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"I need you to look at me" : an ethnographic study of a subculture of serious gym members

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Richardson, Lisa Anne, M.A.

San Jose State University, 1991

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"I NEED YOU TO LOOK AT ME."

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A SUBCULTURE OF SERIOUS GYM MEMBERS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Human Performance

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

By

Lisa Anne Richardson

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APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN
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ABSTRACT

"I NEED YOU TO LOOK AT ME." AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A SUBCULTURE OF SERIOUS GYM MEMBERS

by Lisa Richardson

A subculture of male gym members was observed to gain insight as to any possible differences between steroid users and non steroid users that would make steroid users more easily identifiable to parents, teachers and coaches.

Subculture members were categorized as "infrequent," "regular," or "serious" depending upon amount of time spent in the gym. "Serious" members were further divided into "steroid user" and "natural" categories, and were observed for six weeks focusing on hierarchy, equipment use, clothing, and slang.

No significant differences were observed between the 25 "steroid users" and the 20 "naturals" with respect to the above categories. "Steroid users" differed from "naturals" in that they: (a) tended to talk about steroids and sex; (b) had a bloated appearance; (c) showed unusual growth-shrink patterns; (d) maintained an arrogant attitude; (e) were megorexic; and (f) had "roid rages."

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This thesis is dedicated to my daughter, Casey, who, at three weeks of age was at the gym observing, and who napped so wonderfully while Mommy typed. Thank you "Bunny" for giving me the motivation to finish this project.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The 1988 Olympic year may well be remembered for drug busts (Johnson, 1988; Penn, 1988). Wulf (1988) reported that American record breaker, Angel Meyer, failed to earn a spot on the 1988 U.S. Olympic swim team after she tested positive for anabolic steroids at a trial meet. During the Games, the Bulgarian weightlifting team pulled out of competition when two of their lifters were stripped of gold medals after testing positive for a steroid masking agent (Wulf, 1988). Perhaps the most highlighted incident of the Games involved world record holder, Ben Johnson, who was stripped of his gold medal when he, too, tested positive for steroids.

After the Seoul Olympics, steroids received much media attention. Time (Jan. 30, 1989) and Sports Illustrated (Oct. 3, 1988; Oct. 24, 1988; Feb. 20, 1989) featured articles on steroids. The Wall Street Journal (Oct. 4, 1988) and the San Jose Mercury News (Jan. 8-9, 1989) did extensive articles on steroids. On television, Wolf, (Sept., 1989) Nightingales, (Sept., 1989) and One Life To Live (Sept., 1989) had plots or subplots devoted to steroids. Sports shows, including the NFL Live program (Oct., 1989) and The Year in Sports-1989 (Dec., 1989), frequently mentioned steroids. Despite all the recent media attention, steroids are by no means a new phenomenon.

Anabolic steroids are drugs which enhance protein synthesis for muscle growth and repair (Todd, 1987). According to Wade (1972), the first evidence of anabolics being used to enhance performance was during WWII when German troops took testosterone to enhance aggressiveness. Marshall (1988) reported that the Nazis experimented with testosterone "in an attempt to create an army of supermen" (p. 183). Even Hitler used testosterone which may partially account for his moody and aggressive personality (Todd, 1987). Ironically, steroids were used to help rehabilitate concentration camp survivors at the end of the war (Wade, 1972).

Wade (1972), Goldman (1984), and Todd (1987) credit Dr. John Ziegler as being the father of steroids in the United States. Ziegler, a Maryland physician, was specially trained in general surgery, neurology, geriatrics, and nuclear medicine. He was the U.S. weightlifting team physician at the 1954 world championships in Vienna.

In the introduction to Bob Goldman's Death in the Locker Room (1984), Ziegler recounts that his first exposure to anabolic steroids was during the 1956 World Games; he (Ziegler) had drinks with a Soviet team doctor who admitted that their athletes were experimenting with hormones. After the 1956 World Games, Ziegler told the heads of American athletic committees that the Eastern bloc countries and the Soviets would be using any trick to win. "The choice seemed to be give drugs or risk an American humiliation and open the door to Communism" (Goldman, 1984). With the help of Ciba Pharmaceutical, Ziegler developed the anabolic steroid, Dianabol, which was first tested on weightlifters at the York (Pennsylvania) Barbell Club in 1959 (Todd, 1987; Wade, 1972).

The weightlifters loved the drugs, and were not satisfied with staying on the recommended dosages. Ziegler sensed the danger of uncontrolled steroid use, and he ceased promoting the drugs. It was too late; anabolic steroids had already spread through the athletic community (Goldman, 1984).

The reports of the numbers of athletes involved with steroids are astounding. By 1968, Olympic decathlete, Dr. Tom Waddell, estimated that one third of the U.S. track and field athletes had experimented with steroids prior to the Games (Todd, 1987). An unofficial poll revealed that 68 percent of the United States track and field athletes were using steroids to prepare for the 1972 Games (Todd, 1987). Cooper (1972) stated that 80 percent of weightlifters, shot putters, discus and javelin throwers were using steroids. Wade (1972) quotes former Mr. America, John Grimek, who estimates that "between 99 and 101 percent" of the bodybuilders entered in the 1972 Mr. America contest had taken

steroids (p. 1400). If the results of the testosterone testing had been "official," 20 percent of all athletes (male and female) who participated in the 1980 Moscow Games would have been disqualified (Todd, 1987). Todd (1987) also quotes pro football player, Ken Ferguson, as saying: "anybody who has graduated from college to professional football in the last four years has used them [anabolic steroids]" (p. 97). In short, any sport which requires strength may have steroid users among its ranks (Marshall, 1988).

Rothenberg's medical manual (1982) defines steroids as synthetic hormones that have greater anabolic activity (relative to androgenic activity) than testosterone. Steroids have legitimate medical uses in the treatment of certain anemias, angioedema, certain breast cancers, and hypogonadism (Council on Scientific Affairs, 1988). In healthy people, steroids are used to promote muscle strength and mass and to increase aggressiveness (Council, 1988; Penn, 1988). Steroid use is illegal (except for very specific medical problems), and in 1976, the International Olympic Committee added steroids to its banned substance list which includes some 3000 drugs that are considered "alien and unnatural to the body with the exclusive aim of obtaining an artificial or unfair increase in performance in competition" (Todd, 1987, p. 90).

Taylor (1988) estimates that there are over one million steroid users, many of whom are not elite athletes. Stanley Penn (1988) quotes FDA official, Don Leggett, who said, "Bulging muscles are in. Guys want to look good at the beach. High-school kids think steroids may enhance their ability to win the girl of their heart" (p. A22). Haupt is quoted in Marshall (1988) saying that, "the greatest abuse of these things [steroids] is not in competitive athletics but in the local health club" (p. 184), or as Leggett says in Penn (1988), "Steroid use in this country has spread down to general people" (p. A22).

Statement of the Purpose

The purpose of this study was to observe a subculture of male gym members focusing on serious gym members to gain insight as to any possible differences between steroid users and non steroid users.

Delimitations

This study was delimited to adult male members of a gym in the Santa Cruz, California area who range in age from 13 to 60. The gym has approximately 800 members with a male to female ratio of approximately 2 to 1. In the Santa Cruz area this gym is considered a mid-sized facility . Two gyms in the area offer swimming pools, racketball, and aerobics classes; these gyms have over 1200 members each. Two other area gyms with smaller memberships (500 and 300) are run by an ex-professional bodybuilder and an ex-powerlifter, respectively. The gym to be studied is the only facility in the area that allows teenagers (13-17) to be members as long as they have parental consent; it is not as glamorous or highbrow as the large gyms, and not as gritty or lowbrow as the smaller gyms. The focus of the study will be on serious lifters who range in age from 18-50 who have different degrees of athletic experience in a variety of sports.

This study deals with male subjects only and results may not be representative of female subculture members. This study deals with a small subculture from one gym, so results may not be indicative of other subcultures in other gyms.

Limitations

In dealing with a topic such as steroid use, it is impossible to be value free; therefore, it is very important that this researcher admit to a strong anti-steroid bias. This researcher is familiar with potential subjects as she has been employed at the Santa Cruz area gym for the past seven years, and has developed a degree of trust and rapport with the members of the gym (including the steroid users). This familiarity may be a limitation in

that the researcher's knowledge of the subjects may bias the study. This study is limited by the fact that this researcher is not infallible when it comes to identifying steroid users, and that the daily sign-in sheets which are used log gym attendance may not be maintained with 100% accuracy. This study is also limited in its methodology; only observation was used to study the subculture. No survey or interview data were included, and conclusions drawn by the researcher are based solely on what was observed during the time frame of the research.

Summarily, the limitations of this study are: (a) anti-steroid bias of the researcher; (b) familiarity of researcher with subjects; (c) ability of researcher to accurately identify steroid users; (d) accuracy of gym attendance records; (e) results of study based solely on observational data.

Operational Definitions

Subculture: a group that has cultural patterns that set it apart from the larger society or organization (Van Der Zanden, 1965).

Sports Subculture: Yiannakis, McIntyre, Melnick, and Hart (1976) define a sports subculture as a subsystem of a larger society characterized by a distinguishing pattern of norms, beliefs, and material properties. Subculture members share a common value system, have similar backgrounds, share a system of argot (jargon), and use equipment, clothing, and facilities which reflect the requirements of the activity and the aspirations of the participants.

Steroid User: Any male who is using or has used anabolics, androgenics, testosterone, or human growth hormone (see Appendix A).

Natural: Any male who has never used anabolics, androgenics, testosterone, or human growth hormone.

Infrequent Gym Member: A male gym member who uses the facilities 0-2 times per week.

Regular Gym Member: A male gym member who uses the facilities 3-4 times per week.

Serious Gym Member: A male gym member who uses the facilities at least 5 times per week and/or is preparing for an athletic competition.

Bodybuilder: A male gym member who lifts weights with the intent of competing in bodybuilding competitions.

Weightlifter: A male gym member who regularly or seriously lifts weights with no intent of competing in bodybuilding contests.

Summary

Approximately one million people using a drug illegally for the enhancement of appearance or performance indicates a need for concern by parents, teachers, coaches, and sport governing bodies. Steroid use is indicative of a win-at-all-costs mentality (Council on Scientific Affairs, 1988), as evidenced by the number of Olympic athletes who took steroids knowing that an elaborate and sophisticated drug detection system would be used on all record breakers and medal winners (Marshall, 1988). Subscribing to the win-at-all-costs mentality creates problems at three levels: (a) physical and psychological endangerment to the user (Norris, 1987); (b) violation of the concept of fair play in sport (Thomas, 1983); and (c) cheating the spectators by requiring them to view sports with a new cynicism (Todd, 1987).

The Council on Scientific Affairs (1987) states that athletes have been using steroids for over two decades, but it has only been recently that steroids have gained media attention due to the number of elite athletes who have tested positive for steroid use (Johnson, 1988). Evidence supports the idea that steroid use is not just confined to

athletes, and that the number of users is growing rapidly (Pope, Katz, & Champoux, 1988; Taylor, 1988).

By studying subcultures in which steroid users are found, information could be obtained which could lead to a form of intervention that would end steroid use as a means of enhancing performance or appearance. A necessary first step toward this goal is understanding the subculture of steroid users. Only with this knowledge can parents, teachers, and coaches hope to intervene properly and prevent steroid use (Drug Enforcement Administration, 1987).

Chapter II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to reviewing the relevant literature surrounding the study of the subculture of steroid users. Steroid use is discussed in three sections: (a) prevalence of steroid use, (b) physical and psychological effects of steroid use, and (c) ethical considerations of steroid use.

Ethnographic research is then discussed along with techniques of field research such as participant observation. Sport subcultures are also reviewed.

Prevalence of Steroid Use

The literature is not in total agreement as to the prevalence of steroid use in the United States. In 1988, Pope et al. found that of the 1,010 college men who returned surveys, 17 (2%) reported using steroids. The authors concluded that even conservative extrapolation of their results would put the number of steroid users in the hundreds of thousands. Dr. William Taylor (1988) of the United States Olympic Drug Control Program estimates over one million steroid users in the United States as compared with estimates of half a million heroin users and half a million crack users currently in the United States. Steroid authority Dr. Bob Goldman said, "there are a million steroid users in the United States, 'one in every 250 people'" (Telander, 1988 p. 114).

Certain sports in particular have been accused of having steroid users among their participants, most notably bodybuilding (Goldman, 1984; Marshall, 1988; Todd, 1987; Wade, 1972), powerlifting (Cooper, 1972; Goldman, 1984; Marshall, 1988; Murray, 1983; Todd, 1987; Wade, 1972), Olympic lifting (Cooper, 1972; Goldman, 1984; Marshall, 1988; Murray, 1983; Todd, 1987; Wade, 1972), professional football (Goldman, 1984; Marshall, 1988; Todd, 1987; Wade, 1972), track and field (Cooper,

1972; Goldman, 1984; Marshall, 1988; Murray, 1983; 1988; Todd, 1987; Wade, 1972), and swimming (Goldman, 1984; Marshall, 1988); however, any sport requiring strength and/or speed may have steroid users among its ranks. Both Lawn (1987) and Norris (1987) indicate that the number of athletes at risk for steroid use is increasing, and that the use has expanded to include pre-teen as well as high school and college athletes. A recent study conducted by Buckley, Yesalis, Friedl, Anderson, Streit, and Wright (1988) reported that 6.6% of male 12th graders had used anabolic steroids, and that two thirds of those who had used steroids had first tried them at age 16 or younger. In a related study, Johnson, Jay, Shoup, and Rickert (1989) found that an average of 11% of the 11th grade males surveyed had used steroids.

The overall tone of the literature concerning the prevalence of steroid use is that the numbers of users are growing among athletes and nonathletes alike (4 of the 17 steroid users in the Pope et al. study [1988] cited personal appearance as their primary reason for taking steroids), and that action must be taken against steroid use before users and sport itself are irreparably damaged.

Physical and Psychological Effects of Steroid Use

The literature gives detailed lists of the numerous physical and psychological effects of steroid use (Johnson, 1975; Korn, 1988; Mofenson and Greensher, 1980; Norris, 1987; Taylor, 1988).

One of the most devastating side effects of steroid use may be premature death. Korn (1988) in his report on the deaths of ex-NFL players said that extra body weight can mean more stress on the cardiovascular system, and that players who use steroids to increase body mass may be significantly increasing their health risks. Other risks from steroid use include adverse effects on the liver, cardiovascular system, reproductive

system, and psychological status (Morain, 1989; ACSM, 1984; Goldman, 1984). See Appendix B.

Taylor (1988) defines 'roid rage ("roid" is short for "steroid") and megorexia, two newer terms that describe the psychological effects of steroid use. 'Roid rage refers to the scenario of argumentativeness turning to verbal abuse and then physical violence. Megorexia is a condition where, no matter what the body's actual size is, the steroid user sees himself as small and weak. The user then continues to take large doses of steroids to correct this condition.

Ethics of Steroid Use

The nature and the future of sport may be permanently affected by anabolic steroids. Terry Todd (1987) quotes Peter Lawson of the Manchester Guardian: "Unless something is done soon, international sport will be a competition between circus freaks manipulated by international chemists" (p. 87). Cooper (1972) states that drug use except in the case of deficiency, disease, or injury is a form of internal pollution, and that by continuing to use drugs to enhance performance we will create many people "with little or no appreciation of what is a truly wonderful creation, namely, the human body" (p. 1007). Todd (1987) states that anabolics have ruined sport by robbing the spectator: after witnessing a world record, spectators must now ask, "Did the athlete use drugs to set the record?" (p. 105). Ultimately, Todd thinks that this cynicism may turn spectators away from sport.

If history is to serve as a guideline, then modern sport should beware of overemphasis on victory and professionalism, which were two contributing factors to the decline of organized sport in the early medieval period (Freeman, 1987). Bill Pearl (1986) reasons that it is the overemphasis on winning in today's sports that has led to an increase in steroid use among athletes. Pearl (1986) states that steroid users have an unfair

advantage over non steroid users; he likens steroids to a 10-yard head start in a 100-yard dash.

Miller (1971) cites drug use as the factor most involved in destroying the rules of the game, and thus destroying sport itself. Miller (1971) goes on to say that without rules to equalize competition, there can be no sport. Thomas (1983) writes that there is no fairness if we permit athletes who use drugs to compete against those who choose not to use drugs.

Ethnography Related to Drug Use

The next section of Chapter II will review literature concerned with subculture studies (three of these studies will be detailed) and field research, especially as they relate to this study.

Sport ethnography merges anthropological orientation (in depth field work) and sociological setting (American society as it is affected by and through sport). Subculture studies represent one form of sport ethnography (Klein, 1986).

A popular topic for the sport ethnographer is the sport subculture study. Van Der Zanden (1970) defines a "subculture" as having cultural patterns that set it apart from the larger society or organization. Yiannakis, McIntyre, and Hart (1976) define a "sports subculture" as a subsystem of a larger society characterized by a distinguishing pattern of norms, beliefs, and material properties. Differentiating one sport subculture from another are factors such as: value systems (a rock climber would probably have different values from a powerlifter); backgrounds (e.g., most polo players come from the higher socioeconomic strata); argot (jargon--people who train with weights may talk about "sets," "reps," and "negatives"); and the use of equipment, clothing, and facilities which reflect the requirements of the activity and the aspirations of the participants.

Some sports subcultures that have been studied include: Allison and Meyer's (1988) study of retired female tennis professionals; Donnelly and Young's (1988) research among rock climbers; Arnold's (in Yiannakis et al. 1976) work on parachuters; Boroff's (1964) study of skiers; Furst, Bryant, and Shifflett's (1988) research involving competitive distance runners; Jacob's (in Yiannakis et al. 1976) study on the karate dojo; Scott's (in Loy and Seagrave 1974) research on jockeys; and Weinberg and Arond's (1952) work on boxers. Sport subcultures may be studied as macrosystems (runners in general) or microsystems (a particular running club) (Yiannakis et al. 1976).

Especially important to this study of steroid users are: Ewald and Jiobu's (1985) study which examined runners and bodybuilders in terms of positive deviance; Gallmeier's (1988) study of drug use among professional hockey players; and Klein's (1986) work among southern California bodybuilders which focused on discrepancies between ideal and actual behavior with regard to health, sexual practices, and individuality. These three studies will be discussed in greater detail as their insights and results may be relevant to the results of this study.

Ewald and Jiobu (1985) conducted a survey, and found that both serious runners and serious bodybuilders fit Glasser's concept of positive addiction in that they spent prodigious amounts of time and energy in their activities. However, only the serious runners strictly fit Becker's model of socialization. Becker's model recognizes three distinct stages by which people become socialized into positive deviance: (a) experience (learning techniques); (b) sensation (learning to recognize the effects of the activity and being able to express those effects and be understood by other participants, i.e., jargon); and (c) enjoyment (defining effects of the activity as pleasurable).

The authors' possible explanation for why runners fit the model and bodybuilders did not centers around the way each of the groups answered questions about pain.

Runners appeared to want to avoid or reduce pain while bodybuilders seemed to seek pain, possibly as a means to a more rewarding outcome.

In his participant-as-observer study among hockey players, Gallmeier (1988) found that illicit drug and alcohol use were common and that opportunities to partake of these substances were seen as ways to promote team solidarity. The illicit activities in Gallmeier's study were not done nor discussed around the team management. Gallmeier also reported that he felt the need to occasionally participate in these covert activities in order to gain the trust of the hockey players.

Klein (1986) observed the subculture of gym members at the Olympic Gym in Venice, California. He described the pyramidal social structure of Olympic as:

Owners
Professional bodybuilders
Amateur bodybuilders
Gym rats (non competitors)
Members at large
Onlookers and pilgrims

Klein likened this hierarchy to a feudal structure, and acknowledged that Olympic was unusual because its membership included clusters of professional and amateur bodybuilders, while in most gyms, it would be unusual to find one.

Klein found that the male bodybuilders thought of themselves as individualists, and were not likely to form bonds with other males. Klein mentioned that conversation in the gym was minimal and that an air of indifference, even surliness, was apparent. Top bodybuilders and powerlifters were given a wide berth and they were deferred to with regard to equipment use.

Klein observed that competitors tended to become more confrontational as contests neared, and that they would train with their bodies fully covered so as not to reveal their physical condition, in effect, keeping other competitors guessing. Klein stated that bodybuilders tend to have low self esteem and poor self image, and that they required much material and emotional support.

Klein observed widespread use of steroids and other drugs by bodybuilders, and that drugs and drug deals were openly discussed in the gym setting. Klein also reported that between 40-75% of male bodybuilders were selling sexual favors to gay men, an activity in direct opposition to the masculine, wholesome, heterosexual image of bodybuilding.

Both Gallmeier and Klein used a technique known as field research to gather information for their studies. One way of studying sport subcultures is by field research. Babbie (1979) describes field research as an obvious method for making social observations. "If you want to know about something, why not just go where it's happening and watch it happen?" (p.205). Babbie (1979) uses the broad term of field research to include participant observation, direct observation, and case studies.

This study employs participant observation which is given an expanded definition by Gold (1958). Gold describes four different ways in which the field researcher might interact with their subject:

1. Complete participant--a genuine or pretend participant of what is being studied. Others see you only as a participant. For example, an undercover reporter doing field research among satanic cult members is not likely to reveal his identity as a reporter. The integrity of the story as well as the reporter's safety are dependent on the ability of the reporter to only be known as a cult member.

2. Participant as observer--the researcher participates fully, and is also known as a researcher. For example, Klein's (1986) work among bodybuilders where he would train in the gym and also observe and conduct interviews with subjects who knew him as both a bodybuilder and researcher.

3. Observer as participant--the researcher interacts with participants but does not pretend to be a participant. For example, Gallmeier's (1988) study among hockey players. Gallmeier attended meetings, practices, and games; he had access to the dressing room and the team bus; but he did not play hockey; the team knew him as a researcher.

4. Complete observer--the researcher only observes and does not become part of the process in any way (Babbie, 1979; Gold, 1969). For example, a researcher who is documenting fan violence must only observe and not interact in any way.

Douglas (1976) divides "field research" into the categories of "participant field research" and "non participant field research" and describes the different data gathering techniques used in each type.

1. Participant field research may use overt (the researcher is known to the subjects) or covert (researcher is unknown to subjects) field research.

2. Non participant field research may use discussion, or interviews with or without checklists of questions.

For this study, a combination of covert participant research (Douglas, 1976) and complete participant field research (Gold, 1969) was used. In other words, this researcher interacted with steroid users and other gym members but did not use the drugs. Subjects knew the author as a gym member only.

Previous subculture studies have used a variety of techniques to gain information. Questionnaires were used by Allison and Meyer (1988), Ewald and Jiobu (1985), and

Furst et al. (1988) to obtain information surrounding the subcultures of female tennis professionals, runners and bodybuilders, and distance runners, respectively.

Participant and non participant (interviews) field research techniques were used by Weinberg and Arond (1952) in their study of boxers. In depth participant observation was used by Irwin (in Douglas, 1972) to study criminals.

Two studies are especially germane to this study of steroid users. The first is Gallmeier's (1988) observer as participant study of drug use among professional hockey players, in which much time was spent gaining entry to the team and developing trust and rapport between the researcher and the players. Gallmeier found widespread use of drugs and alcohol, and felt that he had to occasionally participate in covert drug use in order to maintain the trust of the team. The second study is Klein's (1986) study of the bodybuilding subculture. Klein spent four years gathering information at the Olympic Gym of Venice, California, the mecca of bodybuilding. Klein used both participant and non participant field research techniques to gather information concerning bodybuilders' drug use (which was found to be rampant), sexual practices (a large percentage of bodybuilders exchange sexual favors with gay males which is contrary to bodybuilding's heterosexual image), and feelings of individuality (male bodybuilders did not form bonds and were sometimes openly confrontational).

Stevenson's (1989) paper on conducting sport ethnography was also relevant to this study because a weight room subculture was used throughout the paper as an example.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

Steroid use is a prevalent and growing phenomenon. Both Goldman (as quoted in Telander, 1988) and Taylor (1988) estimate at least 1 million steroid users in the United States. If one out of every 250 Americans is using illegal performance enhancing drugs, there is a need for concern.

Steroid use creates problems at three levels: (a) physical and psychological endangerment to the user (Norris, 1987), (b) violation of the concept of fair play in sport (Thomas, 1983), and (c) spectator cynicism which may result in decreased interest in sport. These three problems associated with anabolic drugs are enough for Todd (1987) to state that many people believe that steroids have ruined sport.

Studying steroid users may lead to effective intervention and prevention. Sports are not yet ruined. There is still time for sports to return to "the struggle of man against man, woman against woman, actual against potential" (Todd, 1987).

Subjects

The subjects for this study were adult male members of a gym in the Santa Cruz, California area. Both steroid users and non steroid users were included in order to make comparisons. All subjects were members of the bodybuilding sports subculture as defined by Yiannakis, et al. (1976).

Steroid users were identified either by self-admission to the author directly, or when a serious member showed signs of steroid use (rapid size and/or strength gains, growth-shrink-growth tendencies, or a bloated appearance). At least two serious members had to mention that the serious member in question was using or had used steroids before that member would be identified as a steroid user for the purposes of this study. At least

20 steroid users were known to the author, and a snowballing technique (as used by Allison & Meyer, 1988) led to more subjects.

Most of the "steroid users" observed during this study have talked about their steroid use with the author at some point during the eight years that the author has been a member/employee of the gym. The author has participated in competitive bodybuilding and powerlifting, and has established and maintained a rapport with the serious members. Other than self admission, the only other way that a member could qualify as a "steroid user" was if at least two serious members confirmed the author's suspicions.

The author never directly asked a serious member whether another serious member was taking steroids, but did casually engage a serious member in a conversation that eventually included the serious member in question. For example, the author talked to a serious member and mentioned, "So-and-so is getting really strong...." The author left the statement somewhat open-ended so that the serious member could have a chance to say, "Yeah, he's been 'on' for about a year now."

Method of Data Collection

Information on steroid users and non users were collected by observation only. Observation took place in the gym and concentrated on areas such as social structure (hierarchy) of the gym, interaction (steroid user with steroid user as well as steroid user with non steroid user), jargon, and manner of dress. Observation took place for six consecutive weeks, and started June 1, 1991. Notes were used to chronicle observations, and all names were kept in code to protect the identity of the subjects. The author noted the date, type of subject (current, former, or non user), manner of dress of the subject, interactions among subjects, and any discussions or slang used.

Procedures

The author made contact with the gym owners and explained the purpose and the confidential nature of the study. Permission was given to conduct the study, and the author began observing the gym subculture June 1, 1991. Observations were conducted for 6 weeks at least 10 hours per week. The subculture was observed on different days of the week and different times during the day to ensure as broad a sampling as possible. Observations were recorded by the author only, and all observations and notations were done without the knowledge of the subjects. The author routinely kept personal workout notes while in the gym, so the fact that the subculture members saw the author jotting down things in her workout book did not arouse suspicion. No individual identities were discernible from any of the descriptions of observed behavior of members of the subculture. The author alone had access to the observational data. All of the data was written in a shorthand code, and there were no names attached to any data.

Analysis

The gym population was analyzed, and numbers and percentages of members of the subculture were presented and broken down into categories of (a) infrequent gym members, (b) regular gym members, and (c) serious gym members. Serious gym members were further delineated into "steroid user" or "natural" categories, and percentages of steroid users as well as ratios of steroid users to naturals were calculated.

The serious gym members were analyzed with respect to the time of day they spent working out in the gym to determine if the serious members of this subculture tended to cluster at any certain time of day.

The serious gym members were described, and when appropriate compared to regular or infrequent gym members in the categories of hierarchy, equipment use, clothing, and slang. A miscellaneous section was added to include information on serious members

that did not fit into the other categories. The results of this study are compared to the results of the subculture studies (detailed in Chapter II) done by Ewald and Jiobu (1985), Gallmeier (1988), and Klein (1986) in Chapter V.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

Introduction

Results of this study are presented in the following areas:

1. Numbers and percentages of subculture members are given, including a breakdown of total subculture members into infrequent, regular or serious members.
2. Serious members are categorized as steroid users or naturals.
3. Serious members are tallied during peak and non peak hours.
4. The hierarchy of the subculture is described.
5. The serious members are described in terms of equipment use, clothing, and slang. (See definition of sports subculture.)
6. A miscellaneous section is presented which elaborates on traits of the steroid users within this subculture.

Numbers of Subculture Members

The gym in which this study took place has approximately 800 members with a male to female ratio of 2 to 1. Of the 800 official members, approximately 540 (67.5%) are males. Two hundred and seventy- four (34%) of the male members are defined as infrequent gym members, using the gym 0-2 times per week. Two hundred and twenty-one (28%) of the male members are defined as regular gym members, using the gym 3-4 times per week, and 45 (6%) of the male members are defined as serious members, using the gym 5-7 times per week and/or working towards a competitive athletic goal (see Figure 1). Some serious gym members have memberships to more than one gym, and they may not work out at the gym under study 5-7 days per week; nevertheless, they qualify as serious members (because of the second part of the definition), and are an important part of the subculture that was observed.

Figure 1
BREAKDOWN OF GYM POPULATION

Since the author has access to the file of current gym members as well as the daily sign-in sheets, the numbers of members within each of the three categories, "infrequent," "regular," and "serious," was accurately assessed. Of the serious members ($n=45$), 25 (55%) are steroid users (according to the operational definition), and 20 (45%) are naturals. Table 1 shows a week-by-week break down of the serious gym members, dividing them into "steroid user" or "natural" (a male who has never used steroids). The gym population as a whole consists of approximately 3% steroid users.

During observation times, the number of people in the gym was approximately 25 during non peak hours (5:00 a.m. to 4:59 p.m. weekdays, and all weekend hours, 7:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. Saturday and 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Sunday) and approximately 45 during peak hours (from 5:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. weekdays). During the non peak hours, the number of serious members ranged from 5 to 11, and during peak hours, the serious members ranged from 7 to 16 (see Table 1). During observations, the gym floor ranged from 15% to 48% serious members.

During gym operating hours, there is no consistent ratio of steroid users to naturals. During non peak hours, the number of serious steroid users ranged from 2-4 and the number of serious naturals ranged from 1-9. During peak hours the number of steroid users ranges from 1-6 and the number of naturals ranged from 3-10 (see Table 2). The important point is that during observation, there was never a time in which there was not at least one steroid user in the gym.

Hierarchy

The hierarchy of the serious member subculture under observation centers around a group of natural bodybuilders ($n=6$). Members of this group have won some very prestigious natural titles in which a variety of drug tests had to be passed. This group is

Table 1
WEEK-BY-WEEK BREAKDOWN OF SERIOUS GYM MEMBERS

		Serious Gym Member	
		Steroid User	Natural
Week I	Peak	xxxxxx yy zzzzz	xxx yyyy zzzz
	Non Peak		
Week II	Peak	xxxxxx yyyyyy	xxxxxxxxx yyyyyyyyyy
	Non Peak		
Week III	Peak		
	Non Peak	xxxx yy zz	xxxxxxxxx yyyyyyyyyy zzzzz
Week IV	Peak		
	Non Peak	xxxx yyy	x yyy
Week V	Peak	xxxxx yyyyy z	xxxxxxxxx yyyyyyy zzz
	Non Peak		
Week VI	Peak		
	Non Peak	xxx yy zz	xxxxxxxxx yyyyyyy zzzzz

NOTE: Different letters denote different observation days within the week.

Table 2
 SERIOUS GYM MEMBERS
 STEROID USERS VS. NATURALS

Observation Day		Serious Gym Member	
		Steroid User	Natural
1	Peak	xxxxxx	xxx
	Non Peak	xxxx	xxxxxxx
2	Peak	xx	xxxx
	Non Peak	xx	xxxxxxxxx
3	Peak	xxxx	xxx
	Non Peak	xx	xxxxx
4	Peak	xxxxxx	xxxxxxxxx
	Non Peak	xxxx	x
5	Peak	xxxxxx	xxxxxxxxxxx
	Non Peak	xxx	xxx
6	Peak	xxxxxx	xxxxxxxxx
	Non Peak	xxx	xxxxxxx
7	Peak	xxxxxx	xxxxxxxxx
	Non Peak	xx	xxxxxxxxx
8	Peak	x	xxx
	Non Peak	xx	xxxxx

heavily acknowledged by the gym management; they are used in advertisements for the gym, and their pictures and trophies are prominently displayed inside the gym.

In addition to this core group of natural bodybuilders are the other groups comprising the serious gym members: steroid using competitive bodybuilders (n=6), steroid using weightlifters (n=14), steroid using football players (n=5), and natural weightlifters (n=14). Surrounding the serious members are the regular gym members and surrounding the regular gym members are the infrequent gym members (see Figure 1).

Workout partners are very common with serious gym members. During the observation period, between 50-75% utilized partners. The subgroups of the serious gym members interact with one another, but workout partners are within the same subgroup unless one of the serious members works out with a female partner. There is not much friction between subgroup members, although the natural competitive bodybuilders tend to look down on the steroid users. A competitive natural was heard saying, "He (steroid user) takes 13 shots and doesn't get stronger, so he asks me what I do for chest?"

The nicknames given to the users by the non users are sarcastic, but are usually delivered with humor: "animals," "big monkey," "puffbol" (with the emphasis on bol as in dianabol), "puffy," "Mr. Sta-puft," and "Mr. Helsinki," which refers to the Helsinki formula for hair growth and the male pattern of baldness that is associated with steroid use.

The serious lifters, especially the steroid users, share a camaraderie that excludes the regular and infrequent gym members and at the same time calls attention to themselves as the dominant group in the gym. For example, a steroid user had taken off his shirt and was flexing, watching himself in the mirror; meanwhile another steroid user saw this and yelled across the gym, "There's something going on here and it's not natural." Another time, a steroid user yelled across the gym to the juice bar worker, "Hey, make me a shake, and put some Anadrol-50 in there." There was also an instance when a steroid user was

reprimanded by one of the owners for dropping weights. The steroid user yelled back to the owner that it was "those drugs you gave me" that made him drop the weights. The steroid user then yelled to his partner, "Fuck this light shit; let's lift!" The gym in this study has a 6000 square foot exercise area and only a half wall separates the lobby/juice bar section from the exercise area. When someone yells, it can be heard in all parts of the gym except the locker rooms. Only the steroid users displayed this behavior; they were observed as being louder and coarser than natural serious lifters. They will yell obscenities and steroid-related slang with no thought of impropriety.

The serious lifters are not antagonistic towards the infrequent or regular members, but the sense is that the serious members view all other members as inconsequential bodies that must be navigated around in order to finish a workout. Serious members will acknowledge one another, sometimes yelling in unison as a serious lifter enters the exercise area (the same way Norm is greeted by the bar patrons on the television show Cheers). Regular and infrequent members reinforce the serious lifters' status by deferring to them when it comes to equipment usage. Most regular and infrequent members use similar beginning routines, and they were often observed skipping a particular exercise if a serious member was using that piece of equipment.

During the observation period, no movement between sub groups was noted. In the past, the author has seen such movement: Most common is for a regular member to become a serious member and then a steroid user. In most cases, this type of movement was motivated by a fascination with the professional bodybuilder physique, or the fact that a friend, workout partner, or team member was using steroids. Prus (1982) would term these two types of initial involvement with steroid use as seekership (a person's attraction towards or fascination with a particular career) and recruitment (others encourage a person's involvement in a career), respectively.

A saying known to the serious members is that "There is no such thing as only one cycle." The inference is that many users try steroids with the intent of doing just one 6-week cycle of the drug, but then they get used to the strength and size improvements which disappear when they stop taking steroids, so they take another cycle, and another, and eventually become addicted. A gym poem illustrates the phenomenon:

If your liver doesn't quiver
 And your spleen doesn't splatter
 Then up the dosage
 Because it just doesn't matter.

The inference is that if a steroid user is not using sufficient amounts of steroids to bring on side effects, then he obviously is not using enough steroids.

Some conversations overheard during the observation period also illustrate the possible addictive nature of steroids: steroid user to steroid user, "Yeah, we can go to the gym; slam a syringe, and really work out ." Steroid user to gym owner, "The only time I felt really good was on the sauce; I could just power through work and workouts." Only 2 of the 25 steroid users under observation could be considered "one cycle only" users.

The author also overheard steroid users talking of "quitting" taking the drugs; in most cases they returned to taking steroids within six months. Three steroid users mentioned having been drug free for over two years ("I think I could even be tested, and nothing would show up"), and may stand the best chance of quitting permanently. In one case, the steroid user quit because he was having multiple recurring joint injuries and was only 23 years old. In the other two cases, the steroid users talked about the fact that they had become born again Christians, gotten married, and started families. It seems that only a major life crisis/change can keep former steroid users from returning to the drugs.

Equipment Use

Serious members were observed using free weights and cable equipment rather than machines. Where a regular or infrequent gym member might use the bicep machine, a serious member would do dumbbell curls; where a regular or infrequent gym member would use the lat machine, a serious member would do pullups. When serious lifters did use machines, they were observed modifying standard positions on those machines in order to accommodate their workout needs. Many of the machines, even set on the heaviest weight, are too light for some of the serious lifters so they will use one arm or leg on a machine that is usually set up for two, or they will use a leg machine for back exercises since the leg machine has more weight than the standard back machine.

To facilitate free weight work, serious members use many more accessories (belts, gloves, wrist wraps, wrist straps, knee wraps, sponges, and elbow wraps) when compared with regular or infrequent members (belts and gloves). There was not much difference observed between steroid users and naturals with regard to equipment except in the case of knee wraps which were used exclusively by the steroid users for heavy squatting and leg pressing.

Clothing

Serious members dressed differently than regular or infrequent members, showing a preference towards tank tops, self-modified tops (neck or sleeves cut out), or tops that are manufactured to look as if they are self modified. Serious members also showed a preference towards spandex tights, baggies, or self-modified sweats (legs cut off) as opposed to traditional sweat pants. Serious lifters also favored a layered look, baggies over spandex and modified sweat shirts over modified t-shirts over tank tops.

Historically, serious lifters have been modifying clothes since weight training began. Traditional clothes simply could not accommodate large muscular bodies and/or did

not show enough of the body that the lifter had worked so hard to develop. There is a joke among the serious lifters: "If you buy a bodybuilder a shirt that is too large, he will be flattered; if you buy a bodybuilder a shirt that is too small, he will wear it."

No difference was observed between steroid users and non steroid users in terms of dress; however the "look" of a steroid user is very distinctive. Steroid users are muscular and strong, but depending on the drugs they are taking, the steroid user can have a bloated look especially around the face, which is caused by the water retentive properties of some steroids. Another telltale sign of steroid use is the muscular growth-shrink-growth patterns associated with steroid cycles. The author observed weight swings of 20 plus pounds within 1 month during the observation period, and knows of one steroid user (mentioned earlier as someone who may have quit permanently) who weighed 210 pounds while taking drugs, and 150 pounds naturally.

Steroid users also have a distinctive walk and presence only slightly less exaggerated than that of Hans and Franz on the network television program, Saturday Night Live. Part of this chest out, arms akimbo, legs bowed mannerism is due to extreme muscularity. When a person's chest measures over 50 inches, it tends to stick out, and when arms and legs have circumference measures of over 20 and 25 inches respectively, they tend not to hang directly down from their sockets of origin. Naturals can also achieve large muscles which can lead to a distinctive walk, but what separates the steroid user and the natural is a swagger in their movements and an arrogance with which they present themselves (what Goffman [1959] would term as expressions given off by the actor) as if the gym is their personal domain and the other members are simply unavoidable nuisances that have to be tolerated.

Slang

All serious members understand the slang surrounding steroid use. The slang is constantly changing, and during the observation period serious members were never heard using the word "steroid." The following is a list of terms overheard during the observation period: "He's got a needle," "on the syringes," "on the pin," "on," "drugs," "the sauce," "juicin'," "d-bol," and "the stuff." Regular and infrequent members know of the phenomenon of steroid use but do not know the slang. A regular member was overheard talking to the gym owner about a serious member, "He [serious member] kind of blew up all of a sudden; I think he's taking steroids."

Conversations overheard among serious members focused on workout intensity and results. Much ado was made about the previous day's workout, and about how sore the muscles were, "Man, I can barely walk." The soreness is seen as a means to larger muscles, and is viewed positively.

Sex and athletic enhancement are primary topics among steroid users. One steroid user, while sitting at the juice bar, was obviously leering at each female member who signed in. He said, "This stuff [steroids] makes me so horny. Man, I've got to do something about it. I'm going to go out tonight and do something about it." Another conversation among the steroid using football player subgroup (n=5) emphasized the importance of a certain "killer" (difficult/painful) exercise which would improve times in the 40-yard dash, then the conversation segued into injuries and one of the players mentioned very loudly and casually that the only time his injury acted up was "when I bone my chick."

A saying known to the serious gym members which ties in workout intensity and the importance of muscularity to one's sex life is as follows:

No pain, no gain.

No buff, no muff. (No tone, no bone is the female version.)

Translated, this poem refers to muscle soreness (pain), increased muscle size (gain), noticeable muscularity (buff), and female pubic hair (muff).

The previous examples of conversation as well as some of the statements attributed to steroid users in the section on hierarchy illustrate the tendency of steroid users to talk loudly and casually about drug use and sex, things that would generally not be discussed in a public setting.

Miscellaneous

Serious bodybuilding members, both steroid users and naturals, tend to flex, and practice posing in the mirror especially when bodybuilding contests are close at hand. They will also take off shirts (a violation of gym policy), and run across the gym to compare bodies with another serious bodybuilder. The author even noted one steroid user who took down his sweat pants (most definitely a violation of gym policy) and showed off his improved leg muscularity wearing only jockey shorts and a sweat shirt while in full view of everyone else in the gym. In contrast, regular and infrequent gym members never show these types of behavior while in the gym.

Steroid-using bodybuilders are very megorexic, and were observed needing much affirmation from other serious lifters regarding the status of their physiques. Especially around contest time, new striations and poses are shown with the expectation that the observer will make appropriate (positive) remarks. One steroid user was overheard asking another serious lifter, "Do you have a minute? I need you to look at me." The bodybuilder was practicing his new routine and needed affirmation that his body looked better than last year.

One clue to the steroid user in the observed subculture that did not fit into any of the categories presented in this chapter is the inability of the steroid user to let little inconveniences go by the wayside. A good example from the subculture presented in this study occurred when a steroid user who does personal training saw that someone had put another trainer's business cards in his business card holder. The steroid user yelled and cursed the other trainer (a five-minute tantrum) even though he had no way of knowing how the cards got rearranged. This incident was a perfect example of 'roid rage (Taylor, 1988).

Summary

Within this subculture of the serious gym members, it is very difficult to differentiate a steroid user from a natural. In terms of sheer numbers, the two groups are similar, 25 steroid users, 20 naturals. The hierarchy of the gym gives status to both groups, and there is little difference between the two groups with regard to equipment use, dress, or slang.

Several behavioral traits which may be indicative of steroid use include attention getting behavior such as loud, crass language in the gym, heightened interest in sex, megorexia, and temper flares.

Chapter V will analyze the results of this study as they relate to subculture studies conducted by Ewald and Jiobu (1985), Gallmeier (1988), and Klein (1986), and with respect to the statement of the purpose.

Chapter V

ANALYSIS

When compared with subculture studies done by Ewald and Jiobu (1985), Gallmeier (1988), and Klein (1986), the results of this study support some of their findings with notable exceptions (see Table 3).

In Ewald and Jiobu's (1985) study of serious runners and bodybuilders, the authors concluded that both activities fit the concept of positive deviance, but that bodybuilders tended to seek out pain, whereas, runners did not.

This study of serious male gym members supports both of Ewald and Jiobu's conclusions about bodybuilders. Serious members spent a great deal of time and energy working out (5-7 times per week), and they actively sought out "killer" (painful/difficult) exercises that would produce soreness the next day.

Gallmeier (1988) found illicit alcohol and drug use rampant among hockey players, and that the players did not discuss their substance abuse when management was present. Drug abuse was also widespread within the serious gym member subculture (55% were steroid users), but unlike the hockey players, serious gym members were not shy in making reference to their drug use, even to the gym owners. Like Gallmeier, this researcher felt the importance of gaining entry into the subculture and establishing trust and rapport with subjects; however, in contrast to Gallmeier, this researcher felt no need to use steroids in order to maintain the trust of steroid users.

In his study of Olympic Gym in Southern California, Klein found a pyramidal, feudal hierarchy with gym owners on the top and onlookers and pilgrims at the bottom. Klein found that top bodybuilders were shown deference regarding equipment, and trained with their bodies fully covered. Klein reported widespread steroid use among bodybuilders which was openly discussed in the gym. Klein also reported that the

Table 3

COMPARISON OF FINDINGS: THIS STUDY VS. RELATED RESEARCH

Ewald and Jiobu (1985)	+	+	
	Bodybuilding as a positive addiction	Bodybuilders seek pain	
Gallmeier (1988)	+	—	—
	Widespread drug use within subculture.	Drug use not discussed openly.	Author occasionally needed to participate in drug use to maintain trust.
Klein (1986)	—	+	—
	Pyramidal feudal hierarchy of gym.	Subculture members referred to.	Subculture members train fully covered.
	+	+	+
	Widespread steroid use within subculture.	Steroid use openly discussed.	Subculture members could be surly and confrontational.
	+	—	
	Subculture members tend to be insecure with poor body image.	Subculture included many professional bodybuilders.	

⊕ = This study corroborated related research.

— = This study contradicted related research.

bodybuilders at Olympic could be surly and confrontational, but that they were basically insecure individuals with poor body images. Compared to Klein's study, this study of serious gym members also presented a hierarchical structure where serious members were shown deference regarding equipment use. In contrast to Olympic, the Santa Cruz area gym's structure is not pyramidal nor feudal. Unlike Klein's subculture members, none of the serious members in the Santa Cruz gym is making any money from bodybuilding; therefore, the feudal analogy, which implies financial dependence from one tier to the next, does not apply.

The structure of the Santa Cruz Gym is one of separate clusters of high status members surrounded by concentric rings of lesser status members (see Figure 1). The serious gym members in this study also participated in widespread steroid use; 55% of the serious members were steroid users. The steroid users observed for this study corroborated Klein's findings regarding the casualness with which steroid users discussed their drug use. The steroid users studied in Santa Cruz were also found to be indifferent (especially to lesser status members), and confrontational at times, but in contrast to Klein's study, the Santa Cruz area gym's serious members share a sense of camaraderie. Since no one at the Santa Cruz area gym is making money from bodybuilding, there is not the air of competitiveness. Serious gym members acknowledge each other, share subculture jokes and slang, chat and cluster during workouts (especially with members of their own subgroup), and tend to show off their physiques (by wearing revealing clothes and by posing and flexing). Because of the variety in age and experience, the bodybuilders at Santa Cruz would rarely compete in the same class, so there is no need to keep the condition of the body a secret. Compared with the description of Olympic, the Santa Cruz area gym could be described as a noisy, social, friendly place.

In support of Klein, this study also reported that steroid users were observed to be insecure, needing attention and affirmation regarding the status of their physiques. This need affirms Cooley's (1956) concept of the looking glass self (an apt analogy considering the plethora of mirrors in gyms) which theorizes that a person's perception of himself is partly derived from the way others respond to him. The more the bodybuilder's physicality is affirmed by others, the better he feels about himself.

The differences between Klein's study and this study center on the fact that Olympic Gym has many members who make a living from bodybuilding, and others who are very close to making their livings through bodybuilding. When livelihood is involved, the activity becomes all important, and more stress is involved in maintaining a physique that will continue to make money. The activity becomes less recreational, more occupational, and the tone of the participants as well as the gym mirror this change. If a serious lifter will never make any money with his physique, why would he choose to take steroids? If the Santa Cruz steroid users' reasons for taking steroids had to be summed up in one sentence, "I need you to look at me" is what it would be.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS

Some final observations and insights into the phenomena of steroid use and steroid users are presented below.

Steroids are again making news. On the Sally Jessy Raphael Show (1991), former pro boxer, Robert Hazelton, admitted to taking steroids even after he had lost a leg due to complications brought on by long-term steroid use. It was only after losing his other leg that he finally quit taking steroids. In his First Person interview (1991), Lyle Alzado told Maria Shriver that if someone cut him off on the freeway, he would "chase them down and spank them" ('roid rage), and that it took brain cancer and the possibility of death to get him to quit using the drugs. These prominent athletes have "come out" to speak against the health risks associated with taking steroids (First Person, 1991; Sally Jessy Raphael, 1991). Their goal in speaking out is to discourage people from using steroids. This may happen, but also what may happen is that steroid users, and steroid use may become more secretive. After all, for many users, fame and fortune are directly tied to steroid use (First Person, 1991), and as former boxer Robert Hazelton said, "You'll do anything; you'll use anyone to get steroids." The consensus of the ex-steroid users who have publicly come out against steroids is that steroids are rampant in gyms and that they are as dangerous as any drug on the street (First Person, 1991; Sally Jessy Raphael, 1991).

Perhaps the most significant finding presented in this study is the number of steroid users within this mid sized, non professional gym's membership (n=25). Santa Cruz is historically noted for its laid back, non competitive atmosphere. (On the Arts and Entertainment program, Evening at the Improv (1991), a comedian suggested that a double major at the University of California at Santa Cruz consisted of hacky sack and frisbee). It

is reasonable to imagine that in a large gym near a campus with a nationally ranked Division I football team, that the numbers of steroid users would be much higher.

The purpose of this study was to focus on a subculture of serious male gym members and observe any differences between steroid users and naturals. From the results of this study, no clearcut guidelines were uncovered which would enable the concerned parent, spouse, friend, teacher, or coach to tell if a serious gym member was a steroid user or a natural although membership in the serious gym member subculture as indicated by dress (revealing, self-modified clothing) or slang ("on," "the stuff," "juicin") should send up a "red flag."

Concerned parties should look less at clothing and jargon and more at physical changes such as rapid gains in size or strength, and a puffy, water-retentive look. Also look for moodiness, uncharacteristic aggressive/combatative behavior, inability to let little things "slide," heightened interest in sex, and compulsion concerning workouts.

This study may have given insight into the serious gym member subculture, but the steroid user can be difficult to pick out, especially to those with an untrained eye. As someone who has been a member of the serious gym member subculture (though never a steroid user) for eight years, this researcher is very good at discerning steroid users. Unfortunately, it is difficult to pass on this form of experiential knowledge.

Recommendations for Further Study

This study and previous research (Klein, 1986) used participant-as-observer field research to do ethnographic studies which focused on male members of the gym subculture. It would seem logical that future research would use the same methodology to study female gym members. Studies could also be done comparing male and female members with respect to hierarchy, equipment use, clothing, and slang.

Another possibility would be for researchers to use observation along with questionnaires and interviews in order to gain more quantifiable data with respect to the traits of natural serious lifters versus steroid using serious lifters. If there is continued effort to stop steroid use, then it might behoove researchers to do in-depth questionnaires, interviews, and case studies among teen subculture members focusing on reasons why teens do or do not choose to start using steroids. A software system, Ethnograph, is available to assist researchers in the analysis of ethnographic data.

The results section of this study mentions that there are sexual overtones within the gym. In view of this finding, a study of gender relationships would be fascinating.

Gym subcultures are plentiful, and they are easily accessible to the researcher. Any one of the studies mentioned above could provide meaningful information on gender differences, sports subcultures, or steroid use.

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Appendix A
COMMONLY USED STEROIDS

<u>Drug Name</u>	<u>Trade Name</u>
testosterone	android-t/oreton
testosterone propionate	oreton propionate
testosterone enanthate	delatestry
testosterone cypionate	depo-testosterone
methyltestosterone	metandren/oreton methyl
fluoxymesterone	halotestin/ora-testryl
danazol	danocrine
calusterone	methosarb
dromostanolone propionate	drolban
ethylestrenol	maxibolin
methandriol	anabol
methandrostenolone	dianabol
nandrolone decanoate	deca-durabolin
nandrolone phenpropionate	durabolin
oxandrolone	anavar
oxymetholone	adroyd/anadrol
stanozolol	winstrol
testolactone	teslac
human growth hormone	

Appendix B

STEROID SIDE EFFECTS

Cardiovascular System

sudden death
cholesterol modifications
heart disease
anaphylactic shock
high blood pressure
septic shock

Liver

cancer
jaundice tumors
pelosis hepatitis

Reproductive System

genital atrophy
genital swelling
sexual dysfunction
sterility (reversible)
impotence
prostate enlargement
fetal damage
menstrual irregularities

Psychological

depression
listlessness
aggressive, combative behavior

Other Side Effects of Steroid Use

acne
edema
hairiness in women (irreversible)
male pattern baldness (irreversible in women)
oily skin
stunted growth
abdominal or stomach pains
chills
diarrhea
changes in bowel and urinary habits
gall stones
hives
headache (continuing)
excessive calcium
insomnia
kidney stones
kidney disease
muscle cramps
nausea or vomiting
purple or red spots on body, inside of mouth, or nose
rash
sore throat
unusual weight gain
unexplained weight loss
unpleasant breath odor (continuing)
unusual bleeding
AIDS