films) as well as in research literature on social work. In my view, the setting implied an active positioning of the participants as "clients", or "users"[82] even if this was probably not intended. It is a natural assumption that this, amongst other intended integrating factors, contributed in a tacit influence on what was to be going on for the next couple of days. Regarding the arrangers and assistants, the introduction round seemed to follow a way of conduct which had been a tendency from the start; the arrangers had mingled around, greeting newcomers and secured that the participants were included, such as - amongst else - making sure that

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[82] I.e. notions that have become established within the new empowerment vocabulary in relation with the rehabilitation discourse (Fook 2016, Silva & Howe 2012).

some of the participants got to know each other. This gave an explicit impression of a kind of formal control, in the sense that "somebody is in charge here and watches out for everybody".

The setting could be seen as an example of a praxis form pointing to the ways the organizing principles and hegemonic discourse of support, integration and rehabilitation are imposed onto concrete social situations. There came to be something "protected" and "school-like" over the atmosphere, although also practical and obviously well-working given the context.

An episode from the introduction round indicates a variant of the first mode of colonization. As it came to be, all the participants and assistants were to sit together in a circle. The arrangers started with introducing themselves, thereafter it was the participants' turn. One of the participants was by characteristic a good-humoured person, often telling anecdotes, laughing and very often swearing quite harshly, though "kind-heartedly" (at the time of the introduction session I had just become slightly acquainted with him, but this characteristic seemed valid also later). When it was his turn to introduce himself there soon came to some stuttering and social hesitancy. The reason was that he had started out with his usual way of talking, and accidentally dropped a couple of swear words. Becoming aware of the setting - as explained before, there was a couple of quite young participants there - he held in, reacted to his blunder with - accidentally - another swearword, and hesitated once again before continuing in a more "proper" way.

The point to be made here is about his reactions upon his own language. Why was it perceived by himself as inappropriate, leading him to hesitate before moderating his presentation? Clearly, it points to the external framing of the gathering, the cultural-practical totality defining the proper ways of conduct and expression in this interaction context. This was an adapted context, and the participants also had to adapt according to it. In a sense there had been established an "aura of protectiveness" over the whole framing of the event, bearing with it a kind of implicit normativity regarding how to "behave and talk".

Perhaps this becomes especially clear if seen in comparison with another situation with adult persons getting together at a more informal climbing excursion. The following possibility is based on my own experiences and also corresponds with a variety of reports and documentaries from climbing events: The participants would perhaps have gotten to

know each other quite casually, by mingling around and perhaps getting introduced by people they already know. At some point people could perhaps also end up by sitting around in a circle, and it could be natural from the situation that they started presenting themselves after turn (if a couple of persons start, the others will regard it natural to continue) (Goffman 2005). But they would probably not have been sitting down there *in order to* present themselves in this way, and there would certainly not be persons formally in charge specifically arranging for this to happen. Probably they would already be sitting there, casually, and the presentation would be following naturally from the mere fact that there were some persons there not knowing each other from before. And one would probably not get a feeling of "inappropriateness" from some casual swearing - on the contrary, in that context it could even have been a directly appreciated way of speech as it would underscore the casualness and "freedom" of the context.

According to the narrative of the climbing sport (2.2), climbing is a free and adventurous sport. These characteristics obviously also adhere the climbers, who are perceived as "free souls", not bound by the moral limits and conformal conduct of "ordinary people" (Svensen 2011). It is supposed to be casual, non-formal and non-organized.[83] Again, most of the climbers at the gathering were probably not much inspired by the overall climbing narrative. The climber in the example was however amongst the more experienced climbers, and it can therefore be assumed that he related to it, at least to some degree. The example above hence shows how one could experience being "bound" in a micro context within a larger framework of adaptive climbing.

For the sake of comparison it could be mentioned that at the Skibotn excursion the following year, in the evenings in the cabin or around the bonfire, the language in use came to be informal, casual and not "artificially adapted" at it sometimes had been at the Oslo gathering.[84] At that occasion nobody seemed to feel the need to adjust themselves according to someone or something outside of the group itself.

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[83] Even if most climbers perhaps do not relate much to it personally, it can be mentioned that the "dirt bag" lifestyle is very much represented in climbing films and reportages, and hence has an aura of "ideal coolness" over it (for example, the *Reel Rock* series by Big Up productions). The cliché "dirt bag" is a young man living in his car close to nature and the crags, devoting all of his time to fulfilling his "inner drives" about climbing and "being free".

[84] On the obvious presumption that language use is always adapted to a context. The point is that it was not adapted according to any explicitly organized framing.

Fourth example: The unneeded assistance

In some sense the handling of impairment and adaptation (as in adaptive activity) seems to point to a grey zone or "liminal state" [85] with regards to how it is concretely related to in the praxis field. The following reflections issue such a liminal zone between difference and normality related to interaction in micro contexts. They add to other interactionist and phenomenologically oriented studies when it comes to small nuances in social encounters which *make the impairments appear* in certain ways (cf. SSCW 4), hence underscoring perceptions of difference - and often indirect and between the lines. It is about ambiguous features in encounters with other people, which are to be handled along the way in order to make the interaction work well (cf. Goffman 2005, 2002).

Ambivalence in interaction: "tacit" indications on difference

At some occasions at the gathering, expressions indicated that a certain ambivalence was experienced regarding the mere balancing of adaptive climbing as explicitly intended, on one side, and the "right attitudes" opposite impairments, on the other, the latter implying that the adaptive aspect *should be played down*. This is in line with the incentive of the rehabilitation discourse regarding the impairment as both something to be contested and defeated, and *also* to be ignored and at times forgotten. At Vulcan on the last day an adult climber with reduced vision - and skilled to belay - made himself ready to belay another climber. Then an assistant came over and asked if she should be backup belayer for him, in case (approximately put) "you have not done this so often" or if it "had been a long time since the last time". The belayer replied that he did not need assistance, that he was all good. Even if the situation and the interaction were quite innocent in the outset, there seemed to be an aura of resignation and slight disappointment in his tone. The expression in his voice and conduct combined indicated that he had become "underestimated once

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[85] The term is inspired by the anthropologist Victor Turner, who used the term *liminal period* or *-phase* to denote persons who in a certain cultural context hold an un-defined status, especially in *rites of passage* (Turner 1964). An obvious presumption to be made regarding comparison, is that impairments are often permanent phenomena - cf. sociological understandings on temporary vs. permanent states and ascriptions of difference (chapter 2). In my context it points to ambivalence regarding the role of the impairment in the activity context.

again" because of his impairment, but that he at the same time was used to this kind of approach from others[86].

The essence of the example is that even if it was not directly outspoken, the impairment was clearly the reason for the assistant's offer - and the "tacit" mutual understanding of this made the impairment appear perceptively in the belayer, hence underscoring difference as a result of a "micro context colonization".

Before going further, a short reflection should be made: It is taken into consideration that the direct observational impressions from this were limited. It is so not least due to the fact that reactions in such episodes are held back ('interaction work'), and it thereby becomes liminal also in that sense. The point is anyhow that such episodes point to experiences which are well-known to people with disabilities. There were also other episodes at the gathering similar to this, and related aspects also came forth in various conversations (cf. basic lines in 3C). The observation of this exact event thereby also draws on other sources, and the example can therefore be set to represent.

Certain kinds of encounters with non-disabled could indicate a "liminal state", positioning the situation in an ambiguous grey zone *between* normality and difference. A central feature related to these encounters - also defined as one of the structures in the SCW - was the *appearance of the impairment* (SSCW 4). The liminal state is an undefined state; it is in some sense "hinted about", but without this mere hinting making it less perceived. In the example referred to, the covering strategy initiated by the assistant contributed in making the impairment appear, even if it was not issued directly. Or, to be more precise: First, the impairment was the reason why the assistant approached the belayer with the assistance offer in the first place - and the belayer understood this, obviously. Thereafter she gave a substitutive explanation for her offer, thereby again indirectly issuing the impairment tacitly by not mentioning it and actually making an effort to go around it (this exemplifies what Goffman (1990) would denote as an 'avoidance ritual') and thereby of course also exaggerated it, though in a "between the lines" sense, and in a polite form. Thus, the impairment was issued and hence appeared - though never explicitly[87].

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[86] In other contexts he expressed such experiences as being quite usual. It is hence reasonable to regard this episode as an example pointing beyond itself when it comes to being reminded of one's difference.
[87] According to Table 2, this experience could be categorized as *present, as consciousness, negative*.

On a general level, such as in daily life, similar episodes (regarding the mechanisms involved) with persons offering help and assistance to persons with disabilities are common. It belongs to a fundamental *normativity of care* embedded in common culture, also corresponding with (and necessarily also providing the basic legitimation for) the normativity of the rehabilitation discourse (Mol 2012, Moser 1998). The episode represents a colonization which can be said to point to another variety of "indirect deprivation" (and also hints to "quasi colonization"): When expressions of care are reminders of difference, they impose ambiguity onto the context. The need to protect one's self esteem might call for opposition, but in such a context there will not be a clearly defined goal for an eventual reaction as it is hard to criticize something resulting from good intentions. The alternative might well be strategies in order to "just get it over with" in a polite form, following everyday interaction mechanisms (Goffman 1990).

In the episode, the assistant did her job within the organizational settings and incentives, which again exemplifies how features of the arrangement - in the name of the rehabilitation discourse - bear with them colonizing mechanisms (type 1). As mentioned, one of the factors serving to conceal such mechanisms is the normative good in them. A further point is also the conspicuous simplicity and self-evidence which adhere to this: it was the assistant's task to offer assistance to the participants, and so she did. As such, it does not need any explanation at all - but regarding the further context, this must be understood according to the kind of arrangement it was. Amongst else, the arrangers had a certain responsibility regarding security - and since there were many unexperienced climbers and possibly also belayers there, and combined with the fact that the assistants did not know everybody's skill levels, offering assistance "on a general basis" could simply be a pragmatic way to do it. The point here is again that no matter the intentions of the arrangers, and the "goodness" inherent in the rehabilitation discourse underscoring the arrangement, the organizing of the event anyhow provided certain frames for the climbers' perceptions - and experiences of being colonized seemed to be part of these. This informs the main agenda of this analysis section regarding colonization (type 1) by detecting and describing mechanisms which might easily escape attention because - for one - they might take place "between the lines" and thus constitute a kind of liminal state, and - second - that they are embedded in the rehabilitations discourse, thus making them "always already" approved in terms of good intentions, hence also in this sense preventing one to

see them (which in this project has been sought captured in the concept "indirect deprivation").

When the impairment appears in small and innocent episodes

Seen in relation with disability studies and issues about inequality and subordination on a broader level, this episode could perhaps be regarded as being of very liminal importance in the outset - but exactly this can also make it even more useful for showing to which depth the embeddedness of the influence of the rehabilitation discourse works in social interaction and conduct, and hence also shed light on the colonization mechanisms involved.

The episode adds to a contextual experience of difference, and it can also be containing a certain complexity as it seems to be interwoven in a *process*; it goes through several stages. Even for this small episode, three can be mentioned - and it is interesting that in this interaction process indicating difference, the impairment was not even mentioned. First, the assistant approaching and offering help even if the belayer was in fact skilled. Thereafter the active *interaction work* in order to avoid mentioning the impairment explicitly - and thereafter again the mutual closing of the interaction according to agreement on the situation definition.

In a usual climbing setting, another (non-impaired) climber would obviously not experience any of this. And *if* someone had in fact been coming over to offer help, it would anyhow had been about an evaluation of (or an assumption about) the belayer's belaying skills *in themselves* - and not an assumption about eventual reduced belaying skills resulting from an *impairment*. If the person offering help had in fact been wrong in his/her assumption about the belayer not being skilled enough, if could of course have "hurt the sense of pride" (or, in another expression, made one "lose face" (Goffman 2005) and perhaps even be felt as offensive - but that would have been about the identity as a climber, and not about something else which did not actually have anything to do with one's actual skills - in this case, the impairment. Seen in Leder's (1990) perspective, the latter made the body "dys-function" in the situation, pointing directly at the impairment - then however in the inner perception of it ("as consciousness", Table 2) rather than in the practical conduct (i.e. as "corporeally felt").

In the episode, the belayer was skilled. In the interaction with the assistant the impairment *intervened* in the evaluation of one's skills in the activity, even if there was actually no connection there in itself. In short: The mere connection was imposed by the rehabilitation discourse through colonization via the assistant, and hence underscored a perception of difference in the participant as the impairment was *brought to appear* (SSCW 4).

Uncertainty in interaction caused by the fine line between proper and rude
Expressions coming forth at the gathering regarding the attitude and conduct of others opposite impairments point to a fine line between what is regarded as proper or not, and thus correspond with a broad knowledge base within disability studies (Siebers 2008, Grue 2004). As indicated in our context, also assistance and good intentions can result in perceptions of assaults rather sudden, or at least provide the situation with an aura of discomfort. There are of course nuances, but it is nevertheless a common experience amongst persons with impairments that they sense an awkwardness in such situations, both in the others and in oneself. Also, the one often leads to the other: it is hard to maintain a feeling of the interaction situation being normal and relaxed when one senses that the other feels awkward. This is elaborated in classical interaction theory and has been especially issued in studies of difference (/otherness), where notions such as *stigma* and *labelling* have been central (Shakespeare 2013, Grue 2004).

In the example above, the colonization aspect (in a micro variant) was represented by the assistant offering to help because of an impairment, which thereby was unnecessarily (in terms of perception) brought into the situation: the belayer became posited as an *impaired* belayer and thereby "degraded".[88] This can be followed up by also relating it to implicit norms in climbing in a general sense, that is, outside of an explicit disability context. The belayer in the example was experienced - it is therefore reasonable to assume that he knew about this climbing ethics and that it therefore influenced the experience: According to overall climbing norms,[89] adult climbers are responsible for themselves. If a person

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[88] Cf. the point in 3C, 'The climbers' typifications of themselves as a group (group identity)': "We are not different: We can do the same things as other people (non-disabled). People should understand this and not take for granted that we need extra assistance just because we have impairments." (This is however ambiguous and context dependent, cf. explanations of the 3C typifications).
[89] These are a kind of unwritten social rules on climbing behavior, occasionally referred to in discussions in climbing blogs, forums, and the like. They are related with the cultural history of climbing, highlighting individualism, independency and trust in oneself in challenging situations (2.2).

regards himself skilled to belay, it is not regarded as polite to offer assistance unless he asks for it himself or it is obvious that he is not as skilled as he believes he is (for instance if he makes obvious mistakes). In the example above it is very reasonable that the climber knew why the assistant came over to offer assistance: because he had a visual impairment. According to the ideals of right attitude opposite persons with impairments, the assistant however did not say so explicitly and used substitutive reasons instead. These were obviously not that trustworthy as they were proposed in order to follow a polite way of conduct - and the belayer conceived that. Again: There was no conspicuous reaction in the episode itself, except from the "liminal signs" explained earlier, which follows natural from the inclination in all parts of the interaction to "maintain the definition of the situation" in order to make the interaction context work (Goffman 1990).

One could however ask to which extent this aspect of climbing ethics on proper conduct really mattered in this situation. Hypothetically, it *could* be that the climber perceived it as irrelevant in this adaptive context, for instance if the *adaptive climbing* structure (SSCW 1) was the gravitational point of meaning in his climbing world in this context, hence also relativizing (or turning) the significance of other structures according to it (such as e.g. *the special game* SSCW 2 and *dedication to the sport* SSCW 5, most notably) - and perhaps it was also never really considered. However, this eventuality would rather underscore the point about difference once again, on yet another level: if the normal climbing ethics was ruled out of this context and hence could not be said to having been "offended" in it, it would be so exactly because this situation was perceived as different from other climbing.

Persons with impairments are used to this kind of good intentions being camouflaged in speech and conduct for the sake of not approaching the impairments directly (Grue 2004, Scambler & Scambler 2010). As the example showed, it can even be like that in a context which is in fact especially and explicitly *about* impairment in some way, such as this gathering for adaptive climbing. This indicates how deep it goes.

The same climber came to refer to similar contexts in general ways on later occasions, although perhaps not mentioning this specific episode. Such experiences are collected and belongs to the category "help one does not really want, but accepts in order to be polite, and since the intentions are good" (they can be seen in correspondence with the typifications in 3C). Persons with disabilities are normally very used to engaging into a

variety of interaction strategies (Grue 2004). (This will also be issued in section 2: In the later interviews there were various references to the "unreflected anticipations" in others, which were simply "part of life" and something one had to "just deal with".) It is unlikely that the belayer in question was much offended in the episode - but it is quite certain that the ambiguity and the covering argument was noticed and thereby made the difference (the impairment) between himself and other climbers appear.

Both the arrangers and the participants played along according to the rehabilitation discourse. At the gathering taken in its totality I did not register any open discussions about these themes between assistants and participants, though different kinds of expressions in various contexts indicated that various incidents (even if small and trivial in themselves) had happened, and mentioning them seemed to be a way of coping with it - and also possibly reacting against it, thereby opposing colonization. The comments were not just about the arrangement, assistants and other participants, but also about other climbers in the climbing hall or foreign people at the hostel, and associations could also go to incidents that had happened outside of the context of the gathering. The normal mode of issuing such episodes seemed to be good mooded small talk, which established a general "atmosphere of consent".

5.1.2 The special game in Skibotn and Tromsø

Contrasting adaptive climbing, the usual climbing sessions in Tromsø (indoors) and the Skibotn excursion (outdoors) are examples of Rocks' climbing on their own terms. In these settings, other structures of the SCW (SSCW) are defining than in adaptive climbing. Where the latter highlighted *Adaptive climbing* (1), *Difference* (3) and *Appearance of the impairment* (4), the special game has *The special game* (2) and *Dedication to the sport* (5) as defining "points of gravity".

To reiterate: The special game is the Rocks climbing as it has developed over time, and involves a totality of fellowship, group identity, and mutual knowledge and understanding. For one, their own activity is permeated with the social as well as corporeal trust in each other, based on a tacit knowing that has been established over time. Further, the special game is a zone of meaning where the *impairments* do not invoke perceptions of difference in the climbers in the same way as in other areas of life, where they mark

contrasts to the "normative normal". As the members share the aspects of having impairments, and as their activities have developed in correspondence with these in a way making them natural in this type of climbing, the impairments are physical presumptions in the activity though not as *impaired.* (Hence the need for the new concept about the "non-impaired impairment", as suggested in this project. This will be elaborated further in the end of the section.)

In the special game, *difference* is not necessarily activated as a category in the meaningful handling of the activities - but when it is, it is turned according to how it is in adaptive climbing. Here it is associated with uniqueness and bravery, of the type "we actually climb even if we have impairments" more than the need for adaptations, of the type "we need to take special precautions in order to climb, since we have impairments". Seen in accordance with Table 2, the experiences of the impairments will hence be more on the *positive* side in the special game, and on the *negative* side in adaptive climbing contexts. This influences which kind of difference that is to permeate the overall experience of the activity in the actual context.

In the special game the climbers feel in control with and in charge of the challenging activity. This is a main reason why the SCW as a whole can be seen as a *province of meaning* within the individual life worlds of the members (Schütz). In Tromsø, the whole setting is as familiar as it gets regarding both the social and the material surroundings (Table 4B). In their outdoor excursions it is still the same social context, although less familiar surroundings - but then a central point is that this also makes it "real climbing" in a more ultimate sense for them: Going outdoors and perhaps look up more or less unknown routes is part of the ultimate climbing narrative (cf. 2.2). In that sense unknown settings are related with *Dedication to the sport* (SSCW 5).

Therefore, a difference between Skibotn and Tromsø was that the former marked a kind of "total experience". It was outdoors, and hence offered the combination of contact with nature and climbing on natural rock, in addition to also providing time for social life and conversation without schedules and time limits. In comparison, the sessions in Tromsø took more form of "to the point" activities and combinations of "effective" talk having to do with the climbing and general small talking. Lengthier conversations were more unusual there. This followed naturally from the context: there was limited time for climbing, no

chairs, and there could often be a general noise in the hall making it a less suitable arena for conversations.

The extended context of the special game: Corporeality and identity

The conversations in the field took place in close correspondence with the conducting of the climbing activities and pointed to associative networks in the members' meaning perceptions, having to do with the history and different contexts of relevance inherent in their climbing. This was coupled with a variety of ways in which the individual climbers contributed to the group identity with their personality features (basic lines in Table 3A) and ways of relating to climbing with impairments. Being in the activity context (the game and the extended game) was hence permeated with meaning adhering to the larger context of the SCW. The members' personal characteristics, both in terms of personalities, acquired capabilities, events and other persons related to the group history, melt together in the collective identity. For example, together as well as individually the members gave different references to people outside of the group itself, in connection with episodes defining the history of the group.

An episode in Skibotn can serve to exemplify how personal characteristics and impairments become embedded in the larger context and history of the SCW: As portrayed in the descriptive report on Skibotn, Ada and Fred took part in the small expedition up the cliff to establish the anchors for the climbing ropes. As it becomes evident in other parts of the analyses as well, this points to typical characteristics of the two of them. And not less typical was it - as it should turn out - that John requested a "technical report" as we came back. This was the first time I understood to which extent climbing for John also involved a *mental activity* of explicit logical-practical analysis. The reports from Ada and Fred were immediately connected to by John, who followed it up by his own experiences and references.

Ada explained (as she had also touched upon before we made the ascent) how she felt the need to go over the anchor with her hands in order to "paint an inner picture" of how it was assembled, in order to feel safe about the climbing. John related to this and imposed a personal characteristic to it, an aspect which was however not that important to Ada: he also had a pure technical interest in it, in form of physical mechanisms (to reiterate: he is an academically trained realist, and in his own perception this corresponds with his

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"inner nature"- cf. Table 3A). Being able to imagine how a complex structure *looks like* [90] by feeling it with his hands, was part of John's self-identity about being an intellectual realist.

A further overlap was found in Fred, who was also interested in the mechanics - but then especially in a *practical* sense. For him, the "imaginative power" was not as significant as it was for John. This portrays similarities as well as differences in how the members related to the same phenomenon, here represented by the understandings of the anchor. Ada, Fred and John all wanted to know *how* the anchor was assembled, but of different reasons. Ada's primary interest was to feel safe. This also goes for the others, of course - but in addition, Fred "just liked" such things, as technical equipment and creative practical construction was a hobby of his (e.g. building small-scale boat models). Then there were also Miriam and Konrad, who had yet other ways of relating to it. For both it seemed like they simply trusted that the anchor had been assembled correctly, in that they trusted the persons who had assembled it. There could also be a gendered aspect to this. In terms of traditional gender discourse, practical skills opposite use of tools (Fred) and understanding principles "intellectually" (John) are "male" characteristics. Likewise, and also in contrast, the need to "feel safe" and the more "diffuse" (in the sense feeling-based) wish to "have felt over it with my hands" (approximately put) points to a female characteristic.

In conversations, physical features were occasionally coupled associatively with events and people outside of the group. This is also included in the conceptualization of the SCW (relations 7-10 in Figure 5). For example: John did not actually take part in the preparing of the anchor, but as Fred and Ada told about it and he connected to it with his own experiences, he seemed to use it as departure point for further associations. In some sense he thereby seemed to have taken part in it, after all. John told about how he used to also go over the rig with his hands, like Ada used to do. He had not wanted to join at this exact occasion of practical reasons - because of the troublesome ascent, in combination with his visual impairment - but it became clear that he would have joined if the approach had been more convenient (it is possible that his talking about it now was also a kind of compensation). He associatively connected to the making of the anchor, and thereby took part indirectly by connecting other stories to it. He pulled in aspects of the more overall

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[90] He deliberately and consciously used expressions such as "have a look at" things by feeling on them. This follows the same line as when he *reads* when using a synthetic speech program for written text, and occasionally goes to the movies to *watch* a film.

context and history of the group, which was thereby represented and made alive in this setting at the crag.

First, John explained how he used his hands in the sense that he "saw" with them through tactile sensations, which is a corporeal know-how he has developed after losing his vision. He pointed out that he can get an understanding of how it is (and looks like, as he remembers visual impressions from his pre-impairment period), and also coupled this with his personal mental characteristics in terms of memory and rational thinking (basic lines in Table 3A). Fred and Ada could fill in and confirm his descriptions by referring to what we had just been doing on the top of the cliff, and in this way there was established a common experience about it.

John recollected how he had learned this from the person who could be seen as the group's "mentor" in the start. As also touched upon in the introduction chapter: This person had been part of the initial integration project "Climbing for everybody", from which the Rocks group originated. This person was also the one who had introduced John to climbing for the first time and made him participate in the project. On a couple of occasions he had prepared anchors which John had felt over with his hands and had explained to him.

This also points to matters of group identity. When discussing the practical issues about the anchors, John went back in time to the initial period where the group had been formed. Ada joined in with similar experiences. Those two are the only present members who have been in the group from the very start back in 2005 (the "Climbing for everybody" project). As it was now, they in a way included the others in the elder history, the time before these had become members themselves - and it all seemed to be released from a practical incident in the field: the assembling of the anchors for the climbing ropes.

This intertwining of practical conduct and associations points to a "sociality of experiences". Regarding the issuing of the mix of age groups in Skibotn, a similar kind of connection was made by Miriam, though having to do with a totally different topic. She had not participated in the Oslo gathering the year before - but still, she was the one issuing the mix of age groups aspect with most emphasis now, after it having first been touched upon by John. As John had done in the conversations about the anchors, Miriam now connected with her own experiences with similar adaptive features in the past, elaborating how it had been on other gatherings organized by "them", where there had also been mix of age groups. The point here is that even if these two themes (assembling of anchors and mix of

age groups) are totally different in terms of content, obviously, the mechanisms at work in the social connecting of them to the overall SCW seemed to be the same. These aspects hence point to a way of *constructing common experiences*, and add to the specifically social dimension of the SCW.

Body schema and common experiences

Tactile sensations, cognitive and intellectual conceptions, and group history are coupled together. This parallels Merleau-Ponty's understanding of the body schema as an extended perceptive framework. John had not touched and thereby "seen" the anchors with his hands, but still connected to them by his corporeal memory from past experiences as Ada told about *her* experiences. It is a central characteristic of the body schema that it transmits internalized ways of conduct, forming structures for the perception of coming experiences (Merleau-Ponty 2012, Ellis 2006). A point to be made here, is that at the crag in Skibotn, John's associations actually departed from the concrete experiences of *someone else* in the group. This shows another variety of the corporeal-social meaning than has been highlighted before (the immediate and incorporated reading of each other's conduct in climbing): A kind of corporeal sociality is also expressed in the way the climbers associatively connect with corporeal experiences of other persons, as long as they have had similar experiences themselves in the past. This kind of sociality does not presuppose a tacit and habitual "tuning in on" each other through common experiences, such as e.g. in the 'climbing in the other room' example; rather, it is a sociality which can rely on normal communicative skills, as the interlocutors can make connections between each other's former experiences by the pragmatics inherent in everyday language (van Dijk 1997, Habermas 1995b). The members of the Rocks group hence seem to share both of these varieties of CSM, which again points to the implicit character of the special game. If they are to discuss climbing experiences with climbers outside of the group, they will be able to connect socially by means of the other type mentioned here, regarding corporeal experiences (relations 7 - 10 in Figure 5). The other variety however (and which is emphasised more in the project, according to the special game) demands the implicit and tacit skills of "reading each other" which are exclusive amongst the group members and to a large extent relies on "tacit knowing" (Polanyi 2009. Cf. also the phrase from Schütz: "We

grow old together" (3.2), pointing to the inexplicable totality in the process of learning to know each other).

Contrasts: The special game opposite adaptive climbing

During the two later field works the conceptions *adaptive climbing* and *the special game* gradually emerged as more explicit analytical categories for the understanding of the SCW. A reason was that the first field work came in a clearer light due to the observations made in the latter - this corresponds with the bearing idea of the *constant comparative method*, as elaborated by Glaser and Strauss (1967). For example, and as indicated in the analysis of the actual context, the meaning of the "climbing in the other room" episode from the gathering could now also be understood retrospectively as it became possible to recognize the elements from the special game in it. It had simply needed comparison to become clear.

In Skibotn, important aspects of the social meaning of the climbing activities were revealed. Apart from the quite obvious dimension of such an event being nice and social, there came forth indications of fundamental differences between this kind of excursion and an organized event for persons with impairments. Regarding the understanding of the social dimensions of the climbing activities, the setting constituted a marked contrast to the Oslo gathering in terms of its *adult community* (i.e. contra "the mix of age group" feature), thereby providing for different nuances to appear, cf. the previous analyses of *different climbing*. And not least, on a more overall level this also contributed in the understanding of the social climbing world as consisting of different settings and meaning constellations involving genuinely social aspects outside of the mere climbing itself. This collectivity coming to expression during the social interaction - and also being maintained through the same interaction as well - is part of the fundamental resonance background on which the mutual understanding and trust within the group exists, and is therefore a presumption for the special game. In a larger frame it is also an important part of the foundation of the whole SCW itself.

The special game and reactions upon colonization

The meaning contents of the special game can function as a resonance background for the understanding of the meaning contents of adaptive climbing, and vice versa (the special game though marks a more profound status according to the group identity and is

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therefore a more consolidated backdrop in terms of comparison). Hence, all of the four examples from the adaptive context can also serve as indications on difference between adaptive climbing and the special game. To exemplify with one of them: In Skibotn, the theme "mix of age groups" was issued explicitly by the members, even if it was not a feature of this event. This is regarded as a significant observation: In the setting where their adult climber fellowship was at its most real and free, the theme "organized disability sports" was taken into the conversation - and the mix of age groups was used to characterize such settings. The feature was specifically mentioned in relation with the Oslo gathering the year before, but it was also ascribed to other settings for disability sports.

Every day at the excursion - and especially during the general socializing in the evenings - there were made references to "the system", "adapted activities", and "the organizers" in different ways. These seemed to come in a common category of "the others" (cf. the explanations of in-group mechanisms in 3.3). This means that such themes were especially issued in situations which were totally on their own premises in the outset, and where such "other settings" hence seemed to be most far away. It seems important to ask the question about why it was so.

The associations must be understood on the background of the special game setting, in which they came forth. To use the second evening as an example: After a long day of climbing everybody were sitting outside around the bonfire. The context was the "normal" setting of adult climbers socializing in the evening during a climbing excursion. There was food, wine, and talk about everything. At that occasion there came some reflections about the mix of age groups at the Oslo gathering, and it was issued with a "higher temperature" than had been done at the gathering itself a year earlier. The topic seemed to invoke certain reactions.

A suggestion is that the reason why it was so can be understood as a combination of three factors. The first is regarded to mark the essence of it: The fact that the Skibotn excursion was a representation of the climbing life "as it is meant to be", can be exactly the main reason why its opposite - the different climbing, or adaptive climbing - was brought into it. Bringing in the contrast could be a way of underscoring the perceptive importance of *this* experience of real climbing[91].

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[91] Defining identity by use of contrasts is thoroughly described and analyzed in social theory as well as in linguistics and social philosophy (e.g. van Dijk 1997, Žižek 2001).

Second: An additional explanation of why the difference was addressed with more emphasis here at the excursion than in Oslo the year before, could be exactly the adaptive character of the gathering, now however in the sense of adaptive mechanisms in *interaction* rather than in the sense of adaptive climbing: As they had been there and participated on the terms of the rehabilitation discourse, which they supported, their general interaction and ways of conversation had also adapted to this "consent of terms". Expressions had perhaps been toned down in order to "play the game" (*interaction ritual*, cf. Goffman 2005), in order to *make the situation work* (the gathering), cf. *maintaining of situation definition* (Goffman 1990). In "the free zone" in Skibotn, however, it was no need to "adapt to the adaptive context" - now the tensions between adaptive climbing and the special game could be unleashed. Ironically, it is possible that the "non-freedom" embedded in the constant reminders of the impairments which were permanent "out there" became especially conspicuous in this free setting, thereby highlighting the perceptions about what one usually misses. Simply put, especially good experiences might also make one reflect more on life contexts where it is not usually so.

The third point is more of a slight methodological presumption, and was also touched upon before: It should be taken into account that the mere practical setting in Skibotn offered opportunities for longer conversations, which in itself makes it more natural that such themes were elaborated there. Also, in Skibotn the critique was followed by a set of precautions which seemed to necessarily adhere to it, which again seemed to demand a free conversation context where some elaboration was possible. As in these conversations: the critiques were followed by the excusing of specific persons - arrangers and assistants - who were described as doing their jobs very good and also being nice people in general. The climbers could repeatedly underscore - to each other as well as to myself - the point that their critique was directed towards "the system" and prejudices in common culture in general, regarding assumptions about what persons with impairments "were like" and what they needed help with and not (cf. 3C). The collective expression of light frustration over such matters - but also humour about it - was obviously something which also functioned as a "social glue" amongst the group members. That the Skibotn setting was a proper arena for such conversation topics in the outset - based on its mere practical framing - is however not a precaution that undermines the first and more important reason stated above: that

the contrast between the special game context and that of adaptive climbing seemed to be especially perceived in Skibotn.

This can also serve to explain why such reactions - which can be understood as reactions against colonization - were more expressed in Skibotn than in Tromsø, if one is to compare the two settings of the special game with one another. In pointing to the "real thing", referring to the classic narrative about climbing, the excursion symbolized their own interests and their own initiatives at fulfilling these. Therefore, there were strong perceptions of empowerment interwoven in the Skibotn excursion. In that sense it is reasonable to assume that even if the Tromsø sessions were their most *usual* activity in an "actual" sense, this excursion perhaps represented the most real or "true" version of the special game according to their own meaning perceptions.

When the usual context is momentarily broken: Breaching

Both adaptive climbing and the special game can be explored in part by contrasting the one with the other. However, there are also other kinds of contrasts which can make their embedded characteristics visible.

The main agenda of the sociological discipline *ethnomethodology* (for which Harold Garfinkel was a central proponent) was to reveal and make explicit the ways ("methods") people ("ethnos") use in everyday interaction (Garfinkel 1984, Boden 1990). The tradition adheres to the same theoretical landscape as interactionism and phenomenological sociology. A basic assumption within EM is that people construct and maintain social rules and values in daily life, making up socio-cultural structures for attitudes and behaviour. At the same time, it is a central assumption that people are mostly unaware of these mechanisms, which are again an important aspect of the everyday pragmatics: The "ways" of everyday life work just *because* one do not have to consider them explicitly, which is also the reason for their existence.

Garfinkel is known for his so-called *breaching experiments* in order to reveal the mechanisms of pragmatic methods in everyday life (Garfinkel 1984, Pomerantz and Fehr 1997). These were about "breaching" normal conduct and established values in social life in order to register the reactions in people. These reactions could again contribute in

revealing the underlying normative structures, as these became visible by being broken.[92] Even if we are not to adopt the experimental part of the ethnomethodology, its insights can be useful in the understanding of the tacit and embedded ways of experiencing the climbing activities in the special game. At one occasion in Tromsø, Miriam, Ada and myself remained in the hall very late in the evening after all of the other climbers had left (it was even after the regular opening hours, we had made an agreement with the staff). At a point Ada was climbing and Miriam belaying, and the situation in terms of climbing and belaying was of the "inspired mode" type. This was probably the reason why Miriam and Ada had wanted to extend the climbing session to begin with: they simply had a good time.

Then at one point - while Ada was in the wall - another person came in. He was a foreigner and - as it turned out - just came in to have look around. We had a moment of conversation before he started to walk about in the hall (Miriam just dropped a few comments as she was concentrated on the belaying). Ada had not taken part in the interaction, as she was climbing - but there was a change in her conduct in the wall. She started to move more slowly and seemed to be more insecure than she had been before. This change came to pertain through the whole route, also long after the person had left the hall. After finishing, she said that she kind of "lost it" a little on her way. It had started out good, with a "flow", within an *inspired mode* (though she did not use these notions). Still, at some point she came into a *reduced mode*, and felt a little uncertain and did not feel like "going for it" (which typically characterizes the inspired mode). In short, the whole climbing experience was reduced. She did not say much at this occasion, but briefly asked about who that person had been. We left the hall shortly after.

This example is to be mentioned again in section 2, as it came to be referred to by Ada in the later interview with her (hence my impressions of her insecurity in the hall were to be confirmed later, in spite of her not saying much about it at the time in the hall).

It seemed like her "climbing as usual" had been "broken" ("breached") by the man coming into the hall and talking to Miriam and myself. She had been able to hear some talking from down on the floor, and captured that it was a person she did not know from

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[92] This resembles the structural-functionalist ideas of the "role" of deviance in society: the "normative normal" is highlighted and strengthened by being attacked, hence also invoking integration. It can also be mentioned that Garfinkel's experimental methods are not well regarded in modern social science as they break with general research ethics.

before. It did not influence the objective security of her climbing, but obviously her perceptions of it (i.e. 'subjective safety'). Seen on the backdrop of the idea from ethnomethodology, one could say that in this situation the circumstances themselves provided for *breaching*, without them being intended as experiments. That Ada became uncertain points to the normal special game climbing in terms of the "flow", and how it is anchored in perceptions of *normal surroundings*.

The breach underscores the usual confidence pertaining to the familiar corporeal-social surroundings. It points to the anchorage of the body schema in the usual social-material context, or *praxis field*. In Merleau-Ponty's understanding (Merleau-Ponty 2012) the body schema encompasses a "mode of familiarity" with the material circumstances that is however strongly influenced by states often denoted as psychological. As elaborated according to CSM (3.2), the *sociality* of the context can also contribute significantly to the state which the body schema is "in", and it can pertain to its experiential mode also after the familiar sociality has been re-established: the body schema "remembers" earlier perceptive states. Regarding the understanding of the body schema, this example hence points to a context of "rupture in the flow" having to do with the social surroundings. (In theme 3 Extended corporeality another example will be given - it will then be about a rupture in a more direct physical sense, as it is according to changes in the material surroundings.

The Tromsø climbing: Social aspects

As Tromsø is the setting for the usual sessions, the relating to the impairments there is in the "normal" way - it is about how the members are *used to* being climbers with impairments. Obviously, some conspicuous reactions from others can take place there as well - such as glances, comments, and other expressions of uncertainty - but many of the regular climbers in the Tromsø climbing hall know about the Rocks group from before, which contributes to the *difference* aspects not being conspicuous here. The impairments are not thematised by others (non-impaired) that often and hence do not "appear" in this sense for the members (SSCW 4).

What seems to be characteristic about the Tromsø climbing setting regarding being reminded about the impairments, is that it is more *generalized*. When the members issued that which in disability studies is denoted as *disabling structures* on this arena, it was not on

the level of immediate interaction, but rather about a wider context of not being understood. In Tromsø it was not so much about a display of individual prejudices and uncertainties as it was about people representing disabling barriers in a more general and deeper sense, pointing to the outer society. For example, there was a debate with the managers in the hall about how often certain climbing routes were to be dismantled.[93] Rocks wanted some of the routes to be left unchanged for a longer period of time. Especially Ada and John emphasized how they needed more time than others to get to know routes before managing to climb them (that is, to make it without breaks or falls). Again, the feature of *corporeal remembrance* is central, as they - as visually deprived - need to learn how the different moves go in order to economize the use of strength, where climbers with normal vision can see and plan in advance how to do it. Especially Ada expressed how the management did not seem to understand this aspect to the full. The personality outlines in Table 3A also indicate how Ada is relatively more into organizing for persons with impairments, where John seems to put a stronger emphasis on independence.[94] Ada - and the other members as well - emphasized that this did not represent the attitudes of specific persons, but rather pointed to a general and persistent lack in the non-impaired society to understand how being impaired is different - hence what in an academic frame can be formulated as *disabling cultural structures*. In the example above, the dismantling of the routes was presented as "people (in general) don't understand that persons with impairments need more time with such things" (cf. typifications in 3C).

Further examples can be given. First: Occasionally it happened to be a certain number of other climbers in the gym in their own climbing hours (Thursdays, from 6 to 8 p.m.), and the noise made it hard for them to communicate. This could also be ascribed to the general

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[93] As also issued in another context: The routes in climbing gyms are regularly dismantled in order to create new ones. Climbers often wish time to "send" (ascend) their projects (certain routes one has been working on over time) before they disappear forever, but the personnel in a public climbing hall cannot relate to this on a general basis, obviously.

[94] My own impression is that the managers understood this, however, but that they simply had to balance different concerns (this could hence add to the aspect of "sensitivity" mentioned before, about ascribing lack of understanding to others). Some of Rocks' favorite routes had already been there for quite a while compared with other routes. Regarding this there were also nuances of different opinions within the group. For instance, John was not as consequent as Ada on this issue. On a general basis, he also requested less special arrangements than she did. It can be mentioned that this also corresponds with a gendered dimension: Stressing independence adheres to the male gender role relatively more than do cooperation and care, which on its side adhere more to the female role (Connell 2000, Lorentzen & Mühleisen 2006).

lack of knowledge in other people: They do not understand why the group has got these hours "reserved" to them[95]. Miriam explained how some people had registered that the hall is nearly empty at these times, and thereby just over-rule the reservation as it seems to be a good time for themselves to climb. She did not portray this as selfish intentions (although her tone could have some irony in it), just stated the point that they did not understand, and that this represented a tendency within common culture. An example of more casual character can also be given, in order to show the scope of variety through which such issues can be portrayed: At one session some climbers had brought their little baby to the site, and it was lying on a carpet on the middle of the floor. It was well protected by normal standards, though there was nothing around it in the sense of a protective fence or barrier. The parents obviously took for granted that everybody in the hall could see - but they did probably not see themselves that there were visually deprived persons in the room. The reaction in the Rocks members when Miriam (who has vision) mentioned the baby, was of the type (approximately) "they take for granted that we can see it. They should at least have made some (physical) barriers. Or, simply told us about it. But it actually just doesn't cross their minds". They seemed to indicate that this was because the other climbers were "culturally programmed" in the normal non-disabled way. John made the comment that he could have come to accidentally hit it with his stick - but there was also the possibility that he could have hit it with his foot (as the stick does not give an accurate sense of all zones in the immediate surroundings). Somebody also mentioned the possibility that something could drop from the wall and ricochet on the soft rubber layer on the floor. This latter aspect was a general concern not explicitly having to do with impairments, however, but it anyhow indicates the point: that the members came in a mode of "alert" because of what they perceived as a lack of understanding in the social surroundings.

Regarding the lack of understanding in others it should be mentioned that the climbers with the baby were not made aware of these concerns of the Rocks members. The reason seemed to be the usual strategies of "just getting along with it" (*interaction work*,

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[95] To reiterate: This was not really a formal reservation, but a "reminder" to other climbers about being a little aware. In my own understanding, the other climbers should be more excused than seemed to be the opinion of some of the Rocks members, as it was not easy for these others to understand exactly what this "reservation" was really about. The point about "general ignorance in the non-impaired society" is not ruled out by this, obviously - but anyway, the need of understanding goes both ways.

Goffman 2005). It could have to do with a fear of unpleasant "consequences" (in the worst case they could have been hurt or irritated, and perhaps they would feel guilty and leave with the baby, and thereby have their climbing session spoiled). It should also be mentioned that it is possible that the persons with the baby were in fact aware that there could be some possible concerns in this situation, but that they simply expected to be told about it if there was a problem. Obviously, the lack of communication in that direction also explains something about why "the others" do not understand how it is to live with impairments.

This was also another example of the impairments "appearing" (Table 2: *Present, as consciousness, negative*). In this situation it was not connected with something occurring at a certain point in time, such as a comment or an incident, but "a state of mind and corporeal awareness" lasting through almost the whole session (about it being a baby there on the floor, approximately five meters ahead in about this direction). During this time the climbers reminded each other about it, and Miriam and Fred became a kind of "guards", as they are both seeing.

The "understanding others" at the home arena

As Tromsø is their home setting, the history of the group also involves situations and persons outside of the group itself, but still within the local community. In the SCW there are networks of associations to such relations, both in the present and back in time. As indicated before (in the example with the assembling of the anchor in Skibotn) these contribute to *the meaningful construction of the SCW* (cf. Berger & Luckmann 1966, Schütz 1997). They could be described as existing in the zone between the group and the Umwelt (relations 7 - 10 in Figure 5).

Among the other climbers in Tromsø, there were certain persons who could be associated with the history of the group. These marked lines back in time, but also became connectors and a kind of "bridges" to the larger world of the climbing sport.[96] For instance, occasionally they met a certain climber in the hall. She is the daughter of the person mentioned before, who once introduced John to climbing, and who also established the "climbing for everybody" project eventually leading to the formation of the Rocks group.

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[96] Connections making up the group narrative are especially issued in section 2. The following references are still given here as they pertain to meaning experiences in the practical setting itself, the climbing hall.

The members of this family are in a way all "friends of the group". The "mentor" is also a connection to the "real thing" in the climbing world, in terms of overall respect from climbers in general. He is a known person in a Norwegian climbing context - both as climber and initiator for projects having to do with integration, and other voluntary work. His daughter is amongst those of the others who "understand". She knows Ada especially well, and when she happens to see her in the hall she typically goes over, puts a hand on her shoulder and says hello. (In the later interview Ada came to elaborate how "the touch" is important to her when she meets people, in that it in a way compensated for the visual impression of the face.) On these occasions Ada (and also the rest of the group as well) felt a stronger connection with the greater community of climbers. This contributed to the wider scope of meaning experiences in the hall.

In one of the sessions Miriam pointed out a certain climber on the other side of the hall. This is the younger of two brothers who both climb on a high level. She then mentioned the elder brother of his, which was not present at the time but who she occasionally chatted with when they met. In this case there was not the same relation as with the family mentioned, but there was still a connection in other respects. These were also "understanding others" and had supported integration work for persons with impairment. On one occasion Miriam had been involved in the arranging of a small disability demonstration outside of the county municipality building in Tromsø. As a stunt the older brother had then climbed along the edge of the entrance roof in order to symbolize poor accessibility for persons with impairments. Amongst the demands had been the installation of a wheelchair elevator in the building (i.e. pursuing implementation of *universal design*).

Meeting these associates in the hall from time to time initiated associations to a wider context of the SCW. The climbing activities in the home arena in Tromsø thereby also constituted a basis for contact with other people, and also served to the transmittal of other interests not having directly to do with climbing in itself, such as politics and pursuing of group interests.

Lines of theoretical explorations from section 1

In this closing part of section 1, some theoretical and explorative lines are drawn on the backdrop of the analyses made up to this point, in correspondence with the theoretical

foundations (part 3). First are some factors related to the larger scope of ideology and power in connection with disability. These are not given weighty elaborations in the project, but they should anyhow be mentioned due to their overall importance within disability studies. Thereafter some conclusive elaborations are given concerning the relations between phenomena and conceptualizations.

Reflection on the rehabilitation discourse and colonization

The special game contexts represent free zones for the climbers. For one, it is about doing one's own thing as one is used to do it, and it is also about the ways the members can slip away from relating to the rehabilitation discourse. The rehabilitation discourse is aimed at increasing freedom for persons with impairment - but it is at the same time a relief for the same people to occasionally slip away from the active engagement with it.

As discussed in this project, there is an ambiguity inherent in the rehabilitation discourse, and the issue is subtle. For example, it would be wrong to denote it in terms of "for the greater good", or definitively as a "necessary evil", because it does of course not have anything negative in it in the outset; on the contrary, it is conspicuously good, but thereby also making it almost impossible to "criticize" without at the same time seeming unjust or simply just negative or "unthankful". An obvious point is also that in the larger perspective of conquering prejudices and structural inequalities opposite persons with disabilities, investigating and "criticizing" the rehabilitation discourse might be seen as the wrong focus.

Seen in this light it is understandable that opposition against colonization might take both indirect forms, and also work on an unconscious level. As indicated, this calls for strategies in terms of interaction rituals (Goffman 2005), such as just talking politely *around* experiences of colonization in the situation itself (in our context e.g. the fourth example in the adaptive climbing part, *the unneeded assistance*) - and perhaps rather let a reaction out on a later occasion, for example when related themes are issued in a context with other "insiders", such as in small ad-hoc groups in Oslo, or in the more established special game context in Skibotn.

The observations indicated that in the adaptive setting, special adaptations were played down and made as little conspicuous as possible, and the communication tone could sometimes be of the "pep-talk" kind (in the "everything is possible, there are no limits" kind

of way - cf. the reflections in part 2 on discursive leads in titles and descriptions of disability sports). The discourse thus seemed to frame the *situation definition* at work (Goffman 1990) with which both the arrangers and the participants played along. From conversations with the climbers during the field works it became clear that they regarded this as expressing the right attitudes, which they supported (this is to be analysed further in section 2).

Underscoring of the rehabilitation discourse takes place both on an ideological level - such as in supporting overall political and organizational incentives, e.g. the integration statutes of the Climbing Federation and the Norwegian Association of Disabled - and on a practical level, such as when it is arranged adaptive activities in accordance with the ideological guidelines (cf. part 2). In Oslo, the members seemed to be tuned in on the rehabilitation discourse in the way they supported the systems of thought circumscribing the arrangement. They also followed this up in practical conduct most of the time - for example when playing along and climbing less seriously with the younger (that is, stepping out of the roles as "adults amongst peers" and serious climbers for a while), and in general appreciated the arrangers' suggestions on how things were to be done, even if it perhaps to some extent limited their own possibilities to climb. The phrase "most of the time" bears with it an important point. It had obviously been a general *ideological* consent about the Oslo gathering as being about *adaptive* climbing. Everybody knew about that fact, which was also the reason why people wanted to participate in the first place - but other and in part opposite meaning dimensions were soon activated *in practical conduct* and started to point beyond the ideology: unspoken desires about the climbing not to be "adaptive" after all, followed by strategies to distance oneself from the adaptive part.

The doubleness of the practical retreat from the discourse
The findings indicate that the attempts to slip away from the discourse take two main forms. One is to seek a momentary retreat from it, in the sense seek a situation providing a "backstage" context (Goffman 1990). The other is to more directly oppose it (apart from the short reflection in the following the two varieties are not discussed explicitly opposite each other in the project).

As indicated, the "climbing in the other room" example does not in the outset point unambiguously to an active *opposing* of the rehabilitation discourse (i.e. that relates to the adaptive climbing going on it the main hall). Seeking a retreat from the discourse for a

while and opposing it is not the same thing. Still, they are in some sense connected. The example points to a kind of reaction according to the adaptive climbing setting, where - as shown - the mix of age groups was amongst the defining factors, hence also making the climbers seek the retreat, and which was also obviously *contested* in conversations (most notably in Skibotn). This is worth bearing in mind when it comes to understand how a discourse works in the praxis field; it can easily be both supported and contested within its own framing (Foucault 1972, Mol 2002).

The intersection between "constant ideal" and "contingent praxis": Phenomenology versus a traditional power perspective (social theory)

Following from the points above it could be made a short reflection on the phenomenologically oriented perspective in this project opposite the power dimension. In the outset, power is outside of the phenomenological agenda. The same tendency is found in the other perspectives bearing affiliation with it, and which are used as a broader theoretical basis in this project (e.g. interactionism and pragmatism - cf. 3.3). For example, a phenomenologically oriented perspective on discourse would differ from an e.g. Foucaultian approach (to make a clear contrast) in that it would not in the outset consider relative distributions of power. Here, practises - which in other perspectives could be understood as *opposition* against a dominant ideology - could perhaps instead be explained in terms of e.g. different *realms of meaning* and shifting *zones of relevance* [97] (Schütz 1970, 1997).

In a phenomenological sense there can be varieties in the shifting of meaning orientations within an "original" project, "bracketing" the same project, in terms of other relevant meaning dimensions offered by the possibilities in one's engagement with the surroundings. In the outset, the "climbing in the other room" example could be seen as such a possibility within the gathering becoming the focus of attention (hence the adaptive climbing understood as "the original project" shifted from), without there necessarily being certain "forces" involved (enforcement of power), in the sense that they necessitate forms of retreat or opposition. In his theories on how different meaning dimensions can be constantly shifting within overall realms of meaning, Schütz (1970) reflects on the meaning generation *within* a project that has been initially defined according to an overall purpose

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[97] Obviously, this has been done to some extent in this project - but at the same time it has also been an intention to balance it with the simultaneous reflections on the colonization mechanisms.

or goal[98]. The meaningful constructions "along the way" are thereby structured within the frames of the original context as an outer teleological framework, but during these constructions the over-arching teleological goal is "forgotten" - or rather, overshadowed by more local ends. That is, "projects within the projects" take over as the main *zones of relevance* (Schütz 1970). Such mechanisms are being oriented according to socially established meaning in context - cf. when the Rocks members created their own social context of the special game within the larger social context of adaptive climbing at the Oslo gathering.

As the analyses of the material show, the mechanisms described in this project thereby seem to correspond with both perspectives - sociological phenomenology on the one side, and the more critical power perspective found in the more common tradition of social theory, on the other (e.g. Habermas 1995b). It has been a point to understand different realms of meaning within the SCW as they take place in the perceptions of the climbers. Reactions stemming from perceptions of *difference* and *opposition* are important constituents in these mechanisms, and hence in the overall understanding of the SCW. Therefore aspects of power and reaction/opposition are also interwoven with it - in this project most explicitly issued in the discussions about colonization.

5.1.3   Difference: Adaptive climbing versus the special game

At this point a further theoretical and explorative analysis of the conception "different climbing" can be made. Some concrete questions can be presented in order to show the area of relevance. First: What does it mean that climbing in different settings is different? There is of course a descriptive dimension to this, as it also involves *in fact* differences - but also, and not least: what is it reasonable to believe that the informants experience themselves (i.e. their *perceptions* of differences) when they portray a kind of climbing as different? This actualizes further elaborations: Is there actually a difference in *the game* itself (the mere climbing), or is this difference perceived and thus represented by the climbers in retrospect only (that is, imposing of the narrative about "how it is to climb", which is again coupled with the group identity (cf. relations 4 and 6 in Figure 5)?

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[98] Jürgen Habermas also discusses these mechanisms in his *Theory of Communicative Action* (Habermas 1995b).

The following is not an in-depth analysis, but reflections on overall conceptualizations inspired by the empirical material. For one, there will be made some theoretical explorations of possibilities regarding perceptions of different versus normal when it comes to the categories *the game* and *the extended game*. These build on impressions from the field works, although they also contain theorizing that cannot be confirmed by the empirical material as the material does not provide for such comparative analysis. Then however there is also made a more general setup for experiences of normal and different climbing (Table 4B). This is to help visualizing perceptions of normal and different climbing regarding the different *settings* for climbing, with the Oslo gathering representing adaptive and "different" climbing, and Skibotn and Tromsø representing "normal" climbing (the special game). (In the table 4B the more theoretical reflections about *the game* and *the extended game* is left out for the sake of clarity.)

It should be noted that the point about the reflections is not to find "true" facts or "true" references of expressions - that would have fallen outside of the phenomenological framing of this project. The intention, rather, is to zoom in on mechanisms at work in the social meaning construction around the activities. In so doing, it is important to be aware of methodological "tripwires" one could easily step into: an attempt to structuring into analytical categories meaning as it is expressed in context-bound situations implying the ambiguities of everyday language calls for awareness of the analytical presuppositions. In general, the elaborations build on the presumptions made in the method part (section 2, methodology).

"Climbing in the other room" - analytical nuances

The episode with Peter at Klatreverket ("climbing in the other room") can again serve as an example for investigation. If John, Konrad, and their usual instructor had not been there, John belaying (the game and the extended game combined), and Konrad and the instructor (extended game, observing and conversing with him), I feel confident that Peter would not have had the same immediate experience of the climbing *per se*. The familiarity of this setting seemed to connect with an experience basis that was *incorporated* in Peter, and which came to expression while he was in the wall. The staccato speech, signals I did not understand myself, but which the others seemed to understand, point to a fundamental

social connectedness in Peter's experience while in the midst of the game - hence to a close interconnection between corporeality and sociality.

In this episode the climbing itself was the usual, as the four of them came together and defined their own situation on their own terms. As explained before, an assumption is that this might have felt like a returning to a regular Tromsø session, though within a different material-practical setting (the gathering).

For the sake of clarity, some analytical outlines can be given. The ways of presenting "different climbing" can be seen as combinations of the following typifications, which may all be "true" in themselves, and also at the same time in spite of seemingly "contradiction" if taken strictly logical:

a) *The climbing itself (the game) is different.*

b) *The climbing itself (the game) is different because it cannot be understood as separate from the context, which is obviously different. Alternatively put: The whole thing - that is, the climbing (the game) as inextricably connected with the context - is something else here, in the sense "not the real thing".*

c) *The climbing itself (the game) is not different, but the context is (the extended game).*

The information given earlier about their statements about the climbing at the gathering as being something different, is however also to be given a further reflection in order to be regarded as valid within these comparisons. This is because different interpretations - not of "logical" type, but in terms of perception and *pragmatics* of language use - are probable in the outset (Pomerantz & Fehr 1997, Blum Kulka 1997). The point of departure for this reflection can be put in a simple form to start with: What does it mean when a participant says that "the climbing is different"? First, it should be made clear that this cannot be about semiotics in a simplistic form, as the expressions must be understood in a broader context of language use (pragmatics). Further, as part of this project it must also be seen in relation to method, as the communication contexts and the methodical procedures followed by the researcher became intermingled (as, for instance, when comparisons of earlier and later field works, which followed from methodical procedures, made nuances in different expressions about the climbing activities appear). The question above could be simplified even further: What is included in the term *climbing* when used? This may be ambiguous,

sometimes pointing to the whole climbing context (the extended game, or even the more overall site) and sometimes to the mere climbing itself (the game). How can I then presume that I am right in my reflections above, regarding for instance the climbers' perception of the mere climbing at the gathering being different than their "own" climbing? (The hypothetical opposite perception - that the mere climbing there is *not* different - could have been used as an example as well). Regarding this I had to trust my own experiences from my participation in the actual contexts (the situations being perceived as different and/or situations where such were issued) in combination with my theoretical reflections and methodical procedures. A necessary presumption to be made is that in the outset, was that the climbers' references to mere climbing, when put in normal language, did not necessarily correspond with the analytical definitions of the researcher. It is however assumed that this possibility was sufficiently controlled for by talking about it at different occasions, and from different perspectives.

The theoretical reflections are basically about "the controlled participating", approaching the *emic* understandings without "going native" (cf. the methodology chapter), which also resembles Schütz' understandings of the relation between first and second order interpretations through ideal types. In following this line of thought, the three simplified types above regarding the understanding of difference in climbing (a-c) could be conceived as typified first order interpretations. My application of them in this analysis thus becomes an interpretation of second order.

Climbing and context

The references to "different climbing" seemed to address both the climbing activity itself and the social circumstances, in various combinations. Then, was there a *structure* detectable in the ways the relation between these came to expression? It must be noted that this question points to a field of great complexity, which in itself transcends the scope of this study: In the outset it regards the connection between the CSM in the activity and the explorations given earlier about the two modes of colonization, and how this stands in relation to the two analytical parts of the climbing activities - the game and the extended game. The lines given in the further are meant to give a general overview (an overview according to different contexts is also provided by Table 4B).

Alternative a) *The climbing itself (the game) is different.*

As it seemed to me, the mere climbing - the game - was the same in the different contexts, that is, the Oslo gathering and Tromsø, when seen in comparison. [99] What seemed to be different in these settings was the context surrounding it, the situational "wrapping" in which the activity was perceived by the climbers. Still, there seemed to be different descriptions of it amongst the climbers. The climbers themselves seemed to conceive of the difference in two ways that could be understood as both separate or as inextricably linked, depending on the situation - regarding the context of climbing, and the climbing itself. The two could go together (the gathering is a different setting, and the mere climbing there is also different - alternative b), or the difference could be attributed to the context only - alternative c (that only the climbing itself was different is not a possibility, obviously). It could seem like, to some extent, both kinds of differences could be expressed by the same persons, in different contexts. These are not to be understood as self-contradictions, as will also be touched upon in the analysis section 2 (*understandings, presentations and narratives*) in relation with expressions put forth in the interviews; rather, they point to different *realms of meaning* within the frames of the activities (Schütz 1970). Alternatively put, they can be perceived as pragmatic and meaningful constructions of meaning according to context, which again refers to how the climbers position themselves according to the overall meaningfulness of the SCW. As the example with Peter shows, the mere climbing might be the same in a pure "technical" sense - but at the same time not the same at all, as soon as one adds to it the corporeal-social embeddedness of the situation - which is also the aspect making the activity *relevant*; that is, giving it its meaning content.

This informs the point about the meaning in physical activity as *perceptive states* that can be further connected with presentations of self and colonization, and thereby give a contribution to contemporary disability studies. The point that "the same" activity can be given different perceptive contents is also exactly one of the reasons why it contains the possibility to being colonized (together with its "inarticulateness", as shown before). At the same time this makes the issue a valuable focus, as knowledge about these mechanisms can contribute to the understanding of meaning dimensions in the intersection between

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[99] Skibotn is not taken into account here as it was outdoor climbing.

impairment and physical activity that could else have been "hidden" as a result of colonization.

At the Oslo gathering the "climbing as usual" (the special game) as exemplified with "climbing in the other room" was established as an exception from the outer framework (though still within it), and thereby as a marked contrast to it (cf. Table 4B). The perception of this as a free zone can be said to point indirectly to a colonization type 1 that was being reacted upon. At the same time as their "climbing as usual" was an exception at the gathering, it logically also goes the other way around: the climbing at the gathering is not climbing as usual, and is therefore an exception. In this latter sense the gathering itself becomes posited as an area of meaning with the structure *difference* (SSCW 3) as the "zone of relevance" defining it (Schütz 1970) - that is, highlighting impairment and *difference* in an overall sense.

The meaning contents of the Skibotn excursion could also be illuminated according to this: Following the "logic" as previously defined for the relation between the Schützian conception *zones of relevance* and the "condensated dimensions of meaning" conceptualized as the SSCW, the realm of meaning resulting from such a perception could posit the Skibotn excursion as a clear expression of the structure *The special game* (SSCW 2) - that is, the group as a genuine *praxis field* on its own terms. To repeat this point: I regard this as being a plausible explanation for the sincere reactions against "disablism" coming forth in exactly Skibotn.

Climbing contexts and identity

Taken further this understanding of the interconnectedness between corporeality and sociality - naturally implying communication - can account for more overall structures of meaning in the activity, such as categories of *identity*. In Oslo, the climbing gathering itself, as well as its more specific practical organization and adaptations *posited* the climbers as a group in the outset (here: all the climbers, not just Rocks). In one sense they were posited as a collective of *climbers with impairments*. But at the same time the mere endeavour of the gathering also gave the participants the opportunity to step forward as "mere" *climbers*.

Even if the structures of the social climbing world have been elaborated according to the study of the Rocks group exclusively, and hence cannot be automatically transferred to other groups in the outset,[100] some parallels can be drawn.

The point about the climber/impairment intersections shows to a number of SCW structures simultaneously, which also overlap. Examples are the first structure, group identity in terms of practical adaptations, *Adaptive climbing*: Here the identity as *climbers with impairments* comes forth. It also points to the aspect of *difference* (3). At the same time, the adaptations however also make it possible for the climbers to step forward as exactly that - *climbers* - hence also pointing to structure 5, *dedication to the sport*, where the impairment dimension is in some sense "enclosed in brackets".[101] It is therefore a doubleness here that corresponds with the analytical points made before, and that regards the established climbers especially: For one, there can be a certain ambiguity as there can be "projects within projects" (Schütz 1970) (e.g. being a climber engaging in the special game *within* the overall adaptive climbing setting). Then there is also the mechanism of "quazi colonization" when one can come to "object" against this outer framing - although one supports it as such - in order to protect one's own "free zone" within it.

Climbing and corporeal-social meaning

In the following there is made a further reflection on the background relevance of the *body schema* concept in our context. It is made in correspondence with the understanding of the game and the extended game, as this conceptual pairing was not reflected explicitly upon in relation to Table 4B (*Experiences of "normal" and "different" climbing within the social climbing world*).

Comparisons between the first and later field works (adaptive climbing and the special game, respectively) show that the meaning of the climbing activities is inextricably connected with the fundamental *sociality* of the situation, regarding both categories of defining climbing activities separated for analytical purposes: *the game* and *the extended game*, respectively. Also the climbing itself - the game - is "wrapped up" in layers of social meaning. In these contexts the term *sociality* shows its significance. It points to meaning

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[100] Cf. the methodological term *external validity* (Silverman 2011).
[101] For the less experienced participants, this identity obviously has an approximation to it, as it pertains to the gathering as a situation-bound event. In contrast, the Rocks members are climbers on a regular basis and experience deeper and more persistent meaning in the activity (hence the term "dedication").

dimensions that cannot be fully described through the standard sociological term "social construction of meaning" - not that it is not about social construction, but because the phrase becomes too general for this use. In the climbing context, the other person involved in the game (one's belayer or the climber one is belaying oneself), and eventually also in the extended game (the persons watching and e.g. cheering) becomes part of one's own meaning perception: hence, sociality becomes a *quality* inherent in the climbing activity.

This also regards what is often understood as pure and simple physical operations, such as even *reflexes*. Merleau-Ponty writes: *In fact, reflexes themselves are never blind processes: they adjust to the "sense" of the situation, they express our orientation toward a "behavioural milieu" just as much as they express the action of the "geographical milieu" upon us* (Merleau-Ponty 2012: 81). There is hence a *behavioural milieu* in addition to the mere *geographical milieu*. In the social climbing context, the former contains a fundamental connection between sociality and corporeality. One aspect of this is the immediate coordination of activities, where one feels the movements of the other as one's own, responding to them "automatically" (that is, our body responds to them according to its internalized dispositions, rather than our consciousness). Another aspect is the more existential dimension of being "safe-with-others". For instance: Even if one is totally safe in a pure materialistic-technical sense ("objective" risk/safety, which could be said to correspond with the expression "geographical milieu" above), one's existential mode is fundamentally interlinked with the other persons participating in close coordination with oneself in the activity ("behavioural milieu").

To reiterate: This was part of the reason why the conceptualization *corporeal-social meaning* was eventually developed in order to investigate the "white spot" in Table 2 - that is, the combination of *collective level* and *corporeality* within the larger scope of disability studies. The CSM content is regarded to be the reason why Rocks members seemed to occasionally "gravitate" towards each other at the gathering, as exemplified with "climbing in the other room". Experiences of coping and mastery are interlinked with the corporeal sociality of the group, and therefore there is a *force of meaning* in it. The incorporate experiences of the sociality of the group becomes a frame for the experiences of meaning in the activity, in a body schema sense.

The feeling of "existential" safety in the climbing has much to do with the practical skills and experiences of the others present (especially the belayer) - or more precisely put -

one's *perception* of this. It is necessary to be able to trust the belayer regarding the giving out or taking in of rope, and eventually guiding of the climber regarding movements and features on the route. And also the other way around; in some cases the belayer also needs to trust the climber. In this latter case the "existential perception" of safety is more evident than "objective safety" (in usual sport climbing, and especially in top roping, the climber cannot do much wrong, in the sense "dangerous". For instance, a sudden and unannounced fall is for instance to be reckoned with at all times). One is belayed by the *body* of another, which is in possession of these skills (or not, eventually). For example, in an intimidating moment in the wall the climber's perception of the belayer in the situation itself is of the other *as* a skilled body in terms of providing the safety of the situation, evaluable on an immediately perceived "safety scale" - and that is why one may be sensitive about who are in one's immediate presence during the activity, in an incorporate sense. Even if the belay system was to be the same with different belayers in an objective in-fact sense, the normal human perception will not comprehend of such a kind of objectivity. In the situation the other, his *bodiness* and skills are part of the meaning of the activity in addition to the sense of one's own mental and physical skills, which *together* constitute one's perception of the meaning of the activity. Again, the climbing can therefore be understood as circumscribed by corporeal-social meaning.

To draw a parallel: In terms of standard technical procedures, the security system would be on exactly the same standardized terms with other constellations of people. However, in the climbing situation, the existential dimension inherent in the sociality of the activity can overshadow this fact in the immediate an un-reflected perception of it. And also, importantly: it can well be so even if one's conscious reflection tells one that it is all good, "objectively" speaking (e.g. when Peter felt more home or "safe enough" in the "other room").[102] This corresponds with Merleau-Ponty's understandings of *ambiguity* as an "existential" (structure) in human perception, as it belongs naturally to a phenomenal field (Merleau-Ponty 1968). In his sense, such ambiguity is not to be understood as an inconvenience or failure in itself, but rather as a defining aspect of the being-in-the-world.

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[102] Obviously, this aspect points to the characteristic of climbing as a challenging sport also in a psychological sense.

Human perceptions is ambiguous, both naturally and culturally[103] - and hence also anchored as such in the body schema Merleau-Ponty (2012, 1968). Such aspects are well-known amongst most human beings - but they are at the same time almost consequently understood as something one is to contest or overcome. For example in climbing: if one did not let "rationality win over anxiety" at an occasion, one might "hope for a better day" meaning for instance a day with *better* - importantly, not just *different* - psyche. Although the analytical span might be large, a further reflection on this point could be made about the overall health and rehabilitation discourse, also mirroring the rationalist tradition of knowledge in the West: Ambiguity is something to be overcome and contested. It is not regarded to "belong" naturally in the world, it is rather seen as a disturbance of the natural order. This perspective is also fundamentally embedded in traditional understandings of impairment, not least pertaining to the medical perspective - which traditionally (in terms of positivism) has been a driving force behind the rehabilitation discourse (cf. part 2). Regarding ambivalence and body schema, the "battle" between conscious certainty and internal uncertainty (fear) in climbing can hence be understood as a variety of ambivalence understood as a *phenomenal structure*. The ambivalence is embedded in one's body schema, influencing one's conduct towards the surroundings (e.g. when one is certain that a hold is too bad or that one cannot stretch any longer in order to reach a hold, when this is evidentially wrong (e.g. one makes it without effort in another session, when one has a stronger psyche). In form this resembles the aspect described earlier about the climbing at the gathering not being of the same kind as climbing elsewhere. At this point a kind of conclusion takes form: At the gathering there was a force in the Rocks climbing experience drawing the members together into the group's own dimensions of meaning. Within the perceptions of the climbers, this became "something else". And since Rocks per definition is about climbing, the members' perceptions took form of "different kind of climbing".

Difference is there anyway - how to handle it

Difference takes on a broad variety of dimensions within the social climbing world. In our context, the impairments are at the root of the category itself and the varieties within it.

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[103] Cf. Berentzen (2010) on phenomenal perception as unavoidably and "always already" culturally informed (opposite Dreyfus' comment that experience "cannot be second floors all the way down", indicating that there must be a pure and "non-cultural bodiness at the bottom").

When it comes to climbing, the impairments necessitate certain material-practical adaptations, which are again connected with socially (and culturally, if taken in a broader societal sense) defined perceptions (e.g. identity). Difference is not to be sorted out of the social climbing world as long as the cultural presumptions for the understanding of impairment ascribe adaptive activity to a subordinate status (which could also be perceived as disabling mechanisms). Hence, obviously, perceptions of difference must be regarded to be a constant (structural) part of the climbing world in one way or another for the foreseeable future, and - as indicated - also in the way it is in part colonized by the prevailing discourses. Meaningfully constructing and maintaining of the SCW thereby demands handling of difference in certain ways (as it is not to be disposed of altogether). As shown, relativizing and bracketing out the difference in certain contexts seems to have become "strategies" for the climbers.

For the Rocks members, therefore, a conglomerate made out of difference, involving the impairments as physical facts, disabling barriers in society, and their own perceptions of these, is unquestionably part of their SCW (which is also the reason for *difference* being given the status of a structure within it). On this background the members apply strategies as to how to relate to difference, that is, putting themselves in charge of which kinds of meaning it is allowed to have.

A gathering for adaptive climbing versus other climbing gatherings

Perceiving the climbing at the gathering as a "different kind of climbing" - even if one's regular climbing (the special game) is also climbing with impairment - hence protects one's perception of self as a serious climber (a climber who happens to have an impairment rather than the other way around: a person with impairment engaging in adaptive climbing, cf. the types in 3C).[104] Thus, defining the climbing at the gathering as different climbing helps diminishing the relative weight of the *difference* structure within the social climbing world opposite the structures perceived as more defining of "who one really is": *the special game* (SSCW 2) and *dedication to the sport* (SSCW 5).

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[104] To remind of an important presumption: The other participants at the gathering are ascribed to this latter category exclusively as they take part neither in *the special game* nor in *the social climbing world*.

Regarding the differences between this gathering for adaptive climbing and other gatherings there can also be given a more general reflection. For one, a central difference appears from the question about *what brings climbers to a certain gathering*. Somewhat simply put: Regarding a common gathering (not adaptive) it would be the climbing, the characteristics of the crag and location, and friendships. For a gathering in a disability context it would be climbing and *impairment*. This can be coupled with the example referred to earlier, about the participant who explained that some of the reason for her making such a persistent effort in the wall, was that she had to make the best of these possibilities (of adaptive climbing) when she could. There was also another participant at the gathering who touched upon a similar aspect in a conversation we had. The background was that I had overheard a comment from him at Klatreverket. It had been late in the day, and most of the participants were tired after long hours with activity. So also this person. As an assistant asked him if would like to be belayed on another route, he first seemed a little reluctant - but then he said something like "well I guess I would regret if I didn't make the best of it", and had another go. Later in the evening I asked him what he had meant about the comment. He then said that at the place he lived, he had been climbing occasionally. As he however was the only climber with impairment there he had simply felt to be somewhat "in the way" of the others, and now he only climbed on rare occasions. He said that even if nobody had ever told him or sent signals about it, it had still come to the point where he had started withdrawing himself.

This feature is also known from other disability research: Seemingly "self-inflicted" social withdrawal based on feelings about being "hindrances" for others are rooted in the prevailing cultural understandings about normality and difference which are embedded in practical everyday life (Grue 2004, Siebers 2008). This has a certain irony to it: disabled persons withdraw in order to not hinder ("disable") the non-disabled.

The point in our context is that it says something about organized adapted climbing in terms of *difference*. For some of the participants who have had climbing as an interest from before, climbing is still not something they "just do". Because of their impairments, a climbing event therefore becomes a mere *possibility* to climb, more than a special event coming in addition to and on top of regular climbing.

Returning to the Rocks members' perceptions of the Oslo gathering as being "different", another point can be clarified by comparing with a climbing arrangement

outside of the adaptive context, and formulated as a question: When is a climbing situation or event perceived as an "exception"?

To compare with non-disabled climbers, and issuing the "climbing life" (for not confusing with the term SCW) as it could be expected to be for other dedicated climbers of this category. Here, the question "when is a climbing situation or event perceived as an "exception"? would sound awkward. It is somehow an "unnatural" question. The reason is that the "climbing life" is itself constituted by different experiences, and it is hard to imagine a certain gathering being perceived as an exception within it. It could have been a certain gathering that for example turned out to be more "below average" than expected due to bad weather or few participants - but it would still be graded on a scale *within* the "climbing life", and not as something on the side of this realm of meaning itself.

This difference between adaptive and other climbing can also inform the understanding of the colonization mechanisms involved in the social meaning dimensions of climbing with impairment in its explicit pointing to the role of the arrangers. For one: If they are to go to a certain event besides their regular activities, climbers with impairments do not have that many to choose between. (Again, this was also a main reason why the Rocks group attended the Oslo gathering.) Second: While at the adapted gathering, one has to adjust more to the premises of the arrangers in terms of organizational features than other climbers would have had to do at common gatherings. This has explicitly to do with the impairments, regarding such features as domestic facilities and transport. For example, one's own possibilities to improvise, e.g. stay behind at the crag after the others have left in order to climb some more, or go to an alternative site for a meal, are limited.

The structures of the social climbing world and difference. The interplay between adaptive climbing and the special game

The reflections above both make use of and are simultaneously part of the analytical construction of the five structures of the social climbing world (SSCW). Amongst else, through the analytical process of meaning condensation the observations contributed in the establishing of the structure *difference* as an important constituent of SCW. The main reflection behind this was that the active and meaningful (as it was assumed) defining of the climbing at the gathering as "different climbing" perhaps helped relativizing the perceptions of *being different* (impairment) on a far deeper level than having to do with

just the climbing, as it actually had to do with the overall life situation itself (here understood as the *life world* (Schütz 1970, 1997) in which the SCW is further understood to be a *province of meaning*). The following could almost be set up as a "logical derivation" if the bearing assumptions are regarded as premises for the argument: If the social climbing world functions as a province of meaning within the life world, and being *dedicated to the sport* (SSCW 5) and belonging to a serious group of climbers (*the special game*, SSCW 2) are the strongest identity markers within this climbing world, then these dimensions need to be put in charge when other components within the reality of the climbing world threaten this perception. One way of doing this is to define the threat as belonging outside of one's own "real" world.

People can embed themselves in different social contexts and feel comfortable with the special terms within them - even if just for a limited period of time. Sometimes one can also feel the need to change context, e.g. when one simply feels one has been in it long enough. One can also find oneself "stuck" in a certain context, leading one to seek a possible retreat - if only for a while. A variety of finding a retreat can also be to seek to change the perceptual framework of the context one is in - this is a more "dramatic" issue and might take place if one feels that something about one's sense of comfort - e.g. one's self-identity - is threatened (Schütz 1970). As it seemed, the Rocks climbers can occasionally be "comfortably embedded" in adaptive contexts. Adaptive climbing is a structure in their social climbing world and part of their history, and - as mentioned - they support the intentions put forth by such arrangements. They might very well enjoy coming together with other people with impairments, with whom they have certain experiences in common after all.[105] At the Oslo gathering, it could seem like the members' modes could change between being "all in" according to the adaptive context, on one side, and making a distance from it, on the other.

This is an element corresponding with classical interactionist theory (Goffman 1992, 1995): Especially if a set of premises (such as adaptive climbing) pertain to a context where a number of people are together for some period of time, e.g. a couple of days or more, there can be a need to take a break from it - to go *backstage* for a while, to use Goffman's dramaturgical notion (Goffman 1990). I registered tendencies of this in the Rocks members

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[105] In spite of the general need to contest the widespread naive assumption in common culture about persons with impairments necessarily having things in common (and "much to talk about", as the cliché goes).

at the gathering: Sometimes they engaged fully in the social interaction on the terms of the gathering - examples are when they engaged in climbing together with participants they did not know personally (i.e. underscoring the adaptive contexts, also by for example using of backup belay), perhaps even initiating this themselves instead of climbing with another Rocks member - or it could be about engaging in social activities in the evening, such as various party games at the hostel suitable for all age groups. Then there were also situations of them going *backstage* - and this can be understood either as general "retreat" or as reactions on colonization, depending on context. The latter could be the case when it was about opposing organizational aspects - for example when they withdrew from the others, engaging in adult conversations and occasionally issuing themes from their own climbing experiences (from "the history of the special game"). Or, more directly, withdrawing from the other participants at the climbing site itself as a way of seeking a retreat (*backstage*) with their "own" climbing (as analysed).

Following this logic of actively defining the situation according to the inner mechanisms of the social climbing world, the positioning of the context regarding "what kind of reality are we in right now" could thus turn both ways, depending on context. If *adaptive climbing* (SSCW 1) and *difference* (SSCW 3) became the points of gravity - in the sense that one went into this context on its own terms, without "reacting against it" - *the special game* (SSCW 2) was perceived as something else than this, and "put in brackets": It is still their real climbing, but is not that relevant in this context they are in now, and will therefore "have to wait for another setting" in order to be activated (i.e. put onto the "second level" according to the Schützian zones of relevance). Or the opposite way: One "brackets" the structure which in an *in fact* sense describes the concrete material-practical situation one is in right now - e.g. *adaptive climbing* (SSCW 1) - and instead puts another structure in the *perceptive* forefront, in spite of the actual outer setting - preferably (as it is a strongly defining structure in general) *the special game* (SSCW 2).

This points to a certain constellation which seems to decide if the colonization mechanism is to appear: If the context one is situated in (material-practical arrangements) corresponds with the perceived "point of gravity" structure(s) in the SCW, the colonization is not perceived. If however they do not correspond, it is perceived - and a kind of reaction might be called for.

5.2 Expressions, presentations, and narratives. Colonization mode 2: Discursive adaptations

In this analysis section 2 the point of departure is the interviews. Where the framing of the first section was conduct and expressions situated in various contexts within the social climbing world - that is, as observed during the field works - the primary focus in the second is expressions, presentations, and narratives coming forth outside of these contexts themselves. The colonization mode 2 is issued accordingly.

Sequences from the interviews, taking form of expressions, descriptions of references made by the informants, or more general descriptions of what was talked about, are analysed according to the structures of the social climbing world (SSCW). Similar as within the previous part, the different tables and typifications are also used to circumscribe the understanding of the SCW.

As explained in the common analysis introduction, the shift of objective from situational conduct to interview conversation does not imply a shift in the understandings of corporeality and sociality. An important point regarding this section is that associations and language use is understood as inextricably linked with CSM. This makes a fundamental connection between the two sections of analysis. Corporeality is still understood in the extended sense regarding meaning and representation, and the discursive elements in this section point to and correspond with the understandings and interpretations elaborated in the first (materiality and conduct). Likewise, the meaningful constructions within communication are understood as seamlessly connected with the social-practical dimension (cf. theory part). As episodes in the praxis field were often mentioned and narrated in the interviews, the analyses will also refer back to and issue these.

Structure of presentation: Themes

The material is organized according to *themes*, within which the SSCW are discussed. This is a way of collecting the analyses of a variety of expressions and references coming forth in the empirical material. The themes have been constructed as overall categorizations of issues and topics being touched upon to a degree and with a regularity in the interviews indicating a certain importance.

The themes are:

1   *The activity as reaction*

2   *Challenging activity*

3   *Extended corporeality*

4   *Right attitude*

5   *Ambivalence*

More specific descriptions will be given before the respective issuing of them in the analysis. The themes do not pertain to impairment in themselves, in the outset.[106] According to this material, the impairments however appear naturally in the closer contextualisations.

Apart from the intention regarding order of presentation, the use of the themes has also been a way of exploring the *variety* of meaning experiences taking place within the overall framework of the SCW. The analyses within a theme are therefore not bound by a thorough-going principle of argumentation. Instead they provide a more open and associative coherence in that different sets of reflections are connected, commented on and compared along the way. It hence corresponds fundamentally with the focus on exploration in this project, following from its grounded theory approach (cf. method part).

On the construction of the themes

The themes have the double characteristic resembling that of the SSCW: The respective descriptions (before the analysis for each of them) serve as a frame for the presentation and the analyses at the same time as the mere categorizing of them also points to analytic results through meaning condensation. Hence, they are at the same time presumptions for as well as "already results" - to some extent conclusions - from the analyses, in a dialectic sense. This way of analysing is done as an attempt to handle the material efficiently and could be understood as a kind of "retroactive analysis".
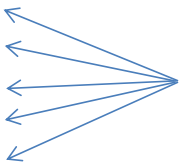
Obviously, elements coming forth in the interviews could frequently be said to correspond with different themes at the same time (like there were also overlapping

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[106] For example, the first theme - *The activity as reaction* - could also have been about responses to stressful situations within everyday normal life, such as regarding work or family, whether one has an impairment or not.

dimensions of meaning coming to expression in the conduct observed during the field works, analysed in the previous part). Regarding such elements, the presentation according to themes therefore has some approximation to it, in order to balance the structural element for the presentation and the issuing of variety. Following the intention of theoretical sensitivity (method chapter), passages which seem to be naturally coherent are not broken up in order to strictly follow this order of presentation: Such passages - even if pointing to several themes simultaneously - are placed within the theme where they seem to offer the most fruitful contribution according to the analytical intentions, with parallels eventually drawn to other relevant themes. Obviously, there will also be some elements that do not fit naturally to any of the defined categories, though they are still worth reflecting upon opposite the social climbing world. These are simply adapted to the context where they are considered most useful.

Following from this, an important note to be made regarding the analyses is that they do not start out by "gradually establishing a foundation upon which conclusions are later to be drawn". This is simultaneously due to efficiency of presentation and the character of this project as theoretically explorative: Already from the start the analytical presentations in some sense "presuppose" and correspond with elements coming later (and before, i.e. findings from the observations in section 1). References and parallels are made forwards as well as backwards during the analyses. This is because of the overlapping between the themes, as mentioned - but even more important, this is a necessary result of the theoretical conception of the social climbing world in itself, as it is based on Schütz' elaborations on *provinces of meaning* and *zones of relevance* (Schütz 1970, 1997): the internal dynamics and relative significances of the structures of the climbing world (contextually defined "points of gravity") cannot be understood without such corresponding references.

Themes for the analysis section 2		To be discussed within the themes: *The structures of the social climbing world*
1 The activity as reaction		1 Adaptive climbing
2 Challenging activity		2 The special game
3 Extended corporeality		3 Difference
4 Right attitude		4 Appearance of the impairment
5 Ambivalence		5 Dedication to the sport

(This information is also given in the collected table overview:) The relation between themes and meaning structures in the analysis, visually exemplified by one of the structures (difference). The same type of relation goes for all of the other single structures opposite the themes.

In the outset, indications on all of the meaning structures can be found within each theme: In the analyses however - of practical purposes - a selection has been made in order to give each theme and each of the meaning structures some representation[107].

Theme 1:   *The activity as reaction*

General description:

This theme points to experiences of meaning in the activity portrayed as "effects", "caused" by the "relief" it offers in being a conduct confronting - or at least being something else than - certain non-beneficial situations. The impairment aspect is stressed in various contexts, indicating reaction as more or less directly connected with perceptions of *difference* (SSCW 3).

There are references to both psychological and physical reactions. In addition to being taken seriously in themselves, obviously - at "face value" - they will also be understood as representing culturally established narratives, and also as pointing to

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[107] It can be mentioned that the ordering of the meaning structures in numbers opposite the numbers of the themes are fully coincidental and do not point to any correspondence according to order. It is also a coincidence that there is a similar number of themes and meaning structures.

features specifically embedded in the prevailing sports- and rehabilitation discourses: here, a common assumption is that physical reactions often have psychological incentives ("causes") (Koch 2001, Iezzoni et al. 2000). This is the variant stressed most amongst the informants when the topic is touched upon. It can also be the other way around, however - that is, physical states causing a need for psychological reaction. They can often be coupled to a three-step mechanism: the impairment (physical), activating psychological needs for coping, resulting in physical activity as a way of reaction.

A third variety, lying closer to a phenomenological orientation, is also represented. Here, the distinction between the physical and psychological is not that relevant, or also dismissed, pointing to a more holistic and unified perception of conduct (as is often indicated by the term 'psycho-physical' in literature (Gallagher 2005, Siebers 2008). These aspects come forth as the informants express meaning dimensions by pointing to matters of e.g. general well-being and identity more than to physical or psychological issues explicitly.

Introducing this part of the analysis is an excerpt from the interview with Ada. As will be evident it invites to the exploration of a number of meaning aspects simultaneously[108].

The immediate context of the excerpt was a sequence where we had been talking about the activity within an *inspired mode* context - that is, when one is in an especially activated mood and engage intensely and "psyched" (sport expression) in the activity (cf. "flow").

> Ada: *When you just pounces on and really go for it in climbing and so. Maybe it´s not necessarily aggression or anger. But it might be a reaction on something. One should be allowed having a process where some kind of reaction takes place. One could have been in an accident, or maybe lost someone or … experiences one makes in life. Disappointments. I have been in hospital forty-something times. Many downhills. One has to be attentive, listen to co-patients. Anyway; reactions. A mourning process. That one is not allowed to participate in society. Maybe one doesn´t need to box or be angry. But a reaction. And it might be good handling it within the frames of physical activity.*

First: The turning to reaction and issuing impairment and psychological challenges came sudden in the immediate context, which had originally been focused on rather contrary

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[108] It can be noted that compared with the other themes, this first contains a considerable amount of "technical correspondences" between constructed conceptualizations and typifications. This is in order to make important theoretical connections clear at an early point.

qualities - flow and well-being experienced in the activity. In its context, the turn appeared as "conspicuous". First, this was my own perception there and then, based on the totality of my own experience as a participant researcher through the field works. It however also corresponded with tendencies in the material from a thorough structural and analytic point of view, when conversations with the other informants were also taken into account and compared.

Some background information, in order to contextualize: At this point in the interview I got the immediate impression that by establishing the *reaction* topic, Ada made associations to a conversation we had had earlier. Some weeks before, in Skibotn, we had been talking about the often assumed necessity of physically releasing tensions and frustrations -"take out frustration", "the occasional need to let off steam" - which can be seen as examples of well-established and commonsensic-psychological explanations pointing to the *function* of intense physical conduct of certain kinds. Such "explanations" seem to be well established in ordinary language use, regarding a wide range of experiences. It could span from e.g. why physical activity feels good, to the understanding of the causes behind aggressive or even violent behaviour (Blum-Kulka 1997, Schütz 1970).

During this conversation in Skibotn I had been conscious about not making a stand regarding this being a kind of *discursively established* understanding, which was how I perceived it. As I saw it, making such a stand could have influenced her natural way of using such kinds of references.

Theoretically, my understanding of this "commonsensical" reference as a part of established narratives regarding the meaningfulness and function of physical activity in relation with general well-being point to the "phenomenology of social life" (Schütz 1997, Berger & Luckmann 1966): It could be understood as one of the "clichés" of daily language being pragmatically adapted in order to categorize complex meaning experiences which it is not easy to categorize into words. This is one of the presumptions for colonizing mechanisms, as these are more easily adapted where there is an "area of meaning outside of articulation" from before. It is however important not to define the meaning content in its totality as a result of colonization just because of this. "Activity as reaction" might perhaps be adapted as a pragmatic solution according to discursive expectations - but it can undoubtedly also be an actual and profound mechanism for meaning experience in its own right. As will be shown in different contexts during this analysis section, and within different

themes, participating in the activities is empowering according to a wider scope of the individual lifeworlds. It has to do with aspects such as developing of personal identity and active positioning of oneself opposite others, and as ways of regaining control where the impairments have imposed restrictions onto one's life situation (e.g. as ruptures). For example (to be shown in the following, and also later on) climbing seemed to be a reaction on the feeling of being *set aside* in society, in the sense that one cannot participate on the same terms as others when one has a disability. As climbing is generally regarded as a sport where individual competence and confidence is important, engaging in it becomes an active opposition against being ascribed to a "liminal area" in society (these aspects point to the SSCW 3 *Difference*).

Changing category for a meaning content: "Flow" experiences represented as reactions
Ada hence seems to connect discursively established expressions to the presentation of meaning in climbing as *reactions*, which are here - on the occasion referred to above - rooted in *inspired modes* of climbing. At this point it is important not to lose sight of the "double reality" of reaction. The following explorative reflections are to be understood in accordance with 4C *Experiences and representations of meaning in the activity*:

For one, it obviously points to a *true experience* ("to be taken at face value") - *either* as an experience which actually took place there and then, in *the game* - that is, a 2c experience - and is remembered and as such represented (i.e. also a 2c *representation*) - *or* as a true *retrospective perception* (2c) pointing back to the "original" experience in the game, which however in itself - there and then - did not necessarily bear the character of reaction (i.e. type 1). That this type 1 experience *represented* a type 2c can also be understood as a *true perception* logically implies the necessity that *the context of the representation makes it true.* This means that it is actually perceived, as it for example becomes part of the larger narrative about living with impairment, and which thereby transcends the "original experience". To remind on this important presumption, which is also underscored by the phenomenological perspective in this project: *Active construction of past experiences* by varieties of *retention* (Merleau-Ponty 2012) is a natural part of meaning construction in the lifeworld - and also in the social climbing world.

Also, the retrospective perception of the original experiences as reactions (2c) is anyhow *formed* (if not also retrospectively created) by the established "way of speech"

imposed by the rehabilitation discourse. That is, one is "required" to bring the impairment into the explanation of the meaningfulness of the activity - e.g. as something which causes the activity as a reaction upon it - that is, the impairment as "indirect deprivation". (Note: At this point there is also an obvious correspondence and overlap with theme 4, *Right attitude*).

The two types of reality shorter put: 1) The meaning of the climbing was perceived there and then (in the game) as reaction (it is then a "true reference" to the "true object"). 2) The meaning of the climbing as reaction was perceived in retrospect as having in fact originally had to do with reaction, even if it had not *actually* been so back then (a "true" opinion about a "constructed" object/situation in the past). (It should be noted that within a phenomenological perspective both point to reaction as a "true phenomenon" in the outset, in the sense that the perception simply "is what it is", as is not to be contested by any model of "corresponding truth" (cf. elaborations of the phenomenological perspective in the theory part, e.g. opposite analytic philosophy). In addition there is the possibility that some of (if not to say the whole of) the reaction aspect is discursively created, as a meaning experience which is hard to categorize into words is given a ready-made and common-cultural *valid* expression, cf. the prevailing discourses (this latter is a rather vague perspective that will not be used alone in the following, as it is perceived to not contribute to any analytical substance in itself).

We had started out with an inspired mode context (as a certain characteristic of the being in *the game*), positioning the conversation within a context of "flow" (type 1)[109]. On this backdrop we talked about how it is to be in such a situation ("pounce on", "really go for it", as Ada expressed it). The conversation about it takes form of a retrospective presentation - and here, suddenly, the meaning talked about as type 1 (flow) undergoes a shift of representation, to now being about the other category - reaction as a means of "dealing with the impairment" (type 2). The point here is that a colonizing aspect follows in the wake of the retrospective issuing of the meaning of the activity: The phenomenon referred to seems to have been of type 1 in the outset, but is now presented as having been of type 2 *in the outset* - that is, as it was actually perceived at the time (in *the game*). This is therefore an example of colonization type 2: The impairment (in this context, a

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[109] In the constructing of them, the conceptualizations *the game*, *flow* and *inspired mode* have influenced each other mutually. For example, it is obviously so that *flow* experiences can initiate *inspired modes* of being in the activity (*the game*) - hence the connection becomes natural.

situation felt as an impairment effect - "deprivation") reacted against *is retrospectively brought into the past* to define the meaning content of the phenomenon talked about - climbing in the inspired mode.

Shifting representations of meaning: A meaningful leap in the conversation

Up to this point in the interview we had not been issuing impairment explicitly. In the outset, therefore, her turning to these issues could be understood as a leap in the conversation, and a sudden change of theme. In a broader perspective this change seems however to point to a certain inner coherence.

The leap seemed to be caused by a "force". According to research on the relation between impairment and physical activity (Kissow 2015, Løvgren 2009) persons with impairments tend to have in part different kinds of needs for reactions through physical activity than others (although there might of course also be common elements not related to the impairment/non-impairment divide). For persons with impairment it can be about such fundamental matters as the need to feel like and be regarded as a normal person in a general sense, while it for non-impaired can be about self-realization and pursuing of a more specific identity or interest (Taub, Blinde & Greer (1999). In the common-cultural conception, sport provides an arena for such activities as "normal and healthy" people engage into. Exactly the physical character of sport also makes it a powerful tool for reaction against impairment effects.

The material in this project corresponds with this: The informants have certain limitations and frustrations which other climbers do not have as ingredients in their own "climbing worlds", both in terms of physiological matters (impairments) and social barriers (disability).

According to the SSCW the bringing in of the reaction element can thereby be understood as an example of the meaning structure *difference* (SSCW 3), having to do with *group identity* on a basic level. In a fundamental sense the members' climbing can be seen as a reaction against this structure in the negative sense of *otherness* - as a relation to "the others" (the "Umwelt"). In the conversation referred to above this is connected with a variety of the *appearance of the impairment* (SSCW 4). In this context it reveals itself in *conversation* (cf. Table 2: present, as consciousness, negative), rather than coming to one's

mind during the activity itself as a physical reminder (e.g. as a "sting of pain", as it was expressed by another informant in another context).

This shows how it can be hard to sort between colonization and "real" deprivation. Of course, the bringing forth of the impairment in the addressing of meaning contents in climbing points to real life experiences which cannot necessarily be reduced to expressions of colonization. Again, the mechanism that can serve to still detect this mechanism is the conceptual divide between experiences in climbing as 1) "flow" and 2) improvement (4C)[110], as these concepts denote both the experience when it happens (the game) and later representations of it. This conceptual divide hence makes it possible for the colonization to reveal itself in that the original experience 1 is *represented* as type 2 in retrospect.

The impairment appears

Ada brings in the impairment and difficult life situations. She anchors these associations - or perhaps rather *meditations* - in the *hospital* as a significant framing for a general life situation, as a kind of "story of my life". As inspired moments in climbing and "flow" sessions are represented, an important notice to be taken is that she does not issue a specific session retrospectively, but rather reflects upon inspired modes *in general*. Shortly put, it seems like mastering climbing is a way for her to compensate her impairment - it becomes an empowering experience.

This indicates that the meaning content of climbing as it is presented in the interview points to important emancipating aspects of the activity - but also at the same time that it is communicated by "colonized ways of speech". The reflections above indicate that in retrospectively defining the initial inspired mode as a compensating technique or "resource" for something else, the meaning of the climbing in itself - as it happened - is infused with an element of "substitute" - or, as a *means to something else* rather than as a meaningful experience in its own right. This exchange[111] of an originally inspired mode into compensation hence underscores the colonization aspect.

This points to another nuance: As defined in the outset, colonization involves the bringing in of a deprivation in one kind or another. In the example above, the "loss" seems

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[110] Reminder: For simplicity's sake this category in 4C is occasionally denoted as Type 2 'improvement' as a more general reference, without the points a-c being specified.
[111] It would be imprecise to use the phrase "reduced to a compensation" or the like, as the type of compensation in question is of an empowering and highly valuable kind.

to be the original inspired modes in climbing (i.e. "flow" experiences) which are deprived of their statuses as such. However, it might well be that this is *for the greater good*: letting this happen might provide for an even larger meaning content in providing the climbing to compensate for the impairment. Hence, letting go of the meaning experiences as they were really experienced back then in *the game* itself might be a sacrifice that is "well worth it". This shows that effects of colonization is not consequently negative in all respects (even if it is the point in this project to become especially aware of these). Of course, the same goes for the rehabilitation discourse, which is "the colonizer": In most respects the effects of the discourse are positive - it is however also valuable to point out that it can nevertheless seem to deprive persons with impairments of possibilities to represent inspired experiences in physical activity - where the impairments are not experienced - without at the same time also issuing these (that is, indirect deprivation).

This can be seen in contrast with non-impaired sports people explaining their meaning sensations in the activity: they would not put it this way (cf. explanations in the theory part).

First it can be assumed that for them, the aspect of compensation is not that prominent in an overall sense, since they do not have such a significant condition as being impaired. In retrospect they would tend to stick more to type 1 as actually representing a type 1 experience, instead of representing it as type 2. And as "the flow"/inspired mode experiences in activity are however hard to put into words, they are put in cliché forms like e.g. "we just had the chemistry today", "we appeared as a team", "we just got into the flow". The point is that these usual cliché forms - which of course also follow an established discourse in their own right (the "sport talk discourse") - do not bring in any compensations *structurally,* in the way the rehabilitation discourse does for persons with impairments (in the form "it is good to be able to manage this, taken into account that I have an impairment").

There are of course also the aspect that non-impaired might as well use climbing as compensation. This however follows the descriptions given above: it would then not be according to permanent (or, at least long lasting) deprivations such as impairments, imposed as *structures* in their lives which are also permeated by socially established normative ways of thinking, like the rehabilitation discourse. For example, one could imagine a person using climbing as a way of compensating uncertainty in her social life. This

person could also well be representing a type 1 climbing experience as a type 2c in retrospect, in order to posit it mentally as a compensation - but there would not be any discursively established normative way of talking about it, and which she would have had adopted.

This "colonized" way of addressing the inspired mode is however not the only one for Ada. On earlier occasions (before the time of the interview) she had also issued the inspired mode without associating it with compensation, or any other theme having to do directly or indirectly with impairment. This points to the interchanging of different *realms of meaning* defining the meaning perception in a certain situation or in a memory (*retention*), to draw on Merleau-Ponty's terminology (2012). In the outset, then, it seems obvious that the inspired mode might have many possible explanations working simultaneously.

Here is an important point that also explains some of the colonization mechanism: The reflections above correspond with the general assumption that persons with impairments obviously share a field of meaning with other people (without impairments) regarding "flow-experiences" of engaging in physical activity, but that there also simultaneously exists a structural difference (in the sense frequency or tendency) regarding how this meaning is retrospectively represented. In short, to put it in the form of a hypothesis (given the previous presumptions and definitions): Persons with impairments will tend to represent type 1 experiences of meaning (flow) as type 2 (rehabilitation, improvement, reaction) in retrospect more often than will persons without impairments.

It must be emphasized that at this point in time, there does not exist any empirical research on this making a valid comparison possible. It can however be claimed to be underscored by outdoors and adventurous sports media where this thematic is issued, such as films, reportages, and reports[112].

Colonization and indirect deprivation: A basic thought is that the prevailing discourses on disability and the meaning of physical activity contribute in strengthening the tendencies discussed above. Thereby its colonizing effects: it is embedded in "right thinking and good will", and its "oppressive stowaway" is thereby not detected. A reason is that persons with impairment - while representing the experienced meaning - will tend to represent it as an e.g. compensation, reaction or contesting, and thereby bring the

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[112] At the *International Adventure Conference* (Fjord 2.0) in Sogndal, November 2014, representation of these kinds of experiences were also issued in various contexts.

impairment in "through the back door", as an *indirect deprivation*. The original meaning is defined into a meaning consisting of something unfortunate or bad (the impairment or its effects) being reacted upon in some way, with the ultimate goal that it is to be defeated, contested, or forgotten. The further point could also be highlighted: Following, the difference opposite persons without impairments is assumed to be *more in the representation of the meaning than in the original meaning experiences themselves* (however not discharging the eventual differences that may lie in these experiences in themselves - that is, not to "throw the baby out with the bathwater").

Regarding reactions, the quote shows to a significant *width* in Ada's associations. To put it simple before going further: Even the best moments of the sport - the "highlights of climbing", the inspired mode - have something to do, in some way or another, even if indirectly, with the subordinate position of disabled persons in society. In the interview, she reflected back to her young age where she started to lose her vision and had to "take precautions". For example, she initially wanted to join a local brass corps, but cancelled the plan as she knew she would not be able to see the notes or the conductor in a relatively short time. It was of the same reason she did not take driving lessons. In her associations this was also coupled with other things she could not do, though not having to do with the impairment but with allergy - such as swimming and wearing make-up. Hiking and being outdoors became something she had left, and which became important to her. As she lost her vision however, she was also deprived of important dimensions of the outdoors life. One thing, obviously, was that she could not take in the view. Another was loss of independence, as everything would demand careful planning and some assistance.

The climbing functioned as a reaction according to this. For one it functioned as a protest against being set aside by the impairment - and thereby also in a societal sense, as *disabled*. Also, it provided a new connection with the outdoors life which she had had to give up in the way it had used to be (aspects of this is to be reissued in the next theme - *extended corporeality*).

Connecting to the more comprehensive life story: "Because-motives" (Schütz)
In general, the context of the situation where an explanation about the past is given influences the explanation. Regarding the quote given above, inspired modes of climbing could be seen as the immediate and "narrow" context. But one could also ask if there is not

also a *deeper* context being actualized in the quote, as it revealed associations with hospital and the more comprehensive life situation (cf. 'thick description'). *When you just pounces on and really go for it in climbing and so. Maybe it´s not necessarily aggression or anger. But it might be a reaction on something. (…) … experiences one makes in life. Disappointments. I have been in hospital forty-something times.* First it should be mentioned that this was just one of several parallels drawn by Ada between the climbing activities and more comprehensive biographical narratives - this will also be reissued under other themes (e.g. *Extended corporeality*, on biographical disruption). In these present reflections, this helps validating the assumption that such comprehensive perspectives represent a permanent meaning content for her.

According to Schütz (1970) there are certain mechanisms in the ways *motives* can be conceived of. In the second order hermeneutics - the analytical conduct of the researcher - the motives (of expressions or conduct) are understood in an objectified sense, as they are ideally constructed on the background of observations and comparison of similar types (of observable conduct, i.e. "externalized intentions" - Berger & Luckmann 1966) from the past. On the other side there are the subjective perceptions - in this case Ada's own perceptions of motives. Schütz distinguishes between *because* and *in order to* - motives. *Because*-motives refers to the more comprehensive background for a project, while *in order to* points to more local goals within it.

In the quote, Ada seems to activate the *because* motive for inspired conduct in climbing. Her overall life situation and -history - as she generalizes herself - is set as the motivation for the activity (the *because*), defining the different types of conduct (episodes, in this context "going for it", "pouncing on") which together make up the activity.

In other conversation contexts, types of conduct within certain episodes could rather be referred to as having to do with that specific situation itself, without connecting it to a larger context. Then, the *in order to* motives prevailed. To illustrate the point: The reason why you "really go for it" at a session is *in order to* finally contesting that certain route (your "project") - and (/or) it may at the same time be *because* of a deeper need to react upon and contest e.g. sensations of being ascribed to a fundamental difference (cf. SSCW 3) by the outer society, for example in the form that people in general do not expect persons with impairments to be mastering such activities as climbing.

The divide between *because* and *in order to* motives from Schütz can thereby also serve to clarify the idea of colonization further. The colonized explanation is given as a representation of *because* motives. It does not seem to pertain to *in order to* motives. This makes sense. Colonization is inextricably linked with a culturally embedded normativity which reveals itself in certain prevailing discourses. It is natural that these stick to deeper and more important meaning contents, such as structures in one's life situation and thereby *because* motives (such as e.g. having an impairment). Local realms of meaning are simply not important or established enough to be carried by a discursive formation in this way - such as e.g. a strong wish to manage a certain route in this session as the *in order to* motive for "really going for it".

This can again be connected with the types 1 ("flow") and 2 (reaction, improvement) for experiences and representations (4C). Colonization (mode 2, discursive adaption) means that the type 1 meaning experience - which can in itself have been about fulfilling *in order to* motives (such as e.g. finally managing this certain project route in the wall) is later represented as a *because* motive (e.g. saying the experience was perceived as meaningful because it confronted prejudices and showed others that one could do this).

The inspired mode as reaction vs. the special game in light of colonization

In experiences of *flow*, everything "just works". Body, mind and surroundings make up a "total experience". In reportages, articles and not least adventure films issuing physical activity (especially of the adventurous kind) such experiences are connected with the immediate and non-reflective senses of "being in the moment" and "carpe diem"[113].

When Ada brings in the element of reaction in the interview context, she thus breaks with the common explanations of the inspired mode - or also, alternatively, she tells a different story. The question here is - thought in a general sense - if Ada *qua* person with impairment experiences this differently than others (non-impaired), or if she has merely been "playing another type of game". In order to approach this one must keep in mind the doubleness elaborated earlier: First, climbing for the informants is simultaneously the same

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[113] At the 2014 *International Adventure Conference* (Fjord 2.0) in Sogndal, Norway (24-26/11 - 14), there were several contributions touching upon these themes (e.g. the sub-sessions on *sociology of the outdoors* chaired by Josie Field, and *outdoors philosophies* chaired by Gill Pomfret and Paul Beedie). Similar features are also presented in e.g. the *Dosage* TV series on climbing (Big UP productions), and regular reportages in the Rock & Ice Magazine (Big Stone Publishing, Carbondale).

activity as for others, but with certain adaptations and compensations added to it (*adaptive climbing*, SSCW 1) - and also an activity on its own terms (*the special game*, SSCW 2). As analysed in this project, both structures are central constituents of the social climbing world. Then there are also the two types of meaning experience (and representation), and which *all people* engaging in the sport may experience, regardless of impairment: The *flow* (1) and the *rehabilitation/improvement/reaction/ "dealing with"* (2) type of meaningful experiences in the activity. Both types are understood as outcomes of engaging in the activity, in the sense *perceptions of meaning*.

The following reflection is based on a general evaluation of the empirical material regarding aspects pointing to climbing as reaction. (Due to overlap some of the aspects will be handled more thorough under other themes - in those later contexts there will be drawn parallels back to this *reaction* theme, for the sake of coherence).

The difference related to the bringing in of the reaction element seems to have to do with a combination of two aspects: First, that adaptive climbing is a meaning category pertaining to the climbers with impairment only. Second, that the phenomena reacted upon have different characteristics in the two "groups" - impaired and non-impaired - regarding the type of deprivation involved. Impairment effects are clearly different from e.g. a temporary damage, a situational difficulty in one's life situation, or a period of stress.

To reiterate: Climbers without impairments also experience both types of meaning in the activity - the *flow* (1) and *improvement/reaction* (2) - but, importantly, they do not share the double character of the activity as being both *adaptive climbing* and *the special game*. This touches upon a somewhat analytically intricate point about the colonization mechanism, as there are different combinations of types corresponding with each other. The conceptualizations above make it possible to theoretically conceive of a "mismatch" in representation, pointing to the colonization mechanism. When a type 1 kind of experience (flow) is represented as a type 2 (improvement/reaction), in a way reducing[114] an original context of *the special game* (SSCW 2) to a context of *adaptive climbing* (SSCW 1) in retrospect, and *if* this is done (unconsciously) "because this is how one is supposed to address the meaning content of the intersection between impairment and physical activity" - that is, following the rehabilitation discourse - there is colonization at work.

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[114] *Reducing* in the sense of bringing in an indirect deprivation, i.e. an impairment effect (negative) being reacted upon or contested, thereby providing the perception with its type 2 meaning aspect (positive).

Naturally, there are also varieties of reactions in non-impaired climbing, as probably in all other kinds of sports as well; the cliché of e.g. "blowing off steam" does of course not pertain to disabled only (this also parallels the former assertion: that it is of course also possible for non-impaired to use climbing as compensation). Again: the type 2 experience of meaning in the activity - *rehabilitation/improvement/reaction/"dealing with"* - goes for all people in the outset, no less that type 1 - *the flow*. This is presupposed in the further.

Regarding the type of deprivation reacted upon: In climbing situations outside of the Rocks context I have participated in similar conversations about the inspired mode where this theme about it being a kind of reaction has been brought forth. There, the intense situations in climbing being perceived as some kinds of reactions have been more related to (paraphrasing) "loosing up muscular tensions or stress from work", "I needed to get my thoughts off the exam", and the like. This also corresponds with the features of the established discourses which posit activity as reaction and "therapy", as described in literature on physical activity (Løvgren 2009, Engelsrud 2006).

In the passage referred to above, Ada associated quite differently. In general, if one were to reflect upon the intensive moments of the inspired mode within the frames of non-impaired climbing, the automatic connecting of it to a need to blow out steam because of sorrow or disappointments would not take place. It would be described as a flow, an inspired moment or period of time, and/or the result of encouragements. (Type 1 in experience and representation alike). Likewise, when e.g. type 2 improvement were to be issued, it would correspondingly be put forth as the same type of meaning.

For the sake of order, regarding when the type 2 is represented (cf. 4C), there are two possibilities (still issuing non-impaired). First: The meaning perception having to do with improvement (e.g. general health gains or certain skills, and *without* any deprivation having been explicitly reacted upon or defeated). For example, one simply senses that one has improved one's capabilities and become better at the sport. Second: The meaning perception has to do with improvement, *and includes* some deprivation that has been explicitly reacted upon or defeated, e.g. a temporary damage or a "stressful period".

At this point we arrive at an insight regarding the correspondence between the deprivation aspects and the colonization mechanism type 2 (narratives and discourses). A central difference between the informants and others (non-impaired) have to do with these varieties: The impairments are permanent (or at least enduring) deprivations which

cannot be contested in themselves (this corresponds with the established medical definition of impairment). This is the reason why *adaptive climbing* is a permanent structure within the social climbing world alongside *the special game*. The point is that the bringing in of the deprivation aspect in the colonization is therefore not a bringing in of a "temporary deprivation" only - it becomes a permanent oppression of the special game, meaning that it provides a "constant pressure" towards reducing it to the category *adaptive climbing*. When reaction is issued opposite an inspired mode context, the experiences referred to are "transferred" from the *special game* (SSCW 2) to *adaptive climbing* (SSCW 1), and hence in some sense also reduced.

Now to take a step back and reiterate a central point with the general question: Why is this colonization, and not just simply "true references" to impairment effects?

The reflections above have issued two aspects simultaneously: The bringing in of challenging life situations to explain meaningful experiences in climbing - *and* the alleged (by myself) explaining of such meaning as reactions upon such life situations as a result of prevailing discourses about how to think and talk about the impairment/activity issue. It is of course important not to reduce the first point to the second: When the informants express their perceived meaning in climbing in such terms, it is of course *true*. In their perception, when expressing it, the meaningful experience is implicit in the reaction they issue - it is not just "a way of talking". It is also not just true "in the context of representation": the situations to which the representations refer, also become true in a retrospective sense - by *retention* (Merleau-Ponty 2012). Hence it seems to be a fact that much of the meaning content of the social climbing world has to do with impairment effects in a comprehensive sense, drawing on a variety of sincerely felt and lasting life circumstances.

The colonization aspect is however also present as an "artificial" imposing of impairment effects. This becomes evident when one combines the conceptions *the special game*, *inspired mode of climbing*, and *flow* experiences (the two latter being very closely related, as indicated before). When reaction is brought in retrospectively to explain meaning experiences taking place within these categories - on the premises elaborated earlier - it is hard to conceive of it as something else than a variety of colonization. The reason is that without the colonization, the "real" references to meaning understood as reactions upon and contesting of impairment effects would rather pertain to the contexts

of adaptive climbing and type 2 meaning in the activity:

rehabilitation/improvement/reaction/ "dealing with".

Climbing as reaction against not being able to do what others can do

Reaction can take form of *compensation*.

Miriam uses wheelchair for support. Because of a spine injury (accident) she has reduced movability in her legs, and often feels pain in her feet (hypersensitivity). First it should be mentioned that even if much of the meaning content of Miriam's climbing have to do with compensation in various ways, her climbing must not be reduced to such in an overall sense (as also goes for all of the other members - cf. the general assumption that the SCW structures *The special game* and *Dedication to the sport* are the most defining for the group identity). Miriam is clear about how the climbing sport fits her personality very well. On the question about why she started to climb she emphasizes how she just got "hooked" when she tried it. It is almost as if it was a coincidence that she first discovered it in a rehabilitation center. In her own story about her climbing she stresses that she is really fascinated by the sport itself. It has become part of her own self-understanding, as it fits to the person she has always been. She has a strong self-confidence when it comes to taking challenges and fight for her own goals, and now this also regards climbing (cf. Table 3A). This also implies the impairment. Climbing functions well as a way of rehabilitation for her, and she constantly measures her attainments according to her own standard. Even though it happens, she does not in general need to compare herself with others; anyway she gladly receives tips if she can use them to improve her own climbing.

When she finds meaning in comparisons with others, it is not according to their climbing, but according to their more ordinary activities. For example, she especially compares her own climbing with other people *walking*. This must be understood according to the fact that walking is something she used to do much before, but now she cannot and she misses it. As will be shown in the further, climbing thereby seems to provide a way of compensating this loss, as a *reaction* against her not being able to do it herself (this also parallels Ada, obviously). Hence this variety of reaction is not against being unjustly posited by the prejudices of others, or against colonization imposed from the rehabilitation discourse, as have been the varieties issued most in section 1 - it is more a reaction upon the situation of being deprived of doing something one used to do before.

Miriam: (Climbing) *of course gives me a certain feeling of mastery. Others can perhaps take a mountain hike,*[115] *but then not be able to climb ten meters up a wall. But I can do that. Even if I can't do that hike.*

F: Is this conscious or unconscious for you?

M: Not conscious, no it hasn't been. (Thinks for a while, hesitates) *… but, yes, don't know, it … becomes a kind of victory.*[116] *Both for myself and other people with impairments. Making this. I believe so. A substitute for walking. It's so much exercise one wouldn't have had otherwise. That about always hearing "well, then I'm off jogging" …* (laughs)*. Keep fit, go out jogging and everything. And all that demands things we cannot do. But climbing, which is often regarded as being "no, I can't do that" … it is fear of heights and this and that … . That I can actually do. Who cannot do such a simple thing as walk. So it becomes a strange thing, then.*

To take a reflection on this part before going further in the quote (which will provide for another aspect (prejudices) and also be compared with a quote from Fred): From the interview - and other conversations we had had as well - it seemed clear that Miriam had found it hard to accept that she could no longer walk in a normal way, or do jogging as a more specific exercise. Just walking, especially in the sense hiking, had been a part of who she *is* (and still, in terms of identification). No longer being able to walk posited her outside of where she felt she belonged and emphasized the *difference* aspect for her (SSCW 3) in the sense of being deprived of something important. That she cannot even walk normally anymore (in the sense "which is so easy") invokes reactions in her. That she can do something that is generally regarded as being harder and more physical in the outset than walking and hiking seems to be experienced by her as a kind mastery compensating this fact (though not in the sense that it is equally good seen in total).

This compensation is strengthened in the responses in other people. On one occasion she explained how she got a "boost" while struggling in the wall (*the game*) through a momentary direct contact with her belayer, where she referred to another person in the gym, who she compared herself with in terms of imagination (i.e. a momentary leap into

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[115] She uses the Norwegian word "topptur", which does not have a clear equivalent in English- it means getting to the top of a hill or a mountain by one's feet, by hiking or skiing. In general, she had many references to other people conducting such activities.

[116] "Seier" (Norwegian).

the extended game). In the episode there was a young talented climber ascending a hard route in the "roof" (a very overhanging part of the wall)[117]. In the interview she emphasized how she had a hard time in the wall:

> *I STRUGGLED!* [All emphases in original] *And then I saw him over there, in the roof. And then I said* [to the belayer] *"he is so good really, imagine being able to do something like that". But then the belayer shouted back at me: "Well, but climbers usually don't actually have their wheelchairs standing outside in their cars!" He meant that YOU can however do THAT. And that is even bigger …*

The encouragement she felt on this occasion - giving her both a psychological and physiological boost in the wall - can be understood as a variety of corporeal-social meaning. In her perception, the experience was posited as a confronting of a deprived position, in the sense a reaction upon her not being able to do "easy" things like walking. Obviously, hearing from another - which was a skilled climber - that in some sense her achievement was perhaps even bigger than that of the very proficient climber, also contributed to the experience of the physical "boost" she felt.

     This can be coupled with the understanding of shifts within the gravitational points of the SSCW: In this situation the SSCW 4 *Appearance of the impairment* took the form *present, as consciousness, positive* (Table 2), shifting the SSCW 3 *Difference* from the otherness (in a negative sense, deprivation) variety to a perception of being different in that one is doing something extraordinary and positive (cf. 3C: "we actually climb even if we have impairments").

Variation of reaction: Confronting pain
Another variety of the activity as reaction is that for Miriam, the climbing is also a way of confronting - almost in the sense of *protesting* against - her own impairment. (This coincides with the ethos of the rehabilitation discourse. A related point will also be issued under the next theme, *Extended corporeality.*)

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[117] This person was the younger of the two brothers mentioned in section 1, who are amongst the "understanding others". This might be some of the reason why she related to him, apart from the fact that he is a good climber (cf. the relations with the others and the "grey zone" between the SCW and the Umwelt, relations 7-10 in Figure 5).

Some background: Naturally, climbing is a sport where the use of arms is essential. At the same time it is however also a point to put as little load on the arms as possible during the ascent, as it is economically efficient to let the feet take the weight where possible. In Miriam's individual way of the special game it is much the other way around: because of hypersensitivity in her feet she attempts to relieve them by using her arms as much as possible. It adds to her special situation that the climbing is still very important for her rehabilitation of her legs.

Wearing climbing shoes (even if hers are not tight, as climbing shoes usually are) and stepping on holds is often painful to Miriam.[118] When coupled with the information above, this serves to nuance what the activity means to her. First the more overall gains: Climbing is an activity which fits to her personality. It is also good for her physical recovery. Then the more indirect gains: It is *challenging*, therefore it is also a reaction upon not being able to do something normal and *easy* (walking). And then there is the confronting of pain: Miriam was "in a battle" with her legs, which "did not cooperate" (reduced movability) and also inflicted her with pain due to hypersensitivity. Also in that sense climbing was not an easy sport to go into for her (this hence adds to its initial challenging character, both physiologically and psychologically). At this point she had a special disadvantage which probably almost no other climbers have - and certainly not in the Rocks group. It is probable that very few people with Miriam's condition would engage in climbing, even if they really liked the sport in the outset, as it is like jumping voluntarily "into the fire" in terms of physical discomfort.

Miriam is an adventurous person, and ready to confront challenges (cf. Table 3A). In the way she talked about it, climbing also seemed to be a way of reacting against her own feet. She in a way did not accept that the pain should prevent her from climbing, so she did anyway.[119] She actively stepped into the discomfort because she wanted to climb, and her feet should not stop her from doing it. In this way she defeated the pain - not in the sense that it disappeared, but in the sense that *she was in charge*.

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[118] She is the only climber in the group whose impairment comes close to the chronic pain category, in the sense that the impairment is always present in some kind of way (in the sense of *physically felt* in this project, not in the sense of the physical impairment as a constant "ontological fact" in the traditional medical sense).
[119] Regarding this she was in dialogue with doctors. Obviously, she would not fight the pain this way if it could compromise her condition.

Miriam: *I need to practice on dealing with more and more and still more … Expose myself to pain, plainly put. Perhaps then I can come a longer way in coping with … , but I can't know for sure.*

This was also part of a certain variety of corporeal-social meaning. Even if she expressed some regret over the fact that the other group members did not understand her individual condition to the full - that is, the aspect about pain (although the members of course knew about it and admired her for still climbing) - she still found "skilled support" and acknowledgement for her reaction against her condition (the confronting of her feet) in *medical personnel.* Here it became the other way around according the group members: where the latter knew about climbing but not much about her physical condition in a medical sense, it was the other way around for the doctors.

Her adding of … *but I can't know for sure* in her reflection points to her rehabilitation. It goes the right way, but she does not know how the future development will be. Anyhow it is her general attitude to do the best of the situation and try to push it as far as she can. She agreed with John's phrase "you can' win if you don't play".

In the interview, Miriam told about an episode where she had hurt herself in the wall and had to seek medical treatment (she had a rare episode of being unlucky in a fall and hit a hold with a foot.) At the medical center the doctor felt over her foot and asked where it hurt in order to sort out the damage. The point was that everything hurt anyway because of her oversensitivity, so this technique turned out to be a less proper way of investigation. That she had actually been climbing with this condition had made the doctor quite astonished. At this occasion - by "the gaze" of the doctor - she had felt a strong acknowledgement for her willingness to confront her impairment.

Miriam seemed to get empowered by these remarks, as it confirmed her personality as a fighter. This probably stressed her perception about her climbing also being a kind of reaction opposite her state of being impaired, and also in a way implying a dimension of CSM in the sense of social acknowledgement for the way she handled her corporeal condition.

In the interview Miriam also connected to a physiotherapist she had been visiting twice a week for four years. In the last of these years she had started to climb and then experienced a considerable progress in her rehabilitation. *He had troubles following up in*

giving me new challenges to work on. You could tell he was quite surprised! She announced proudly. This acknowledgement also adds to the CSM she experiences in confronting her impairment in climbing. In the same way as in the episode above with the medical doctor, the SSCW 3 *Difference* was now highlighted in a positive sense, establishing a "point of gravity" for the other structures. Obviously, the *Appearance of the impairment* (SSCW 4) in this context also took on a positive variety. First, it was obviously as *thought about*, as is evident from the interview material (*present, as consciousness, positive*, cf. Table 2). Regarding the meeting with the medical doctor it is also reasonable to assume that she had experienced a rare occasion of the *present, corporeally felt, positive* category. She had been in exceptionally much physical pain at the time at the medical center, but this was also closely connected with the doctor's acknowledgement in the same situation, and which made her proud. (A parallel can be drawn to sensations experienced by people who have "given everything" in sports or adventurous projects and are in a state of physical exhaustion and discomfort, but are still embedded in perceptions of inner wellness because they have e.g. reached a summit)[120]. It seems obvious that such meaning experiences - and of course together with the fact that she experiences good rehabilitation in climbing - underpins Miriam's willingness to endure pain in her confronting of her impairment.

Variation of reaction: Confronting prejudices

Miriam and Fred are quite different personalities: while Miriam is quite extrovert (as indicated above, and in section 1), Fred is more reserved in conduct and speech. For example, he does not "confront" his impairment in the way Miriam does, but rather is in "understanding dialogue" with it[121]. The same goes for his way of addressing negative attitudes and prejudices from the surroundings (as a socio-cultural variety of disabling barriers). Reactions and willingness to confront nevertheless came forward, though more in the form of "telling insinuations" and humour. It is therefore interesting to let both Miriam and Fred present a feature which seems to be common in the group: perceiving one's climbing as to some extent confronting prejudices in others.

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[120] Light versions of this are also announced in expressions like "no gain without pain" in the general sports discourse.
[121] The character of his injury would not allow him to confront it physically anyway, but this nevertheless corresponds with his personality. For instance, he also did not confront it verbally, like e.g. Miriam did - even if nothing could stop him from doing that.

For Fred, a meaning aspect in climbing was that it expressed a reaction against being ascribed to a subordinate position as disabled.

It is late in the interview, and Fred has answered according to his usual calm and considerate "low profile" thorough the whole conversation (cf. Table 3A). We have started talking about what climbing means to him in general, in life and on an everyday basis. Fred makes associations to common culture, addressing the "people" (such as in "other people", as discussed before). According to him, "they" seem to almost *expect* disabled persons to be passive.

> Fred: *So it (climbing) is about coping experiences[122], amongst else. Then you know that … you can handle things which other people would perhaps not even attempt. And you know that you have managed it yourself, overcoming the uncertainty you had in the start. And of course … such things strengthen you. Oh yes, it … you wouldn't have been the same person it you had been sitting in front of a PC or … all day, the whole year. Then you would have withered away.*

His associations address some of the same content as the reflections from Miriam referred above, regarding a confronting of passivity - and not least, it is an answer to other peoples' *assumptions* about the passivity of disabled persons. Thereby his reflection points to the *positive* aspect of difference (SSCW 3), in the sense climbing as an extraordinary and brave activity for persons with impairments. In his cautious way he seems to contest the others by this (those who expect disabled to be passive). For him, climbing offers an opportunity to react against being put in such a category.

Again we also see this feature of "we do something which those others would perhaps not dare to do" - being put forth as a kind of reaction. This way of thinking seemed to be an aspect of the overall group identity, as it was somehow part of the narrative about "what kind of people we are" (cf. typifications in 3C). There is a strong *enactive* element in this: *And you know that you have managed it yourself, overcoming the uncertainty you had in the start.* Starting to climb when you have an impairment is not just "not passive" - as climbing is a challenging activity both physically and psychologically, just starting with it

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[122] This expression ("mestringsfølelse") is excessively used within the rehabilitation discourse, and also by the informants. It seems probable that their use of it has been inspired by different rehabilitation contexts. In the passage above it is not to be understood in connection with colonization, however.

demands a certain personal character. Therefore, all in all this is about being the quite *opposite* of passive.

Highlighting the positive and enacting aspect of SSCW 3 *difference* (in the sense "as disabled, this is an especially brave thing to do") also pertains to the rehabilitation discourse. It has both physical and psychological varieties. Physically, it is about focusing on your own corporeal presumptions and make an effort according to these (like the example with Miriam's belayer mentioning her wheelchair standing outside in the car while she referred to the other climber). Psychologically it is about comparing yourself with others in terms of e.g. attitudes, will and courage (they would perhaps not *dare* to climb).

As physically impaired, the *mental* aspects seem to be important tools for compensation. Many limitations experienced in physical activity are also "between the ears" (ironically, seen opposite mental impairments), and this is an area where one can "compete on the same terms" and hence also prove to be stronger than others (non-disabled). As shown, both Miriam and Fred put forth the aspect of climbing being *psychologically* challenging as a way of compensating opposite the others (Miriam: (…) *climbing, which is often regarded as being "no, I can't do that" … it is fear of heights and this and that … . That I can actually do.* Fred: (…) *you can handle things which other people would perhaps not even attempt.*

Regarding other people confusing physical with mental impairments, Fred is asked an explicit question about the attitudes and assumptions in people "out there".[123] He then expresses how people unjustly put persons with impairments into subordinate categories, and he draws associations to the fact that they even confuse physical with mental impairments.

> Fred: *There are … a lot of myths out there. By "disabled" people often think about …* (he makes a light physical performance, quite telling).
> R: *Mentally impaired?*

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[123] As pointed out in the presentation of Merleau-Ponty: The general as well as the academic culture in the West gives the mental (rational) precedence over the corporeal in terms of defining the character (and, implicitly understood: *value*) of human beings. Also in this sense the use of one's mental characteristics in the compensation work can therefore be a powerful weapon in the contesting of one's impairment, which can also take form through a comparison with non-disabled. This can be assumed to be amongst the reasons why the focus on attitudes and "mental goal attainment" is embedded in the rehabilitation discourse.

Fred: *Mentally impaired, yes. There are many conditions there that are just confused and misinterpreted, really.*

Climbing provides a way of reacting against such misconceptions. It means you are a *challenging person* both physically and psychically - as in opposition to *being* "challenged" (read: disabled, or even "mentally challenged"). Being a climber also indicates that you are responsible and mentally capable - not least the *belaying* demonstrates this[124].

From talking about confusion of physical and mental disability, we go into confusion regarding the physical category only. In the interview I address conversations from Skibotn, where everybody had been together in the cabin, conversing. There, established expressions like "linked to the wheelchair" had come up.

Fred: *This is how people understand it (having impairment). "Linked to the wheelchair!" Like, as if, one is automatically linked to the wheelchair for the rest of one's life. Miriam, then, she has been on a "parole"[125]* (laughs)*.*

He made fun of the prejudices in others. According to him, apart from being labelled as passive, persons with impairments were also understood as "locked" in their physical condition and being "deprived of their freedom". Thereby the word "parole" which he used about Miriam's possibility to leave her wheelchair momentarily. Fred seemed to enjoy the fact that other people could occasionally see for themselves that the Rocks members were actually climbing. He thought it could make them confront their own prejudices.

The reference to Miriam and the wheelchair above points to aspects which are also to be issued in another context (Theme 4, *Right attitude*). Suffice it here to say that it is about prejudices becoming especially explicit when people see Miriam leaving her wheelchair. This is a well-known phenomenon (Grue 2004, Siebers 2008). In short, many people seem to not understand nuances. Mona will provide for another example in this material - also to

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[124]Regarding this, it should also be reminded that the category *adaptive climbing* in the outset al.so points to persons with cognitive (mental) impairments. (To repeat: the Oslo gathering was only for participants with physical impairments). A distinct marker between those and persons with physical impairments is that only the latter can also be *belayers*. This is important regarding the climbing *ethos* highlighting mental as well as physical competence (cf. the elaborations on 'the cultural history of climbing' in chapter 2.2). *Capability* and *responsibility* are fundamental parts of this. For the dedicated climbers with impairments, possessing the "belay certificate" ("brattkort") was an important marker in that respect. Belaying skills is a feature pertaining naturally to being a "real climber".

[125] "Prøveløslatelse": the being allowed an attempt to live outside of prison for a while.

be issued later under another theme - about people expecting certain behaviours from her as she has reduced vision. She was also slightly irritated about this and especially perceived her climbing as a confronting of such attitudes. A bottom line about climbing regarding this seems to be that as it is a challenging activity in itself, it becomes a kind of an "extended degree" of confronting other people about their attitudes about what disabled people can and cannot do.

As he talked about it, Fred seemed to perceive Miriam's climbing as such a kind of "extended degree" of contesting the opinions of others (he did not use that expression though): first rise up from the wheelchair and walk, and then climb. He liked to think about some people perhaps getting confronted with their first reactions about this being "fake". Miriam herself explained how she sometimes was perceived as a *simulant* (also to be reissued later). In her own expression, such attitudes were *idiotic!* And she liked to confront them. And the best way to show it to them was by climbing, and having the wheelchair nearby to demonstrate the need for momentary relief.[126] The one does not rule out the other - impairment is not a black and white thing, it is nuanced.

A last point on this, regarding the corporeal-social meaning that the climbers experience in their group and that is embedded in their collective identity: It is interesting how Fred, in his reactions against the prejudices in others, exemplifies by referring to Miriam. Fred himself has an "invisible" impairment (spine injury, amongst else). As also described in other disability research (Shakespeare 2013, Grue 2004), a feature of this is that one "is not understood" on yet another level than other disabled, as there is nothing, in the sense no *obvious feature* (external and visible), towards which the others can focus their *view* and thereby attitudes, such as e.g. a wheelchair or a white cane. As they in this sense cannot relate to (understand) one's condition, one can easily get alienated in the social interaction. In the interview it seemed like Fred allied with Miriam in an indirect sense: he "let her impairment talk", as it was visible, and he also let her talk more literally (verbally). In contrast to him, she talked straight out and was not afraid of confrontation. He did not himself, but obviously liked that she put the message out like this - in a sense it

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[126] Unfortunately, their climbing is usually not exposed to a large number of these others, as it mostly takes place indoors. It seems like the greater part of the attitudes come forth in conversations, when people are told that they climb.

could be perceived as being on behalf of himself also, as of other people with impairments as well.

From all of the interviews taken together I got the impression that when someone in the group reacted against prejudices, they were perceived by the others as also representing the whole group[127].

Theme 2: *Challenging activity*

General description:

The climbing activities offer challenges of different kinds, psychological as well as physiological, pertaining to various aspects of the social climbing world. On a broader level, the SCW also includes challenges that have to do with the more overall life situation (the individually experienced life world). In this theme, a point is to show how these different levels of challenges are meaningfully coupled within the SCW.

The theme addresses the climbing activities more directly that the others (both as *the game* and *the extended game*). Some of the challenges have to do with the climbing activity in itself, while others have more to do with the surrounding context.

Some challenges are "universal" within the sport and does not in the outset point to issues of impairment or non-impairment, like e.g. fear of heights. Other challenges have more directly to do with the individual impairments, for example the necessity of being especially aware if one has a particularly sensitive kind of damage. These again point to the "double identity" of the group: They are a group of climbers - and they are a group of climbers *with impairments.* (As typified in 3C. Regarding SSCW this doubleness is best represented by the structures *dedication to the sport* (5) and *difference* (3), respectively).

Introducing the analyses under this theme is a reflection on how a certain situational challenge in *the game* - that is, having to do with climbing itself - is connected with the larger contexts of meaning constituting *the special game*.

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[127] As in Skibotn (discussed in section 1): An individual experience could be brought forth by a member and then become collectively handled.

Physical challenges and coping

> Ada: *"When I managed these overhangs, on the corners. I had been repeating the same techniques over and over again … But then I found a new way of approaching it. Like when I was on that one on the corner* (referring to a certain route she had been working on at a recent session) *and discovered that I could use the flat hand there … That was a nice experience.*

The background for the reflections from which this sequence is taken, is the usual question "what characterizes a good climbing experience?" In the quote, a comparison between two different situations is made, and the two are also given a certain generalizing status by her in that they are set to exemplify a good experience (the reference to the latter begins with "Like when I … ". Both have to do with corporeal techniques.

For Ada, managing the overhangs at last was an experience of *coping*. To explain the physical issues: An overhang is steeper than vertical, meaning that one hangs backwards. Hence, the possibilities of leaning the body weight on the feet are limited, and one cannot relieve the arms. Generally speaking, it is therefore necessary to pass the sequence quickly, and simultaneously also balance the body as economically efficient as possible to save strength. In general, the vision is a good help in planning the moves in an overhang. Obviously, this goes for other kinds of sequences as well - but in an overhang it can be especially useful to make a calculation on beforehand as it might often be exhausting - which is another kind of difficulty than e.g. balance (i.e. "technical" moves). For the Rocks climbers with visual impairments, overhangs are usually a great challenge, even if the holds are good. In order to overcome them they have to work on the route for a long time, and - contrary to non-impaired climbers - *remember* the moves. It frequently happens that one forgets where the next hold is because one finds oneself in a tense and physically hard situation as soon as one has entered the hang. Obviously, having a visual deprivation puts an extra challenge to this already challenging mind/body combination of memory and coordination. The corporeal-social aspect is also especially prevalent in these tense situations, as it is a great challenge to comprehend of the guidance from the belayer when one is physically exhausted and struggling (Darling & Helton 2014).

In her first reference ("When I managed these overhangs … ") Ada exemplifies thoughts she had had about finding new ways of doing certain passages, and about

confronting physical challenges. In this exact communication context she issued sensations of coping through defeating challenges by her own technical inventions. She had been attempting these overhanging routes in the gym for a long period before she finally found a way by inventing or improving a technique. This provided her with a "eureka-feeling" regarding how she could confront certain problems in the wall. The managing of these overhangs seemed to be a kind of historical mark for her regarding improvement of certain climbing techniques, and was also in a more overall sense an indication of herself having improved as a climber (SSCW 5 *Dedication to the sport*).

Social implementation of inventions

Physical and technical aspects of conducting the sport become intermingled with a social dimension (cf. the discussion in section 1 about Merleau-Ponty's conception *behavioural milieu*). Over time, new individual varieties in the conducting of the activity are embedded in the group's common habitual background knowledge. This is part of the relative transfer from adaptive climbing to the special game. As in the example above: The technical move was at first "discovered" or invented by the climber as a response to a physical challenge, providing her with a sensation of mastery through solving a certain challenge in a specific situation. The sense of mastery (/coping) is therefore remembered, following basic psychological principles in that one continues and embeds mechanisms that works and provides one with gains and well-being (Gallagher 2005). Thereafter it becomes transmitted from this specific situation and given some generality in that it is applied and embedded in the interaction with others, contributing in the social construction of reality (here: the SCW) in a sociological sense.

Understanding the technical variety as an invention - thereby also pointing to the *enactive* dimension of the meaning construction (apart from the mere "structural" framings of the climbing world) - points to one of the mechanisms in the construction of the special game. Another important mechanism following from this is the way these varieties become embedded in the *sociality* of the special game in a more specifically *corporeal* sense: the climbers learn and "feel" the others in the conducting of the activity, the game. Thereby new inventions become included in the principles according to which the special game functions. This embedding becomes part of a tacit and inter-corporeal learning process (such aspects of incorporate learning processes are issued in e.g. Crossley 2001 and Ellis

2006). The climbers have adjusted their playing of the game opposite a variety of challenges along the way and in accordance with one another over time, thereby establishing the special game.

To specify: That new approaches and inventions are being socially shared is not just about the other climbers also learning "how to do it", even if that is also a natural part of the climbing fellowship; it is also about the others learning to relate to the other climber who have found the new approach, *from their own perspective* in their relation. For example, in controlling the rope, the belayer learns how to relate not only to e.g. "this new way in which the rope behaves", but also to the *climber* being connected with it, and who has changed her "behaviours" in the wall in certain ways. These findings corresponds with the incorporated know-how as elaborated by Polanyi (2009), as well as with newer understandings within cognitive science focusing especially on corporeality (e.g. Gallagher 2005, Ellis 2006).

Further examples are to be given under the next theme - *extended corporeality* (about the group members being able to intuitively identify each other from the e.g. sounds and "conspicuous silences" from the use of feet in the wall. This points to both incorporated technical habits and the *corporeal sociality* of coming to know each other's physical conduct over time).

Physical coping and sociality

The reason for Ada's implicit way of speaking in the latter part of the quote pointing to coping experiences - "Like when I was on that one on the corner … " - is that I had been the one belaying her on the occasion referred to, and we had also been talking about it before. The reference is a situation in the climbing hall where she experienced sincere difficulties as the positioning of the walls - corner and slope combined - gave her a special challenge with balance.

Explanation: That the angle of the wall was "slope" means that it was less steep than vertical, i.e. the opposite of overhang. To many climbers, slopes are more intimidating than steeper walls, contrary to what one might think intuitively. They are hardly exhausting, but more "technical"; it is often about the careful balancing of the upper body opposite the wall in combination with the sensation that the feet are at every moment about to slip, initiating the fear of scratching one's chest or knee against the wall if so happens (contrary

to a fall in an overhang, where there is normally nothing one can bounce into - "just air", and then simply getting caught by the rope).

In the case referred to, Ada had moved onto the slope sequence and also met a corner demanding some technical moves, hence also a careful balancing. Technical skills and movability are Ada's strongest sides as a climber, which was probably one of the reasons why she had set out with this particular route to begin with (it thereby also represents a "self-inflicted challenge", to be issued later on) - but at one point she nevertheless found herself stuck in a challenging and intimidating position (intimidating in a psychological sense, challenging in both a physiological and psychological sense).

Hence, it is also a point that she deliberately stepped into the challenge to begin with. This can be compared with how John "imposed" an extra challenge to his climbing in an area where he has good abilities: "climbing in the head". Again, for him the "rationalization" was a combination of making climbing *easier* and *harder* at the same time. These go into a symbiosis in the coping experience: Managing something difficult provides one with a perception of coping, and if it is in an arena where one can make use of one's own strong sides to solve the challenge it also adds to one's self identity.

In the same way as John both activated and then contested one of his strong capabilities, which in his case is a *mental* phenomenon, Ada did the same with her *physical* strong side in the example referred to: her good movability and technique. Ada confronted a challenge where she could make use of her strong side as a climber, and succeeded. On a general basis it is reasonable to assume that the meaning experience she felt in the situation was quite similar to what a non-impaired would have felt in the same situation. This is an example of the SCW containing meaning both as the being a *climber with impairment*, and also just as *being a climber* (cf. typifications in 3C). The Rocks climbers had common perceptions of these issues, making possible implicit references within the group adding to the social "peer identity" between the members. This is an important part of the corporeal sociality of the group, and especially emphasized with the SSCW 2 *The special game*.

When the members confront challenges in climbing within contexts of the special game, the impairments are implicit and "embedded" in the activity. Outside of these contexts - that is, where the adaptive climbing structure (SSCW 1) is relatively stronger, the challenges pertain to a more explicit *relation* between the climbing and the impairments. Taken to a more general level the mechanisms working within the special game are similar

with those found in other social groups where the members have shared understandings regarding e.g. certain challenging aspects of the life situation. One of the in-group mechanisms (that is, providing internal integration) is the implicit socially shared understandings of aspects which outsiders do not immediately comprehend, and which the group members would have to explain to them in order for them to understand (Crossley 2001). The implicit character of this understanding within the group - implying amongst else that it is not necessarily conscious - makes it possible for the members to "relax" in the situation; one "does not have to explain everything", one is among peers habitually and "feels home" (cf. the in-group features of Rocks, 3.3). In the interviews with the Rocks members this was brought forth on several occasions.

The physical aspects involved in climbing with impairments are thereby closely linked with the more extended social context, as portrayed by especially two mutually corresponding concept pairings in this project: First as the relation between the two meaning structures *adaptive climbing* and *the special game*. These outline necessary material and physical aspects of the climbing with impairments, and the social praxis developing on the background of this, respectively. Then there is also the more general categorizing of the climbing world as modelled in Figure 5, with the conceptualization of the climbing activities as the game and the extended game, on one side, and the narratives/discourses pertaining to the sociality of the group, on the other, and which refers back to the climbing. Understanding the social climbing world means to understand how the meaning experienced in climbing with impairments cannot be understood outside of the social world circumscribing it.

Symbolic charges within the special game: Markers of orientation and identity

Within a social group certain episodes, phenomena, or items can become "charged" with certain meaning contents, symbolical or as more concrete references (Merleau-Ponty 1963, Goffman 1990). On the background of the elaboration of Ada's challenge referred to above - having to do with a concrete experience of climbing in an overhang - an interesting observation was that *the overhang* also seemed to have a certain extended meaning to it in general conversation within the group, in a more symbolic sense. For one, episodes where one had attempted or struggled with overhangs became referred to as especially hard challenges, or also as indications on especially good days - that is, *inspired modes* - when

one had felt especially fit or courageous. Cf. John reflecting on the Skibotn excursion: *While I was in the overhang there, the others …* One seemed to remember it really well when one had been working on an overhang, and it could become a "narrating principle" around which other events could be arranged.

On the other side, the overhang also became a marker which could perhaps be seen as quite neutral in the outset (as it is just a physical feature amongst many others) but which could show to further depths of meaning when explored. For instance, it could become a distinctive marker (defining) for spatial orientation. In Skibotn it was about the routes being to the left or to the right of the overhang (Ada: *When I was on the one to the left of the overhang, Fred and Konrad reported about that loose rock on the other side …*), and it was the same with the overhangs in the indoor gym in Tromsø. This is an interesting point regarding the extended social meaning of the physical challenges. Further it is also remarkable that even the climbers with visual impairments used the overhang as departure point for spatial orientation. An overhang is a logical marker for a seeing person, as it is a conspicuous material formation. But when the Rocks climbers could not actually see it themselves, and perhaps also had very little experience with climbing on it compared with other routes close by - why did it still seem natural for them to refer to it in this way? My explanation is that it has been charged with symbolic meaning: the overhang is a standing challenge and "conspicuous presence", even if one cannot actually see it, or even if one is in fact never going to attempt climbing it. And if one has in fact been struggling with it, one definitely remembers, and also seems to arrange other experiences around it (*That was after I had been in the overhang …* John, referring to his climbing another route in Skibotn). The sense of corporeal orientation inscribes the material surroundings in its own schema of relevance - i.e. the body schema (Merleau-Ponty 2012).

This mechanism of the overhang as a distinctive marker resembles the significance of other special episodes, which might however be more singular. They anyway share the combination of being perceived as challenges, and functioning as meaningful markers. Examples are the episode with Konrad rappelling[128] at Hamarøy (when he had been "so scared!"), which was referred to by both Konrad himself, Mona and Ada, respectively and in different contexts - and also the situation when Peter did the long rappel at the Oslo

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[128] Rappel/abseil: to lower oneself along a rope by use of a controlling device.

gathering after having refused to do it at first. Peter later referred to this episode as an intimidating experience there and then - but also as an incident providing him with a strong sense of coping afterwards.

This points to the title of this theme as referring to analytic results in the project, in addition to its role in the ordering of the presentation: The climbing sport is challenging in itself, and that one also experiences a larger variety of concrete challenges on top of this premise - this is fundamental for the perceptions of meaning and well-being in terms of mastery and self-identity within the social climbing world.[129]

Empowering challenges

Another variety of challenges in climbing is in the form of *mental* phenomena. Also this bears similarities with other (non-impaired) climbing, but has some special features to it within the special game as it there involves established and naturalized ways of climbing with impairments.

As also mentioned before, John "climbs in his head" (his own wording). This involves mental techniques which are different from purely psychological mechanisms. They can be ways of conceiving the passages on the routes, e.g. "inner associative landscapes" in order to remember better. Remembering the holds and proper ways of positioning oneself are also mental *challenges* which are being naturalized in the sport. John explicitly coupled this with his academic background as well as his basic personality characteristics (himself as a realist, cf. elaborations in section 1, Skibotn).

This points to aspects which did not have anything to do with the impairment in themselves - i.e. the personality features and mental capabilities - but which were also coupled naturally with his own way of conducting the activities within the special game, as a blind. I understand this as one way in which his climbing has become integrated within the larger span of his overall life story as a 'province of meaning'. It also seems to point to mechanisms of bridging biographical rupture.

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[129] In terms of the SSCW, *challenging activity* can be seen as a highly important category interwoven in structure 5, *Dedication to the sport*. It could be mentioned that during the work on the defining of the meaning structures, *challenging activity* came rather close to being defined as a bearing structure on its own. The reason why it was instead set to define a theme for the presentation was that there were such a variety of aspects about the climbing sport in general which were important and demanded attention on a structural level, and which could not be collected under the challenging category; hence *Dedication to the sport* was defined as the more encompassing and general structure.

It is interesting that he seems to in a way cope with the challenges in climbing by also adding to it his own type of challenge - that of being in mental control of the technical aspects (in the sense *rational* control). In general, it can be assumed that giving yourself a challenge on your own terms, which you therefore know by yourself that you can control and contest, is a way of empowering yourself. To a considerable extent this aspect in John points to an *enactive* attitude towards the challenging activity. John has implemented cognitive aspects in his climbing in a way pointing to his fundamental way of "being" in the wall. His rational self permeates much of his overall sensations in the activity as it has become embedded in his climbing in a body schema sense. In the interview, as well as on other occasions, John said that he also deliberately sought to influence his perceptions while being in the wall (i.e. in *the game*) by connecting to them rational analyses which he *had already made* regarding how to solve certain problems, being it about physiological or psychological challenges (e.g. exhaustion in certain positions or fear of falling, respectively). That is, for him the use of rationality is both unconsciously embedded and consciously imposed. An example is *fear* as a psycho-physical phenomenon, which John separated into the categories "cold" and "warm" fear (this is to be issued further in theme 5, Ambivalence). The point is that the bodily "paralysis" and perceived limited range as a result of "cold fear" can to some extent be exchanged into "warm fear" by conscious determination, "leading" the body over to the opposite mode (giving it a boost, making it "ready to fight"). It can be mentioned in the same token that in another variety, Fred showed some of the same characteristic regarding the controlling of fear: if he "knew" through practical understanding that a fall was safe, he "refused" to let himself be scared of it - in other words a kind of "forced relaxation". With repeated experiences over time such strategies are being embedded in the body schema, and the explicit consciousness of the mechanisms can be exchanged into a more tacit background knowledge. From the way they climbed it seemed like both John and Fred had this naturalized to some degree (observations)[130].

Some of the challenges experienced within the SCW have to do with the impairments, some do not, and there is a variety of combinations. The techniques Ada found in her

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[130] Fear of height is a natural biological feature connected with the *amygdala* - a site for functional signals in the brain. Its signals can overrule reason in the defining of a perception. These mechanisms can however be turned during repeated learning, for example by fall practice in climbing.

confronting of the challenges in the wall - both in the overhang, and on the earlier occasion with using the flat hand in the slope - did not have any direct correspondence with her impairment (vision), and it also seems like they did not function as ways of explicitly compensating for it. This is hence an example of a type 2a improvement experience also being represented as such (cf. 4C and elaborations under the former theme, the activity as reaction). In this context the impairment is not brought in retrospectively to explain the original meaning content in a way pointing to colonization.

Ada has an impairment - but this coping experience (type 2a) was not about reaction - it was simply a sense of coping caused by an improvement of climbing skills, both as experience and representation. The rehabilitation discourse is not explicitly detectable here; there is only the general correspondence with the overall sports discourse on the positivity of improvement - it hence cannot be said to point to a discursive imposing onto the meaning experience. As explained in the theory part: Even if the discourses have such defining powers, they are also themselves defined according to experiences which are in fact perceived as good in a plain and unambiguous sense. That is: both the prevailing sport discourse and the rehabilitation discourse serve to *define* the representations of experiences of physical activity - but they are naturally *also themselves representations* of real experiences.

Ada's experience of improving her climbing by the invention of the new technique was such a "pure" experience of coping (and in that sense it also *underscores* the discourses, in addition to indicating them). Hence her experience - and also her representation of it - *corresponds* with the prevailing discourses here, but are not *colonized* by them.

The quote from Ada analysed before could have been uttered by any climber, impaired or not, about coping experiences. It is also reasonable to assume that the experience itself, to which the utterance referred, could have been much the same for a non-impaired climber. With Schütz one could say that in this exact experience the impairment was either outside of the four *zones of relevance* altogether, or adhere to the fourth level - "relatively irrelevant" (Schütz 1970). This also corresponds with the category *absent* in Table 2: there, the impairment is relevant in that it is absent - that is, "it is in because it is out" (for example, if one had expected the impairment to become a problem in a certain passage, and it turned out that it did not). In that case, and according to SSCW 4, the *appearance* of the impairment would not be as a physical deprivation, but rather as a

mental experience of its absence - and therefore also *relevant* in its absence. However, if the impairment was more fundamentally outside of the terms (rules/principles) of the game - in the sense that it was not taken in as a comparison, absent or not - it would also fall outside of the Table 2 in the experience of it. (In order to be categorized as *absent* in Table 2, the impairment must still have a meaning content in the actual experience. It must be absent but still *be* something - for comparison. If it falls outside of the terms of the game, it is however absent and "nothing" in the experience - hence also falling outside of both Schütz' zones of relevance and Table 2)[131].

Reflection on the rehabilitation discourse: Representations of impairment and meaningful activity

Ada had a "pure" experience of coping (type 2a, *improvement*). Such kinds of experiences and representations seem to be neglected in existing research on disability in combination with physical activity (Kissow 2015, Elnan 2010). At first glance this might seem understandable: why issue it if it is not about impairment? On the other side, exactly this should however make it an interesting issue for disability studies. Insights in such common zones of meaning in activities between impaired and non-impaired can be emancipative in that they do not focus on the *difference* structure in the meaning experiences of the persons with impairments, hence they might contribute to a kind of normalization of them.

The assertion can now be pointed out more clearly: Strictly, the tendency to represent the coping experiences of disabled people in physical activity as reaction or rehabilitation, can be *disabling*. Following, it could be emancipative to also highlight the general *improvement* side of coping, which pertains to the sports discourse in general - and not necessarily at the same time to the *reaction* side of it, which is more explicitly connected with the rehabilitation discourse. That is, based on the 4C typifications: The 2 a (improvement) and b (rehabilitation) varieties of experiences can obviously be experienced together in the activity. In such cases there could be certain gains in sometimes highlighting

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[131] Obviously, in the ultimate sense one could ask if the impairment can ever be outside of a meaning experience. According to Merleau-Ponty's understanding (2012) the impairment would have to be regarded as a constant part of the body schema, which again provides the mode through which all new experiences are "colored". There is however no contradiction in this. The analyses in this project are necessarily made on a far less ultimate level than Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology; it is about sorting out more practical models for understanding and making conceptual tools in order to explore the intersection between impairment and physical activity.

the a variety (improvement) relatively more than b and c (rehabilitation and reaction upon the impairment, respectively). This comes in addition to the gains one could perhaps obtain from a rising of awareness about the colonization type 2, which *exchanges* the experience type 1 or 2a into type 2b or 2c by its defining forces (the rehabilitation discourse).

This underscores a central point in this project when it comes to analysing the variety of internal connections within the SCW: On the one hand, the experience of meaning in the activity can imply the impairment in an explicit (e.g. in terms of SSCW 4 *Appearance of the impairment*) and enactive sense (e.g. as reaction in form of confrontation - 2c). On the other hand, the impairment does not need to be present - such as e.g. in a *flow* experience (type 1), e.g. strengthening the feeling of *dedication to the sport* (SSCW 5). The social climbing world consists of an interplay between such opposites. Again: It seems like other disability research focusing on physical activity have "forgotten" to include the "non-impairment side" of conducting physical activity with impairments, in spite of the (presumably) emancipative aspects in it (Kissow 2015).

Personalities and physical characteristics: Layers of mutual understandings within the group

Regarding physical characteristics, Rocks has simultaneously a collective level (qua group of climbers with impairments), which is made up of the interplay of individual similarities and differences - and also more specific connections between certain members having to do with both personality characteristics and types of impairments. In the interviews, there came forth certain "lines of mutual understanding" between the members of the group having to do with physical features in connection with climbing, and which seemed to constitute patterns in their ways of coping with various challenges in the activity.

For example, to first connect with the information given before about challenges in the overhang: According to their respective interviews, Ada and John seemed to have common understandings about working on routes (as "projects") in overhangs with visual impairments. Those two were the only members sharing this understanding. The other members with visual impairments - Peter and Konrad - normally avoided overhangs. They, on the other hand, seemed to share some experiences of confronting a kind of *anxiety* by confronting the climbing activity. This points to physical as well as psychological differences in the respective pairings. Similarly, there seemed to be mutual understandings between

Fred and Miriam regarding climbing with "sensitive" impairments, that is, damages one had to be especially careful about (both had spine injuries, amongst else). Also, Ada and Mona - both visually impaired - had common interests in climbing technically well, like climbing efficiently and "quiet" - that is, avoiding unnecessary use of strength. When describing their individual ways of climbing in their respective interviews, they both referred to each other.

These four pairings exemplify social connections within the group that have to do with characteristics and effects of the impairments. Regarding how the Rocks group is constituted, these pairings can be understood in yet another dimension - that of differences fulfilling each other, and thereby also contributing in the construction of the group as an overall entity.

The members seem to have mutual understandings about these internal relations between certain members, both consciously and unconsciously - it is simply how it has turned out over time, following from the normal social conduct in connection with the climbing activities. In the interviews with the individual climbers, there were various references to other members who had certain things in common, or the interviewee made comparisons between him-/herself and certain other persons in the group. There seemed to be a general feeling that both individual persons and the different relations could fulfil each other to some extent. To draw some lines across the interview material (some of which I also discuss elsewhere, in other contexts): Fred explained how the members were different as individuals, but also how they found their places according to each other. He seemed to be of the opinion that on an overall level, the group seemed to joint differences together to a certain unification. An example is when he, after explaining how the members were quite different according to temper and engagement in debates, pointed out that "we are patient", referring to the group as a whole regarding certain opinions and reactions from "other people" (non-disabled). Other examples are Miriam finding a peer in John regarding political issues and saying so herself, and Peter and Konrad being referred to by other members as connecting with each other through humour and spontaneity.

It becomes evident how the varieties of the impairments and other aspects alike, such as personality types, go together in the overall experience of CSM in the group. Also, the connection between personality types - which could be understood in the outset as not having anything to do with the impairments at all - are however still adjacent with the biographical histories that relate to the impairments, seen on yet another level (cf.

explanations to Table 3A, regarding the relations between implementing of personal characteristics and previously acquired capabilities, respectively, and the defeating of impairment restrains). For example: In the outset, the confronting of anxiety by "just suddenly going for it", that Peter and Konrad seemed to have in common, could be said to correspond with their personalities as spontaneous and humoristic persons. However, it also corresponds with their respective impairments seen in a biographic light, as these are both results of accidents which it is reasonable to expect are now being confronted through this way of relating to climbing. For Konrad and Peter it was characteristic that it seemed to be a point to "just climb and get up that wall", regardless of the specific holds that were meant for this exact route. In short, it seemed like it was important to them to just "challenge the challenging activity", and that they had found a way of relating to this within the social frame of the Rocks group.

It is a further point that such coming together on the basis of some similarity between impairments also provides *a way of setting these aside* and focus on the *dedication to the sport* (SSCW 5). When a characteristic is common among members in a social relation or within a group, it can also cease being noticeable as a point of attention. According to Merleau-Ponty (2012), this can be understood as certain characteristics being drawn to the *background structures* of the body schema, as a naturalized and "tacit" principle in the activity (in the sense not explicitly perceived or reflected upon). The same mechanism is issued in phenomenological sociology (Schütz 1970 and 1997, Berger & Luckmann 1966) and interactionism (Goffman 1990). It is basically about characteristics and understandings being brought to the general realm of background knowledge.[132] To exemplify with Mona and Ada: Together, they could "sort out" their impairments in their approaching of climbing technically correct, that is, ascribe it to an unthematized background knowledge. The reason is the similar characteristics of their impairments - deprived vision - as they already had a basic mutual understanding of "how it is like". In reducing the *appearance of the impairment* structure (4) this way, there was more room for them to experience *dedication to the sport* (5) together - and thereby the perception of *difference* (3) is also reduced. Now

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[132] As elaborated, Schütz (1997, 1970) uses the conception 'stock of knowledge' about the large amount of know-how that is tacitly presupposed in daily life, but that is nevertheless a necessary presumption for it to work out. I here use it in a narrower sense, as it is related to the social climbing world instead of the larger framing of the life world.

they could confront challenges in climbing much the way other climbers do - that is, by focusing on movements and positioning instead of challenges having to do with impairments and a need for *adaptive climbing* (1).

The example above refers to a certain relation between two of the climbers in the group. It is a point that similar mechanisms can also be seen on a larger level, for the group as a whole. The developing of *the special game* from the initial *adaptive climbing* has made it possible for the Rocks members to ascribe the impairments to such a background knowledge on a more general level (at least to some degree, cf. former analyses). This contributes to their perceptions of themselves as first and foremost *climbers* (cf. 3C) and of being *dedicated to the sport* (SSCW 5).

Another aspect of mutual understanding: Gender

When it comes to mutual understandings between the Rocks members, it could also be made a more "traditional" sociological reflection. For example, it is likely that the gender aspect also contributes to some of the connections referred to above. To start with Konrad and Peter: Above, I related their "confronting" way of climbing to the accidents they had experienced, and to their personality features (humour and spontaneity). It could however also be taken into account that in terms of socialization, *confronting* - especially in a physical sense - is a "male thing" (Connell 2000, Lorentzen & Mühleisen 2006). The opposite can be seen in the example with Mona and Ada, who both put emphasis on climbing "quietly" and technically correct. Above, I referred to this as having to do with the similarity of their impairments, and made the assumption that they could therefore establish a common domain of normal climbing for themselves. However, "climbing quietly" can also be understood as a "female thing", opposite the "male" confronting kind. For one, this has a physical side to it: To be a good climber, one needs both muscular strength and technique. In climbing milieus, it is a generally held view that due to different muscle distribution in male and female bodies, there is a relative difference in the ways men and women tend to climb. In short, men can more often "compensate" by use of muscular strength. There is however also a cultural feature in this, which has to do with gender roles more specifically: Technical and "quiet" climbing is also perceived as *graceful*, and the movements of technically skilled climbers are often compared to those of *dancers* (ballet). This is to say, there is also a gendered linkage between the bodily aspects of

muscles versus technique, on the one side, and "confronting" climbing versus "quiet" in a cultural sense, on the other (that is, pointing to socialized gender roles). The connection between Mona and Ada made above could therefore also have to do with a gendered dimension, as could also the connection between Peter and Konrad. In this example, these two "pairings" also serve to highlight the gendered aspects of each other, as they form relatively clear contrasts when taken together.

"Dys-function" and perceptions of meaningful contesting of challenges

The appearance of the impairment can also be perceived as an appearance of a distinct challenge. There are situations where the impairments are both *explicitly felt,* and also referred to as such in later descriptions according to challenges in the activity. In those cases, the impairments could be put forth as the *reason* why the task was (too) challenging. Regarding meaning perception, this has a further doubleness to it still: On the one side, the impairment could be the factor explicitly "sabotaging" the situation (understood as such in the situation), perhaps depraving the experience of it (although e.g. failing on an attempt does not necessarily have to impose bad feelings). On the other side, an explicit deprivation caused by the impairment could be successfully *contested* through the process, and thereby initiate sensations of coping after all - this could also be *because of* the initial deprivation that was contested. This lies at the heart of the understanding of perception of coping (/mastery) through *indirect deprivation*.

This points to the structure *Appearance of the impairment* (SSCW 4) in different nuances. To exemplify with Ada in order to compare with the example referred to before about the challenge *not* having to do with the impairment explicitly (the technical inventions): In the interview, she mentioned episodes where she met certain challenges to which her visual impairment contributed, and she also stressed the influence of it explicitly. For example, she said that often, at close distances, she orients herself by the colours and approximate sizes of holds. In one situation in a similar climbing sequence as the one referred to before (angles of the wall, balance) she found that the relative support from her visual impressions was to no help. On the contrary: she even described it as being somewhat "treachery". As her sight could vaguely picture the holds, but not the "unpleasant" angle combination of the corresponding walls, she felt "tricked" by her impairment when she came into the actual position.

At this point Drew Leder's (1990) conception of "dys-function" can be seen in relation with the structure *The appearance of the impairment* (SSCW 4), and also with the *present*, *negative* variations in Table 2. In those cases the impairment comes in as an extra challenge in the conducting of the (challenging) activity, in the sense of *deprivation*. Again, this points to the tension between the structures *adaptive climbing* and *the special game* within the SCW: The explicit experiences of the impairments as extra challenges in form of deprivation - that is, not as interesting and motivating challenges, but challenges "one would rather have been without" as perceived in the situation (the game) - underscores a perceptive need for extra adaptation "to weigh up for" something that is not optimal (impairments, the "dys-functions"). On the other side: When the impairments contribute with their own challenges but in a way adhere to the premises of this way of climbing itself, they are not extra challenges in a "dys-function" sense. Such experiences make up *the special game* structure of the SCW.

These reflections on different characteristics of impairments as perceived challenges can be coupled with some further theoretical elaborations: A "dys-function" can also turn into a positive experience as it is contested. Ada's perception of being "tricked" (appearance) turned a negative sensation (dys-functioning) into a positive experience (contesting, overcoming) as she in spite of the difficulties managed to climb the sequence. That is, the impairment first appeared as a dys-function (*reduced mode*) - then the totality of the episode however turned into a positive experience (*inspired mode*) as she managed to defeat the impairment effect. This is similar to the mechanisms pointed out in a variety of studies on disability and activity following the rehabilitation discourse, as these have stressed the importance of experiencing coping by contesting and defeating the impairment (and sometimes also "oneself", e.g. in the sense one's own passive ways of thinking, and the like) (Kissow 2015, Løvgren 2009). On a general level, such individual contesting of challenges and *regaining of control* has also been widely associated with the concept *empowerment* (Grue 2004). In this project - as explained earlier - these factors are understood to correspond with the "ethos" of the prevailing discourses, and are thereby also connected with the colonization mechanisms. Again, importantly: This is not to say that these meaning perceptions can be *reduced* to such mechanisms (it is precisely this "intermingling" of the colonization mechanism with real experiences of coping which makes it methodologically challenging to sort out and indicate).

It is however important to keep in mind the more comprehensive nuances found in the explanation of the structure *Appearance of the impairment* (SSCW 4), and which exceeds both Leder's "dys-functioning" and also the "locking" of the impairment concept to deprivation within the "sociology of impairment" (2.3). The appearance of the impairment itself might often be perceived as a "dys-functioning" - but it needs not necessarily be so, as there are many possible varieties of positive as well as negative perceptions of the appearance (cf. the formal categorizations in Table 2). For example, the appearance can initiate a negative experience - physically and/or psychologically - which serves to define the whole experience, being it in terms of the episode (e.g. a sequence on the route, or the whole route) or the whole session or climbing day - that is, the impairment being the reason for a *reduced mode* experience. Another variety is - as a variety similar with the example above - that the appearance is a negative experience at first, but then contributes to a positive experience. This can happen if it is perceived in a larger totality (a sequence, or a day - *inspired mode*) where a contesting and defeating of the dys-function submits one with a perception of *coping with the challenge*. This point corresponds well with the stressing of coping experiences within disability work, and also refers to my understanding of the impairment as "indirect deprivation". In correspondence with Schütz' (1970) understandings of the dynamics of relevance this could be seen as a certain sequence in a session "colouring" the perception of the whole session, meaning it is given defining powers (even if unintentionally). As such it becomes a zone of relevance of the first type when seen in correspondence with the modelling of climbing according to the zones of relevance (cf. explanations in 3.2). An episode can thereby define the session - including all the other episodes within the same session, which in the long run might be forgotten - and again add to the larger structure made out of the whole range of sessions within the social climbing world, on a more general level.

Passive and "(en)active" impairment
On this background, returning to the episode where Ada was hindered by her blurred vision: The *appearing impairment* - in the dys-functioning sense - could also be analysed further and not simply be understood as a sense that is not there, and that would have been a help *if* it was there. In the example the impairment is not just an absence, but in a way *less* than that; it is perceived as some kind of *active negativity;* she felt *tricked* by her

visual impressions, and she somehow had to "work against them". This turned into a challenge in the sense *difficulty* perceived in a negative sense (Table 2: Present, as consciousness, negative).

A similar variety was occasionally experienced by John. In his case the depraving impairment effect was more indirect: it was not about being tricked by false visual impressions, as he does not have any vision at all - it was a more plain variety of lacking a sense which would have helped him in a sequence if he had had it. As explained before, learning a route by memorizing it is an individual aspect of the special game for him. And in that sense, and especially in inspired modes, his blindness is not a deprivation in his climbing ("the rules of the game", cf. the constructed football example in 2.3). As also analysed in another context: occasionally when he tries to learn a new route he can get cramps in his arms from standing in static positions while searching for new holds and "looking for" (as he expressed it himself) a functional approach. In those cases his impairment could become explicitly reflected upon via his physical sensations, the cramps (that is, according to Table 2: present, corporeally felt, negative, with the *corporeally felt* also leading over to *as consciousness*).

It can be mentioned that this variety of "corporeally felt" (Table 2) in John (and the same goes for Ada) is different from how it would be for Miriam and Fred. John cannot feel his blindness directly, like e.g. "a sensation in his eyes" where the others can feel e.g. "stitches of pain". In John's case the physical discomfort is in his arms, in which he is not impaired, but it *perceptively* leads directly over to his blindness, which constitutes the reason for it in this perceptive context. This connection corresponds very well with Merleau-Ponty's (2012) descriptions of the "seamless interconnections" between different limbs in immediate perceptions. In John's case, the sensations in his hands immediately make the impairment appear; in his body schema, and in the actual situations within the game, the two are inextricably linked together in the same perception.

This also has a social dimension to it, as the others - the belayer and others in the extended game - try to guide John, and give unclear information and "talk in the mouth" of each other when trying to help out (in the interview he referred explicitly to these reasons). It can be assumed that the guiding from the others and the searching with his limbs then become perceptively highlighted as *adaptive* techniques in these situations, and then of course take place in close connection with SSCW 4 *Appearance of the impairment*. In these

situations his blindness seem to appear to him as a deprivation. This shows how the sociality of the group also contribute in such experiences of deprivation, hence in *negative* varieties of corporeal-social meaning[133].

Thus, a variety of SSCW 4 *Appearance of the impairment* is that within a certain situation it appears as an *active challenge* which it is usually not perceived as, as it is more often "just" an absence of a sense. The role of Ada's impairment in the example above (tricked by the angles) points to this enactive dimension of the impairment in a certain situation[134]. The vision was not something which she had to do without, and it was also not so that she had to make the best of the slight vision she had. Rather, it drew her "below zero" in the situation, adding to the totality of the challenge she had to overcome - and which she did, thereby on the other side also adding to the sensations of meaning she felt by overcoming it (as also indicated by the fact that this was part of her answer to the question "what characterizes a good climbing experience"). Hence this also exemplifies the "classic theme" within the rehabilitation discourse about coping experiences (positive) resulting from a contesting of impairment effects (negative) (Kissow 2015, Siebers 2008, Grue 2004).

Defeating of impairment effects. Short run (episodes) and long run (rehabilitation and improvement of skills)

The perception of being "tricked" by the impairment is one variety of appearance of the impairment and take form of a dys-function. In the episode referred to above where Ada explicitly perceived her impairment in *the game*, she succeeded in defeating it after all, turning the perception of the episode in its totality into an experience of coping. This is an example of a "short term defeat", as it was situational. Still, at the same time such episodes naturally also add to the maintenance of the structures of the social climbing world, and thereby also further to lifeworldly meaning in general (as the social climbing world is

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[133] To remind of this point: Meaning is not understood in an exclusive positive sense, even if the SCW is "a positive world" in general. Corporeal-social meaning permeates the whole SCW and thereby also both sides of the internal "tensions" between certain structures (such as in the pairings of adaptive climbing (1) and difference (3) on the one side, versus the special game (2) and dedication to the sport (5) on the other. Relative to each other the first pairing is positive and the other negative).

[134] According to Table 2 it could be described as "present" (as it was an "active" deprivation in the situation), "negative", and "as consciousness" (though obviously also propagating into corporeal sensations, cf. the *body schema* (Merleau-Ponty)).

understood as a province of meaning within the individual life worlds of the climbers, in a Schützian sense).

In a more overall perspective, defeating of impairment effects also takes longer and works gradually over time. This is a "long term variety" and will obviously depend much on both the characteristics of the impairment and the person's normal activity level. In this project, the long term perspective regarding rehabilitation pertains especially to Fred's and Miriam's impairments, as these are results of accidents and can be rehabilitated - at least to some degree. (Peter's and Konrad's impairments were also caused by accidents, but these are permanent: Fred got his impairment as a result of an accident - Konrad got his impairment worsened because of an accident).

Miriam can be set to exemplify a long run-defeating of the impairment. To reiterate: Miriam's impairment was caused by an accident and involved sincere difficulties in moving her legs (nerve signal - muscle communication and proprioception). This was in combination with somatic pain imposed by an over-sensitivity which persisted also after she had regained some movability. Just barely touching the wall, the hold, or a belay bolt with a foot could impose an intense pain. She has experienced a significant degree of rehabilitation over time, for which she attributes much credit to the climbing.

In the interview she reflects upon her post-accident history. As also issued elsewhere in the analysis - especially exemplified by Ada, John and Mona, respectively - she also connects her overall personality characteristics (cf. Table 3A) with her participation in the social climbing world. To the same extent as the others she also seems to narrate these descriptions in terms of repairing *biographical ruptures* caused by the impairment.

For Miriam, the impairment was a profound and difficult challenge, and - unlike for Ada, John and Mona - presented a *sudden and unexpected* rupture in her lifeworld, as it was the result of an accident. At the time she started to climb she had severe difficulties, to which climbing as an in itself challenging sport added a dimension of the almost "impossible" (cf. her "never say never" attitude). Due to the complexity of the corporeal aspects involved in the sport, the pace of the rehabilitation however increased as she proceeded with climbing. The following descriptions are based on the interview, but they also correspond with talks I had with Miriam during observations in Tromsø.

In the beginning, regarding mobility, the challenge had been double. In addition to the difficulties of fulfilling a movement she had started - e.g. taking a step forward on the

ground, or placing the foot on a hold in the climbing wall - she had difficulties in starting the movement to begin with. Regarding this latter point she had also experienced the appearance of the impairment taking form of a "trick", though in another sense as in the example with Ada: For Miriam it had all to do with her own body, even if it also involved mental aspects (opposite in the case with Ada, which consisted of the situational correspondence between her physical capabilities and the immediate material surroundings in *the game*). Due to a "distortion of the communication" between the actual positioning of the feet and her sense of "where they were", Miriam at one occasion fell forward as she was confident (in a non-reflective sense) that she was in fact taking a step forward. The deeply innate and fundamental physiological mechanisms making the body immediately and automatically "understand" how to move according to the positions and mutually corresponding movements of the limbs, "sent a false message to the brain", as she put it - it did not correspond with reality. As in normal walking her body leaned forward to follow a step it sensed it had just been making - but which it had not in fact been performing - and she fell.

As she explained it, it was like a magician suddenly making something mysteriously disappear in an illusion - similar as a "brain trick" (in his investigations of perception - though issuing a different area of the medical field - Merleau-Ponty (2012) described similar phenomena in comparison with *the phantom limb syndrome*). In this sense her impairment - though undoubtedly being of a purely physical kind, per medical definition - also appeared as a *mental* phenomenon (of the kinds "it tricks me" and "I cannot understand how to make it work" - cf. Table 2: Present, in consciousness, negative). Her contesting of and rehabilitation from it thereby also initiated a kind of mental control along the way, "in the making", that is, in episodic challenges (confrontations). This adds to the general ("ever-persistent") personality characteristics (Table 3A) giving the overall (general) and more persistent framework for her "life with the impairment".

Over time, Miriam gradually regained movability. The wheelchair became a "marker tool" for this: she came to use it increasingly for temporary relief only, and also explicitly pointed out that she occasionally "discovered" the degree to which she had rehabilitated by reflecting upon her use of the wheelchair[135].

Miriam's decreasing dependence on the wheelchair became a symbol of her defeating her damage, slowly but surely. Her small steps of improvement and rehabilitation (which also consisted of small steps in a literal sense) made her connect the climbing activities directly to these perceptions of coping.

In addition there were also markers of defeat and rehabilitation in a more social sense, understood as experiences through more "communicative" interaction with others. Within disability studies these are general and well-known aspects having to do with feedback from family, friends and acquaintances. It can be the day-to-day communication with people one is close to, or comments from people one as not seen for a while and who thereby might perceive the improvement as a large step forward as they see it in comparison with their former meeting, which might be some time ago. The social aspects of the SCW, such as identity matters in connection with comparisons with different categories of others, were analysed in section 1 (according to the analyses on Miriam above this was also exemplified in the previous theme - *The activity as reaction* - by the encounter with the medical doctor). To reiterate: Miriam - and the same goes for the other climbers as well - mentioned how the "gaze of the others" became part of her own self-conception when it came to her own attitudes towards and handling of the impairment.

Understanding the special game: Reversing the conception of normal activity

The following reflections do not issue challenges directly. They are however included under this theme as they show the point about how the impairments *are not hindrances* (that is, challenges) in the special game, but still can be posited as such with a change of context.

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[135] In Skibotn I made a photo of Miriam climbing that became symbolic - and she also liked it herself very much. It portrays her on her way up a climbing route on a cliff, seen from above, and the wheelchair is seen below, left on the ground. The picture opens for many interpretations, and seems to fit perfectly with the ideals of the empowerment perspective and the rehabilitation discourse in general. I got this impression not least from "live audiences" at three occasions where I presented it (conferences in Bodø, Coventry and Turku - appendix). (The picture was also used as illustration for a reportage about Rocks in a newspaper - so it has been quite extensively used. The reason is precisely its good correspondence with the prevailing discourses - the "right thinking", making its symbolism intuitively understandable to an audience. (The use of the photo was approved by the NSD).

This goes together with the aspect that the colonization mechanism to some extent pursues to reduce the special game to adaptive climbing.

To reiterate basic lines of understanding: It has been an issue in this project to show how the impairments can also be "silent" physical principles in the meaningful activity, in the sense that they can be included in the meaning experiences without being understood solely as indirect deprivations (i.e. as something being contested). This is especially highlighted by the conceptualization *the special game* and transcends the established understandings of the concepts disability and impairment within disability studies, and also contributes with a sociological understanding of impairment transcending the "sociology of impairment". The conceptualization of type 1 and 2 experiences and representations (4C) has been constructed in the attempt to frame the colonization mechanisms at work regarding this.

A passage from the interview with John exemplifies a retrospective imposing of the impairment of the colonization type 2. (It simultaneously represents an overlapping of themes, as it also informs the *Extended corporeality* theme.)

The context referred to in the interview (zone of relevance) is the normal framework of the Rocks climbing - *the special game.* It is also climbing as usual (plain mode), and to this point in the interview impairments have not been issued explicitly.

We have just issued getting to know (work on) certain routes over time. Additional background information: For all climbers it is an advantage that the sequences of hard routes are incorporated, in the sense that the body gets to learn how to do the complex movements as automatically and efficiently as possible. For a climber with visual impairment this incorporating adds an extra aspect in that the visual memorizing is not included (cf. the previous explanations on overhang). The bodily dispositions - in this context apart from the vision - has to be extended to also encompassing tactile memories of distances and marker points[136] on the routes.

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[136] For example, it can be an advantage (e.g. give a "boost") to know that there is a resting point a couple of meters ahead.

John: *But … it is never so that I remember the whole route. You recognize some holds and you … perhaps you remember how to move in the sections where you struggle and have difficulties. But except from that … I don't know the route. Except that I know the main directions and sequences, of course.*

R: *If you can't manage a passage, or a move … is it possible to tell the reason why you don't manage it? Generally speaking?*

John: *Sometimes I can tell, but not always there and then. Perhaps I have to get the route explained to me in detail. It could be that I had missed a hold. And that might be because it is not that visible for the person trying to guide. That has happened.*

R: *Is that often the reason why things go wrong … that the belayer didn't see the hold? You have forgotten it, stretched past it … what is the reason usually?*

John: *Well it depends, it is not always the main reason. It can also be that the passage is more difficult than … well, the skill level.*

To comment on this, before adding another sequence: The passage shows to important characteristics of the special game. In comparison with other climbing (that is, without impairment) there are some principles, or "rules" of the game, which are different, especially in the sense "in addition". Analytically, the conception of CSM helps underscoring this: For one, there is the *implicit* including of the belayer and other eventual persons taking part in the extended game. *It could be that I had missed a hold. And that might be because it is not that visible for the person trying to guide*. In the description, he and this other make out a fundamental and interwoven unit in this *normal* climbing situation.

In non-impaired climbing the belayer (or other persons) is not included in the normal activity in the same way. Even if it is common to actively use information from others, it is seen as a kind of "extra accessory" (e.g. tips about how to do a certain passage are commonly called "beta", pointing to explicit use of second hand information). Where the active contribution from the belayer is hence in some sense perceived as an *adaptive* feature within non-impaired climbing, it has become part of the *normal* climbing within the special game (following from the historical development from adaptive climbing to the

special game, hence also pointing to the relative distribution of weight between these as structures within the SCW).

In addition to indicate the special premises (/rules) of the special game, it also points to an extended *sociality* that has become fully integrated in it (cf. CSM). Usually, *adaptation* pertains to the persons with impairments and not to the others, as the *otherness* associated with the term is defined according to the "normative normal". In non-impaired climbing the active contribution of the belayer would be perceived as a kind of adaptation - an external help. Within *adaptive climbing* it would also be conceived as adaptation (that goes without saying) because that is simply what it is about there. Within *the special game* however this is taken to yet another level as the adaptations are no longer adaptations, as they have become *naturalized*.

As a kind of sociological imagination, a parallel can be drawn to a story referred in Siebers (2008). Even if there is a difference in that the story points to more overall structural (socio-material) disabling barriers in society, it also shows how *reversing techniques* can serve to highlight disability as socially constructed from within a presupposed "normal discourse on normality". Essence of the story: The lights went out in a courtroom, and it was decided that the session had to be postponed. The blind lawyer made the point that the others needed light as adaptation in order to continue with the proceedings - but he did not. He was the only one in the courtroom who had an impairment - but in this context, he was simultaneously the only person not being *disabled*.

This points to the *relativity* of the disability concept, which is often highlighted in social constructivist perspectives. *Reversion* is a conception and a technique used in critical studies of definition powers embedded in social interaction. The point is to make taken for granted-attitudes and -understandings of normality appear in a light which reveals on which and on who's terms the ideas of the *normal* have been constituted (Blakar 2006, Goodley 2011). The point to be made about this in our context, is that if one "reverses" the conception of normal climbing from non-impaired climbing to the special game, one can understand yet another dimension of why the SCW is important to the members in terms of identity. It is about their own empowered reality - and when colonization then imposes explicit or implicit (indirect) deprivation onto their meaning representations, some of this reality is disturbed and "denied access".

This highlights the point in this project about revealing meaning having to do with the "non-impaired impairment", which seems to be a "theoretical white spot" in existing disability research (3.1). The example with the lawyer addresses disability as a constructed phenomenon. In his "normal" world the question about presence or absence of light is irrelevant[137]. Similarly, there are zones of meaning in the special game where the impairments are "relatively irrelevant" (Schütz 1970) - or even also outside of this scheme (and Table 2).

When used according to the example with John, such a variety comes forth. When he has troubles with a certain challenge in the wall, such as in the example above, the impairment is not the reason *even if* he would have been able to overcome this challenge *if* he had had vision. To parallel the constructed football example in 2.3: This would have been similar to suddenly being allowed to use the hands on the field, and it would have turned the game into an exception from the normal. The important point is that in this part of the special game, the lack of vision is *neither* a problem (a deprivation) *nor* something that has been forgotten or contested (indirect deprivation). That is: Neither of the criteria for mastery (/coping) which the rehabilitation discourse highlights are represented, and it still points to a status of the impairment for which there seems to not be an existing conception within disability research. In John's understanding, the reason for his problem could be memory or the communication with the belayer - which are premises/rules in the special game. This points to the impairment as being outside of the premises. To reiterate the soccer example: the hands are not "missed" in a situation where one would have managed to score a goal *if* one had been allowed to use them, as they are irrelevant in that context of meaning. Hence, within the special game "the impairment is not impaired".

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[137] This exact point must however be understood outside of a disability and inequality context. Also: The impairment would of course also be explicitly perceived on different occasions in the lawyer's "normal world" (cf. theory chapter on Schütz' (1970, 1997) elaborations of the "inner life" of the everyday world, such as constant leaps of thoughts and associations). There also exist zones of meaning within the everyday world where the impairments are ruled out, but not in the sense forgotten or contested.

What is the reason for something not working out? The special game and colonization mode 2

To continue the interview excerpt (directly following from the previous sequence on challenges in the wall):

R: *Often people have certain weaknesses, like the fingers … like "crimps* (extra small holds)*, those are not my style, I'm bad at it, they don't work for me". Others are perhaps more reluctant opposite psyching moves* (scary in a psychological sense)*. Some don't use their feet properly. Do you have certain abilities - or perhaps lack abilities - which become hindrances to you?*

John: *I certainly have a lacking ability, and that is vision. And that often results in me standing on a hold far too long, actually giving me cramp in the underarm.*

R: *Is that a reason why you have to take breaks and so?*

John: *If I've got the cramp already it takes some time to get rid of it, for sure.*

First of all is must be mentioned that this was a question which, as formulated by myself in the situation, became leading. It should be quite obvious that I implicitly ask about the impairment.

From the way his answer is put (perhaps especially according to how it corresponds with my impression in the original interview situation, "the tone of his voice", and more) it could also be suspected that he perceived it as a kind of "trick question", as I seemingly attempted to camouflage my implicit "fishing for" him to mention his impairment in other and more common aspects, like finger strength and the like.

The implicit leading however seems to be analytically helpful in an indirect sense, even if it had not been initiated as such in the interview context, admittedly. The following takes the interview context into account and thereby implies an element of observation: For one, and not surprising, John seemed to expect the impairment to be explicitly issued at some point. The actual question opened up for this which was already expected, presumably, and his answer was put with emphasize, in a decisive and almost concluding way. *I certainly have a lacking ability, and that is vision.* In the interview situation, I perceived it almost like "Now, there I mentioned the impairment. The cat is out of the

box!" The question was leading - but it is also interesting to observe how he seemed to expect being asked about it and how *he was already disposed to answer*. In the following - though with some methodological precautions - I will understand this as pointing to the rehabilitation discourse.

In the outset this has an obvious side to it, but it also goes deeper. First, it is obvious that a researcher focusing on disability and physical activity will be expected to issue the impairment explicitly sooner or later. This however also demands reflections about what lies beneath such expectations and which effects it can be supposed to have. It could be that an expected understanding about impairments as challenges lie under the surface. Hence, it is reasonable to believe that "the informant expects the researcher to expect" the impairment to always be a challenge to be contested. If it is so, one could reflect further and ask the question about what it means to the informants to have this "knowledge" about how they are perceived from the outside.

Even if further information about this would demand deeper investigations, the point seems to already be clear for our purpose: perceptions of *difference* (SSCW 3) come to the surface when the activity is issued in connection with the rehabilitation discourse. It seems like the impairment was retrospectively brought in by his expectation when the rehabilitation discourse was connected to. This exemplifies colonization type 2, as it also brought in deprivation. John went from issuing memory and the communication with the belayer as the reason for "not making it", to mentioning the impairment when "hinted about" by myself. A significant aspect that indicates the retrospective bringing in of the impairment, and that is also to be regarded as a variety of colonization type 2, is when the cramp was presented as an *impairment effect*.

This can be seen together with an episode from the observations: At one session I had asked John why he did not manage a certain move while ascending a route. The move itself should be unproblematic to him, taken into account his general climbing skills, as the actual hold was within close reach - but he did not seem to know where it was. The obvious answer for any spectator would be that he did not see the hold - because of his visual impairment, obviously - and that this was the reason why he got tired and had to pause in the rope. John however answered within the premises of the special game: the reason why he had not managed the move, was that he did not *remember* it. Accordingly, and in comparison, the reason for the cramp in the excerpt above would most probably have been

presented as having to do with e.g. foot techniques or endurance, *if it was not for my hinting about his impairment*. (Again, to compare with the first part of the excerpt: there, the not managing a certain passage is explained by communication or skill level, and not the impairment.) As I "insinuated" the impairment, I brought the prevailing discourse into the context, and he adapted to it: thus, he presented the cramps *as a result of the impairment.* The meaning content was transmitted from a special game context to an adaptive climbing context, as his expectations about the impairment - i.e. how it was to be issued and talked about - brought it in. In this sense, the original episode in the special game was *colonized* in his retrospective presentation.

This comparison strengthens the assumption that the reference to the impairment as the explanation of the cramp in the excerpt above can be understood as imposed by the prevailing discourses on disability/impairment and physical activity. It also shows to the overall agenda in this project having to do with a sociological understanding of the impairment concept, opposite disability, as it can indicate extended social nuances and dynamics circumscribing the intersection of impairment and physical activity.

Theme 3: Extended corporeality

This theme relates closely to Merleau-Ponty's conceptions of "being-a-body". According to his understandings, *bodiness* can be described as a state that is fundamentally embedded in the material and social surroundings, which constitute a *behavioural milieu* for it (Merleau-Ponty 2012). The theme thereby also has an especially close connection with the conception corporeal-social meaning.

Extended corporeality has a variety of aspects to it. For one, it is about "in-fact" corporeal conduct and strategies in the activity, which for the informants naturally implies the impairments. In that sense it is about the corporeality itself extending to the surroundings and the others. On the other hand it is also about the extended *meaning* of corporeality.

The notion "in-fact" regards situations where one's perceptions are closely connected with bodily senses of immediate social and material surroundings, as well as the larger

contexts of meaning one is situated in[138]. Examples are when one feels uncertain in a climbing situation because of one's experience of the person belaying, and when a belayer "feels" the psychological state of the climber in her own body, transmitted by physical factors like movement through the belay equipment and sounds (tactile and auditive sensations). In the same manner it can be about "feeling the impairment of the other" as one's own bodily sensation, in the sense that our body "automatically" adjusts to it- e.g. when one is belaying a person whose impairment "suddenly appears" (cf. SSCW 4). Such mechanisms also impose feedback onto matters of social identity and in-group connections.

The understanding of the extended corporeality also includes the handling of tools, which can be more or less experienced, skilled, and incorporated. Experienced handling of tools provide for perceptions of safety as well as social identity amongst the members, as they have acquired it within the same social framework. Hence the social corporeality of the group is also fundamentally connected with the "naturalization" of the group's own climbing (the special game). In our understanding, the extended corporeality includes principles that are not traditionally regarded as physical at all, such as the use of *reason*. It is to be exemplified how reason is adapted to and used in the conducting of the activities themselves, and in this way adds to the corporeal experiences.

The extended *meaning* of corporeality points to the larger scope of *being in the world.* More comprehensive contexts of the impairments are to be issued as "ruptures in the life world", connected with an analysis of the social climbing world as a means of bridging these by adding continuity. According to this, extended corporeality is also to be seen as a way of extending over - transcend - the limitations of the impairments by *strategies*. The issuing of different combinations of ruptures and strategies are thoroughgoing in the theme.

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[138] It is not surprising that corporeality and materiality on one side, and social identity on the other have also been detected as bearing structures of meaning in the empirical material (*adaptive climbing* and *the special game*), and that the connection between them appears as strong. This is the reason why they are listed as the two first structures of meaning in SSCW, that they share definition of "group identity", and that they are defined in close correspondence with one another. This is also one of the main reasons for the division of the analysis chapter into two interconnected parts: Material factors and practical adaptations, and matters of identity and discursive adaptations, respectively.

Physical varieties and movement strategies

The Rocks climbing understood as *the special game* involves a certain diversity when it comes to ways of using the body in accordance with the respective impairments. A related point is that the special game involves variations having been established as *movement strategies* over time. These are fundamentally connected with a corporeal-social dimension, and as they include the impairments they contribute in making the group's climbing different from other (non-impaired) climbing. The established corporeal techniques - such as ways of positioning oneself and doing moves, or as a belayer: intuitively responding when one is to give out or take in rope in accordance with signals from the climber - are linked with the social dimension in that the performing of them presupposes inter-corporeal tacit learning. Perceptions of "being home" in the activity and sensations of safety and trust are central constituents.

In a broader perspective this corresponds with Rocks' history, starting with the mere establishing of the group back in 2005 (The *Climbing for everybody* project). Initially the group started out of explicit integration purposes, as *adaptive climbing* on the presumptions of the prevailing discourses in sports and rehabilitation. If one is to use the structures of the climbing world retrospectively in this context, in the sense pointing back to their own origin, it should be reasonable to believe that SSCW 3 *Difference* was a prevalent meaning dimension in the outset, in the sense "strongly influencing the perceptions of what was going on". The reason is the strong focus in the situation upon the *adaptations* making it possible to test out an activity which was normally conducted by "the others" - in this context, the able-bodied. When the group however continued its existence beyond the scope of this integration incentive, as the Rocks group, it is similarly reasonable to assume that it was the SSCW 5 *Dedication to the sport* which had set in, and perhaps taken over as point of gravity opposite the other meaning dimensions (of which some came to develop into structures, as perceived from the conceptual point of view established with *the social climbing world*). Again, this points to the internal relations between the detected structures of the climbing world: The meaning of the different structures varies according to the internal meaning balance between them in a certain context. Further on, in this certain context it is likely that a specific structure prevails - as the relevance of a situation needs a "centre of gravity" - hence organizing the other structures around itself. This line of thought also validates the coherence between the different analytical conceptions

developed in this project: The theoretical point about the non-deprived meaning contents of the impairments within an activity for which the impairments are however also physical principles themselves, corresponds with this transition from *Difference* (SSCW 3) to *Dedication to the sport* (SSCW 5) in a broader and also historical perspective.

Comment on "strategy": The term strategy might at first be supposed to involve explicit conscious operations. In our context however, the understanding of corporeal-social strategies is to be understood in a Merleau-Ponty sense, implying that the meaningful "systematics" within them are understood as *embedded*, in our context also encompassing the specifically social dimension pointing to CSM. The term *the special game* builds fundamentally on this understanding.

As will be shown under this theme, strategies are found on different levels. They can be quite concrete, as ways of solving certain tasks in the wall. It is also about social pragmatism, in the sense of ways of communicating or reading signals from others (van Dijk 1997). They can be described as strategies in that they become systematically adapted and coordinated over time, as a means of *obtaining meaningful experiences*. As in the sense of body schema - that is, as fundamental dispositions for meaning - they are not necessarily conscious. This again points to the phenomenological perspective where the fundamental mechanisms for meaning generation are transcendent opposite the actual contents of consciousness (that is, as possibility conditions).

Seeing - without seeing? Inspired moments and "existential" perceptions
When a seeing person observes an outdoor sport route she might want to climb, there is a complexity of factors being taken into account. Apart from steepness and obvious character, there are such things as nuances on small holds and marginal structures in the rock.

Ada can get a blurred impression of some main features and sharp contrasts, but cannot make a qualified judgement of a route based on vision. She might however get what could be called an "inspiring sensation". Such impressions are added to the totality of the climbing context.

When we were on Hamarøy the last time. The whole trip was a good experience.
Herman (the instructor) *and someone else went to one of the sectors. We went to*
another. Myself, Fred, and perhaps it was Miriam. Then I looked up there, we were to
go up and establish a rope. Then I suddenly said to them, I think I want to try and

lead it[139]. I believe I can manage it. I´ll reach the first one (bolt) *without doubt. (…) Then I challenged myself, that was coping. I felt the confidence … felt safe. That was the first time I lead climbed outdoors.*

The first time I tried … and now, still … I never believed I would ever lead climb outdoors. But …

There was light, there was sun on that side, and I saw the shimmering in those … (bolts)*. Then I thought I am going to do that thing.*

Ada referred to this episode in an "inspired" manner[140]. The coping experience at the crag was presented in close correspondence with the aesthetics and senses of confidence and safety embedded in the situation. The light and the shimmering in the bolts are put forth as components of the situation in which she lead climbed for the first time. If one was to understand this in a context of brute facts and objective conditions, it could have been viewed as "irrelevant". For example, the fact that she could see the shimmering in the bolts did not give her any in fact sense of the route. What really mattered, objectively speaking, was the character of the rock. And she could not see anything of that, apart from the larger formations.

This points to meaning experiences rooted somewhere "between the lines"; it points to factors such as having a good day (with good "psyche") in combination with casual observations and events. With Merleau-Ponty one could say that Ada's body schema integrated these surroundings into its own area of relevance and *enacted* them - that is, she felt empowered according to her own abilities to handle the situation.

Her feelings of safety and confidence must also have been inextricably linked with other persons, as she was to be under belay of another, obviously. In her feeling that this might work, her own bodily sensations - here actually represented by her vision, which is impaired - her psyche, the surroundings and the others melted together.

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[139] I.e. securing oneself regularly along the ascent. To reiterate: This is often seen as the "true" way of climbing. Compared to in top roping, where one can constantly have a tight rope from above, an eventual fall can be longer in lead climbing as one can have climbed past the last bolt in which the rope is attached. Lead climbing can therefore often be felt as more intimidating.
[140] It can be mentioned that my idea of categorizing climbing sessions in "reduced", "plain" and "inspired" modes originated from this passage in the interview, in the sense that I became explicitly aware of it there.

An interesting point regarding the impaired corporeality in connection with the overall meaning experience comes forth. When she refers to "the shimmering bolts" it is not an expression pointing to *reduced* vision in a *perceptive* sense. That is: Of course it is in the outset, as a person with normal vision would simply have seen the bolts, and not noticed the shimmering from them. The point is that in this situation the latter is more "positive" than the former ("shimmering" instead of just a piece of metal, simply put). That is, the expression pointed to an aesthetic experience which was made *possible* by the visual deprivation - and which again also influenced her overall confidence.

Sometimes pictures which are unclear in an in-fact sense can create mental pictures which are more *in-fact significant* than the reduced physical impressions, and also contribute to an even more meaningful outcome (Gallagher 2005, Merleau-Ponty 2012). This "perceptual reality" is part of the everyday life for all people. For the Rocks members it is natural that it also has its own special features.

It could be claimed that in this context at Hamarøy, the *impaired sensations* are turned around, and charged with positivity. Ada's visual impressions were nice and inspiring. The "shimmering" was a possibility condition for her to be able to see the bolts in the first place, and in that sense it could also be seen as a hard fact (she *actually* saw the shimmering, which *actually* indicated the bolts). In her situation, however, such technical and in-fact qualities were not *perceptually* relevant *as such*, but seemed to be charged with an aesthetical dimension. Her way of formulating it in the context underscores this. The reason for her self-confidence was not that she wall in especially good shape or that the temperature made the friction good - rather, it was because *there was light, there was sun on that side, and I saw the shimmering in those ...* (bolts)*. Then I thought I am going to do that thing.*

This indicates yet another dimension of the *deprivation* of the impairment being "outside inside" - that is, outside of the special game (inside) in terms of *deprivation*. This further points to the conception "non-impaired impairment". Again, it is not just so that the impairment is outside of the special game, in the sense forgotten or irrelevant. The impairment *is* a physical principle in the game and thereby for the meaning experiences in it, but its *deprivation* is not (cf. the football example). A new dimension here is that it was not just so that the deprivation was not there - it was actually the opposite, that is, more than neutral ("light and shimmering").

Ada's impairment was a source for this inspired moment, which was given this almost *dream-like* expression about a meaningful experience which was not about compensating, forgetting, or contesting. The impairment was not explicitly present whether consciously or as corporeally felt, but still appeared indirectly in her sensations. One could perhaps see this as a juxtaposition of the usual way of referring to the SSCW 4 *appearance of the impairment*: here it is not about the impairment appearing in the situation - rather, it is about *the situation appearing because of the impairment*. This formulation could also be used about other structures: In a way one could say that the former pertain to adaptive climbing, where the latter pertain to the special game. (Correspondingly, with the hypothetical football example: the hand impairments were the reasons for the appearance of the football game).

Distrusting the corporeal skills of the other: An example of corporeal-social meaning in the reduced mode

In this project, corporeal-social meaning is generally referred to in a positive sense, such as according to perceptions of security and trust. As indicated shortly before, it can however also be coupled with opposite states. The following reflections also depart from the interview with Ada, and it can be set to contrast the meaning experiences analysed above. It involves experiences which were directly unpleasant regarding the relation with others, pointing to uncertainty and a general reduced mode.

Ada tells about an outdoor excursion. At a point she was to team up with a belayer she knew well from before, but who had been out of climbing for a while. Regarding this situation, she said about herself that she got an uncertainty over her from the very start, even before the climb had started. She said there was "just something" in the way the other talked about and "fumbled" with the equipment, which mirrored the fact that she had been out of practice.

Coming a little "out of it" is of course a well-known phenomenon, and people usually need a little time to get the innate and earlier established know-how work again. It is understandable, but at the same time also not very pleasant when it regards one's own belayer. In this situation, Ada decided that she simply did not feel confident enough to climb with this other. This was of course disappointing for both of them, but sometimes such decisions are necessary. It is about objective as well as subjective security (2.2).

Amongst else, she would not have been able to take a look down and check on the belayer from time to time, to ascertain that it was going all right. This implies that the climbing experience would have been reduced anyhow. In being an opposite of it, the episode exemplifies the importance of knowing each other and climbing regularly together over time when it comes to senses of trust.

Compared with non-impaired climbers, the internalization (in the sense naturalization) of certain premises and the tuning in on one another within the special game bears a double character. The main issues regarding the climbing partner's experience basis are common, but for Rocks the impairments add another aspect to it. The shared issue (with other climbing) is that if a belayer has been outside of climbing for a while, leading him/her to use the equipment with less confidence than usual for a period of time, it initiates a transition phase before one gets back at it again. Normally, the team (climber/belayer) will be extra careful under such circumstances, communicating more explicitly and having more eye contact. If the belayer however has strongly reduced vision - and perhaps the climber as well, influencing the possibility of controlling the belayer's attention - it is not possible to compensate the first kind of insecurity[141]. As in this situation referred to by Ada: she actually refused to being belayed by this other person because of the combination of lack of practice (though temporary) and the decreased possibilities of communication between the two. This indicates another variety of the corporeal-social dimension: the temporary "unskilled" body of the other regarding the use of equipment, and the reduced possibilities of communication between the two, together *constituted* the episode referred to[142].

In the situation they made an arrangement to avoid this to become a problem - hence the session in its entirety was not experienced or remembered as a reduced mode type, even if there had been reduced episodes within it. To draw a parallel to Schütz' zones of relevance: The reduced mode episodes were not given defining powers, though they were

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[141] As touched upon earlier: In the beginning of the route the climber and the belayer can normally communicate easily by talking. But as the distance increases this gets more difficult. In the indoor gym it is normally because of a combination of bad acoustics and noise from other persons. Outdoors, distortions or muting can be caused by wind, formations in the rock, and/or vegetation.
[142] It can be mentioned that there was a period when Konrad had been ascribed to a kind of "quarantine" by the other members, as he had been out of climbing for a while and needed time to find back to "his usual self". This was however referred to with humor, and there were no bad feelings.

still perceived as meaningful (even if not in an unambiguously positive way) and remembered (obviously, as Ada chose to accentuate it in the interview).

Here it can be made a short reflection to the analyses above, about Ada's inspired mode experience at Hamarøy. *The whole trip was a good experience.* Perceptions of trust and security are intermingled with corporeal states and ways of sensing the physical surroundings. The totality of this is again defining of meaning experiences in the activity. One could ask: If Ada had instead been in an overall reduced mode at that time at Hamarøy, would she then have seen the shimmering in the bolts at all, making her perceive the lead climb as a possibility? Assumingly not. The perceptions of familiarity and trust within the special game are strongly defining of the meaning contents of the activities, which are again inextricably linked with corporeal sensations. Again it is underscored why the special game is such an important structure within the social climbing world.

Explaining perceptions of the impairment in the activity: The interchanging of corporeal and mental phenomena

Now another side of extended corporeality is to be approached, issuing something that is at the very essence of the climbing as a physical activity: the grabbing of holds. One aspect of extended corporeality is that capabilities normally understood as sensory, e.g vision, can also in a way be given equivalents in the form of *mental operations*. A main feature - as will be exemplified and start some succeeding reflections below - is that within Rocks, the *memory* does tasks which other climbers normally use vision for.[143] In our understanding, memory is however not restricted to its traditional psychological sense of the mental: In the sense underscored by Merleau-Ponty (2012) it is as much about *corporeal* memory, understood as the body schema disposition bearing and constantly *enacting* its own implicit historicity. As a start one could say that the dispositions constituted in and *as* the body schema is a combination of the mental and corporeal. But to be more accurate, and as elaborated in chapter 3.2, Merleau-Ponty would rather not have to "synthesize" these traditional concepts in his explanations of the body schema (to some extent he simply had to, however, in order to relate to the language of the tradition) (Ellis 2006, Gallagher 2005).

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[143] In the outset this could be understood as compensating techniques, and to some extent it of course is - but as it is emphasised in this project, such an understanding - which is typically stressed by the rehabilitation discourse - can also risk a somewhat one-sided perspective on meaning construction within psychical activity.

This is to be understood as a presumption for the following references to "mental" operations and the like: They are denoted as such for simplicity's sake, but bear with them the extended body schema sense.

The reason why the mental operations involved in grabbing of holds can be seen as corporeal extensions, and not reductions implying compensation (cf. the rehabilitation discourse) is that because of such transmitting, the corporeal schema changes and extends within its own horizon of relevance and reachability, as elaborated earlier in descriptions of the special game. In other disability research similar phenomena have been denoted as *compensations, substitutes* or *adaptations*, following the ethos of the rehabilitation discourse (Kissow 2015, Moser 1998). Again, the focus in my project is different: a main point is to investigate alternative meaning dimensions, such as - amongst else - the special game and the related understanding of "impairments as physical premises without deprivation".

When the memory of the body schema is disturbed: Changed position of a hold as "surprise"

Following are some reflective passages departing from the interview with John. They also refer back to the praxis field and are meant to collect theoretical threads, as well as indicating correspondences with central conceptions within the philosophy of science. More specifically, it is about the *background knowledge* being stressed within social phenomenology (Schütz 1970, 1997), and which also relates to the conception 'tacit knowing' (Polanyi 2009). A central point is how extended corporeality can be coupled with wider realms of meaning. The passages will prepare a foundation for the understanding of the aspects from the interviews succeeding them, being about "patching" of biographical ruptures (/biographical continuity).

In the interview, John described his climbing as making up a kind of "inner landscape" to him (although he did not use that expression). As he told about it in various contexts, the use of memory and understanding mechanisms in the activity in terms of physics and technical principles gave him a sense of order and control (cf. reflections on the Skibotn excursion).

John's descriptions about remembering passages in the wall - as analysed under the previous theme - can be coupled with an episode from the observations in Tromsø. The

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episode first exemplifies the aspect of remembering holds - where they are, how they feel and how to approach them.

At one occasion, John set out on a route he knew well from before, in the sense that he had it *incorporated* in the way Merleau-Ponty (2012) describes the implicit orientating of oneself in well-known surroundings. The material characteristics, distances, and ways of using the body by coordinating the limbs functions as an innate "flow" where the position of oneself within the totality of the task provides an implicit charter for the evaluation of how one is doing along the way (cf. chapter 3.2 on how the corporal schema extends to and includes its relevant surroundings). For example, one can evaluate one's physical condition by the sense of how tired one is at a certain point on the route, or according to how hard a certain move is supposed to be if everything is to be "as normal".

John set out with quick moves. He did not hesitate or communicate with the belayer, as "his body already knew" how to move between the holds. At one point he reached out to a hold on the side and fell off suddenly. This is the less usual kind of fall, as they are normally announced by hesitation or body language saying one is tired or that the move is too hard. Often the climber may also request a break where he is standing (meaning that the belayer is to take in rope to hold the climber firmly) or announce a forthcoming fall (if one during lead climbing is too far over the last bolt to simply take a break where one is standing).

A surprising fall is normally caused by a "leap of clumsiness", a foot slip, or that a hold has become loose and turns around when one grabs it (in indoor gyms the holds are screwed to the wall).[144] In John's case, the angle of the hold had been changed, although it was posited at the same place as before. In this context, as he moved without hesitation and was "in the flow", this detail was enough to set him out. As he could not see the change, he continued following his innate and incorporated memory of how the hold had *used* to be angled - and thereby experienced a disruption of the flow.

After falling he also expressed his surprise in conversation with group members standing around. (To give an example of what casual talks in the extended game can be about: In this case they came to the usual conclusion that the hold had at some point

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[144] On cliffs outdoors, holds can occasionally break off and fall down. (There can also be loose rocks - together these are two of the main reasons why both the climber and the belayer are advised to use helmets during outdoor climbing, especially on sites one is not familiar with.

become loose, and then having been tightened again by someone who did not remember how it had been angled before). Although not being an episode of lasting importance, John seemed to be "set out" to some extent in this situation, also from the way he approached it afterwards (meaning his attention towards it in conversation). It is interesting to see this episodic "twist" in comparison with the reflections made before: this time it was not about a failure or weakness of his memory - which could in the outset have been understood as a *mental* parallel to physiological features like poor finger strength or low endurance, as in the previous example - but rather a change *in external conditions* which had not been "updated" in his knowledge (or, in our sense: his body schema).

As elaborated in section 1 (and indicated in Table 3A), memorizing routes, preparing himself by "climbing in the head", and solving solutions for certain passages in the wall by applying knowledge of physics is among John's special characteristics. Most climbers incorporate and memorize routes to some extent, but for John this is especially important. In the situation, it was interesting to observe how these capabilities became visible in the wake of a situation of *rupture.*

Ruptures indicating meaning in the praxis field: Reissuing the phenomenological-sociological foundations

At this point the understanding of the special game can be anchored further in the theoretical foundations of the project - that of the phenomenological sociology. The episode with rupture according to the body schema, as exemplified with John above, can serve as point of departure. This is however also to be understood in a more overall sense. On one side it connects with the analyses of ruptures (/breaching) made earlier, but also says something about the social construction of the SCW in a more overall sense (the point is again that ruptures can help investigating that which is ruptured, as it then becomes visible).

The theoretical landscape issued is a common field between sociology and social philosophy regarding the understanding of the fundamental connections between the mental and the physical within a praxis field, and hence also makes out a foundation for the understanding of CSM. In terms of established traditions, the point of intersection is especially between phenomenologically oriented sociology (Schütz, Berger & Luckmann) and interactionism (Goffman). (A basic line of thought uniting them - most fundamental for

a genuinely sociological understanding of the social construction of reality, even if normally categorized as purely philosophical - is the late Wittgenstein.)

The normal everyday way of conduct is usually not reflected explicitly upon, and it can therefore also be hard to describe. It is a knowledge "resting on itself", based on a tacit know-how, a *stock of knowledge* (Schütz 1997, Goffman 1990, Fischer-Rosenthal & Rosenthal 1997). A phenomenologically oriented investigation of the SCW could therefore not have been based solely on direct questions to the members about how it is, and then rely on their own interpretations and representations. Accordingly, associations from, reactions based on, and ruptures in the normality are therefore useful in the investigation of the meaning contents of this world (Schütz 1997, Gibson & Hartman 2014) (cf. methodology).

In *Phenomenology of Perception* (2012) Merleau-Ponty describes how the totality of the complex and mutually influencing inner operations are *unreflectedly* perceived in a situation, and that a rupture in the rhythm or another kind of interruption can disturb one's normality by "applying reflection to it". The lived experience (in my context exemplified by the experiences of participation in climbing - the game and the extended game) *presupposes*[145] the "innateness" and incorporated and inarticulate rules that have been adapted through participation in a praxis field - such as the special game - in order to be perceived as meaningful. In this sense, a rupture in the activity thereby also involves a rupture in its meaning content.

To say it with Wittgenstein (2009), as he can be claimed to have formulated the core of these ideas: The rupture parallels a temporary breakage within a *language game* (in my context, e.g. a flow experience within *the game*), which again is a constituent of a more overall *life form* (in my context, *the special game*). This further resembles Michael Polanyi's (2009) understandings of the immediate and unreflected recognitions of certain

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[145] Although it goes beyond the scope of our context, it could be mentioned that in connection with both Polanyi (2009), Popper (1980), and Wittgenstein's late philosophy (2009), this "presupposedness" is part of a classic debate on the construction of human knowledge. As it involves a fundamental aspect of "always already" in the "rule following game", one cannot explain how one was introduced to the language game to begin with, as one would already have had to know the rules in order to be introduced meaningfully to them (i.e. one would have to know "the rules for the rules"). Within sociology, Polanyi's concept "tacit knowing" is perhaps the most common reference to this area of thinking, although it is seldom taken to the level of problematizing the "initial start" (probably because it is simply not much useful in empirical studies).

physiognomies (similar to what is denoted as a *gestalt*[146] within psychology: As soon as one is to reconstruct it part by part analytically, it no longer works, as the meaning perception was fundamentally connected with the "seamless totality of the phenomenon" (here, there is of course also an important connection to the explanations given before about why the type 1 experiences can normally be hard to explain, providing for the established ways of speaking to serve as "easy solutions" - e.g. addressing the impairment in an explanation as one "expects it to be expected", as in the example with John) (cf. 4C). It can be added that this line of though also corresponds with Gadamer's (1975) famous conceptualization of the 'hermeneutic circle' (the meaning contents of the whole must be explained by its single parts, and vice versa). Actions, incidents and the specific rules within the (language) game are meaningful according to the wider context, which itself relies on the interplay between its inner constituents. As elaborated in this study, such mutual influences are seen between the different levels of the SCW (the game - the special game - the overall SCW).

Ruptures - like the one exemplified with John when he was set out by the new positioning of the hold - are however not to be understood one-sidedly as "disturbances of meaning": As they take place in a game extending beyond the specific episode itself, they are simultaneously parts of the continuous constructing of the being-in-the-world, in the sense "being-with-the-surroundings". A rupture involves a re-formulating and an adding of new experiences to one's knowledge base (Schütz 1970).

In terms of identity, it also helps constituting one's perception of who one is - being it as the person in the wider sense, or more narrowly as "the climber". Or, perhaps both: in the interview, as well as in other conversations with John, he exemplified characteristics of himself by referring to episodes of breakage in the flow - such as when he defined the sensation of fear[147] and explained how he as a person conceived of it as "warm" rather than "cold" fear (as touched upon shortly in the previous theme, and to be reissued in the last - *Ambiguity*). This was a personal characteristic which he again connected with his way of being a climber (the warm fear activates his abilities to move on).

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[146] With some precautions, Merleau-Ponty (2012) and Polanyi (2009) both address this concept in their elaborations of their respective theoretical stances (the former with some more precautions than the latter, due to the unique character of his philosophy).

[147] It can be debated if experiences of fear in climbing are to be seen as breakages - as a kind of exceptions - or belonging to the basic characteristics of the sport itself. In our context the point is that if they are *perceived* as breakages by the climbers, they are to be treated as such (following the phenomenological understanding of meaning perceptions).

Ruptures and disability theory

The following reflections transcend the example with John in the activity and issues a broader scope of disability research and -theory. It rests on the elaborations given in the theory part.

Ruptures and dys-functions are daily life experiences for persons with impairments (Leder 1990, Goodley 2011), and they are also central constituents of the SCW - e.g. the *appearance of the impairment* structure. As such they are reminders on *difference* - cf. SCW connections between appearance (4) and difference (3) - as they are set in opposition to the "normal", importantly also confirmed by *the gaze of others* in the social construction of disability. The culturally established "normative normality" makes daily life episodes (concrete ruptures) point back to itself and in that sense becomes self-confirming. This is highlighted by the *disability* concept: the initial physical phenomenon of an episodic dys-function adds to the culturally established understanding of disabled as different, as it is perceived as a *sign* pointing to difference. That it might be the other way around - that it is the cultural understanding which makes the feature into such a sign - does not occur that often. In modern disability theory it has been a point to contest such *representationalism*, as it serves to lock the understanding of disability to something which cannot be changed (Shakespeare 2013, Grue 2004). To some extent, this reflects the Marxist inspired understandings of disability, which have had an essential position within disability studies - but it corresponds even more with cultural understandings highlighting the discursive construction of disability (2.3).

On this background there can be made another and *explorative* reflection from John's experience of rupture in the wall. One could imagine that instead of falling off in the climbing wall he had experienced a "rupture" in public, e.g. falling because of a mis-interpretation of the distance to a bench. The gazes from the surroundings would (even if he could not see them, as he would anyway know they were there) position the episode within *difference as a structural characteristic* in him, as the others (non-impaired) would probably see his white probe and understand that he was blind, and that the episode was therefore not a result of an accidental clumsiness (even if the latter would still have been the more probable reason). The fall would have *confirmed his otherness*, as it would have been inscribed in the already existing cultural schema of the others. And if the episode

were to be given an explanation departing from this cultural schema, it would most likely be formulated within the prevailing discourse.

These reflections point to how corporal behaviour - including more accidental appearances - have extended meanings in a cultural sense. This theme is much described within disability research (e.g. Barnes & Mercer 2010, Grue 2004). The reflections above however also point to another aspect of meaning which goes beneath this dimension of culturally established *disability*: When John missed the hold it was not "out there" in public, open for the (mis)interpretations of other people. He was within the special game, together with the others in his usual social community, hence there were no gazes from the outside there ascribing his fall to his impairment - which would then have been an example of a construction of it into a *disability* (i.e. in this case caused by the surroundings, the "cultural gaze"). As this was the special game he fell because the positioning of the hold had been changed, and because he had another positioning inscribed in his body schema. (Again: to say within the special game context that he fell because of the impairment, would have been much like saying that a soccer player did not score because she could not use her hands). As shown before: A general impression from the interviews (as well as from other conversations during the observations) was that as long as they were discussed within contexts of the special game, the impairments were not issued as the reason for such episodes. When they were issued as such, it were in situations of reflections from *outside* of the special game (cf. basic explanations of the relations between experiences and representations - 4C).

The extended meaning of corporeality: Biographical continuity

In the interview with Ada there is a passage which points to several dimensions of the climbing world simultaneously when it comes to the interchange between physical and mental aspects. The context to be issued draws further on the understanding of a broadened scope of corporeality, in the sense that the *meaning* of the corporeality extends beyond itself (more than in the sense that the corporeality extends itself in its relation with the surroundings). It has to do with the impairment as a central aspect of the social climbing world. The excerpt issued in the following is used as a concentrated representation for this field of relevance within the group. It starts out with an aspect similar to that which was analysed according to the episode with John before, regarding

finding holds as mental (instead of visual) operations. The main difference is this episode with Ada being about a more general feature of not finding holds, where the episode with John pointed to a situational rupture.

In this part of the interview we are talking about climbing in general. Ada has just had some reflections on outdoor climbing, following from her description of the "inspired" episode in Hamarøy, as discussed earlier (when she lead climbed for the first time). She now refers to an episode at the Skibotn excursion where she had difficulties in finding holds, and I follow it up.

R: *What du you think might be the reason for you not managing it?*

Ada: *finding holds, and so? Maybe because I start thinking that if I am to lose the grip now … like, "I just had a hold, but where did it go?" Others would have seen it, probably …*

R: *Do you not find the hold because you have forgotten where it was, or because you can't see it?*[148]

I: *Well no I more believe that I have forgotten where it was. I don't believe I think … it's not in my consciousness that I don't see while climbing. It is more, like, if someone, when we are in the gym, and are supposed to climb according to colours,[149] that I … During the last years I have lost quite some vision, and others have noticed as well. I stamp my feet harder down. Now I have become more conscious about the fact that I have lost vision so now I don't stamp as much as I did for some period. So I can be half a metre away from it and then start stamping for it and then … or even further still. Or when I am down on the ground and tell others that you have a hold there on the right. And then Miriam might say "yes but … there's half a metre over there!"*

From this quote, three levels of understanding can be proposed regarding the role of the impairment within the SCW. They all relate to mentality and consciousness in some sense, even if they are all rooted in corporeality. The first aspect follows up the short introduction

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[148] At this point I had already detected this vision/memory transition as a common mechanism (/strategy) in the group (as a constituent of the special game). Seen in retrospect, this is probably why the question is put so accurately at this point - and also somewhat ready defined and leading, admittedly. As will be shown, the specific question however results in an equally specific answer, which is regarded valuable for the analysis.
[149] The specific routes on indoor walls are normally indicated by the color of the holds.

given before about a situation-specific solution in the climbing wall - the *transition from physical to mental capabilities*. Thereafter the more general aspect about *being conscious about the impairment* is issued. Third, it is about *the impairment as a reflected part of one's history* as its changing characteristics become markers of development over time - this is to be seen in correspondence with the reflections given before about biographical ruptures and "patching" of these by the construction of narratives.

It is interesting that there seems to take place a gradual extension of the meaning scope during the quote. In the way she puts it, Ada resonates along by her own force, and there seems to be an inner coherence in the way her thoughts evolve from the initial issuing of the mere physical aspect of finding holds to a broader life context. The two first aspects add to analyses made in other contexts. Suffice it here to focus on the last one, about the climbing in a larger life context.

When taken together with other passages in the interview as well as conversations we had during the field works, the quote indicates how climbing seems to offer a *continuum* in her life story. There is though a shift in the way she refers to or "uses" climbing in this sense (this is not to be made a point of, it should however be mentioned): while she in other contexts talked more explicit about the meaning the climbing had to her (e.g. how she reminded herself about being a climber by checking out gear in shops, talk about it with others and the like) the quote above indicates the meaning of the climbing as a constant (as a kind of "provider of continuity") in a more "unconscious" and implicit sense (cf. also her associations to the hospital, as issued in the first theme - *climbing as reaction*). That is: from the quote she *is* conscious about her impairment, but there is no indication that she in that context reflects explicitly on the climbing as the frame around her discovery of her impairment having worsened. The climbing is the perceptive backdrop for her associations about her impairment, hence the possibility condition for their meaning: *During the last years I have lost quite some vision, and others have noticed as well. I stamp my feet harder down. Now I have become more conscious about the fact that I have lost vision so now I don't stamp as much as I did for some period.*

The climbing is the frame within which the development is noticed. The main point is that the climbing offers the backdrop on which the development of the impairment can be displayed, and that it also in some sense constitutes the framework which holds the story together. As she expressed on several occasions, climbing is "her" activity. She was

amongst the first members of Rocks, and she is going to climb thorough her whole "impairment history", regardless of how far it goes. This means that the climbing - when it is coupled with a more comprehensive context - provides an area of continuity in her life.

This follows some of the same mechanisms as explained according to Miriam before, regarding the wheelchair as a marker of development. Though in an opposite sense: For Miriam, the wheelchair marked how she was getting gradually less dependent on it, and the climbing was amongst the important reasons for this development (rehabilitation). For Ada, on the contrary, the climbing made her constantly *decreasing* vision appear. This is the opposite of Miriam's experience regarding registering the development of the impairment - but an important point is how climbing nevertheless seems to be a continuum in a *positive* sense for both of them, seen in the larger scope of the life world. Even if the climbing reminds Ada about her continuously decreasing vision, it also simultaneously constitutes the activity which is her own and which she will continue doing, regardless of her degree of vision. At this point there is also an aspect coming forth in several conversations, making possible a certain internal comparison between the members of the group: John is amongst the initial members (he can probably be regarded as the very first) - he is also totally blind, and one of the best climbers. The other members with visual impairments - Konrad, Peter, Mona and Ada - can obviously never get any worse than that, as it is "point zero". Hence for them, in this perspective, eventual negative developments of their respective impairments can anyhow not threaten their climbing. In this sense the climbing also becomes a "safe area" within their life worlds, something they can rely on.

This is a way of understanding extended corporeality as a means of patching (or bridging) the biographical narrative. For Ada, as reflected upon earlier, climbing is also a way of continuing a relation with nature - as it was also exemplified with Miriam. For both of them the climbing offered a continuation of what they had used to do before (especially mountain hiking), though in a new form. The continuation does not only relate to the specific type of activity; importantly, it also pertains to their personal characteristics in a broader sense, as sketched in Table 3A. The bridging of the biographical ruptures caused by their respective impairments thereby consists of an interplay between their personal characteristics and the activity - and, importantly, it takes place within the social context of the SCW.

It can be assumed that, while climbing regularly, Ada's body schema will follow up the development of her impairment - and so will the body schema of the other members, importantly (meant literally: the body schemas of the others will follow up *Ada's* impairment - cf. corporeal sociality). Hence she will be able to keep up her climbing within the special game. Her corporeal relation with the wall - as also with the other members - can thus be expected to provide a continuity in her life, in the sense of a *province of meaning* (Schütz). And as the climbing is also an activity which subscribe naturally to her interest earlier in life (related to nature) it contributes in bridging the biographical rupture caused by her impairment. Again, this understanding of the climbing as a *constant* province of meaning seems to be valid for the other members as well, according to their respective varieties of impairments.

The impairments as significant aspects of the social climbing world
Others would have seen it, probably … .

After issuing the remembering of a hold in a specific situation, Ada's associations go further in another and more general direction in terms of thinking about the impairment. It is now about perceiving the not having vision - that is, the impairment - in terms of being conscious versus not conscious about it. The context represents an important point: The impairments and corresponding perceptions of difference (SSCW 3) are amongst the constituting ingredients of the social climbing world. Eventually perceiving it explicitly within the game, reflecting about it within the extended game, and connecting it with past experiences retrospectively, are all normal and common varieties among the members of the group.

In this section of analysis is has been a point to indicate mechanisms of colonization type 2: discursive imposing of the impairment onto situations in the past, shortly put. On this background it is worth noticing that the quotation above points to a retrospective reflection - but *without* it being an example of colonization. At the first glance it could perhaps seem to follow the logic of the colonization, according to its definition, as the more extended context of the excerpt points clearly to the special game where the impairments are immanent (to be issued further below), and not to an "adapted climbing" context, where explicit references to the impairment would have been both obvious and natural.

Regarding the understanding of what is versus what is not colonization, the difference in nuance can be mentioned: in this example she does not ascribe the impairment or impairment effects to the explicit perception of it *in the episode she refers to*, in the sense "as it was back then" - it is simply a retrospective reflection upon a past event. That is, she does not "change" the original episode in her reflection upon it. This should be conceived in the larger frame when it comes to the impairments as constituting parts of the climbing world, so that one is not in danger of reducing them to colonization effects. To repeat this point: After all, three out of the five structures that have been deduced to frame the social climbing world are fundamentally (and in part explicitly) connected with the impairments: adaptive climbing (1), difference (3), and appearance (4).

This can inform the understanding of further connections within the SCW. In a wider scope, it also indicates how the social climbing world can be understood as a *bearer of continuity* in the informant's lives.

As shown, the quote from Ada contains a certain internal development regarding reflections upon her own situation - but it can also be understood as an increasing level of comprehension when it comes to life with impairment in a way that can be connected to the group as a whole.

The climbing has made her become more conscious about her decreasing vision. This takes place in the game (*I stamp my feet harder down*). And also in the extended game, that is, in the interaction with the others (*Or when I am down on the ground and tell others that you have a hold there on the right. And then Miriam might say "yes but … there's half a metre over there!")* This leads over to the way *strategies* over time make out the special game: First it is an element of appearance of the impairment (SSCW 4) when she becomes conscious about having started to stamp more (Table 2: Present, as consciousness, negative). In a larger perspective, this becomes inscribed in her individual way of being a climber within the special game, as it is taken control of according to her special characteristics - such as climbing technically correct and "quietly" (which she shares especially with Mona, as explained before): *Now I have become more conscious about the fact that I have lost vision so now I don't stamp as much as I did for some period.* This exemplifies a strategy that perhaps starts out as a conscious contesting of impairment effects - underscoring the adaptive climbing aspect - but then, further on, gradually becomes integrated and more implicit. This is an example of the mechanisms creating the

special game over time. The idea is that varieties of the same mechanisms also go for the other members, and that it also marks a historical continuity for the group as a whole - that is, from adaptive climbing to the special game.

The example with Ada above hence represents mechanisms taking form as an individual variety within the group, on its own terms - but on a generalized level it also exemplifies characteristics of the group in its totality. This can be connected with the "bridging of ruptures" as reflected upon before: It can be assumed that the overall development of the group from adaptive climbing to the special game has functioned as a *bearer of continuity* for all the members, as it has "ruled out" their respective impairments in terms of explicitly perceived factors within the province of meaning which the SCW is to them.

Connecting with the past: Corporeality reaching over the biographical rupture

Maintaining biographical continuity is a kind of identity work taking form of a constant process (Scambler & Scambler 2010). According to the passage above, this can be exemplified first with the being in the climbing situation, and thereafter in a more comprehensive sense pointing to the history of the life world. It is indicated how climbing can both impose reminders of the impairment as rupture, at the same time as it can also provide a "bridging" and a continuity in the larger scope.

To reiterate the background: In *the extended game* there is often a relaxed atmosphere where people engage in light conversation an let the talks flow, while watching the climber(s). This is also an area where the Rocks members occasionally engage in talk with persons outside of the group, and where they can also catch up conversations between climbers they do not know in person. It is natural that associations having to do with climbing in some sense come forth, even if they do not have to be about climbing directly.

For the Rocks members, there are various associations reminding them on their difference (SSCW 3). From the interview with Ada: We have been talking generally about climbing in the gym, and she has touched upon how she reflects about what she can and cannot do herself when being in a setting with other climbers.

R: *When you are in the climbing gym, and you hear other people, without impairments, climbing, are you then reminded about your difference somehow, or …*

Ada: *I am reminded of it when they discuss excursions and so. And like paddling. Paddling trips, climbing trips, skiing, mountain hiking. In the climbing situation I don't think about it. But in the gym I am very often reminded of it.*[150]

Again: Especially Miriam and Ada highlighted how they had very much enjoyed hiking and being in touch with nature before their impairments made this difficult. For them, climbing was a way of continuing this relation with nature. This was not just in a sense having to do with personal identity, but also according to a larger context of corporeality.

In a critique of Hubert Dreyfus' reading of Merleau-Ponty, Berentzen (2010) highlights how Merleau-Ponty includes an aspect of "cultural history" in his understanding of the body schema. As indicated in the theory part, this corresponds with my own reading of Merleau-Ponty: I regard there to be a corporeal overlap between Miriam's and Ada's former outdoors activities and their climbing, which contributes with a "tacit" sense of continuity in spite of the ruptures of their impairments. This is so even if their former activities, such as hiking, and climbing (which they started doing afterwards) are not similar activities in a purely physical sense: they are culturally and discursively linked *within the body*. The point is that it is not just about the body remembering former activity patterns, which is the dimension usually ascribed to incorporate learning (Gallagher 2005, Standal 2009): also the social (cultural) meaning one experienced along with the physical activities in the past are included in one's present body schema (the *bodiness* by which we inhabit the world) (Crossley 2001).

Also for Mona the being in the climbing situation connects to other areas and markers of relevance in life. This adds to the varieties represented by the others. To first reiterate shortly, using simple typifications for the sake of clarity (and also for relating to features analysed in other contexts): For Miriam and Ada, the connection between *former leisure activities* and climbing were central factors regarding the breaking of biographical ruptures. For John, the use of reason and understanding of principles in climbing provided a

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[150] This is also an indication on findings analysed before, concerning how the SCW both contains the impairment, and also "not" - in the quote this is exemplified by the two ways of being in the climbing situation, respectively - the game and the extended game (the last sentence).

bridge over to his former life. Similarly, for Fred it was the adaptation of his practical sense from handicraft, and for Peter the climbing established a bridge over to his former work in the coast guard in that it contained some of the same adventurous character. (As analysed in section 1 and theme 1, the activity as reaction: He also acquired his impairment by a falling accident during work, which were also confronted in his climbing. This hence also provided a way of establishing biographical continuity by "making up with" the situation that had made him impaired).

Mona used to work as an aircraft stewardess, but her rapidly decreasing vising (starting in her young adulthood) forced her to quit. In the interview sequence, we go back in time. Mona clearly remembers her first climbing sessions. She has pleasant memories about it, and talks with emphasis.

R: *How was it to climb the first time, do you remember?*

Mona: *Yes I remember. We had an instructor and got some basic instruction. Then it was just to go for it and climb. We didn't consider specific routes or colours then, it was just to use everything. And then I got cred from the instructor, she said I was using my feet so well. Then she asked me about my occupation. I couldn't understand why she asked that. I mean, I had been working as a stewardess. Then it occurred to me that I had been working on a small aircraft, Fokker 50, which had been shaking a lot. It was a route between Stavanger and Kristiansand ... And the West Country is quite windy, so you have to keep your balance. Well you carry the coffee can in the one hand, and then you have to use the feet a lot. So, wow, could I really make use of that here! And she saw that* (the instructor). *I had never imagined that I could make use of that later.*

The connection took form as a "revelation" on the occasion referred to. From that point it was also a conscious feature for her, in addition to being a corporeal "tacit knowing". Further on she explained how this support from the instructor was really valuable to her. She said it provided her with an urge to continue with the climbing.

Hence, also for Mona there was a bridge over to her former work, although not in the same sense as it was for Peter. For her it was about recollecting and re-establishing acquired capabilities (as sketched in Table 3A), and not a contesting.

An invitation to the world of climbing with impairment

As a closing reflection on this theme about extended corporeality, the larger framework of personal corporeal history is to be given another exemplification. The backdrop is how corporeal aspects and ways of living with the impairment are presented by the informants in ways pointing to breakages, developments and coherences in their biographies. It is about how aspects of *praxis* are inscribed in their personal histories, as lived experiences have become markers of understandings of self. Point of departure is a short reissuing of the interview passage where Ada tells about the discovery of new techniques as good experiences. This leads into a further understanding of extended corporeality, in a variety of "shared" corporeality as a way of establishing social understanding.

In the interview situation she contextualized in terms of old and well-known techniques and skills which she normally used (on a general level, she did not specify the techniques), as opposed to the new inventions (first the moves in the overhang, then the use of the flat hand in the corner). This establishes a backdrop for the perception of new experiences, and adds these new experiences to her own personal climbing history in a way underscoring a certain coherence. At first glance these could perhaps be regarded as aspects pertaining to the mere "in fact" praxis of climbing only, in a narrow sense; in our context they are however assumed to point to a deeper meaning. First, obviously, because she *chooses* to put these issues forth in order to describe meaningful climbing experiences, based on a quite general question about climbing ("face value"). Second, because she actively compares and connects these "technical inventions" together in a meaningful category. And third, these episodes were clearly experienced by her as meaningful when they happened, in *the game*. There is a methodical validation in the fact that I was participating in the situation to which one of the examples referred, and this observation underscores this as a meaningful event (her conduct in *the game*, as well as her own account for it directly after: *the extended game*). In terms of meaning in a more overall sense, it is also important to acknowledge the associations Ada presented in the wake of these in the outset "simple" reflections, and which point to a larger frame of biographical history and events from the past.

Then, following the reflections on good climbing experiences, we arrive at the characteristics of the impairment. She issues her pre-impairment past, that is, until early adulthood. On a general level she says that she does not compare how it is living with the

impairment with her past … *because I don't remember how it was like*. But then she associates further to memories about events that seem to having become marker points in her history, and hence indicate comparisons after all, perhaps of more unconscious kinds.

> *I remember this thing … it doesn't have to do with climbing and activity, it is just simply that I was at the eye section* (ophthalmology department, hospital) *and then I remember that I looked at a man, and the distance was like between you and me now* (referring to how we were sitting opposite each other in the interview situation)*. And I remember asking him why he was here, and he said he had had a cornea transplant. But it had not been successful, and he had to undergo another surgery. And his eye was all white or something like that … And the reason why I asked him was that I could see the "whiteness". So I remember seeing that. I get so astonished today, that I could actually see it … I was already visually deprived at that point.*

After saying this she goes over to issuing climbing indirectly, via *myself*. That is: in the interview situation she referred to and wanted me to recollect an experience from an earlier climbing session, where she had "invited" me to experience how it was to climb with a visual impairment. I later came to understand this as a way of "sharing corporeality", as a means of making me understand their climbing world.

This was a special incident which happened on this occasion only. In the climbing gym I had been introduced to two sets of special glasses that I could try on, simulating various degrees of visual impairment. In the interview she now paralleled the vision she had had at that time in the hospital with how she supposed it had been for me using a certain pair of glasses in the climbing wall (a pair seriously blurring the vision - *like seeing through a plastic bag*).

Later it had occurred to me (after the actual climbing session) that Ada obviously must have brought the glasses to the session in order to show me something she perceived as significant for my understanding - to give me a kind of *sensory* basis or input for my perception of how it was for them to be visually deprived climbers (five of the seven core members have visual impairments). She must have thought about this and had an intention about it. (I did not reflect upon this at the time it happened, as I was actually too surprised in the situation. I had also been immediately instructed to try the glasses on and get on with the task.)

This can be seen as another element of the *corporeal sociality* within the group, even if it in this case was about introducing an outsider (myself) to their world. They had already welcomed me to study them on various occasions (method chapter). Now it seemed like the introduction was to have another dimension added to it; they seemed to be of the opinion that if I was to understand their climbing, talking about it and being in the activity together with them was not sufficient. They seemed to "demand" that I also had to feel how it was like myself, in a direct and corporeal sense. This involved an attempt to experience climbing as they do, on their own corporeal premises.

Here it can be made a short reflection upon my own experience of this episode (experiences which they intended to give me in relation with this research project). It can be assumed that my own experience at this occasion - my first experience of climbing as "impaired"[151] - to some extent resembled their own first climbing experiences, in an adaptive context.[152] Suffice it here to say - and simply put - that climbing this way contested "the safe zone" of my body schema in many ways, and that the *adaptive* aspect became emphasized - such as guidance from below and remembering where I had just touched a hold. It can be mentioned that even if this experiment did not last for a very long time I also gradually came to notice a slight *adaptation* to the new circumstance, in the sense that I stopped conceiving of these *adaptive* aspects explicitly. I started getting used to the guidance, in the sense that I started to "take it for granted", and I registered an increased "flow" in this way of climbing. In spite of methodological precautions it is reasonable to assume that this, at least to a slight degree, resembled the mechanisms experienced by the Rocks climbers during their historical development from adaptive climbing to their own normality - the special game.

After Ada's biographical associations in the interview she explicitly connected to this session, and the experiences they had provided me with (we had also talked about it after the session). I came to think of the varying grades of visual deprivation in the different sets

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[151] Later that autumn (2011) I participated at a gathering for persons involved with integration of persons with disabilities (*Ressurssamling*, the Norwegian Climbing Federation). In a workshop, we issued climbing with impairments. The participants explored climbing with different kinds of handicaps, such as climbing without one arm or foot, or with various items to be held in the hands while climbing, simulating reduced grip capacity. This added to my overall understanding of the Rocks climbing, to which the members had wished to introduce me themselves.
[152] It gave useful information, even if there must naturally be taken various precautions regarding the external validity of these experiences (the extent to which they can be transferred between contexts).

of glasses. As I understood it, there was a connection of relevance between the two. Had it been a way of introducing me to her own history of becoming successively more and more visually deprived? If so (and it is probable that it is the case) it is likely that the history of her impairment is a central part of her perception of her own climbing history. And then again all the episodes in hospital - the not being in control of what happens - are probably seamlessly connected with this history of having an impairment. An active connecting of two such in origin totally different aspects of life - hospital and climbing - thereby becomes linked and somehow balanced. The loss of control over the decreased vision, symbolized by the hospital, is countered by climbing with the impairment as an *empowering* experience. This can be added to the reflections made before about the social climbing world being a persistent realm of meaning within their more comprehensive life world (a *continuum*).

Theme 4:   Right attitude

This theme points to the members' attitudes - unconscious as well as conscious - about the intersection between impairment and physical activity. It also connects to the rehabilitation discourse in that it addresses generally accepted views on "how one ought to behave and think" regarding corporeality, activity, and effort.

In relation with this there are elements of colonization (mode 2) at work. As normativity is especially emphasised here - in the form of values and attitudes - the colonization aspect also comes more prominently forth in this theme compared with the others. The "right attitude" includes normative elements such as (examples): one should be active, one should focus on possibilities rather than limitations, and that one should focus about the holistic experience of the activity rather than the measurable achievements and recordable results. This hence relates closely to a bearing assumption in the project about there being an *ethos* regarding the attitude towards one's own impairment within the framings of physical activity, pointing to the importance of ignoring or forgetting about the impairment, or at least not to focus upon it. Hence, "right attitude" can therefore often be understood as a general "positive thinking" within the frame of the rehabilitation discourse.

In this theme a slightly paradoxical doubleness regarding normativity comes forth, and which also underscores the mechanisms of colonization: it is a point to show the tension between the norm about "not thinking about the impairment" and the opposite norm about bringing it into the explanation of the meaning experiences of the activity (cf. 4C).

"Ideal" attitudes and colonization

From the interview with John:

> R: *While climbing, do you think about your impairment?*
>
> John: *No it's, in a way, no point in thinking about it, because … you use what you have, a good hand or a bad hand, to put it that way. There are different ways to do it. And even if you are less conditioned in some situations, you might make it still. If you attempt, perhaps beyond your excess, you sometimes make it. And certainly, you can't win if you don't play. And, in a way, if I have managed to climb better than another I have made an even better achievement than what is visible just there and then. Because that visual impairment is not an advantage while climbing. And you can't plan the ascent from the ground.*
>
> R: *When you say it's no point in thinking about vision. Does it happen that it comes to your mind anyway?*
>
> John: *I think it has turned out, like, I just don't DO it. It is a kind of decision I have made a long time ago. When I, a long time ago, went to Italy, Monza, to watch Formula 1 (car race), then a friend came over and couldn't understand why I went. When I couldn't see. Well then, that's a question that could have been proposed in all circumstances. Why do you go to the theatre, why do you go to the café, but … If I stay in the sofa at home … well, I can't see there either …* (laughs)
> *If I am to participate, I have to do it without vision. No matter the area.*
> *I could have thought that I should not participate in areas where I get a poorer share because I do not have vision. But then I wouldn't have any areas left. So then it is to use the arenas I can, and see how I can take advantage using the other senses.*

In this quotation several meaning dimensions come forth (there is also an overlapping relevance regarding establishing of biographical continuity, as discussed in the previous theme).

The first sentence in his answer highlights a basic feature of what this theme is about - *right attitude*. R: *While climbing, do you think about your impairment?* Before answering this question, he dwells longer than usual. This dwelling is to be taken into account, as it in

this context seems to involve a strain of colonization when coupled with the answer that follows.

In the question I issue *the game*. Until now in the interview I have got the understanding that we are quite coordinated regarding what that means - how it is to be in the situation itself, in the wall, climbing. The impairment is now issued directly in the question. This helps revealing the normativity in his answer that follows, and which indicates the colonization: *No it's, in a way, no point in thinking about it …*

To first take a possible initial presumption into account: In the outset, the dwelling could simply have meant that he needed to think back in time in order to situate himself in the "state of the climbing situation", as it is normally experienced. But as his answer indicates, it rather seems like he uses the time to consider "what is the right attitude" regarding this, rather than "am I *actually* thinking of the impairment while in the climbing wall?" Hence, it seems to be about a conscious disregarding of the impairment.

There is however another possibility here which should be attempted ruled out in order to validate the idea of colonization: when he says *there is no point* in thinking about it, it could in the outset be assumed to be meant in a pure pragmatic sense, rather than normative. According to Schütz - and drawing heavily of Weber's instrumental type of action - it could then be ascribed to an operational conduct. "No point" could then indicate a practical evaluation of it being "irrelevant according to this concrete task" rather than pointing to *values*. In that case it would also not point to colonization.

Occasionally there can of course be such elements of pragmatism in the interviewees' answers. Based on the following passage, this can however not be the only explanation in this context, as he continues with value-based evaluation and not "operational progress":

The quote highlights attitudes one *ought to have* in order to make it. The focus is upon possibilities (e.g. *you might make it still*). If you "go for it", even tasks you cannot expect managing, you might sometimes manage anyhow. And you ought to participate anyway, or else there is no possibility to "win".

The quotation presents retrospective reflections and evaluations, rather than descriptions. In this sense one could say that he does not really "answer my question", strictly speaking - although in a pragmatic sense he of course does. And the answer is also very useful in an analytical sense. As also indicated in Table 3A, the reflective dwelling is overall characteristic for him. He usually did not give answers "just like that", like

associations and digressions (regarding this he and Ada are opposites). He seemed to think things through in order for it to become "right". This "neutrality" and accuracy was thereby also embedded with its own normative evaluation.[153]

In this context, the quotation thereby points to three overall aspects: Individual characteristics, general pragmatics - and colonization.[154] In this case the colonization involves deprivation of the *indirect* kind. First, to specify the term colonization according to this: The right attitudes are imposed onto the activity in retrospect (the name of the theme itself points quite accurately to what colonization type 2 is about): It is no point in thinking about the impairment (here thought in a value-evaluative sense), *therefore I don't*. In our context, this is a normative re-definition of an original state which was probably not about this in the situation itself, in a more "descriptive" sense (cf. core definitions of colonization in chapter 3.1).

Colonization is per definition a bringing in of a deprivation aspect, directly or indirectly. In the quotation he does not let the impairment reduce the climbing in any sense, which in the outset supports the "right attitude" in a general sense. This means he is not bringing in deprivation directly, as it is defined - but he does bring it in *indirectly*, in describing the gains in the activity in terms of *defeating* ("win"), to manage *in spite of* a more deprived point of departure, and also in pointing to the aspect of the managing of a route as an even bigger performance *because* one has had an impairment to contest in addition to the mere managing of the route in itself.

The normative imposing also bears with it a conspicuous *resistance* when it is "put under pressure" in the interview situation. In the actual passage I repeatedly try to come "under the radar" regarding the normative influences of the colonization mechanism, but he seems to hold on to it. (As to be issued below, I also had a very similar experience in the interview with Fred).

My following up however also results in an interesting doubleness to appear (which also overlaps significantly with the next and last theme - ambivalence).

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[153] His way of careful consideration before answering makes him a useful representative for this side of the more *reflected* normative "ethos" coming forth in the colonization, as was also the case with Fred (to be shown in the following). The other side - the more spontaneous kind, represented by especially Ada and Konrad - points to how the rehabilitation discourse is embedded in more immediate responses.

[154] A general precaution has been made regarding that the mere endeavor of climbing naturally demands certain ways of relating to the impairment. There might hence in general be purely practical sides about this relation that is not to be interpreted beyond itself.

R: *When you say it's no point in thinking about vision. Does it happen that it comes to your mind anyway?*

John: *I think it has turned out, like, I just don't DO it.*

Taken together with former analyses, the answer points concisely to *the special game*. The detail *it has turned out* again indicates how the impairments have an implicit historicity to them within the "collective biography" of the group, as the special game gradually took over as the defining zone of relevance (Schütz) from the initial adaptive climbing.

However, then this "just doing" - which in the outset points to the unreflected being in the praxis field, the special game, and which thereby is beyond explicit normative leadings - is coupled with normative reflections and evaluations: *It is a kind of decision I have made a long time ago.* (The rationalist being in control, "mind over matter", cf. Table 3A). *When I, a long time ago, went to Italy, Monza, to watch Formula 1, then a friend came over and couldn't understand why I went. When I couldn't see. Well then, that's a question that could have been proposed in all circumstances. Why do you go to the theatre, why do you go to the café, but … If I sit in the sofa at home … well I can't see there either …* (laughs)

The explanations about how it is to be in the activity impose retrospective consideration onto the experience. The experiences of being in the game are thus being circumscribed by right attitudes and in this way add to the overall normative content of the SCW. The example show John's individuality in relating to his climbing, but as it becomes evident in other parts of the analysis as well it is also refers to the more overall group narrative - their common understandings about what *we* are like (cf. 3C).

In the interview with Fred, similar ways of handling descriptive versus normative aspects took place, in the way that it also included the retrospective imposing of reflective normative aspects upon former experiences in a way pointing to colonization mode 2.

We have been talking about the climbing in the gym, how it usually is. Fred has just told about his experiences of guiding climbers in the wall.

R: *When you climb yourself, does the impairment come to your mind?*

Fred: *I think about it as little as possible. I concentrate on the task. What's gonna be the next move now? Up with the right hand, or the left, where is the next hold to go for … is it good or bad, do I have to lean over to the left to get a better grip, or perhaps to the*

right, or like this … It's merely the climbing. But then of course, if a needle stings in the
body, I have to be aware. Like "ups! Is this something I have to be considerate about or … ".

This answer contains quite concentrated and clear-cut references to important meaning dimensions. The first sentence points to the *intentional attitude* towards impairment, one's more or less conscious decision about how to think about it - or thinking about it at all. This is a variety of appearance (SSCW 4) in a conscious sense. Following, he also gives an in-situation (in fact, almost "phenomenological"[155]) description of the actual climbing, what he denotes at "merely the climbing", where one is "one with the activity" - hence pointing to *the game*. Further still, he touches upon the sudden appearance of the impairment - the "rupture in the flow", the sudden deprivation of the situation. First as a *physical* sensation, a sting of pain (cf. Table 2: present, corporeal, negative) - and, second, as the inevitable *reflection*, the conscious handling of it (present, in consciousness, negative). One has to be considerate and evaluate ones' physical sensation, as it could indicate something serious.

Regarding the consciousness variety of appearance of the impairment (SSCW 4) - in addition to the physical, the sting of pain - there are thereby two types: the normative attitude (thinking about it as little as possible, as one "should do"), and necessary/practical: (of the type "is this something dangerous?").

Obviously, the expression … *if a needle stings in the body* … points to the in-fact character of the physical pain. It is however also interesting to note the "external-ness" of this metaphor - the pain as something having to do with an external force, not having its origin in his body itself (it comes as an "intruder"). The interpreting of the metaphor in this direction corresponds with a certain way of speech detected in other parts of the interview as well. Fred seems to distance himself from the situation when disability is issued. One way of doing this, it seems, is by grammatical formulation. Typically, instead of e.g. saying "I should go for it", or "I have to make the best of it", he might use the more anonymous and general designation "one": "one has to make the best of it", and the like.

Naturally, I have to be cautious about translating such features of language into characteristics of an informant. However, other information also strengthens the assumption that there might be something to this interpretation. As also pointed out in

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[155] Cf. theory chapter: Accurate and "non-interpreted" description of immediate experiences, in the sense not coloured by cultural or normative content.

Table 3A, Fred seemed to have a distinct "stoicism" over him. The reason why this term was chosen is, among else, that he seemed to ascribe "inevitable, hard facts" to the outer world in a clean-cut way. And if one does not have the power to influence these conditions, one is better off if one just "makes the best of it", and "doesn't worry about things one can't change", and the like. The "needle" in a way represents external conditions announcing their existence, demanding to be taken into account. And then one considers to which extent one should give way for it.

Phenomenological reflection on the colonization mechanism

Fred's "stream of consciousness"- type description of how it is to be climbing is perhaps the most accurate description coming forth in the whole interview material when it comes to what actually describes such a situation from a phenomenological point of view. Even if not intended in that direction, it is in some sense a "phenomenologically sensitive" description of *the game* (the pure description of immediate experiences). To make a remark on this before going further: This point to a possibility condition for the type 2 colonization mechanism. To reiterate from the theory part: This is an important constituent in the explanation of why the original meaning content (4C, type 1) is so open to being colonized by a retrospective explanation. The original immediate perceptions of just "being in the activity"/the flow do not carry with them a proper language, hence they can easily be defined according to established ways of talk (cf. typical sports expressions) and the related normativity pertaining to the rehabilitation discourse. This can serve to explain why experiences which are assumingly quite common are seldom expressed in such immediate ways.[156]

The interview sequence following directly from the excerpt above shows how the retrospective normativity "colours" the description:

R: *When you say you think about it as little as possible, it sounds like you kind of decide not to think about it. Or is it like you just … actually don't think about it?*

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[156] One could imagine the soccer player giving a similar description in a TV-interview: "I had the ball, then I didn't, then I had it again, and I ran a little, then stopped, then ran again, and the others were running, too … ". The description must obviously take on the culturally accepted formulations. (e.g. "we worked together as a team today", "we had a good dynamics in the first half" etcetera).

Fred: *I don't walk around considering myself impaired.*

R: *When you climb … is it like you think for yourself "no, I shouldn't think about my back now … "*

Fred: *No, it's … well I do have this philosophy saying that if one thinks sickness all the time, one gets sick. I'll focus upon the possibilities rather than on the limitations.*

Three times in a row I addressed the game, with the first excerpt counted in. And every time he presents a right thinking corresponding conspicuously with the rehabilitation discourse: 1) *I think about it as little as possible.* 2) *I don't walk around considering myself impaired.* 3) *I have this philosophy saying that if one thinks sickness all the time, one gets sick.*

This is in fundamental contrast to the "phenomenological" description of being in the game referred to before, and which would pertain to a "flow" experience (4C type 1). This parallels the interview with John, where he "did not answer" my question. The impairment is indirectly and retrospectively brought into the description of the meaning content (indirect deprivation). In this sense the right attitudes presented above exemplifies colonization type 2.

Normative "hijacking" of the communication context

This dimension has strong similarities with parts of conversations with the other climbers, and is part of the mechanism of retrospective imposing of meaning. It could be described metaphorically as a "normative hijacking", meaning that the question seeks for an answer about how it actually *is* in the situation, but that the interviewee insists (perhaps unconsciously) on presenting it as it *should* be. Strictly, I am not asking if they "should" or "should not" think about the impairment in the game, if it is good or bad to experience it, or about this thinking being necessary or not. Still, their answers often seem to assume that "it´s not useful to think about it, so I don´t." As if it was a matter of mere pragmatic decision.

Of course, this points at mechanisms that are in fact both active and important in their lives, implying a truth value which cannot be objected by myself. However, the seemingly constant "refusal" to answering according to the in-fact formulation of the question became noticeable. It is not likely that this normative and pragmatic attitude was given as explanation only because these attitudes are actually important in their lives. I also

relate it to the aspect of such dimensions of meaning being "outside of established language", which is again connected with the fact that the meaning content - which without doubt exist, given the presuppositions in the project - is given "ready-made" explanations - that is, the generally acclaimed attitudes of the rehabilitation discourse.

One's own attitudes and colonization

Up to this point, different varieties of colonization have been indicated. In the conversations with the climbers, it was however not always easy to distinguish eventual colonization from the climbers own "true" experiences and attitudes. This is not surprising, as the values inherent in the prevailing discourses are much similar with the climbers' own views. (Again: the rehabilitation discourse rests naturally on a general cultural consent.) This should have some representation: the following excerpt and adherent reflection is therefore presented to show that the climber's own experiences and attitudes can sometimes be hard to separate from an eventual discursive imposing. At the same time it can serve as a general reminder of precautions that have to be made in the sorting out of colonization (cf. methodological reflections).

Late in the interview with Fred I make another and more direct attempt:

R: *When you are in a climbing situation, you are climbing … does it happen that you look at other climbers in the gym, they don't have impairments … and compare somehow … opposite your condition?*

Fred: *I almost said … even if I have a damage, it isn't necessarily so that they are better climbers than I am.*

R: *If you watch some really good climbers. Can you get the feeling that it would have been nice being that good, or with the impairment you …*

Fred: *Well then, it's a great thing HE is good!* (laughs)
Well the thing is, I am more like, I'm realistic about it. I know that, well, I have that damage and will never achieve … but if I get the opportunity to learn a trick or two from that person, I won't say no, for sure.
As long as you've learned something new, it's interesting. But when you feel that no,

there's nothing more to learn here, then it's not that fun anymore. So it's good having
something to reach for and look up to.

In an overall sense the excerpt clearly indicates the SSCW 5 *Dedication to the sport*. The attitudes he presents are rooted in his own experiences as a climber and cannot be reduced to representations of a discourse. For example, there is a straight-out expression of *pride* when I issue the comparing with others (*even if I have a damage, it isn't necessarily so that they are better climbers than I am*).

His answers correspond with the kind of person he is (cf. 3A), in the sense making the best of it, be realistic, take advantage where you can, letting oneself be inspired by the achievements of others, and not to worry about things you can't change. It is also quite clear that this follows the ethos on how one should think about one's impairment, which often comes forth in rehabilitation contexts. In the passage above it might also be that he connects to prevailing attitudes when answering, in order to "say the right things". It should be taken into account that he was quite considerate about his answers, in much the same way as John. The point here is that it is hard to say to which extent he eventually represents a prevailing discourse in the answers above, and to which extent they express his own "truly felt" experiences. They are intermingled and can be both/and.

The ethics of engaging in physical activity with others: Mutual support
Another interesting variety of *right attitudes* comes forth in the interview with Mona (visual deprivation). To a considerable extent Mona brings knowledge from academic studies into her answers, and this seems to go together with her bringing forth a "concentrate of the right thoughts", highlighting the relational (social interaction) in terms of supporting each other and providing for coping experiences.

I experienced this as a conspicuous feature from the very start of the interview. I asked the standard question:

R: *What is a good climbing experience?*

Mona: *For me, it is support. That was the first thing that came to my mind. Support*
from the belayer. Because then I know I´ll manage to make it further in some way or
another. That I manage to proceed … backup from the one standing down there. And it
becomes mutual. When I am the one belaying, I may contribute to the coping of the other.

The answer is quite concentrated and to the point. First some general lines which also take the rest of the interview into account:

She highlights the importance of experiencing coping by the encouragement of another person. She connects it with a context of common experiences and co-working *(And it becomes mutual).* That this is stressed, and also presented in the very start of the interview can be seen in relation with the aspect reflected upon before in the previous theme, *extended corporeality* - that about her own first climbing experience, where the encouragement from the instructor gave her a good experience (her good balance was connected to her former work as a stewardess - cf. biographical continuity). Stressing the support of the other hence seems to build on an established attitude in her having concretely to do with her own experiences of coping in the climbing wall. This can serve as a general reminder in the following, where aspects of *representation* are issued: No matter how much she "represents" established knowledge and generally approved right thinking, there is also a foundation of her own true experiences at the bottom of it.

The first question in the interview guide is not coincidental. The notation "climbing experience" is an open one, and it could be interpreted by the interviewee to mean the game, the extended game, or both together. The openness of the question gives the informants both the opportunity to follow their own immediate associations, and also to more consciously reflect upon climbing experiences. Mona's immediate associations indicate how the *social* influences the bodily confidence in a way pointing to corporeal-social meaning. In a general sense, when the interview is taken in its totality, she seemed to anchor mutual encouragement and sensitivity to both the overall sense of well-being, and to the activity in the sense "how can one become a better climber" (SSCW 5 *Dedication to the sport*). She expressed how the learning to know each other within the group was connected with this, which again points to the general strong connection between *Dedication to the sport* and *The special game* within the SCW which seems to go for all of the members.

The following reflections are about how she also seems to strongly represent prevailing discourses, that is, culturally established ways of "right thinking". Again - to state this important point - this must of course still be regarded as sincere experiences and attitudes in the outset. As also exemplified with Fred, one cannot reduce the answers in their totality to representations of a discourse. This taken into account however, there are

also aspects of representing the right (discursively established) thoughts in ways which seems to be too "exaggerated" to be solely about her own personal experiences. This is to be another example of discursive representation not necessarily involving colonization.

At one point in the interview, Mona seems to step into her role as an academic. Taken together with the concise presentation of "correct attitudes" in the start, it is reasonable to assume that this role provides an element of the prevailing discourses which exceeds her own lived experiences.

First there is a slight introduction. We have issued the being in the climbing situation itself, and I have asked her if she think about things while climbing (the game). She confirms the unreflected "being-in-the-activity", though in a more short-cut way than Fred did. *No, I just focus on managing the next hold on the route.*

The next question seems to activate a combination of the established right attitudes and academic knowledge about how it "is":

R: *Is climbing more of a physical or psychological experience?*

M: *I have studied gestalt therapy for four years (…) There I made parallels to things like that. So it´s both psychological and physical. And it is so that … the most relevant is the sense of mastery.[157] When I … . some may think about mastery, that it is about getting to the top. But it is rather … to make it. That hold on the route. And that about me mastering to encourage a person who is in the wall, to make it. So it is the way that … both … . and this goes back to that about supporting the other.*

Again the answer is concentrated and "dense". There seems to be features of prevailing discourses in it, and perhaps even in the sense "politically correct". The special variety coming forth here in the interview with Mona is the way in which she seems to legitimize her attitudes by referring to established knowledge represented by her own academic studies. There is also a certain use of language - including a conspicuous detail in formulation - pointing in that direction; she seems to "adapt to the written word". For one: In this answer, the word *mastery* was used in a more conspicuous variation than elsewhere

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[157] Mastery/coping - *mestring* (Norwegian). Cf. theory chapter: In recent years the use of this word seems to have increased considerably in organizations, social work and academia. It has also become a central point of reference within the prevailing sports- and rehabilitation discourses (Stamsø 2010, Andersen 2005, Løvgren 2009).

in the interview. As I was later to transcribe the interview, I reacted upon this. The way in which she formulated the sentence in Norwegian seemed "artificial", as if there was a certain "programmatic" external reason to adapt exactly this word.[158] In normal language, the Norwegian equivalent to "manage to encourage", or simply "can encourage" would be the natural way of expression. It seems like the use of the word mastery (/-coping) was brought in by the established knowledge which she referred to, cf. it being a "fashion word" within the sports- and rehabilitation discourses. She also seems to expresses a certainty about this knowledge, as if it was a *fact* she has come to learn (… *some may think about mastery as meaning getting to the top. But it is rather …* and also the "*I have studied gestalt therapy* (…) *So it's …*). Further she also uses the formulation *So it is the way that …*

An additional point is that this answer seemed to come forth in an almost "already produced and ready for delivery" kind of way. Compared with other parts of the interview, this had not been an easier or less complex question to answer; still, her answer comes, as it seems, effortlessly. My interpretation of this is that she has "learned" what this is about in general - mastery/coping, activity, meaning, the importance of social relations - and then transmits it onto the context we are currently discussing. In the context, my question is directed towards her own experiences. In her answer, however, it is like she presents "facts": *I have studied gestalt therapy (...) So it´s both psychological and physical.* The use of the word "so" is interesting. And from the context it is unlikely that it is just an incidental way of speech.

Again, no doubt it also corresponds with her experiences. But a point is that along a variety of descriptions and perspectives that could probably have reflected her own experiences more accurately, this is the one put forth by her. In this context the representation cannot however be claimed to be connected with colonization, as it is not about "explaining" the meaning within the game by bringing in the impairment directly or indirectly in retrospect in the explanation of an original meaning (the game). It however still points to such a discursive representation.

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[158] "Og det at jeg mestrer å oppmuntre en som er i veggen, til å få det til."

Additional dimensions of "right attitude"

Further general lines of "right attitude" can be drawn with departure in the interview with Mona. Even if some of the aspects are initially about her individual experiences and attitudes within the SCW they can also be set to represent and sum up features that are common among the other members as well.

Regarding the question about climbing being more of a physical or psychological thing, Mona highlights the both/and, and connects it directly with her studies of gestalt therapy (she had graduated a couple of years before the time of the interview). In the last decades there has been an increasing tendency within sport sciences to also take into account psychological and also to some extent "existential" aspects - for example, (and naturally relevant for this project) Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception has become a quite common reference (Engelsrud 2006). In some contexts, the *body schema* seems to have become an anchor concept regarding more comprehensive understandings of corporeality. This has not pertained to sport science only; it has also been a tendency in adjacent disciplines such as psychology and various directions of therapy, as also in certain modern (in the West) lifestyles and activities (e.g. yoga) (Engelsrud 2006, Gallagher & Zahavi 2012).

Aspects of this seemed to be adapted in Mona's answers about her climbing experiences. On one occasion I chose to address this explicitly.

R: *I have to say … It sounds like you are also a little like an academic now, gestalt psychologist …*

Mona: *Yes!* (laughs)

I thereafter asked if she felt that her personal experiences in climbing could be related to the gestalt therapy as an idea, or as a theory. She confirmed this - and her way of answering also confirmed (however not explicitly) that her connecting of academic knowledge to her explanations was also about a retrospective imposing. She did not think about this whilst in the activity (the game), but later on, while reflecting over it:

But not there and then, no. I haven't become that professional with the "gestalt", yet. But that about support … we do that in the Gestalt psychology, too. Support the client.

And to be phenomenological, as we say. And one is like that too, in the climbing wall.

This about here and now, what is going on. The self is … a floating thing, in my opinion.

Some of the initial "suspicions" I had had from the very start of the interview were strengthened even further as she said this. She took pride in being a gestalt therapist and also seemed to *intend* to use the adherent knowledge wherever possible. E.g. she did not use it while climbing *yet*, but that would have been "professional". One must of course take precautions in the interpretation of such expressions (cf. methodological reflections) - but it seems anyhow to be no doubt that there is a general connection between the knowledge she had acquired through her studies, and the way she presented her own experiences. There was also a clear indication of her connecting ideas within the gestalt psychology to her own personal attitude (that is, it is both about attitudes and way of presentation). *Support the client. And to be phenomenological, as we say. And one is like that too, in the climbing wall. This about here and now, what is going on. The self is … a floating thing, in my opinion.*

In the beginning of the interview, *supporting others* had been presented as something characterizing a good climbing experience. In the excerpt above she associates further and draws a direct parallel to *their* view (*we* - a reference she used twice - pointing to the gestalt therapists). The being in the situation, "being phenomenological"[159] (it was of course slightly peculiar that she used this term) is again followed by her stating *her own opinion*, which is that *the self is a floating thing*.

Her reflected answers hence bore some similarity with how John and Fred used to answer. The difference was a tendency that she seemed to know more immediately what to answer, where the other two used to think more before answering.

Mona's academic references were an individual variation of relating to the SCW. There was however also features overlapping and corresponding with the other members regarding the representation of prevailing discourses. As explained before, there has been a new awareness within the field of sport science and rehabilitation about the "wholeness" of human experience which transcend the traditional distinction of psychological and physical (this is also highlighted within Gestalt psychology, cf. reflection about Mona

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[159] Seen in isolation the meaning of this formulation is not clear. Still, the following sentence seems to indicate that it is about just being in the situation and to experience it unreflectedly.

above). Paralleling this there has also been a normative focus on *coping* (/mastery) and achievements on one's own premises (*empowerment*). Certain understandings have been brought over from the general sports discourse to the more specific rehabilitation discourse. Experiencing mastery/coping has become a mantra - and it has also been coupled with a tuning down of the "objective" comparative aspect of the contesting side of physical activity: it is not necessarily about how far you have come according to others (e.g. as objectified in standing achieved records in time, weight or length) but according to one's own individual presumptions and personal goals. For example, in line with the ethos of the rehabilitation discourse - coming forth especially in contexts of disability sports - one has been encouraged to "find one's own inner Mount Everest", and the like. John expressed a variation of this when he said that given his impairment, his climbing achievement could overrun that of another, even if this other person in an in fact sense could climb harder (*because that visual impairment is not an advantage while climbing*). Miriam's experience with the belayer reminding her of her great achievement in the wall when taking into account that she actually had her wheelchair with her in the car, is another example (her explicit comparing with another, non-disabled climber was the reason for the response from the belayer). Then there was also the expression from Fred about the other person not necessarily being a better climber only because he himself had an impairment.

In the interview, Mona followed the same line when indicating that having good climbing experiences was not necessarily about succeeding in the objective and comparative sense, as what in climbing could be understood literally as "making it to the top". Instead she stressed the type "manage within one´s own personal borders and goals" (*… some may think about mastery, that it is about getting to the top. But it is rather … to make it. That hold on the route*). Mona also said that reaching the top is not necessarily important to her personally, even if it is of course also a positive thing. (*Yes I want that … but more before.*) In another context she said that: *I'm getting frustrated when I have reached a certain point on a route before, and then I don't manage the next time. It's good days and bad days …* .) She followed up by stressing further the point about climbing quietly (cf. the former reflections on the interplay between herself and Ada within the special game, as a variation of CSM. She mentioned Ada explicitly in the context, as Ada had also mentioned her). Reaching the top is something you want, of course - but all in all it is not *that* important. When the members told about the importance of achievements, it was

about different contexts. Reaching the top was one focus of attention and obviously invoked senses of mastery - at the same time it was also just "trifles" compared with the more expanded province of meaning which the SCW is, where the important aspects are the social comradeship, the active participation in the challenging activity, the fun of it in general, and the identity aspects. All of the members highlighted these as important dimensions.

Again there can be made a reference to Schütz' (1970) understandings of "concentric circles" of importance (though not his expression), where meaning aspects become relative according to each other. There are also clear parallels to the relation between *in order to* and *because* motives, as elaborated before: Even if single aspects and incidents within the SCW seemed to be generally overshadowed by more important meaning dimensions, they could nevertheless become markers of meaning. For example, several of the members had the ascending of certain routes as symbolic markers for experiences of coping, and which they therefore included in their explanations about what climbing was about and what was the right attitude and focus when it comes to climbing. Some examples from other contexts (including section 1): Peter's contesting of himself with the long rappel in Klatreverket at the Oslo gathering, and - even more important - his general *contesting* of routes by exactly *climbing to the top* (confronting his accident, cf. also the *climbing as reaction* theme in this present section); Ada's coping in managing the certain route in the overhang (with the "unpleasant angles") in the *challenging activity* theme; Konrad's experience of finally managing the rappel at Hamarøy (referred to shortly before, also to be issued in the next theme, *ambiguity*).

The right attitudes could express overall important values, such as comradeship, supporting each other and reaching one's goals on one's own premises. But they could also be symbolically anchored in more single factors or events. This points to the internal dynamics of the social climbing world. E.g. when the *special game* structure started to settle and took gradually over for the *adaptive climbing* structure, there was also a shift of weight from *difference* and *appearance of the impairment* to *dedication to the sport* (cf. also the gravity "pairings" of structures elaborated before). This was also mirrored in the way the members revealed their opinions about what they regarded as important in their climbing.

Theme 5   Ambivalence

According to the theoretical foundations for this project - phenomenologically oriented sociology, also relating to interactionist theory - *ambivalence* (also implying ambiguity) is understood as a natural characteristic of the human condition and pertaining to everyday life in different variations. The social construction of meaning - which is a main focus for these traditions of thought - is exactly about defining, organizing and handling aspects in life which are not simply given (Schütz 1997, Berger & Luckmann 1966, Habermas 1995b).

In this theme, ambivalence is given two meanings. First as such a natural part of life which is not negative in itself: this both regards phenomena which are not readily defined, and aspects being both/and depending on context. Such ambivalence is not necessarily understood as "dilemmas" or "problems", even though it can also concern varieties of challenges which one seeks to resolve and get in order. Then, ambivalence can also be something one *needs* to sort out, as it involves something that is explicitly felt as not being "right" or "good". This is a variety of ambivalence perceived as negative. In an overall sense the theme points to how meaning dimensions can have ambivalence adhering to them, or also be the result of certain ways of handling ambivalence.

To make a general note on ambivalence up till now in the project: Various experiences within the social climbing world seem to contain aspects of ambivalence. For example, in different constellations the identity as a climber with impairment can be stressed as important, but sometimes it is also not, and without the relevant differences between the contexts appearing as clear. Also, climbing with impairment makes it a *different* sport, and also not, and again it is not necessarily clear where and how the line is drawn. Also, one should include thoughts about the impairment in the descriptions of one's climbing, as it is part of who one is as a person - and also the opposite: the impairment is not a thing that matters regarding who a person is, hence it should be ignored (cf. ambivalences in 3C).

There are also ambivalences involved in the colonization mechanism: when the impairments are "unjustly" brought into the explanations of former meaning experiences, they create the in itself ambivalent phenomenon "indirect deprivation" (cf. explanations in 3.1).

A main ambition in this project has been to define certain structures bearing the social climbing world (SSCW). To a large extent these structures have become defining as

ways of ordering the climbing life as a realm of meaning within the larger scope of the life world, which again can be understood as ways of handling ambivalence in a wide sense (as making order is about handling that which is not already ordered). On a broad level, one could therefore say that the previous analyses have also touched upon some of the same, though not directly. An intention with the following analyses is therefore to also include some more explicit aspects of ambivalence, in order to show this side of the SCW more directly. The reflections will be framed within the special game context, in order to show how ambiguity pertain to the climbers' own normal activities. That means that the e.g. handling of the ambivalence relating to the tension between adaptive climbing and the special game is left out in this last theme, and thereby also much of the colonization aspect.

For one, ambivalence *about* the activity is exemplified. This points to how talk and conduct around climbing contains ambivalences as ways of giving oneself a steady position according to the activity - that is, pragmatically defining the surroundings in various ways in order to contain a steady narrative about oneself - rather than the other way around (that is, re-defining aspects by oneself). Also, ambivalence *in* the activity is issued. This points to the experience of climbing activities in itself, which has ambivalent characteristics to it (cf. 2.2).

Ambivalence "about" the activity

A characteristic feature in the interview with Konrad was that he was not very talkative in the situation, and that he gave short and seemingly "programmatic" and obvious answers. It was hard to make him follow his own associations - but still, his answers pointed to interesting aspects of meaning construction when approached from different angles. The analysis also indicates variations of colonization type 2.

Regarding experiences of meaning having to do with climbing, Konrad described its effect and durability in quite different ways in different parts of the interview. In fact, some of his answers could - at least in the outset - be understood as contradicting each other. I came to understand this as a result of him pragmatically positioning himself according to the impressions he wanted to give me as a researcher.

R: *When you have finished a day of climbing. Is it like … do you keep on thinking about it in some way, feel it or something … ?*

Konrad: *Yes I can feel it in the body. But it's kind of … nothing left of it in my head, you could say … . Then I have finished the day of climbing. When I leave the climbing gym the climbing is … gone, you could say.*

Later he however gives an answer pointing to the contrary:

R: *If you were to describe yourself to somebody. Would you mention climbing?*

Konrad: *Yes!* (with emphasis) *Sometimes I do … And I have … been talking about it at work too, quite a lot.*

R: *The others there, do they find it interesting?*

Konrad: *Yes, certainly.*

In the interview context within which the first expression comes, he almost seems to dismiss the significance of the climbing as an identity marker, or as an arena for experiencing meaning in general. Shortly put: A climbing session leaves physical traces and aftereffects only, and it is merely a matter of exercise. A similar view also came to expression after a related question about how he would describe climbing according to being "more of a physical" or "more of a psychological" experience. He was then consequent in highlighting the mere physical side of it.

During the interview seen in its entirety, Konrad is however not consequent in this dismissal of the inner psychological meaning of climbing - and even if he frequently gives clear-cut and "definitive" answers there is not a certain opinion or attitude that is "his" in a consistent and uniform way when contested from different angles.

With the Schützian 'zones of relevance' in mind, coupled with the ideas of 'speech acts' and legitimation regimes within pragmatics (theory and methodology), explanations focusing on *shifts of meaning contexts* within the interview must be taken into account in order to provide an understanding of the differences characterizing these statements. The basic, but however also important methodological point is to be kept in mind: The expressions of a person in a conversation may represent coherent meaning contents, even if they from the outside (such as in interview transcriptions) may seem to be contradictory (van Dijk (1997), Habermas 1995b).

To propose an interpretation based on the interview in its entirety, and with the observations from the field works taken into account: First, it might seem to be the case that Konrad, in the first quote, reacts according to a certain underlying mode of established discourse regarding how the relation between disability and activity is to be conceived.

Some background: *Yes I can feel it in the body* (the climbing)*. But it's kind of … nothing left of it in my head, you could say … . Then I have finished the day of climbing. When I leave the climbing gym the climbing is … gone, you could say.* This could be perceived as an almost demonstrative answer (and I did, in the interview context). Given that the preceding question was quite open and not very persuasive in any direction *(When you have finished a day of climbing. Is it like … do you keep on thinking about it in some way, feel it or something … ?)* the "abandoning" of the psychical influence seems conspicuous. Why did he answer like this?

The first quote (repeated above) is from the early phase of the interview. As it were in this specific situation, the atmosphere was a little more formal compared with the preceding interviews with other members. The setting of the interview might have been contributing to at least a part of this. The interview took place right after a climbing session. And of practical reasons, since it was located nearby and Konrad was to be leaving town within few hours, we used a seminar room in the university (UiT).

The university seemed to be a foreign arena to him, and from earlier talks I had already got the impression that he was a little uncertain about how to conceive of the researcher side of myself. Now we also had a sudden change of context. Ten minutes earlier we had been climbing buddies talking informally in the gym, along with several other persons. Now it was just the two of us, in a seminar room in the university, and I was a researcher, and I had just asked if it was okay if I put my recorder on the table. I deliberately tried to keep a loose tone, but most of the interview came to have a slightly formal atmosphere over it. In the interview setting, Konrad was more "scarce" than usual. The relative formality of the setting seemed to have an influence on the greater part of the interview, even if it was to lighten up to some extent towards the end.

In spite of my earlier talks with the members regarding my own role as a researcher, I had the feeling that he still carried an unconscious "suspicion" that I was perceiving the climbing of Rocks as a kind of rehabilitation project. In former talks he had referred to arrangements he had participated in at Valnesfjord and Beitostølen. These are specialized

institutions in physical medicine, rehabilitation and health. When sport projects are carried out within these institutions, the ambitions opposite the more comprehensive realm of welfare - that is, the physical and psychological alike - as well as social integration is often outspoken and highlighted. To a great extent, the discourses within which the aims of these centres are presented stress the importance of sensing mastery and experiencing empowerment; that is, they fundamentally connect features of empowerment to physical activity. At some point it occurred to me that this could perhaps be the reason why Konrad had mentioned these institutions in talks with me; that it corresponded with his presumptions about my researcher role. He could simply have expected me to want to know about rehabilitation explicitly.

In the part of the interview mentioned above - where he "abandoned" psychological gains - it might be that Konrad distanced himself from such an understanding of the climbing within Rocks. His assertion that he was "forgetting" the climbing as soon as it was over, could be a reaction towards a *presumed* inclination in myself to adapting mechanisms of "mastery and integration" to it - understood as a typical "rehabilitation" discourse. The reason for this could be an underlying wish not to be associated with rehabilitation projects, as this would inevitably involve impairment in one way or another (cf. 3C: "We are climbers with impairments rather that persons with impairments climbing"). If this is so, there is a paradoxical mechanism at work here, which can be adapted to the previously defined category "indirect deprivation" as part of the colonisation thought: he refuses to present Rocks in terms of impairment, or more general, as disability sport. And in doing this, the impairment is indirectly and tacitly guiding his expression of the meaning experienced in climbing - which has not been containing it in the outset, at least not in an unequivocal way.

It was quite clear from the field works as well as from the interview in its totality that the climbing did in fact mean much to him in terms of identity and comradeship. Alone the fact that he was living in another town and still had been part of the group for several years, and that he had been joining the group for several social excursions, contradicts eventual assumptions that the climbing was just about exercise for him. Not that he ever deliberately intended to conceal this in any way: the "opposite" quote above indicates that he by no means had a persistent "project" of denying the psychological aspects of climbing. At several other occasions he had also been talking warmly about the group and his

belonging to it. Hence, as it is presumed that he expressed sincere meaning contents in all these varieties, the differences are to be explained by shifts of meaning context within the interview, where *active and meaningful positioning of self* took place.

At this point a reflective precaution should however be made. I claim that it is possible that Konrad has a certain opinion or experience, in part based on the fact that he denies it (the psychological effects of climbing). In the outset this could take form of an encroachment over his "right" to have his expressions taken at face value and not being run over by an interpreter; it could be associated with mechanisms of unjust definition powers, similar to the cliché types "If you are silent, it means that you agree", or "give somebody an offer they can't refuse" (by means of being in charge of the questions for them to answer). To claim that Konrad has an experience which he explicitly claims that he does not have, is clearly suspicious in the outset. Still, the conspicuousness in is his answers and the obvious ways in which he "contradicts" himself validates the assumptions. In the interview - as well as in other conversation - he seemed to be "all in" with his expressions, and did not seem to care much if it could seem conspicuous to others.

The following explanations depart from the interview and also bear on the interviews with the other members, as they are part of the group story. They also point to and correspond with observation material. They can be seen as examples of an active definition work which go for all of the members in the outset, and which is about handling ambivalence - but they also serve to exemplify individual variations in the group.

Konrad positioned himself in the interview and in other conversations by "actively establishing" the surroundings by statements in speech. His conduct in the praxis field gave examples of the same - and an overall pattern appeared. For example, there seemed to be a certain strategy of meaning construction in the way he handled material things and tools; it seemed like he actively handled his surroundings to make them fit to his self-understanding.

In the afternoon on the last day in Skibotn, Konrad and myself had been standing in front of our cabin, conversing. At one point he pulled out a pair of hiking boots from a bag. He explained that he intended to throw them in the trash, as they were worn out. I reacted upon this, as they looked quite all right. I said so, and it seemed like he did not like to hear it. He hesitated for a moment, then said that the grip pattern in the rubber sole had become slippery. Once again I said that I thought it looked all fine. This time he hesitated

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some more, and looked "irresolute" for a moment. Then, in a determined voice, he said "I'm throwing them!", and went straight to the trash bin. Together with other aspects, this made me think of a "conspicuous consumption", to paraphrase this famous conception from Veblen (1994). Later I was also to hear what seemed to be a "funny story" amongst the members, about one time Konrad had participated in *Ridderrennet* on Beitostølen Helsesportsenter.[160] He had just finished a contest in cross-country skiing and was not pleased with the result. The other members could tell (with delight) how he went straight to the gear shop and bought himself a new pair of skis, as the others were obviously "bad".

The point is that he "blamed the equipment" when he felt it was not going good (reduced modes), and that new items "set it right". The ambivalent expressions in the interview thereby seemed to inhibit a kind of pragmatics which could also be seen in his relation with things. An item could be good, and then bad. At one point, when he described his climbing, he said *I am never afraid, you could say*. Still, his frightened appearance at "the rappel in Hamarøy" had become a reference point in the group history - and he did not deny this himself either.

These are individual features in Konrad (cf. 3A), and his own variety of defining the surroundings in meaningful ways. Still, the individuality probably sticks more to the degree than to the active handling itself. All people define the surroundings according to their own views and inclinations. In a way, the social climbing world consists of the totality of the active definition work of all the members, as it has been constantly constructed and negotiated socially and in correspondence with the material surroundings.

Ambivalence "in" the activity.
Variations of reduced and inspired modes: Cold and warm fears.
Now another element of ambiguity is to be issued. It is more directly about the experience of the activity itself.

In his interview, John talked about *cold* and *warm fears* in climbing (as was shortly mentioned in the *challenging activity* theme). He coupled it with a certain strategy to cope with the ambivalent character of climbing itself.

The following bears on the information given in chapter 2.2 regarding climbing as an ambiguous and challenging sport, both regarding the relation between the physical and

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[160] Annual winter sports event for persons with disabilities at a center for health and adapted physical activity.

psychological, subjective and objective risk, and fear and control. A central point is that climbing has an implicit ambivalence to it, which also seems to be the reason for some of its meaning contents.

To reiterate: Climbing is a sport where the mere character of the activity can prove to be a psychological challenge, as the height aspect in combination with not being totally in control in the wall (a high possibility of falling, at least on demanding routes) in the outset challenges human "instincts"[161] (in a deep-psychological sense). A common perception amongst climbers is also that these psychological aspects transcend the mere "state of mind" and *incorporate* themselves (this aspect overlaps with the extended corporeality theme). In climbing, this is commonly regarded as a natural part of the game and contributing to the overall meaning experience. This gives fear and anxiety an ambivalent role in the sport in the outset - it is something one seeks to contest, at the same time as it is something one wants as it provides the activity with much of its meaning content.[162]

John elaborated how perceptions of uncertainty in some cases could take the whole body "in custody", and the climber "freezes" (for the Rocks climbers, the mentioned rappel episode with Konrad in Hamarøy had become a reference point). To give a concentrate: In such cases one's bodily perceptions also get distorted regarding what is possible or not when it comes to reachability, strength and endurance - for example, one is totally "convinced" that one is standing in a full stretch in order to reach a hold - but then it is only the mental demand for a certain margin which makes it feel that way. In such cases the bodily possibilities get limited because of the challenge of the psyche. This also occurs in secure sport climbing - in that case the fear and "freezing" is not caused by any external (that is, objective) dangers, but only subjective perceptions. In much the same way as Fred, John deliberately attempted to impose his mental certainty onto his bodily perceptions (both of them also succeeded quite well in controlling fear, as indicated).

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[161] Here thought in in a common psychological sense, although it can be disputed to which extent this term should be used about human beings as something else than drifts/urges and reflexes (Gallagher & Zahavi 2012, Merleau-Ponty 2012, Berger & Luckmann 1966).

[162] Apart from climbers who perhaps do not admit that they are afraid, there are also a few climbers who actually do not feel anxiety and adherent ambiguity. These can sometimes be admired and also "envied" by others, as they do not let "irrational" fears stop them from doing their best effort. At the same time these climbers might actually wish that they had had some of this anxiety, as they regard it to be an "existential" part of the game that they have been deprived of. E.g. as explained by a renowned climber in the NRK series *Normal madness* (Normal galskap), season 2, autumn 2014. As a reference to the "climbing discourse" (chapter 2.2) it can also be added that this episode (2) on climbing was entitled *Freedom* (Frihet).

Ambivalence can often be defining. It is a common feeling amongst climbers that on certain days your do not dare to "go for it". These are typically referred to as "just one of those days" and the like. In such *reduced modes* one might experience reluctance to go on with certain moves or engaging with certain routes, even if one knows for sure it is nothing to worry about.

The ambivalences in climbing could be said to point to interconnections between excitement, adventure, risk, fear and anxiety, and control. In order to draw a general line regarding this, on could say that climbing contains an ambivalent aspect of fear and anxiety, on the one side, and adventurous feelings, excitement, and control, on the other. In the following this will be reflected upon with departure in John's reflections in the interview, where he presented his concept pairing - the distinction between cold and warm fear. It can be coupled further with the concepts defined before in the project - *inspired mode* (warm fear) and *reduced mode* (cold fear). [163]

In a sequence of the interview with Mona I ask if she has had any unusually "strong" experiences while climbing - good or bad.

> Mona: *Well … . Oh yes! We were on Hamarøy, climbing. It was earlier this year. And when we approached the crag* (the area of the cliff where the climbing takes place) *then "hhhhhhh"* (sigh with emphasis) *I thought I'm never gonna make it up there! So that was a very good experience and a strong feeling … and I struggled with it for a long time. But when I got to the top there … it was so awesome. It was that great feeling. It didn't matter that I had had many breaks. It was really high.*

In the interview context she leaped from describing a feeling of being overwhelmed and, as it seemed, feeling disempowered, to making a statement which seemed to point out the basic line for the experience seen in its totality: *So that was a very good experience and a strong feeling …* As it is put, she in a way presupposes that the whole framing of the overwhelming situation is, all in all, a good one; that the uncertainty was a presupposition for the joy and empowering feeling afterwards. If one is to apply the distinction of warm

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[163] The way they are to be used here contains the basic meaning which John gives them himself, even if it is not bound by it. The point to mention John here is simply to give him "cred" for providing me with the concepts. The context in which he used them himself was mentioned in the *challenging activity* theme (with which there is a natural overlap, as pointed out).

versus cold fear in this case, this situation was obviously characterized by *warm* fear (an inspired sensation). Sensations of anxiety ("cold sensation") was turned into excitement ("warm sensation") as she managed to be in control after all, providing her with a coping experience.

The uncertainties imposed by warm and cold fears[164] do not pertain to the impairments in themselves, although there are also varieties of *appearance of the impairment* (SSCW 4) initiating such fears in a situation (as in the example with Ada in theme 2 *Challenging activity*, when she felt deceived by her blurred vision in the technically difficult passage).

At this point Mona's sensation corresponds with feelings that are common to many climbers, and which is often perceived as one of the main reasons why climbing provides one with feelings somewhat different from those provided by sports which are not challenging in this way. The overcoming and controlling of subjective (not necessarily objective) fears gives a *total experience* regarding body and mind seen as a whole, as they are closely intermingled in the perceptions of fear and reluctance. Succeeding - in the sense that the situation, session or day as a whole ends up with a coping experience "at last" defines the total experience within the inspired mode; this also includes the "painful and scary" elements as far as they are parts of a resulting success (even a painful damage - or later, scars - can become "empowering reminders" of something one is proud of). Mona's "warm fear" at Hamarøy was obviously contributing to her good experience (flow, inspired mode).

Mona has also experienced *cold fear*. The way she told about it corresponds with the conceptualization *reduced mode*. At one point I had asked about eventual unpleasant or scary experiences:

M: *Yes … rappelling. Herman (the instructor) was up there and wanted everybody to rappel down. And I felt I don't dare this. But I rappelled in Skibotn[165] last year, I did. Then I was about the first one to do it. But here, there was something holding me back. I felt … just knew I couldn't do it. Well this thing … I'm not doing it, I don't want it, I*

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[164] Where 'cold fear' is unequivocally negative, 'warm fear' inhibits ambiguity as it is both good (warm) and bad (fear).
[165] The year before my field work there.

don't dare it. Miriam and the others … most of them did it. But Konrad, he was so
scared! (laughs).

This points to an ambivalence pertaining to *oneself* as a climber. It is usual that climbers can be set out - be in reduced modes - from the very start, perhaps with no obvious reason at all. This also points to the kind of immediate and unreflected experiences (which Mona herself had called "phenomenological, cf. the previous theme) which is "in lack of a language" and hence is given common wordings like "I must just have stood up with the wrong foot", or "it's just one of these days".[166]

Following from the excerpt above she stated that she was not really like that, she did not know why it happened.

> *But there … I had to make a little self-contemplation, and I thought why am I not doing*
> *this. How come it is so scary, why don't I dare it? Because as it turned out, it became a*
> *somewhat unfamiliar situation to me. Because I am rather more of a straightforward*
> *person, and a little tougher … But there I was very … . No I haven't found another*
> *explanation than it being about the psyche. A bad day …*

She portrayed this incident as a contrast to how she usually is. This can be seen as a way of positioning herself according to the ambivalent situation; she defined it clearly as an exception, hence also stating the *normal* - who she *is*. This also bears some similarity with Konrad's way of handling the same episode in his own respective experience: in some contexts he simply *defined it away* ("I'm never scared … ").

Mona attaches self-reflection to this episode. That points to two features: This is something she reflects upon and cares about, and it indicates that she has been searching for explanations. In a more general sense it also points to the climbing activities as meaningful beyond themselves. They indicate how the person understands herself, both according to her own abilities and characteristics, but also in relation with the others with whom she shares a collective identity (the climbing group).

There is a sociality pertaining to these experiences of anxiety and "freezing". Directly after describing her own feelings in the situation, Mona connects with the others for

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[166] Among climbers there can also be more sub-culturally specific sayings about such states of «being», e.g. "I feel psyched today" (inspired mode), or perhaps the humorous "it's steep(er) today" (reduced mode).

comparison: *Miriam and the others … most of them did it.* With this she posits her own reluctance as something being under the normal level, also in comparison with the other members (that is, in addition to also comparing it with her own personal standard). But then also, and directly following from this, she in some sense re-establishes a kind of balance by referring to another member who was in an even more "reduced mode" than herself: *But Konrad, he was so scared!*

Episodes of corporeal experiences pertain to the collective history of the group. As shown above, this also regard ambivalent experiences which are meaningfully posited and thereby handled. *The others* are fundamentally linked with this corporeal background experience, and hence contributes to the overall meaning content of the SCW.

In this last sequence of the theme *ambiguity* there can be made some overall connections with the conceptual framework circumscribing the social climbing world. At the same time it also underscores central ambitions with the project seen in its totality.

Seen in comparison with the analyses made within the previous themes, this last theme had a certain difference to it: it was in its totality discussed within the special game context. Except from the introductory reflections on Konrad who seemingly protected such a context by actively "denying" the rehabilitation discourse, impairments and adaptive climbing were not issued. (Even if both Konrad, John and Mona of course referred to impairments in different varieties in their interviews, they did not in the contexts from which the quotes above are taken.) When good, bad, and ambiguous experiences were discussed, they were therefore also not connected explicitly with colonization.

According to 4C *Experiences and representations of meaning in the activity*, the experiences were represented in the way they had been experienced - or, when they seemed to be "redefined" by actively positioning of oneself as ways of making order (i.e. type 1 represented as type 2), it was not by an implementation of the ethos of the rehabilitation discourse: rather, they came forth on the backdrop of the meaning contents that the climbers experience in their group, and that has been established as their own normality. This underscores main points in the project. The climbers expressed their meaning experiences by referring to their own personal characteristics and their interplay with the other climbers. They expressed aspects that they perceived as relevant, and also in *ways* that they perceived as relevant. It was about their experiences as climbers and fellows. Reduced and inspired mode experiences alike pertained to the normal climbing

world, and ambiguity was about collision of aspects within one's own psyche (Mona) or about a "wrong connection" between oneself and equipment (Konrad). It was not explicitly about the impairments. Of course, the impairments are still related with this in an overall sense. This is seen in the project taken in its total: For one, all of the other themes in this section also "tacitly embed" ambiguity in them. Also the *difference* structure (SSCW 3) - especially highlighted in section 1 - has shown how ambiguity is a central feature of the SCW in the tension between adaptive climbing (SSCW 1) and the special game (SSCW 2).

An overall point in the project has been that there is a variety of nuances regarding the meaning contents in the intersection between impairment and physical activity, and that the standard assumptions within the rehabilitation discourse do not cover this variety. As indicated by the analyses made in connection with Table 1 (theory part), it is also not covered by the established perspectives on disability. In this project it has been attempted to address and explore a variety of these other meaning contents.

Ending

Part 5 - The social climbing world and mechanisms of colonization - has constituted the main analysis in the project. It has been organized in two sections: Where the first has been concentrated on practical engagements and has departed from observations, the second has been focused on discourse in combination with personal interviews. The two sections of the analysis have corresponded with the two defined types of colonization: *practical* and *discursive adaptations*, respectively.

A central ambition of the analysis has been to detect and investigate the relation between *adaptive climbing* and *the special game*. The three field works have mirrored these two dimensions of conducting physical activity with impairments: where the Oslo gathering has represented *adapted* physical activity in the traditional sense (APA), the Skibotn excursion and the Tromsø sessions have represented a domain of *normal* climbing with impairments - in this project denoted as *the special game*.

Departing from the constructed conception *corporeal-social meaning* (CSM), the analysis has provided an explorative investigation of *the social climbing world* (SCW) and its bearing structures (SSCW).

Part 6   Closing

In this closing part, I will give some overall and evaluative reflections on the project. After a short summary, these will be presented in two sequences.

In the first, I will discuss points of criticism that could be directed at the use of theory and methodology. One focus will be on the use of phenomenology opposite the kind of empirical material which I have handled. Thereafter I will give some conclusive methodological reflections on the use of grounded theory, which also connect to the use of case studies.

In the second sequence I will make a reflection upon the wider relevance of the results, in terms of contribution opposite the broader scope of disability research. I will emphasize how the enquiry into *the social climbing world* bears with it a relevance extending beyond the focus group itself. Conclusively, I will give suggestions about further research.

6.1   Summary

With this project, I have detected and investigated *the social climbing world*. This is a 'province of meaning' in the lives of a group of persons who have impairments. With a phenomenological point of departure, involving a deep inspiration from Merleau-Ponty's 'body schema' concept, I have used the conception 'corporeal-social meaning' as a key to understand wider social dimensions of the intersection between impairment and physical activity. In disability research, there is an established division between *impairment* - which points to the individual and purely corporeal phenomenon - and *disability*, which is about social, cultural, and material surroundings. In this project, I have connected to a petition from the so-called 'sociology of impairment' by addressing impaired corporeality in ways that transcend this division. I have sought to obtain knowledge about how the extended corporeality - in the sense of *bodiness* - has a strong social dimension to it, and about how this is related with meaning experiences in the intersection between impairment and physical activity.

By use of a grounded theory approach and the phenomenological methodology of Alfred Schütz, I have constructed a set of mutually corresponding conceptions and tables in

order to circle in and describe the social climbing world. Amongst the most central findings are the phenomena that I have called *the special game* and *colonization*, respectively. 'The special game' is a social realm of meaning in the activities where the impairments are not experienced explicitly, as they are embedded in the premises (rules) of the activity itself. They are hence not perceived as hindrances, and the experiences of coping and well-being taking place within the special game contexts can therefore not be reduced to a contesting of, or a "forgetting about" the impairments. This goes together with the understanding of *colonization*, which is another central finding. Colonization means that certain practices and attitudes - which are embedded in *prevailing discourses* about how one is to think and talk about disability and impairment - are imposed onto the meaning experiences of persons with impairments in ways that reduce them.

The phenomena *the special game* and *colonization* will also be addressed in the further.

6.2   Critical remarks on theory and methodology

Seen in accordance with the extended welfare conception and outspoken incentives in official documents as well as in disability research (2.1), I assume there to be minor (if any at all) doubt that the overall *theme* of this project is relevant: meaning experiences in the intersection between impairment and physical activity, pointing to the larger scope of social identity and inclusion.

In terms of social research, there could however be posed objections against the theoretical and methodological approaches which I have chosen as framework for the investigations - that is, essentially, phenomenology and grounded theory (GT). The following discussions presuppose the elaborations on phenomenology and GT given in the chapters 3.2 and 4.2 respectively, and will be concentrated on main features.

On the use of phenomenology

To reiterate shortly: From being a purely philosophical tradition stemming from Husserl in the first part of the twentieth century, phenomenology was eventually also adapted as a theoretical and methodological approach within social science and social work. Within both sociology and the larger domain of social theory, it has been disputed to which extent the

phenomenological perspective is a valid and useful point of departure for empirical investigation (Fay 2003, Hekman 1980). Phenomenology has an ahistorical and fundamentally essentialist character of "always already". This implies that it cannot as such be used as a dynamic tool, in the sense contribute to provide new information when used opposite an empirical material; its basic features will correspond with it no matter the specific context investigated, and on a very general level. From this reason, it has been argued that approaches using phenomenology opposite empirical information are at best phenomenologically *inspired* or *oriented* (Fuglseth 2012a, Sokolowski 2000).

On this general background, one could ask if this perspective was a good choice according to the empirical material in my project, and to which extent I have managed to make a fruitful use of it. According to recent critiques raised against the use of phenomenological theory in many empirical studies - e.g. the references to Martínková and Parry (2012) in chapter 3.2 - these are valid "suspicions" in the outset. I will comply with this on a general level by shortly stressing some of the basic lines in my investigation, drawing on chapter 3.2.

Husserl's initial idea of phenomenology was about approaching "the thing itself" in order to reveal the constitutional (and transcendental) structures of experience. In the way this agenda was empirically reoriented by Schütz, phenomenological sociology (/-methodology) has been about revealing *socially established varieties* of such phenomenal structures in the ways the things or phenomena *are in fact experienced* by us, in terms of meaning (Schütz 1997, 1970). It is according to this understanding I have made use of phenomenology in this project.

In my explorations of the SCW, I have first sought to be attentive opposite nuances in "experiences as they are in fact experienced", and in "expressions as they are in fact expressed". In the outset, this could be described as *phenomenography* (cf. Martínková and Parry 2012); however, such a "close to experienced reality" approach is also a necessary point of departure for a *phenomenologically* oriented empirical investigation.

An important agenda in this project has been to reveal meaning dimensions in disability sports that go "under the radar" of the rehabilitation discourse. I have issued meaning dimensions experienced by persons with impairments in direct as well as indirect relation with physical activity. In the investigations, I have sought to get a glimpse of meaning aspects that evade the trails of much other research on impairment and physical

activity, which have often been focused on an already established agenda of rehabilitation and integration (cf. the prevailing discourses) (Kissow 2015, Silva and Hove 2012, Grue 2004). In doing this, it has been necessary to approach the material from different sides. This has involved a sincere attempt to be sensitive opposite lived experiences in the praxis field, and also according to how experiences have been expressed and communicated verbally in different contexts. In these investigations, I have found the phenomenological perspective to be highly useful. For one, an in the outset, as it pays a fundamental "respect" to the vast variety of meaning expressions that can be found. Secondly, it has also provided me with the possibility to reveal socially established structures in the *ways* these meaning dimensions are experienced - in this project, these have been "discovered" (cf. grounded theory) and defined as the SSCW. It is primarily the latter point that has made this project genuinely phenomenologically oriented.

As I see it, a different approach than phenomenology would not have been able to reveal these dimensions in this empirical material. Following from this, the discovery of the *special game* as a meaningful domain as well as the defined types of *colonization* would also not have been discovered without this approach. Furthermore, it can also be emphasized as useful that the phenomenological perspective in this project could be coupled with understandings from symbolic interactionism and pragmatics, as this served to elucidate the investigations opposite more traditional sociological approaches.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty
Early on, my impressions from the empirical material made it natural to connect to Merleau-Ponty's *body schema* concept, which again came to inspire my own "sensitizing conception" *corporeal-social meaning* (CSM). With this latter conception, I was able to explore the lived experiences of the informants with a special focus on the close connection that seems to exist between the dimensions sociality and corporeality. This marked the beginning of what came to be the "discovery" of the social climbing world (cf. Glaser and Strauss 1967), and to the identification of its five structures. Furthermore, the inspiration from the body schema concept also strongly influenced the understanding of the unique domain of meaning that I have denoted as *the special game*, and which is a central constituent of the social climbing world.

According to the claim referred to above about phenomenology being "unproductive" opposite empirical materials in the outset, I will again contend that I have used this departure in the body schema concept as an inspiration for creating new ideas for investigation. Merleau-Ponty's innovative idea about *bodiness* was a support in the attempt to step aside of the established discourses on corporeality, health and rehabilitation. In correspondence with this, it could also be claimed that the body schema concept is both too vague and too comprehensive for the connecting of it to the analyses in this project. A further and related criticism could be that the concept thereby also opens up for much subjective interpretation, which again could claim a "false legitimacy" by relating to Merleau-Ponty's famous conception.

I regard these criticisms as not being valid objections opposite my project. In my use of the body schema concept, I have not defined it in specific ways according to my own ideas. When I "charged" it with a more explicit social orientation in accordance with my own context of study, I exchanged it with the more "specialized" CSM conception, thus leaving the body schema concept behind as a source of inspiration.

Alfred Schütz

Having already chosen a phenomenological point of departure opposite an empirical material, it should not be very controversial that I also used Alfred Schütz for providing a link between this theoretical perspective and the empirical field under study. Schütz is a main figure within the phenomenological sociology and is known for having made a relatively thorough methodological framework for the adaptation of phenomenology to investigations of the social world (Hekman 1980, Habermas 1995b).

I cannot see any valid objections against using Schütz' theories in this project, or the way they were used. On the contrary - I can see several reasons why they were good choices. Schütz' ideas were highly influencive on my understanding of the social climbing world, and on the construction of the conceptions and tables that reveal the constitutive parts of it. Schütz' understanding of 'finite provinces of meaning' within the larger scope of the life world strongly underscored my own understanding of the social climbing world. I regard the latter as having been a highly useful frame for the approaching of the disability/physical activity theme in new ways.

The process of "meaning condensation" that resulted in the five structures of the SCW, was directly inspired by another side of Schütz' work - his advancement of the Weberian ideal types (Schütz 1997). Further, the 'zones of relevance' conception was highly relevant in helping me to understand the internal dynamics in the social climbing world - that is, regarding how the interplay between the five structures leads to occasional shifts between what I have called "centers of gravity". In the analysis, this was especially investigated by the focus on the various ways in which *difference* seems to be perceived and handled by the informants.

It was in these contexts that I came to discover and conceptualize what I understand as the perhaps most important and interesting aspect of this project - *the special game* (the relevance will be discussed in the next sequence). At this point, the different theories and concepts that have been used through the project also seem to meet and fulfill each other.

For one, the special game implies the corporeal-social learning (cf. the SCM conception) that has taken place between the members over time, and that has made the Rocks climbing group into the unique phenomenon that it is. The aspect of the *impairments* as being variable according to different realms of meaning (that is, importantly, not just as *disability*), also in the sense that the *deprivation aspect* is left out or is "irrelevant" according to certain domains of the social climbing world, has led to important insights. Here, the conceptions 'zones of relevance', 'center of gravity', 'language games', 'non-impaired impairment', 'indirect deprivation' and 'colonization' all come together. Even if it has been outside the scope of this project to elaborate all of these conceptions to the full and the correspondences between them opposite the empirical material, I will claim that it has been shown how they make up a coherent conceptual network opposite the social climbing world.

On the use of grounded theory

Although the controversy has diminished to some extent during the last decades, the grounded theory approach (GT) has not been free of dispute since it was launched by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 (Gibson & Hartman 2014, Morse et al. 2009). In my opinion, the approach has been criticized by much of the same types of arguments that it was the authors' intention to contest in the outset (Glaser and Strauss 1967). In the following, I will address some overall points of relevance for my study.

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For one, it has been claimed that GT lacks *validity* in that the researcher starts out from few (if any at all) explicit theoretical assumptions in his/her approaching of the field. According to the critics, this may lead to arbitrary discoveries, and also imply arbitrary categorization and handling of data. With this "loose" point of departure, one also risks that the findings become vulnerable to the subjective, and perhaps also unreliable biases of the researcher (cf. the similar critique against the phenomenological perspective).

In my opinion, Glaser and Strauss' work (1967) already implies valid answers to these critiques that came in its wake. In a section on the validity claims embedded in the sociological tradition (which it is their intention to challenge), they claim that the proponents of "grand theory" seem to have forgotten that all social theory necessarily stems from context-bound experiences. This means that at the bottom, these also rely on uncharted and thereby also "un-comprehended terrains" of reality. When this is not understood, the validated "truth" they claim to have gained from systematic study could therefore be somewhat self-delusional. At this point, it could also be claimed that the criticism against GT regarding bias could be turned against the critics themselves, though in a less direct way: advancing already existing theory by using it in a new context is also a way of being led by already established ideas, whose origin cannot be controlled, compared and evaluated "all the way down". This is also a variety of bias (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Flyvbjerg 2004). (Another comment on subjective bias is also to be given further below.)

This is of course not to say that conventional social research is "no better than" grounded theory after all, if not to say "just as bad as": such an evaluation would bear on wrong premises and miss the point. The basic line is that the ultimate connection with local contexts is both unavoidable and useful, and that reflecting openly about it might correspond better with the ideals embedded in classic scientific validity claims, than the alternative (Schütz 1970, Polanyi 2009).

Regarding my own project, I believe that I would not have *discovered* the SCW if it were not for the use of GT. When Glaser and Strauss used the phrase 'the *discovery* of grounded theory' as a title (my emphasis), they simultaneously underscored in what sense the approach is especially fruitful. By this they did not just point to the restricted sense in which also the critics would ascribe GT some value: the open character which can provide the researcher with inspiration and "good ideas", and which *thereafter* can be investigated by "real" approaches (i.e. by use of "conventional" theory). As investigation and gaining of

knowledge about specific contexts is exactly what social science builds on, Glaser and Strauss emphasized that the value of GT also extends beyond this mere "starting point"; in the quest for revealing valid knowledge about the social reality, it could well be conducted alone, and on its own terms.

It is to be remembered that the closeness to local contexts was also a main point for Schütz when he defined *the first and second order constructs* about the typifications of the informants under study, and of the researcher, respectively. The latter - pointing to the conception *the scientific attitude* - is possible exactly *because* it relies on *the natural attitude,* which again adheres to the everyday knowledge - and this, contributing to the 'stock of knowledge', again stems from concrete experiences in local contexts (Schütz 1970 and 1997). (Cf. also the reflections on the relation between the researcher and the field in the methodology chapter, 4.2). In accordance with this I will contend that the use of open and (at least to some extent) un-theorized approaches opposite the social reality can - at least on some occasions - even serve as a criterion of validity on its own. As the researcher bears with her the intersubjectively accessible knowledge basis of the everyday world, the openness opposite the field can provide her with new insights.

In the methodology chapter, I made reflections on 'thick description'. A point is that investigations of "small contexts" and single cases can also reveal larger depths of a multitude of meaning constellations. With reference to Ragin (1992), Flyvbjerg (2004: 428) states that *… criticizing single-case studies for being inferior to multiple-case studies is misguided, since even single-case studies 'are multiple in most research efforts because ideas and evidence may be linked in many different ways'*.

In my project, I have constructed a set of conceptions and tables during my encounters with the field. This has been a process of "constant comparative method" (Glaser and Strauss 1967) where the investigation has led to continuous and increasing insight into the field of study. Understandings and conceptions that seemed not to have sufficient explanatory powers, were left out. Over time, the "network" became more consolidated. At some point, the different conceptions and tables seemed to correspond coherently with the information from the field, at the same time as they also seemed to have attained a "logical" and mutual correspondence between them. I see this as an overall indication on validity in the project when it comes to the presentation that I have made of the social climbing world.

This can also serve as an example against the understanding that use of open (and single-case) studies is less valid in that they are vulnerable to the subjective bias of the researcher. Flyvbjerg (2004: 428) refers to a number of academics who have stated that … *researchers who have conducted intensive, in-depth case studies typically report that their preconceived views, assumptions, concepts and hypotheses were wrong and that the case material has compelled them to revise their hypotheses on essential points.* Flyvbjerg further refers to an expression from Clifford Geertz, about the field itself being … *a powerful disciplinary force: assertive, demanding, even coercive*. He writes: *Like any such force, it can be underestimated, but it cannot be evaded* (Flyvbjerg 2004: 428).

What I have denoted as my own *constructions* of conceptions and tables in this project, has been led by such "forces in the field". During my encounters with the material, I have had to leave behind ideas and dismiss or refine a multitude of conceptions and tables. The remaining network is still a construction, but it is also the result of a specific reality that is in fact there - the social climbing world - and which I have therefore *discovered* in a grounded theory sense, and as such modelled.

The reflections on validity given above do not in themselves say anything about the *external validity* of my project - that is, about the extent to which the findings can be said to point beyond its own context of investigation and say something about other realms of the social reality as well. In the following, I will therefore address this point explicitly.

6.3   A reflection on external validity

My use of grounded theory in the project was according to a case study. There is a natural connection between the two, and much of the general criticism that is held against GT, also regards the latter.

In *Five misunderstandings about case-study research* (2004), Bent Flyvbjerg confronts what he understands as unjust criticism within the academic tradition against the use of case studies. The discussion about GT that I presented above, corresponds generally with Flyvbjerg's reflections. In the following, I will concentrate on the question about external validity, which relates naturally to both GT and case studies. Although Flyvbjerg (2004) does not use the exact term 'external validity' himself, it is represented in his presentation of the "misunderstandings". In the following, I will concentrate on the second:

Misunderstanding no. 2: *One cannot generalize on the basis of an individual case; therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development* (Flyvbjerg 2004: 421).

I will claim that I can generalize from my investigation of the social climbing world. The reason is that I regard the case - the climbing group - to resemble what is called a *strategic choice* when seen opposite the larger realm of disability and physical activity (Flyvbjerg 2004: 425-428).

There are different ways of using case studies as strategic choices. One is as an attempt to falsify induction-based and generalized theory, hence following the research ideals emphasized by Karl Popper (Popper 1965). Another variety - and which comes closer to my project - is that the case is given a certain generalizing value in itself. A way of pursuing this is to find a case for which there are reasons to believe - by systematic reflection - that it represents a larger realm of similar cases. If one takes the necessary precautions, one can then expect the findings to correspond with what one *would* most likely find if one had studied more cases of the same type (Silverman 2011, Flyvbjerg 2004).

Some would perhaps object that this is a kind of "quazi induction", in the sense that it follows the same procedure as induction-based studies in the outset, but with the major failure that it is made an inductive generalization from one case only. However, in a strategic choice, the specific case is not chosen on the basis of quite superficial characteristics which it has in common with others, and it is also not taken into the study "by chance" amongst a larger number of equally relevant cases, as e.g. in probability samples. Instead, the case has been object to a specific evaluation and analysis, and in this way it has been permeated with a broader validity opposite the larger field (Silverman 2011, Flyvbjerg 2004). Its validity will hence stem from thorough reflection and evaluation, rather than from features of pure quantity (i.e. the number of cases included in the study). *In social science (…) the strategic choice of case may greatly add to the generalizability of a case study* (Flyvbjerg 2004: 423).

I regard my own project to fit to these criteria for a strategic choice, and I therefore also regard results from it as being generalizable. It should be noted that my choice of case was not strategic in this sense *in the outset* - that is, it was not a result of explicit reflections that I had made in advance. However, my case came to embed the characteristics of a strategic case in a factual and functional sense (cf. the point that a research project does not always follow pure and conceivable lines of investigation and discovery (Law 2004,

Popper 1965)). A retrospective glance on the project reveals this: If one considers the realm of groups of persons with impairments conducting physical activity over time and outside of explicit settings of adaptation, the Rocks group would be most representative as a strategic case for the study of this realm.

According to this, I will especially emphasize the phenomena *the special game* and *the colonization mechanisms* (type 1 and 2). In the ways they seem to be features pertaining to the experiences of my informants, I see no reason why similar phenomena should not be found in other groups as well, on the presumption of necessary similarities in background history - such as having had an impairment for a certain period of time, and having oneself established in a field of interest (cf. *province of meaning*) in a context where the impairments have become "normalized".

For one, the findings provide possibilities for the constructing of new hypotheses, which could thereafter be tested. I will however also claim that they are not restricted to this, cf. the discussions on "traditional" understandings of grounded theory and case studies given above (Glaser and Strauss 1967, Flyvbjerg 2004). In my opinion, they point to phenomena that one could already assume are real and existing "out there" amongst persons with impairments who engage in physical activity.

It is the special game and colonization that I will also address in the last sequence, regarding ideas for further research.

6.4   Wider relevance of the project

In the sequence above I argued that the project can be said to point beyond itself from a methodological point of view - i.e. that it is *valid* to do so. In the following I will likewise attempt to argue why it is also *valuable* to do so, according to ideals of extended welfare. The focus will be upon inclusion and social acknowledgement in relation to disability and physical activity.

Compared to the rest of the world, including the rest of Western Europe, the Scandinavian welfare societies stick out with their low grade of inequality between different population groups. The official distribution of material wealth and promoting of equal rights have been closely related with the larger realm of social security, also in an "existential" sense: in an overall perspective, the Scandinavian populations experience a

high level of socio-cultural trust, in the sense of social capital (Stamsø 2010, Meld. St. 34 2012-2013, Giddens 1999).

Obviously, inequality and perceptions of difference and otherness still exist - and there are certain groups that suffer more from this than others. Seen as an overall group, disabled people still have a lower score on important indicators of welfare. Statistics show that persons with disabilities have, amongst else, lower labor participation and income, and lower participation in organized leisure activities (Meld. St. 34 2012-2013, Meld. St. 29 2012-2013, Kissow 2015).

Aside of such quantitative and countable information - though also closely connected with it - qualitative studies of disabled people´s everyday experiences reveal that there is also still a strong common-cultural tendency that disabled people are perceived by non-disabled to be *others*, in a negative sense (Tøssebro 2010, Scambler & Scambler 2010). Obviously, this is also experienced by the disabled persons themselves, and thereby also becomes self-confirmative as one's perception of self is dependent on the larger social community in which one lives. Difference and otherness is underscored by structural features pertaining to the official realm, such as bureaucracy and politics, and also by the construction of the material space, such as e.g. the grade of accessibility to public buildings. And, not least, people with disabilities also experience being ascribed to subordinate roles in situations of everyday interaction (Grue 2004, Barnes & Mercer 2010).

Disability research bears with it an ideological incentive of contesting various kinds of devaluation and discrimination of disabled people. With my project, I wish to contribute to this. I have focused on a certain realm of meaning - conducting of physical activity by persons with impairments - and on this backdrop attempted to widen the understanding about what disability and impairment is. Of course, this is just one small branch in a multitude of possible ways in which one could engage in the quest for promoting equality and integration for disabled people. I believe however that the meaning experiences in my informants - and hence also the analytical results stemming from the investigation of these - point beyond themselves. I believe that they represent experiences in a larger number of people as well, even if they are not necessarily clearly and consciously conceived of "out there", and are therefore also not communicated.

On the other side, a more specific contribution of my project is that the investigations are also turned *towards* the same discipline of disability research, as I have critically

approached the rehabilitation discourse which adhere to it. One main incentive has been to reveal, identify and analyze how social research and inclusion work seems to contain certain "white spots" when it comes to acknowledging meaning experiences in the intersection between impairment and physical activity (to be called 'disability sports' in the following). According to this, I regard the elaborations of *the special game* to be a central contribution. The other important finding that I have chosen to emphasize in this closing sequence - and which is related to the former - is the "paradoxical backlash" that seems to adhere to social research and inclusion work, and which I have denoted as *colonization* (type 1 and 2).

The question, then, is in what sense these are valuable findings in the larger perspective. I will claim that it is important both to *know about* the domain of meaning which the special game represents, and to *acknowledge it*. This also relates naturally to knowing about and understanding the colonization mechanisms. It is important that disability researchers are self-reflexive when it comes to balancing the view upon disability as being something "different from the normal", on the one side, with the overall ideal about equality, on the other. In a historical perspective,

> (…) *people with impairments have been isolated, incarcerated, observed, written about, operated on, instructed, implanted, regulated, treated, institutionalized, and controlled to a degree probably unequal to that of experienced by any other minority group."* (L.J. Davis, cited in Barnes & Mercer 2003: 41)*.*

As a disability researcher, one should bear this in mind. Promoting of social inclusion and integration is necessarily linked with a simultaneous contesting of difference and otherness, both as experienced by the disabled persons themselves, and in the understandings of non-disabled. In line with this, it is obviously important to know about and acknowledge the meaning dimensions in disability sports that do actually *not* bear with them the restrictions that are normally ascribed to having impairment. These are dimensions of meaning that transcend the usual distinction between "disability sports" and "normal sports", and therefore the investigation of them leads to a deeper understanding of the interplay between "normality" and difference.

Following from this knowledge, one should seek to contest the aspect of *colonization* as far as possible - even if this may be a challenging task due to its embeddedness in

adaptive activities and other rehabilitation work, as described in this project. Not only are the non-impaired dimensions of meaning in disability sports not sufficiently acknowledged today, whether in disability research or in social work: in addition, they are actively connected with deprivation in the ways they are handled and talked about through the prevailing discourses.

Bearing on the insights presented in this project, I therefore wish to contribute to the knowledge base of the wider discipline of disability research. Hopefully, it can also have a further influence on social work opposite persons with impairments, on the basis of common ideals about acknowledgement and integration.

Ideas on further research

Conclusively, I will now present some ideas about further research. I will propose two general lines of investigation that bear on the findings which I emphasized above, respectively - *the special game* and *colonization*. As explained in the methodological discussion above, these are also features which I regard as valid for generalization.

A point in my project is that the phenomena *the special game* and *colonization* stand in a certain relation to each other: where the former regard *experiences of meaning*, the latter is about *representation* of this meaning. The two proposals that I will make, draw on the same relation. I will not suggest any specific focus or way of conducting this further research. The idea is merely to point to actual realms that it could be of value to study further, both as it would add to the knowledge base of disability research, and also - following from this - come to the benefit of persons with disabilities.

In this project, I have "discovered" the conception (and, not least, the *phenomenon*) *the special game* from the study of a group of persons conducting a certain kind of physical activity - climbing. For one, an idea is that this conception could also be used within a wider range of sports. For example, it could be investigated to which extent special game contexts exist within the established field of disability sports, and to which kinds of activities and circumstances they adhere to. Furthermore, it could be investigated in which realms of disability sports it is possible to actively seek to *develop* special game contexts. This could provide for a larger number of impaired athletes to experience this kind of "non-impaired" sports. In addition to these experiences, this would simultaneously bring about changes in

representation. As the prefix *adaptive* would be less relevant in these contexts (cf. APA), they would also be less object to 'indirect deprivation' (cf. explanations in chapter 3.1).

It should be emphasized that this is not meant as a devaluation of *adaptive physical activity*. On the contrary: APA is *invaluable* in providing possibilities for disabled persons to conduct physical activity, and it is of immense significance for both rehabilitation and integration work. In this sense, APA and special game activities constitute different realms of physical activity, and should not even be compared. The point is - to reiterate - that while the impairments are explicitly perceived in APA, they are not in special game contexts - and they should therefore also not stick automatically to the representations of the latter.

Regarding the use of 'the special game' conception in further research, one could also move beyond the scope of physical activity. It could be fruitful to use the conception in relation with other domains of life as well, such as other leisure activities or lifestyles not having to do with physical activity altogether, or perhaps also on such domains as education and work. It should be possible to adapt the conception to new contexts of use. The overall point should be to seek to understand the kind of meaning dimensions which the concept was initially set to represent, and to be aware of mechanisms that can reduce these to be about impairments, in the sense of "deprivation", directly or indirectly.

This leads over to the next suggested field of further research - *colonization*, in terms of representation. Here, I will especially mention the *media*, as it is an important distributor of discourse.

Language is power. As elaborated in this project, the prevailing understanding within disability research is that disability is socially constructed on the backdrop of cultural understandings, which is inextricably linked with language use. Today, the rehabilitation discourse is underscored by the media. It also seems like the media strengthens colonizing effects in the way it presents people, phenomena and contexts having to do with disability (cf. chapters 2.1 and 2.3). Further research on the colonization phenomenon could - for instance - chart tendencies in how the media imposes both direct and indirect deprivation onto contexts involving disability. This could further contribute to an increased consciousness regarding both the use of language, and its effects on the cultural surroundings.

In the wider sense of the concept, a *discourse* is something one thinks and talks *through* and *with,* more than *on* and *about*. During history, many disadvantaged groups

have suffered because of the discourses on normality and difference that have prevailed in ideology, religion, and common culture (cf. the quote from L. J. Davis further above). This has often been in spite of otherwise good intentions, as the structural presumptions underlying the discourse have been on an unconscious level, and hence not been reflected about explicitly. The same discourses have then been reproduced and thereby prevailed over time. Discourse is however also *influenced* by the ways it is used - and this point leads directly to the media today, and how it presents disability. Research on this topic could contribute in raising awareness about the colonizing sides of the rehabilitation discourse, in the way it is being represented and reproduced within common culture. In the larger perspective, this would be another contribution to the pursuit of equality for disadvantaged groups (cf. the extended conception of welfare, chapter 2.1).

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Appendix

Tables, typifications and constructed concepts

List of constructed concepts and specially loaded notions

Following is a collected overview with basic explanations. Further elaborations and internal correspondences are integrated in the main text. Some of the concepts are also part of tables and are explained in connection with these.

The social climbing world (SCW)

The extended relevance area having to do with the climbing activities, as experienced by the Rocks members. See also Figure 5.

The structures of the social climbing world (SSCW)

Bearing constituents of the SCW in terms of the meaning experiences in the group members. 1 Adaptive climbing, 2 The special game, 3 Difference, 4 Appearance of the impairment, 5 Dedication to the sport. The structures and the interplay between them constitute the SCW. Certain structures become defining according to context. See typifications in 4A.

Adaptive climbing (also a structure in SCW)

Climbing with explicit adaptation and assistance opposite persons with impairments.

The special game (also a structure in SCW)

Rocks' climbing as it has developed over time on the group's own terms. Opposite in adaptive climbing, the impairments are "normalized" and unreflectedly embedded in the activity.

Inspired, plain and reduced modes in climbing

Refers to "how it is" or feels like during the activities on a certain day or in a session.

Inspired mode: Good experiences. E.g. one feels in shape, "everything works out", a good day in general. Special achievements can become points of reference, something to remember.

Reduced mode: The opposite of inspired mode. One can e.g. be bothered by an injury or just "have a bad day". Especially negative experiences can be points of reference and be remembered.

Plain mode is climbing as usual. It adheres to the general experience basis of conducting the activity. Specific sessions are not remembered as such.

The game and the extended game:

Two levels of being in a climbing setting. *The game* denotes the being in the climbing activity itself, in action, as climber or belayer. *The extended game* denotes the near setting of the game, where one engages indirectly with it by e.g. watching, commenting or discussing what is going on, and/or wait for turn. Whilst in the game, one can occasionally go over to the extended game in momentary sequences - such as when one has a break on the route (hanging in the rope) or where the climbing is so easy that one can converse or think about other things during the ascent (for example during warm-up).

Experiences and representations of meaning: Type 1 ("flow") and 2 (improvement)

See typifications in 4C.

Corporeal-social meaning (CSM)

Immediate and embodied perceptions of meaning where an active interplay with others is central. Bears on Merleau-Ponty's *body schema* concept. One's own immediate perceptions of the corporeal competences ("know how") of the others, are central. CSM bears with it an experiential historicity that serves as a foundation as well as a disposition for new meaning experiences.

Colonization (type 1 and 2)

The idea that culturally embedded ways of "thinking and doing" (discursive formations and praxis) about disability "occupy" and define experiences of meaning in physical activity, in ways imposing aspects of deprivation. Mode 1: Practical adaptations in organized settings. Mode 2: Adaptations in ways of thinking about past events and representing them (narratives).

Indirect deprivation (and indirect colonization)

In some contexts, good intentions and "positive thinking" that is rooted in the established discourses can - paradoxically - involve and camouflage aspects of subordination and ascription to difference. The term can be used about meaningful experiences where the impairment has not played any significant role, but is still given such a role *retrospectively,* as a way of explaining the value of the experience. One example is when perceptions of mastery (/coping) are consequently (in the sense "unjustly") presented as the result of a contesting of an impairment. 'Indirect deprivation' points to the constant underlying presumption that the good experiences are results of something "bad" (deprivation) having been contested.

When the indirect deprivation is a result of expectations or arrangements from the outside, it can be seen as an "**indirect colonization**".

Quazi colonization

Quazi colonization means that assistance and necessary adaptation is reacted against because it reminds the person of his/her difference. It has a paradoxicality to it as it is about opposing something which one both needs and want, and hence it does not have a "legit" reason. Quazi colonization is an emotional and unconscious state, and it is "tacit" (in the sense not communicated). A difference opposite indirect colonization, is that in quazi colonization, the deprivation is not imposed from the outside. Rather, it is about the person him-/herself reacting upon the outside.

The internal order and correspondences between tables and typifications

Positioning

1 (Table): Positioning of the project within disability research (corporeal-social meaning).

Ordering

2 (Table): Ordering of meaning experiences in the intersection between activity and impairment.

Descriptions

3 (A-C) Characteristics of the group and its members. Common attitudes (characteristics of the group) and individual features.

    3A (Table): Basic characteristics - collective and individual

    3B: Outer and inner collective features

    3C: The members' collective understandings of their group (understandings that the members share)

Analysis

4 (A-C) Analytical setup for the investigation of the empirical material

    4A: The structures of the social climbing world. Thoroughly referred to as SSCW in order to correspond intuitively with the SCW.

    4B: Experiences of "normal" and "different" climbing within the social climbing world

    4C**:** Experiences and representations of meaning in the activity

    4D: (Table) Structuring of the analysis section 2

Overview

5 (Figure): Overview of the social climbing world (SCW). Basic relations and lines of investigation.

Table 1: Positioning of the project within existing perspectives on disability

The table indicates the point of departure for the project and positioning within existing perspectives on disability. Two central concept pairings that seem to be thoroughgoing in disability research - individual versus collective level, and corporeality versus consciousness/culture - are crossed with prevalent and overall perspectives in the understanding of disability/impairment in order to indicate prevailing conceptual focuses.

The blank spot - collective level combined with corporeality - is sought investigated on the backdrop of the concept *corporeal-social meaning*.

	Corporeality	**Consciousness/culture**
Individual (micro) level	The medical perspective *The relational model*	Empowerment *The relational model*
Collective level		The social model *The relational model*

Table 2: The experience of the impairment while in activity

The table 2 was constructed after the Oslo field work as a heuristic tool. It was not based on a systematic study, but followed from the explorative grounded theory approach as a way of organizing certain impressions from the field. The main intention was that it could give some overall and clean-cut indication on how the impairments were experienced by the climbers while in the activity, based on expressions, explanations, and observed conduct in the informants.

	The experience of the impairment while in activity							
	Present				Absent			
	Corporeal		As consciousness		Corporeal		As consciousness	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Thematic: xxx								
Expression: xxx								
Expression: xxx								
Etc. ↓								
Thematic: yyy								
Expression: yyy								
Expression: yyy								
Etc. ↓								

Within different themes being talked about regarding climbing, and within the social context surrounding it, single expressions can be given a direction regarding the impairments as to how they are experienced as present or absent, as corporeally felt or thought of, and with positive or negative perceptions connected with them (cf. the example from Leder (1990) about the body in certain situations appearing as "dys-functioning"). The table functions as a supplement to the more comprehensive analyses.[167]

An overall point in this project is to problematize simplistic understandings within the sports- and rehabilitation discourses about impairments as deprivations, and in general to broaden the understanding of meaning experiences in physical activity. An idea is that the table can help indicate a wider scope of different experiences of the impairments.

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[167] A reason why it is not to be more comprehensively applied is its strictly categorizing character. A more extensive use would not comply with the approach highlighting theoretical sensitivity and building on the inspiration from grounded theory and 'thick description'.

Regarding the basic concept corporeal-social meaning, it is important to note that the table issues modes of corporeal meaning - it does however not contain an explicit dimension of sociality, which is to be issued in the analyses.

Perceptions of corporeality referred to in the interviews are necessarily to be categorized in retrospect (contrary to immediate registering of direct observations). The following exemplifications are ideal-typically constructed on the background of various expressions that were registered at the Oslo gathering.

Example coinciding with expressions registered at the gathering, from person with visual deprivation: "Then I found myself in this really unpleasant posture and was certain that now I'm going to fall. But I knew about that good hold right above there. And I knew that if I've just had the vision I would've made it, no doubt … " Relevant thematic could be "how was climbing today", and "if I've just had the vision … " could be placed in the category present, as consciousness, negative. Another example, person with cerebral palsy: "then I could feel my foot holding on after all, and so I made it". This could be placed in the category present, corporeal, positive.

The category "absent" can point to situations where one has the experience of being "one" with the situation - that is, has the feeling that one is being fundamentally merged with the activity (corresponding with *the flow* mode), like e.g. in deep concentration or intense physical effort. Another example is when one "forgot that one had an impairment" (absent, as consciousness, positive).

The categorizations are not about strict and logical either-or, but about indicating directions and tendencies in experiences (obviously, the table also offers categories that are not useful in my context, such as the combination "absent, corporeal, negative". This is of no significance, however).

Apart from the initial purposes mentioned above, the Table 2 contributed in the developing of some further ideas that came to be central in the project. This can be mentioned as a part of the grounded theory approach: The feature of the impairment being "absent" although *still a presumption for the meaning of the situation in which it is being absent,* influenced the modelling of the immediate meaning as *the game*, as a dimension separate from (though at the same time within) *the extended game*, as sketched in Figure 5. It further came to influence the methodical categorizing of the "two areas of investigation" (Figure 5), as I was to become increasingly interested in investigating observations (praxis) versus interviews (discourses and narratives) in terms of the idea of colonization.

Table 3A: Characteristics: Group (collective level) and individual members

	Features of empowerment					
	Implementing of personal characteristics (ascribed and acquired)		Implementing (/reactivation) of previously acquired (in origin pre-impairment) capabilities		Defeating of impairment restrains	
	Physiological (doing, praxis)	Psychological (thinking, feeling)	Physiological (doing, praxis)	Psychological (thinking, feeling)	Physiological (doing, praxis)	Psychological (thinking, feeling)
Collective level	Cooperating and coping. Learning bodies in a collective context, creating context.	Cooperating and coping. Integration. Group identity.	Shaping of group dynamic in the activity based on the interplay between different personal capabilities.	Different capabilities as premises for a collective process of reactivation. Sense of continuation as well as "new start" ("old skills in new context"). Part of group identity. Rationally controlling senses of uncertainty.	Getting better as a group ("we are better climbers now than we could expect, given our impairments"). From "trying the sport" to "being the sport". Exercising for becoming a better climber, not primarily for rehabilitation.	Collective feeling of relativizing the significance and impact of the impairment. The feeling that the group identity has transcended from "disabled people climbing" to "climbers with disabilities".
Individual level Informants — A John		Analytical, rationalist. Memorizes moves, "climbs in his head".		Activates educational knowledge (physics) in the understanding of principles in climbing. E.g. friction and gravitation, and belaying systems.	"Bodily memory" (the holds, the way of the route). Incorporating of physical guidance principles (e.g. plastic "direction pins" above the holds).	Use of analytical abilities for compensating absence of sight. Defining new rules for guidance. Shaping and adding new principles to the sport. E.g. in communication between belayer and climber (guidance).
Individual level Informants — B Miriam	Building on a strongly felt corporal need for exercise ("have always been like that")	Strong will, consistence in goal pursuing. "Never say never" - attitude.	Building on former exercise (physical health). Knowing the body and its limits - becomes a point of reference.	Experience from political work transferred into identity work in and for the group.	Acquiring strength and endurance, compensating sensory loss and proprioceptive defects (balance, movement). Ignoring chronic pain.	Confirmation of self as a physically active and capable person in spite of impairment: identity. Also: conscious contesting of the impairment.
Individual level Informants — C Mona		Doing the best of it, doing it on my own terms, not take it too seriously.	Balance - incorporated skills acquired through former work.	Adapting knowledge from education (conducted during the process of becoming visually deprived). Focusing on communication.	Acquiring technique for compensation.	Conscious focus on "doing it my way". Accepting impairment restrictions, not focusing on them.

Individual level Informants	D Fred	Practical. Tools and construction.	Not very traditionalistic in thinking. Not very bound by habits. Open to new activities. Although not in a uniform/identity kind of way. Modest. Following instructions, learn how things are "meant to be done". "It goes as it goes". One has to take one's precautions, then do the best of it. "Stoic".	Practical sense in belaying. Calculating risk based on practical experience (work).	Combines his "stoicism" with skilled practical understanding of the activity and profound risk calculation. Strategy for combining climbing with a feeling of safety, a damage could be fatal (spine).	Ignoring chronic pain.	Sense of being "back on the horseback" after the snow scooter accident (fell from a cliff). Confirming that the accident was "just an accident" - does not change principles of safe/unsafe in the objective world (objective risk)
	E Peter		"Going for it" when he has decided to. Humour, creative (ideas).			Uses information (communication) as compensation for partial loss of vision. Confronting bodily embedded uncertainty by climbing.	Consciously confronting fear of falling. Determined attitude in climbing. Putting himself in charge.
	F Konrad		Spontaneity. (Communicative settings and purchasing of/reflecting over use of equipment).		Interest in equipment (outdoor clothing, sports devices). Shaping a material framing around the activity.	Acquiring of strength and balance, compensating bodily stiffness.	Identity as a climber contests impairment effects in daily life. Equipment as a point of reference - compensating impairment effects.
	G Ada	Balance, softness, technique.	Practical sense, problem solving (everyday life). "Doing the best of it" - attitude.	Applying balance, softness and technique re-activated from pre-impairment exercise.	Engaging in administration and organizing of activities.	Focusing on climbing well on the same principles as everybody else, despite the impairment.	Sense of coherence through re-activation (practical sense, administrative skills). Shaping identity , e.g. redefining the "personal assistant" into "exercise assistant".

About Table 3A:

The Table 3A portrays a selection of basic characteristics of the Rocks group and its individual members. They point to the theme climbing and impairment, and in a more overall sense to the social climbing world as a distinctly meaningful and empowering world. The characteristics are portrayed according to three interrelated categories, each given a division between physiological and psychological features: *Implementing of ("basic") characteristics*, *implementing of capabilities*, and *defeating of impairment restrains*. The focus on *implementation* and *defeating* under the empowerment label is done as the construction of the social climbing world is understood as an active and meaning-generating process. The types of characteristics are chosen in order to relate to this overall perspective on the SCW.

The divide between physiological and psychological features serves the purpose of general clarity, and is here understood in a traditional way in spite of the more holistic intentions implied in the concept *corporeal-social meaning* that characterizes the project on a more overall level.

There is a collective and an individual level. The collective level portrays group characteristics both in terms of "actual outer appearance" - that is, how the members appear as a group opposite the surroundings (*Umwelt*) - and in the way they perceive and represent their group (their "narratives").

The *individual level* portrays individual characteristics under the same categories. They show the individual varieties that make up the more unified collective characteristics.[168]

Categories - explanations:

Empowerment: In this context, the concept points to senses of coping (/mastery) experienced in connection with climbing activities, also extending to and influencing one's general well-being (cf. the understanding of the social climbing world as a *province of meaning* within the life world).

Implementing of personal characteristics: This category refers to personality types and basic characteristics by the informants as these are activated and made use of in climbing (the activity itself and related social contexts).

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[168] As the informants are different from each other regarding characteristics and capabilities, obviously, and as the information acquired about them during the field works has not followed the same lines in all respects - cf. reflections in the method part - there are some blank spots in the table. Where it seemed hard to fit clear characteristics of the informants into the categories, they were simply left out. This was regarded preferable to insinuating too clear-cut and thereby imprecise characteristics (cf. methodological reflections on "forcing").

Implementing (/reactivation) of previously acquired (in origin pre-impairment) capabilities points to competences and skills that one has acquired earlier in life, for instance through work, hobbies, or other leisure activities or experiences.

Defeating of impairment restrains: [169] The informants have different personality features, life experiences and types of impairments. All in all this points to some distinctly individual features and strategies regarding handling, confronting and defeating of impairment restrains.

Remark: There are necessarily some logical overlaps between the categories. For instance, personal characteristics will naturally influence one's acquired capabilities indirectly as they strongly influence the work, leisure activities etcetera through which such capabilities are achieved.

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[169] Obviously, this category also corresponds closely with the focuses of the prevailing discourse on the understanding of disability and physical activity, as discussed and partly confronted in this project (cf. colonization).

3B: Shared characteristics/features and experiences among the members

Two varieties: External and internal

External: Organizational characteristics, the members in relation with the surroundings/the Umwelt.

Internal: Feelings and experiences related to being part of the group

External (engagement with surroundings/Umwelt):

- Organizational background (how they got to know each other, establishing of the group)

- Impairment (both as common experience and challenge, and opposite organizational features)

- The need to adapt, in the sense *adaptive climbing*

- The experience of other people reacting upon the combination of having an impairment and climbing

Internal (feelings):

- The feeling of difference/otherness

- The feeling of being stronger together

- The feeling of contesting or defeating (being in charge of the situation)

- The feeling of being among peers

- The feeling of being part of a group that consists of quite different personalities but which at the same time has a strong group identity (a collective "this is how WE are" - perception).

- Experience of empowerment

The internal (feelings) can again be conceived in two parts:

- That which is common in about the same way for the individual members

- That which is common in the sense characteristics/features or experiences which pertains to all the members, of which they however have different individual perceptions.

3C: The climbers' typifications of themselves as a group (group identity)

This sorts under "Internal (feelings)" in 3B, under the category "That which is common in about the same way for the individual members". (Further elaborations of the other categories in 3B will take place in the analyses themselves).

The following typifications are concretizations of expressions which were frequently uttered by the informants, and are meant as a general overview. They must be understood as context dependent (which also explains the "aura of ambiguity" pertaining to some constellations).

- We are a collective of climbers.
- We are a climbing group.
- We are a group of persons with impairments climbing.
- We are climbers who happen to also have impairments, not persons with impairments climbing. We are *climbers* first and foremost.
- All the members are quite different personalities.
- We are different from other climbing groups.
- The climbing makes us different from most other persons with impairments.
- We are not different: We can do the same things as other people (non-disabled). People should understand this and not take for granted that we need extra assistance just because we have impairments.
- We are different: We cannot do the same things as other people (non-disabled). People should understand this and not expect us to be able to do everything they can do.
- With the climbing we prove something to the world.
- We climb for our own part, we do not have to prove anything.

4A: The structures of the social climbing world (SSCW)

Structure 1   Adaptive climbing

The notion *adaptive* refers to practical adjustments due to impairments. Being a climbing group where the members have impairments constitutes a collective undertaking with a certain material-practical *adaptive* character. This is an inevitable part of the activities and the group identity, even though it depends on context to which extent it is explicitly perceived by the members in terms of *difference*. The adaptive aspect pertains to everything from use of small tools and adjustments in the climbing itself, to the planning of events or organizing of transport to and from a climbing site.

Structure 2   The special game

The special game points to the certain praxis field which the climbing situations have constituted for the members over time. The climbers have established their own variety of the sport, which for them has become the normal climbing. This is due to gradual and incorporate experience with each other and the activity, and has the character of implicit more than explicit (conscious) perception. In our context the notion *praxis field* points to a combination of material-practical aspects, acquired corporeal skills, matters of collective acknowledgement and tacit know-how, and group identity.

Structure 3   Difference

Being a climbing group where the members have impairments unavoidably implies an aura of difference. The perceptions of difference (/otherness) are results of a relatively persistent and structural relation between the group and the cultural and material non-disabled "normality" of society (c.f. the term *disability*).

Structure 4   Appearance of the impairment

Even if the impairments are to be more or less constants in a physiological-medical sense, both the individual and collective experiences of them vary according to types of appearance and grades of intensity. The perceptions of the impairments and the influences they impose depend on context. In correspondence with the climbing activities, different aspects of meaning are intermingled with the different appearances of the impairments.

Structure 5   Dedication to the sport

The members have a genuine interest in their climbing. They are climbers who happen to also have impairments, more than the other way around: persons with impairments climbing. Obviously, if seen in isolation, it is nothing peculiar in the fact that the members of a climbing group have a genuine interest in climbing. The Rocks group is however unique in that it is a permanent group of climbers with impairments who climb on their own terms, relatively independent of external interest organizations. This marks a contrast to groups that are arranged specifically for adapted activities. The structural feature *dedication to the sport* also marks a contrast to other persons with impairments who climb more ad hoc as participants of adapted gatherings or rehabilitation programmes, as for instance initiated and arranged by disability organizations.

Table 4B: Experiences of "normal" and "different" climbing within the social climbing world.

	Setting		Experience	
	Overall site (arena)	**Local site (where the climbing takes place specifically)**	**Material-practical outer setting**	**Corporeal-social experience**
Adaptive climbing	**Oslo** (the national gathering)	**Climbing with the other participants in the main hall**	Different	Different
		Rocks withdrawal ("climbing in the other room")	Partly different, partly normal (the arrangers' outer setting, though with Rocks' own chosen setting within it)	Normal (familiar corporeal-social context)[170]
The special game	**Skibotn** (outdoor excursion)		Normal (unfamiliar crag and routes, but still "as it should be", and chosen by themselves)	Normal (familiar corporeal-social context)
	Tromsø (the usual indoor climbing)		Normal (familiar walls and routes)	Normal (familiar corporeal-social context)

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[170] Cf. the example "Climbing in the other room" as portraying an exception at the Oslo gathering, in the sense between or both/and normal and different climbing.

4C: Experiences and representations of meaning in the activity

The types 1 and 2 (a-c) go for both the immediate meaning experience in the activity, and for the retrospective representations of these. All types can be experienced and represented by impaired and non-impaired alike, except from 2b, which is exclusively about impairment.

The types (and variations) pertain naturally to inspired modes.[171]

Note: In the text, type 2 can occasionally be referred to without the specifications a-c. In those cases it is used as a general reference to feelings that "things have become better". For simplicity's sake it is then given the general notion *improvement*.

Type 1   Flow

Unreflected perception (sense) of everything working - one is "one with the activity".

Type 2

a   Improvement or rehabilitation (from damage)

Explicit perception of something being *better than before*. Reflected, or as a comparative sensation in the body. E.g. one feels in better shape than before (general physical constitution), has improved one's general skills or personal record, or notices that one has rehabilitated well from sickness or a damage.

b   Rehabilitation (impairment)

Rehabilitation from an impairment (totally or to a certain degree).

c   Reaction

"Letting off steam", proving something, compensating. Whether explicitly according to an impairment or not.

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[171] Note: For simplicity's sake, the focus is exclusively upon experiences and representations that are meaningful in a positive sense (that is, perceived as positive). This does not rule out the possibility that plain or even reduced modes can also be meaningful in the sense have meaningful effects, e.g. as a comparative background for inspired modes, or as an intimidating (negative) experience which could be "proudly" represented later (positive).

On the relation between experiences and representations:

An original type of experience (in the activity itself) can be represented on a later occasion as the same or as a different type. How an original experience is presented later depends on the meaning context of the representation.

An idea is that especially the type 2 representations of type 1 experiences could point to structural differences between impaired and non-impaired (this aspect is theoretically indicated in this project, though not comparatively investigated. Further explanations are given in the analyses).

Such representation can be understood in correspondence with - and to some degree also explain - colonization type 2.

The colonization type 2 is most prominent when type 1 or 2a experiences are represented as type 2b or c (according to impairment).

Points regarding a structural difference between impaired and non-impaired (explorative hypothesis):

Presumption: Colonization type 2 is to some degree possible because of the inarticulate character of the type 1 experiences.

For non-impaired there can be a tendency of representing type 1 as type 2 a or c (cf. "sayings" within the sports discourse, cf. chapter 2.1). This does not bring in an aspect of deprivation (also not indirect deprivation). On the other side, if persons with *impairments* represent type 1 as type 2 - most notably b or c - *they necessarily bring in a deprivation* (also indirect deprivation). This is assumed to be in (tendential) contrast to the representations of non-impaired (as colonization contains aspects of deprivation, according to definition).

Impairment (2b) is more or less *permanent*, while e.g. rehabilitation from damage (2a) is not (a permanent damage would have been regarded as an impairment).

The rehabilitation discourse, which is a culturally embedded inclination emphasizing 2 b and c representations, pertain exclusively to persons with impairments.
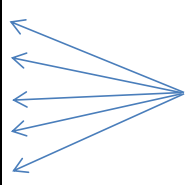
Table 4D: Structuring of analysis section 2

The analysis section 2 is presented according to themes.
The bearing *structures of the social climbing world* (SSCW) are indicated and discussed within the themes.

The relation between themes and meaning structures in the analysis, visually exemplified by one of the structures (difference). The same type of relation goes for all of the other single structures opposite the themes.

In the outset, indications on all of the meaning structures can be found within each theme: In the analyses however - of practical purposes - a selection has been made in order to give each theme and each of the meaning structures some representation.

Note: The ordering of the meaning structures in numbers opposite the numbers of the themes are fully coincidental and do not point to any correspondence according to order. It is also a coincidence that there is a similar number of themes and meaning structures.

Themes for the analysis section 2		To be discussed within the themes: *The structures of the social climbing world*
1 The activity as reaction		1 Adaptive climbing
2 Challenging activity		2 The special game
3 Extended corporeality		3 Difference
4 Right attitude		4 Appearance of the impairment
5 Ambivalence		5 Dedication to the sport

The social climbing world (SCW)

Climbing itself:
The game

The extended game

(Both categories: the meaning within the activity)

First area of investigation

Core argument: The rehabilitation discourse defines the meaning of the activity (implies an "imposing of deprivation")

2   5   6   Colonization

9

Narrative/discourse: meaning "explained"

8

1   4   3

Umwelt

The fellowship: dynamics between individual and collective factors
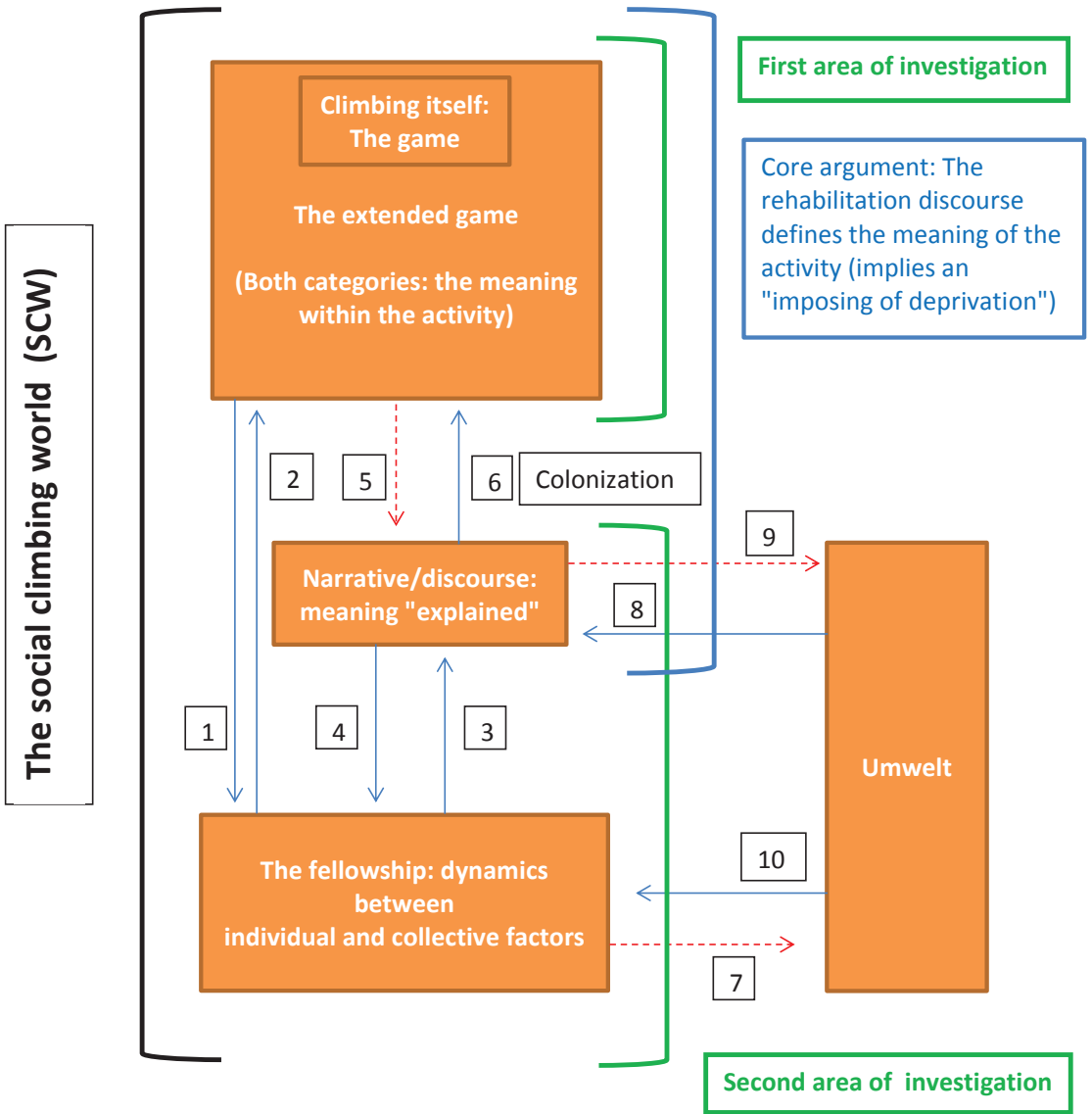
10

7

Second area of investigation

Figure 5: Overview of the social climbing world (SCW). Basic relations and lines of investigation.

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Figure 5, explanations (note: These points are meant as a general overview and will not necessarily be used explicitly in the analyses.

1   The activity influences the fellowship (the mere being together, the interaction, the relations, the identity). Strong influence, but without "form". It is given expressions in narrative/discourse.

2   The fellowship influences the activity. The atmosphere and the confidence. In conversation and interaction in the extended game, but also in the game - cf. the conceptualization of extended corporeality, where it is seen as "culturally informed".

3   The fellowship influences the narratives/discourses about what the Rocks group is, and what the climbing is about.

4   The narratives/discourses have an influence back on the group, and strengthen the basic lines of what it "is".

5   The activity has a certain influence on the narratives/discourses. However, as the meaning in the activity to a large extent is inarticulate and without a specific form in the outset, it puts few concrete leads on the narratives/discourses - cf. "standard reservoir" for expressing the meaning in the activity (cf. "clichés").

6   The discourses colonize the activity. Remark: The arrow indicates more that the discourse represents the activity, than the immediate meaning in the activity being influenced by the discourse. There is however a precaution about the immediate activity as culturally informed, cf. point 2.

7   Rocks has a slight influence on the Umwelt (i.e. surroundings, in terms of organizations, bureaucracy, politics, common society) in that they "are a voice" and provides an example. Some of the members are politically active and the group has been represented in different media contexts (not to be analysed explicitly).

8   The Umwelt influences the group's narratives about itself. This is connected with established common-cultural understandings that the members have in part adopted, and further with the colonization idea regarding the meaning in the activity.

9   The narratives/discourse within the group influence the surroundings in part. Their thoughts about "normal society" come to expression e.g. in their interaction with others,

and in what they choose to issue opposite media and organizations. (Cf. point 7. Even if the latter is not analysed, it corresponds generally with the typifications in 3C).

10   The Umwelt influences the group (illustrated with an arrow to the square 'fellowship', even if this is just one of the components of the group, as presented in the table). In terms of identity, this is represented in point 8. "Material": In the outset, the group was established through an integration project initiated by organizations and volunteers, who thereby have given certain leads. The group members still have connections with these organizations and volunteers. In addition, the outer material features are necessary presumptions for the existence of the group (e.g. access to climbing facilities).

First area of investigation points to the observation side of the field work. The game: Being in the midst of the activity as climber or belayer (immediate coordination). Extended game: one is part of the session, but is for the moment standing by and watching, commenting, having conversations with other climbers, and the like.

Grounded theory departure based on the conceptualization corporeal-social meaning. This is "close to experience": the researcher have participated in the activities (both the game and the extended game) and collected impressions of what is going on.

Second area of investigation points to conversations and interviews, where narratives about the group and their activities come forth. This is "outside of experience" but *about* experience.

When these two areas of investigation were seen in correspondence with each other in the analysis, it seemed like there was something not being "right": this eventually led to the idea about a discursive colonization of the meaning contents of the activity, implying an imposing of "deprivation".

Information letter to the participants (in Norwegian)

Vil du bli med i et forskningsprosjekt om funksjonshemning og fysisk aktivitet?

Mitt navn er Knut Magne Aanestad. Jeg er i gang med et doktorgradsprosjekt i sosiologi (samfunnsvitenskap) ved Høgskulen i Sogn og Fjordane, med Sogndal som arbeidssted. Min veileder for prosjektet er professor Karen Christensen ved Sosiologisk institutt, Universitetet i Bergen.

I mitt prosjektet ønsker jeg å undersøke ulike sider ved det å drive med fysisk aktivitet når man har funksjonshemning. Jeg har et særlig fokus på klatring.

Nå ønsker jeg derfor å komme i kontakt med personer som har funksjonsnedsettelser og som driver med klatring. I utgangspunktet ønsker jeg å få lov til å observere dere i aktivitet og snakke med dere om likt og ulikt som har med aktiviteten å gjøre. Det er ikke nødvendig å vite mye om klatring for å være med på prosjektet, men jeg ønsker at du har klatret nå og da over en viss periode - gjerne et par år eller mer. Det spiller ingen rolle hvilket «nivå» man er på. Det handler mye om mestringsfølelse, om bruken av kroppen, identitet, og tanker og følelser man ellers har rundt det å være i aktivitet sammen med andre.

Det er helt frivillig å være med på prosjektet, og det er helt uforpliktende. Dersom du skulle ønske å trekke deg, går det helt fint, når som helst - da vil all informasjon om deg slettes.

Prosjektet er blitt godkjent av Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste (NSD). Dette er en formell instans som krever at jeg som forsker forholder meg til visse betingelser, blant annet personvern. Jeg har allerede fått tillatelse til å være med på klatresamlinger for funksjonshemmede på generelt grunnlag, for å observere (fra Ann Katrin Eriksson i Klatreforbundet, og godkjent av NSD). I prosjektet kan jeg derfor beskrive generelle observasjoner fra klatresamlinger - men jeg vil trenge informert personlig samtykke fra de jeg ønsker å beskrive nærmere og eventuelt intervjue. Det vil si at dere personlig har lest dette informasjonsskrivet og gitt deres samtykke om deltakelse til meg - eventuelt at noen har lest det opp for dere, dersom dere har f.eks. synshemning.

Jeg vil altså observere klatresamlinger litt generelt - men min plan er også å gå litt nærmere inn på dere som har en viss erfaring med klatring. Tanken er at dere kan bli «kjerneinformanter», eller «deltakere med ekstra fokus» - det vil si at jeg følger dere litt nøyere, både gjennom observasjon og intervju. Jeg vil nok ønske å følge dere i ulike klatresituasjoner, hvis mulig - slik som klatresamlinger både inne og ute, og også vanlige treninger.

Observasjon betyr at jeg er til stede under aktivitetene og legger merke til aspekter ved aktiviteten som er relevant for mitt prosjekt. Siden jeg klatrer selv (er medlem av Sogndal klatreklubb) ønsker jeg også å delta i aktivitetene selv, dersom det er greit for dere.

Jeg vil skrive observasjonsnotater, og referere til disse i prosjektet.

Intervju betyr at jeg tar en samtale med hver enkelt, på et sted og et tidspunkt vi blir enige om. Jeg ønsker å gjøre opptak av samtalen, som jeg så skriver ned senere og bruker i avhandlingen.

Jeg vil fokusere på deres egne opplevelser og beskrivelser av å drive med klatring, og andre relaterte emner. Jeg vil også stille noen spørsmål i tilknytning til funksjonsnedsettelsen du har.

Jeg vil ikke stille veldig nærgående eller personlige spørsmål, alminnelig tenkt. Informasjonen jeg samler inn må likevel regnes som "sensitive personopplysninger", siden jeg kommer inn på helsetilstand. Dere vil anonymiseres i prosjektet, det vil si at navn endres, at alder oppgis omtrentlig, og at det ikke gis nære detaljer rundt funksjonsnedsettelsen som er gjenkjennelig utad. Likevel vil dere kunne være "indirekte identifiserbare", det vil si at dere vil kunne gjenkjennes dersom personer som kjenner dere og evt. miljøet deres fra før leser studien.

Til slutt, om hvordan jeg vil forholde meg til informasjonen som er samlet inn:

Alle opptak av intervjuer og informasjon fra observasjoner vil oppbevares og behandles strengt konfidensielt av meg selv. Materialet vil kunne beholdes en tid etter prosjektets slutt - maksimalt tre år - med tanke på å eventuelt bruke informasjonen i videre arbeider. Dersom det blir aktuelt å bruke informasjonen igjen, vil dere bli spurt om godkjenning på nytt. Når informasjonen ikke skal brukes mer, vil alt bli slettet.

For å kunne gjennomføre studien behøver jeg altså godkjenning fra hver enkelt av dere som vil la dere observere og intervjue - altså dere jeg ønsker som «kjerneinformanter». Dersom du ønsker å delta i studien, kan du gi ditt samtykke til forskeren - altså meg selv - som har gitt deg denne orienteringen, eventuelt kontaktpersonen som leser dette for deg. Skulle du ha videre spørsmål om studien, kan du gjerne kontakte meg direkte.

Med vennlig hilsen

Knut Magne Aanestad

Avdeling for samfunnsfag, Høgskulen i Sogn og Fjordane

e-post: knutmaa@hisf.no   tlf: 57676210

Interview guide

The guide is semi-structured. In accordance with the methodological outlines on theoretical sensitivity (outlined in the methodology chapter), the questions and themes were sought adapted to the context of conversation. This means that in order to contain the natural flow of the conversation, the order of themes and questions were adjusted in order to follow up the interviewee's own explanations and associations. Some of the questions are constructed to approach the same theme from different angles (variations of a theme).

Guiding questions and themes:

What is a good climbing experience?
- the activity itself
- the social/other persons
- corporeal experience, social experience

What is climbing about?
- activity, identity, life style
- corporeality, physical activity
- health (psychical, physical)
- an activity amongst others?
- is climbing something special?

What is Rocks about?
- the activity, the social, identity, group/organization

What is the relation between the members of the group?
- How they go together in the activity. Climber and belayer. Observers on the sideline.
- Individual characteristics. Similarities and differences.
- Interpersonal knowledge
- extended collective? (beyond climbing itself)

Which kinds of activities does Rocks engage in?
- training sessions, organized climbing, social events

What does climbing mean to you?
- climbing as an activity and a sport
- the relation to sports and activity in general
- the meaning of climbing in everyday life
- health (physical, psychical), exercise, rehabilitation
- identity

What kind of climber are you?

Does climbing also have a psychological side? (A mental activity?)

How is it to be in the middle of climbing?
- "being-a-body"

- eventual reflections
- the relation with the belayer
- to belay another climber
- the use of equipment
- trusting the equipment
- trusting the belayer

Do you think about things when climbing? (What?)
- what one is doing vs associations to other things
- while in the the activity versus standing on the sideline
- when do different thoughts appear?
- about the activity sometimes working automatically without thinking

Do you feel safe when climbing? (What kinds of safety: factual vs "existential"/perceived)
- when it is not felt as safe?
- eventual experiences of not feeling safe
- what makes a climbing situation safe
- material aspects (equipment)
- the skills and know-how of other persons

Does climbing mean anything to you in everyday life - that is, outside of the climbing itself?
- thinking about it
- identity
- feeling pain or gain from the activity
- Corporeal traces (soreness, eventual cuts), memories (one's body as a reminder)
- health issues (general health, rehabilitation effects)
- a topic for conversation

How did you start climbing?
- and why
- in what sense the climbing is regarded an appropriate activity for him or her (physical, psychological)

How is it to climb with an impairment?
- own experiences, corporeal and psychical
- other people: relations, reactions
- the characteristics of the impairment in combination with the activity

Rocks as a group for persons with impairments: an adapted activity and/or an activity on its own terms?
- in what sense are the impairments experienced by the members while climbing in the group?
- in what sense is impairment a collective phenomenon in Rocks?

What kind of group is Rocks, seen in relation to organizational life?
- to what extent is it associated with other organizations
- the role of impairment in the group regarding identity. Ambivalence?

Activities adjacent to the PhD thesis

<u>**Conferences:**</u>

NNFF 5. nasjonale forskningskonferanse 2012. Bodø, Norway. Norsk nettverk for forskning om funksjonshemming (Norwegian Network on Disability Research).
Presentation: *Å alltid være i spill. Et wittgensteiniansk perspektiv på funksjonsnedsettelse.*
(To always be in the game. A Wittgensteinian perspective on impairment.)

Disability Sports Conference 2012. Coventry, England.
Presentation: *Climbing and Disability: Unexpected Activity - Unexpected Gains.*

NNDR 12th Research Conference. Nordic Network on Disability Research 2013. Turku, Finland.
Presentation: *Discourse and "hidden corporeality": On the inarticulate meaningfulness involved in challenging sport activities.*

<u>**Publications:**</u>

Climbing and Impairment. Article in the conference journal for Disability Sports Conference 2012: *Disability Sport: A Vehicle for Social Change?* Illinois: Common Ground Publishing 2013 ISBN 9781612292144. Pp 169 - 180.

Bratte utfordringer. (Steep Challenges). Newspaper chronicle in Sogn avis, October 2nd 2011.
About outdoor climbing for persons with impairments. Based on the Skibotn excursion made by the Rocks group the same autumn (clarified by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data - NSD).

<u>**Participation at seminars and events:**</u>

Gathering for persons involved with integration of persons with disabilities. The Norwegian Climbing Federation. Oslo, autumn 2011. (Ressurssamling NKF: Klatring og funksjonshemming).
Arrangers and assistants who had been involved in integration work in local clubs and other arrangements exchanged experiences and went through a course on adaptive climbing.
Contribution: Presentation of experiences from the field works.

«Thoughts to the top». («Til topps med tankene».) **The Norwegian Climbing Federation.**
A project promoting climbing activities in local clubs for persons with addictions and/or psychiatric challenges.
Contribution: Assistant at one event. Sogndal, 2011.

Sogndal climbing club: "Topping out together". ("Til topps - sammen".) Integration project for local asylum seekers. Sogndal, 2011.
The participants were introduced to climbing during four successive weekly sessions.
Contribution: Co-arranger and assistant.