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THEATRE IN THE WESTERN WORLD: TRADITIONS, INTERACTIONS, INFLUENCES

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This paper is a Western contribution to a comparative study sponsored by UNESCO on "Cross-Cultural Threads Along the Silk Road". The project concentrates on theatrical traditions as they developed in the past and as they function today in three civilizations which stand out as milestones along the Silk Road: the Chinese, the Indian and the Western. Despite obvious differences, these three civilizations have a viable theatrical tradition, thereby providing a coherent basis for comparison. In this paper, an attempt is made on the one hand to highlight the main trends which are common to Western Theatre throughout its history, to show specific characteristics which may have appeared in different Western places in different times, and to identify influences from one Western region or country to another across time as well as across space. On the other hand, theatrical contacts with and contributions from other parts of the world classified as landmarks along the Silk Road (i.e. China and India) are being looked for. This use of the comparative method -for tracing both similarities and differences concerning the development of Theatre within the various parts of the Western World and for tracing influences from the East- provides a basis for a better understanding of Western theatrical traditions.

But first, what is Theatre? Its substance is indicated by the etymology of the Greek word designating dramatic art (δραμάτικος) which means "action". So we deal with an art in which actors imitate "action". Such action must be performed in a place where it can be seen: theatre (Θέατρον). (Gouhier, 1985: 1056). So in its widest scope, the word "theatre" refers to the place in which dramatic entertainments are presented and by extension to the activity comprising both the dramatic performances themselves and the work of all who are responsible for presenting them to audiences (Hewitt, 1971: 943). It is on the latter and on their work that interest as been focused in this research in an attempt to identify, as indicated before, interactions and influences within the West and for tracing external influences from the East. Within the scope of this paper, only a summary of my observations with some illustrative examples may be presented.

The Greek tradition as the common origin of Western theatre:

There is no doubt about the fact that Western Theatre was Greek in its origin. It was in Greece that drama became independent of religious rites. And as it developed, emphasis shifted from divine and cosmic themes to mortal and microcosmic ones. On the level of form, Greek Theatre left an important legacy to Western culture through its distinction between three dramatic genres: tragedy, comedy and the satyr play. Another important legacy, perhaps not quite as well known, was the wearing of masks by the actors, a tradition which has kept reappearing in Western Theatre until the present time.

http://ro.ecu.edu.au/ecuworks/6871
From Greece to Rome:

Even though there was local dramatic activity in the form of dancing, festing and improvisation, Theatre was always for the Romans a Greek activity (Wiles, 1995: 49). Latin tragedy clung to Greek mythological and legendary themes, for example with Seneca (c. 4 BC-65 AD), the great model in the 16th and 17th centuries for Shakespeare, Alfieri, Racine and others. As for Roman comedy, it also owed a great deal to Greek tradition and was also a major source of inspiration for the slater Western Theatre, especially in the case of Plautus (late 3rd century -2nd century BC) and Terence (c. 185-c. 159 BC).

Some Continuity Through The Dark Ages; Development Of The Medieval Drama

In spite of the efforts of the Christian Church to suppress the Theatre, the influence of the Greek and Latin theatrical tradition was so widespread in the vast Roman Empire that remnants of this tradition could not be eradicated. So the Church chose to appropriate it and theatrical elements were increasingly incorporated into Church services, first through antiphonal music then through formal dramatic festivals. Miracle plays, (presenting the lives, miracles and martyrdoms of the Saints), Mystery plays (presenting Bible stories) and moralities (or allegorical dramas) developed all over Europe. As time went by, drama included an increasing number of elements from secular life and an increasing use of the vernacular speech instead of Latin. A comic theatre also appeared under different forms: sotties (a kind of satirical play), farces and short interludes. Interactions were strong within the West but there was no contribution from non-European sources.

Drama In The 16th And Early 17th Centures:

Italy was the cradle of the Renaissance. This was a period during which Western Theatre was under the common influence of Classicism and Humanism on the one hand, of the Reformation and Counter Reformation on the other. But these influences took different forms in different countries and, although there were many interactions, influences and imitations, distinct national forms emerged especially in the theatres of Spain, France and England. There was still no sign of any influence from non Western sources. And this in spite of the gradual opening of the world thanks to the great geographic discoveries of the Renaissance. Moreover, far from causing influences from East upon West, these discoveries resulted into sustained, overpowering, unidirectional impact of West on all other civilizations (Huntington, 1997: 50). Indeed there was little chance for Western Theatre to escape this trend b

Wealth And Diversity In 17th Century Theatre:

The 17th Century Theatre witnessed the Golden Age of Spanish Theatre with the development of the comedia which includes any dramatic work based on a complex plot, with no distinction between the genres. It was illustrated by the brilliant work of famous playwrights: Cervantes (1547-1616); Lope de Vega (1562-1635); Guilhem de Castro (1567-1631); Alarcon (late 16th century-1639); Tirso de Molina (1584-1648) and Calden (1600-1681). Spanish Theatre had a very strong influence on the French one between 1620 and 1660, especially on Corneille (1606-1684), whose famous tragi-comedy, "Le Cid" (1637), was inspired by Guilhem de Castro's "Las
Mocedades del Cid" and whose comedy "Le Menteur" (1639) by Alarcon. It was only after Calderon's death that, in turn, French Neo-Classicism had some influence on Spanish Theatre.

In the meantime, classicism had bloomed in French Theatre, with the triumph of the three unities of place, time and action while an equally important, if unwritten, fourth unity, that of tone, also became respected. The French stage was influenced by Italian comedians who repeatedly performed in Paris and in 1660 the troupe of Italian comedy settled there on a permanent basis. While Corneille turned to tragedy and chose most of his subjects from Roman history, Moliere (1622-1673) drew mostly from Latin sources (from Plautus's "L'Aulularia" for "T'Avare" (1668) and from Terence's "Phormion" for "Les Fourberies de Scapin" (1671). There was a touch of Orientalism in "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme" (1670) where the pretentious Monsieur Jourdain is flattered into accepting for his son in law a fake Turkish prince. As for Racine (1639-1699), he often turned to Greek sources, especially Euripides, and also to Latin ones, especially Seneca. But his "Bajazet" (1672) also presents a touch of Orientalism with a Turkish setting at the Court of an Ottoman Turkish sultan, this tragedy being performed in costume and decor "a la Turque". Indeed the possessive love of Roxane, a ferocious sultana, is depicted with the overtones of Oriental passions; and the despotism of the seraglio is powerfully suggested (Mc Causland Stewart, 1971: 989). But the idiom and the vocabulary as well as the classical Alexandrine verse remain truly French. And Corneille was right when he declared that the language was more akin to French than to Turkish customs. The same may be said about the biblical setting of Racine's later plays: "Esther" (1689) and "Athalie" (1691).

In England, there were some attempts at classicism in drama, especially by John Dryden (1631-1700) but the most popular genre was the heroic drama, for example in the plays of William Congreve (1670-1729) while the English comedy of manners borrowed from the national tradition (Shakespeare) and also from the Spanish and the French, for example William Wycherley (1640-1716), influenced by Moliere.

In Germany the playwrights of the 17th century owed a debt to the Jesuit drama which, by 1600, was performed throughout Europe.

It is clear that, during the 17th century, multiple theatrical interactions, imitations and influences occured between European countries across time as well as across space. But besides some references to Turkey and the Middle East through the choice of subjects, there appears to have been no real influence from and no true contact with non-Western sources. And this in spite of the growing European interest in commerce with the East, encouraged by the English, the Dutch, the French, the Scottish, the Spanish, the Austrian, the Danish and the Swedish governments which all sponsored Indian merchant companies ! In spite also of a growing Western interest in Middle and Far Eastern languages -for example JeanBaptiste Colbert (1619-1683), Minister to Louis the XIVth-founded in Paris (1669) a school for teaching Eastern languages to young French diplomats. In spite also of the information provided by missionaries who went East in the wake of of Saint Francois Xavier, one of the founders of the Jesuits, who had gone to India, Japan and had died near Canton in 1552.

As the case had been in the 16th century, the direction of influence however continued to be from West to East. This may at least partially explain why references to the East
existing in Moliere's or Racine's plays seem to be mere concessions to a fashionable popularity of the East without testifying to a true understanding of the Orient and without revealing any true influence of Oriental dramatic art on Western Theatre.

**Enlightenment And Nationalism In 18th Century Theatre:**

In the period of Enlightenment, Western Theatre reflected the changes of society and the evolution toward more tolerance. The leadership of France was gradually submitted to rivalry from Shakespeare and the pre-romantic movement. Interactions were strong within Europe. For example, there was in Paris an imitation by the Italian comedians of "The Beggar Opera" by John Gay (1685-1732), a tremendous success in London in 1728 which was to be revived in 1920 by Max Reinhardt with a music of Kurt Weill (1900-1950). From England also came the influence of George Lillo's (1693-1739) bourgeois drama on Diderot (1713-1784) with "Le Pere de Famille" (1761) and on Lessing (1729-1781) with "Miss Sara Sampson" (1755). By midcentury, there was in France a growing influence from Shakespeare, who was translated in French in 1745 by Pierre-Antoine de la Place (1707-1793) and in 1759 by Pierre Letourneur (1736-1788). Also in France Voltaire (1694-1778) used exotic settings to make subtle critics about the contemporary scene for example Lima for "Alzire ou les Americains" (1736), Assyria for "Semiraminis" (1748) -a subject taken up before by Crebillon (1664-1772)- and Cambalu, the former name of Beijing for "Orphelin de la Chine" (1755), inspired by a Chinese tragedy, "The Orphan of Tchao", written in the 14th century and translated into French by Father Bremare. But once again exotic inspiration was only nominal, Voltaire turning these plays into truly French tragedies. This was also the case for Antoine Lemierre's (1723-1793) "Widow of Malabar" (1770), a tragedy on an Indian theme. Voltaire's "Orphelin de la Chine" was adapted into English in 1759 by Arthur Murphy (1727-1805) who also wrote plays imitated from Voltaire and Crebillon.

There was also a French influence on Spain for example in the writings by Gaspar de Jovellanos (1744-1811); Nicolas Moratin (1737-1880) and his son Leandro (1760-1828) who took Moliere as a model.

In Italy, the French model was influential on Carlo Goldoni's (1707-1793) comedies and on the tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803) although the latter denied it.

In Germany, there was a slavish imitation of French models by Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766) in spite of the opposition of authors such as Lessing(1729-1781), who proposed Shakespeare as a model, a trend fostered by Christoph Wieland's (1733-1813) translation of the English playwright. Echoes from the latter may be found in Schiller's plays, such as "Die Rauber" (1882) and in some of Goethe's (1749-1832) whose later plays however were influenced by French neo-classicism. French influence was strong in Denmark, with Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) owing a great deal to Moliere as well as in Sweden and Norway and also in Russia during the reign of Catherine II (1762-1796) after a "German" period.

Altogether, interactions, influences and imitations had been strong within Western Theatre during the 18th century but there had been hardly more impact from non-Western sources than in previous centuries. Exceptions such as Voltaire's "Orphan" and Lemierre's "Widow " presented the Orient as imagined by their authors
and not as it was, following the line of the 17th century "turqueries". The same trend could be observed in the field of opera as shown by several examples: Jean Philippe Rameau's (1683-1764) "Les Indes Galantes" (1735); Gluck's (1714-1787) "Alessandro nell India (1746) and "L'Orfano della China" (1766), Mozart's (1756-1791) "Thamos, Konig in Agypten" (1779); "Die Entfuhrung aus dem Serail" (1782) and "Die Zauberflote" (The Magic Flute, 1791) and Verdi's (1813-1901) "Aida" (1871). Gluck also used "oriental" instrument effects in "Le Cadi dupe" (1761) and "La Rencontre imprevue" (1764), an opera comique.

So it appears that interest in the Orient remained superficial. Oriental tales had become popular in Europe but Antoine Galland's (1646-1715) translation of "One thousand and one Nights" (1708) had aroused interest so much the more because its author had adapted the text to French taste. Indeed, writing oriental tales was mostly used as fiction to criticize the local scene. This was the case in France with "Les Amusements serieux et comiques d'un Siamois" (1707) by Charles Dufresny (1648-1724) and with "Les Lettres Persanes" (1721) by Montesquieu (1689-1755). This seems surprising in a period when explorers and travellers as well as scientists and scholars brought new knowledge of Non Western parts of the world (6).

Romanticism And Realism in 19th Century Theatre

After a period of neo-classicism in Europe under Voltaire's influence, Western theatre evolved towards Romanticism and, around 1850, towards Realism, first centered on faithful reproduction of social reality and later on Naturalism which went further in including the crude aspects of this social reality.

During the first of these two periods, melodrama, which thrrove on the European stage as an international phenomenon, and Pre-Romanticism, epitomized by the German "Sturm und Drang Movement", prepared the ground for Romanticism which developed first in the north of Europe, later in the south. It was marked by intense interactions, influences and imitations. In France for example, not only events in the country but perhaps mostly influences from other European countries were instrumental in the development of Romantic drama: in 1808 an adaptation of Schiller's (1759-1805) "Wallenstein" (performed in Weimar in 1798) by Benjamin Constant (1767-1830); in 1814 a translation of Von Schlagel's (1767-1845) "Uber Dramatische Kunst und Literatur" which included a praise of Shakespeare and a presentation of the main romantic dramas; in 1821 a new translation of Shakespeare by Francois Guizot (1787-1874); in 1823 the publication of the "Letter on Unities" by Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873) ; in 1823 and 1825 respectively the publication by Stendhal (1783-1842) of two pamphlets on "Racine et Shakespeare" in which the author praised Shakespeare; in 1829 Alfred de Vigny's (1797-1863) free adaptations of "Othello" (Le More de Venise) and of "The Merchant of Venice" (Shylock). Also influential in spreading Romanticism in France were the performances in Paris of such English famous Shakespearian comedians as Charles Kemble (1775-1854), Charles Macready (1793-1873) and Edmund Kean (c. 1789-1833) as well as articles in favour of Romanticism published in the liberal newspaper "Le Globe" by Charles de Remusat (1797-1875). It was against this background that in 1827 came Victor Hugo's (1802-1885) famous "Preface to "Cromwell" which was seen as the Manifesto of the Romantic school and advocated suppressing the unities of time and place,
showing violence and death on the stage, mixing humour and seriousness and using words, phrases and verse structures foreign to classical vocabulary.

Everywhere in Europe, the 1840's were a turning point between Romanticism and Realism which came as a reaction against romantic excesses, mingled with a desire of social and theatrical reform in a context where most forms of theatre became oriented towards middle class audiences and their concerns (Booth, 1995: 311). These trends were to be followed throughout Europe and also in the United States. Then came Naturalist Theatre, encouraged in France in 1881 by Emile Zola (1840-1902) in "Le Naturalisme au Theatre" and by Andre Antoine (1858-1943), a famous stage director, who founded the "Theatre Libre" in Paris in 1887.

This Theatre toured Brussels and Berlin in 1888, London in 1898. Its success abroad showed "how truly international was the revolutionary artistic and ideological ferment of the time" (Esslin, 1995: 346).

As the 19th century drew to its end, interactions, influences and imitations had multiplied in Western Theatre. But this was limited to the Western world, although Orientalism and Indianism were an increasing focus of interest in Europe and North America. Not only on the scientific level - Linguistics, Geography, History, Natural Sciences and Archaeology - but on the artistic level as well: painting, opera, dancing and the novel. And also travel diaries in a period when "the voyage to the Orient" became fashionable for Western painters and writers.

20th Century Western Theatre: Opening Up On A World Perspective

In the midst of a multitude of experiments and individual undertakings, the following main trends can be identified:

I. On the level of playwriting: 1° a persistance of realist and naturalist drama; 2° a poetic reaction against naturalism; 3° the development of Expressionism and its allied forms: dadaist and surrealist Theatre; Futurism and the Theatre of the Grotesque; 4° A Theatre of Commitment and a Theatre of Contestation.

On the level of stage directing: the influential role of stage directors, a development which contributed to a further acceleration of contacts and influences between Western countries while fostering (at last!) some interest in and some borrowings from Oriental Theatre.

On the level of playwriting, this interest can be identified for example in the symbolist drama of William Butler Yeats (1865-1939), in a surrealist play by Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes (1884-1974) and in the expressionist Theatre of T.S. Eliot (1888-1965). Yeats experimented on the Japanese No Theatre to which Ezra Pound had introduced him and which provided him "with a framework of drama, designed for a small audience of initiates: stylized, intimate drama, capable of using to the full the resources of mask, mime, dance and song and of conveying his own recondite symbolism" (Rice Henn, 1971: 881); this influence can be observed in "Four Plays for Dancers" (1921); "Calvary" (1930); "The Resurrection" (1931). The title of the surrealist play by Ribemont-Dessaignes was "L'Empereur de Chine" (1925). As for
Concerning the influential role of stage directors, the trend can be traced back to the 1880's when two conceptions of staging developed. The first one was faithful to the naturalistic vision of Theatre but in a deeper and inner version. This was the standpoint of above mentioned Antoine (1858-1943) with his Theatre Libre and this was also the basis for Stanislavski's (1863-1938) work at the Moscow Art Theatre, founded in 1897, where he developed his method of inner realism, known as the Stanislavski method. The other one was influenced by Wagner and Symbolism; it can be identified with Edward Gordon Craig (1872-1966) and Adolphe Appia (1862-1928) who advocated an almost abstract type of stage, against which the intellectual structure of the drama became the more visible. Joining tradition and innovation; Jacques Copeau (1879-1949), influenced by Appia for his stage setting, wanted to emphasize both the actor and the script, through an almost empty stage (concept of the "treteau nu"). But staging as an autonomous creative art was claimed by Antoine as well as by Craig and Appia. With them started a striking increase of the role of stage directors in Western Theatre. It is to be noted that several took some of their inspiration from Oriental Theatre techniques.

This was the case of Max Reinhardt (1873-1943), an Austrian actor, theatrical producer and director in Berlin who left for the US when the Nazis came into power. He saw the newly emerging function of the director as that of an independent creative artist (Esslin, 1995: 371) and his world-wide success before World War 1 had established the function of the creative director as a new artistic force in the theatre (Ibid.: 369). In this perspective, he gave a major importance to the visual elements and to a staging where the expressive movements of the artists would predominate over the script (Ibid.) This led him to produce Pantomimes, i.e. mime plays in which the text was minimal and where the director merely filled a brief scenario with visual elements: movements, dance, colour, gesture and dazzling light effects (Ibid.). The first of these was "Sumurun", an Oriental tale from the Arabian Nights. It opened in Berlin in 1910 and caused such a sensation that Reinhardt was invited to take it to London (1911), New York (1912) and Paris (1912).

Berthold Brecht (1896-1956), both a playwright and stage director, moved rapidly from his early expressionism, through involvement in communist agit prop and collaboration with Erwin Piscator (1893-1966), to his own modernist style of staging. In his "Epic Theatre" he presented events as narrative, creating discontinuous action from a montage of scenes linked by their illustrative relationship to a central problem (Innes, 1995: 404). Personality is seen as the product of social determinism and thus completely changeable, in a perspective of environmental determinism (Ibid; 403) Brecht's Theatre is based on the idea that the audience should not identify with the characters but should keep a distance and, being turned into objective observers, be led to philosophical and political awareness. It is also based on the idea that such a revolutionary content should be supported by stage innovations. This brought Brecht to the use of Chinese and Japanese techniques, clown figures and masks, particularly half-masks in his parable plays: "The Caucasian Chalk Circle" and "The Good Person of Setzuan", inspired by a Chinese play of the 13th century which Brecht however interpreted in his own way just as Voltaire had turned "L'Orphelin de la Chine" into a French tragedy.
On the French scene, Antonin Artaud (1891-1948), a contemporary of Piscator and Brecht’s, was—a after a period of hyper-realism—both the theorician and the stage director of surrealist theatre. He advocated a “theatre of cruelty” expressing violent pulsions, brutal sensations and the rediscovery of primal perceptions and called for a theatre of physical action: “the metaphysic double” of not only commercial theatre, but also serious (naturalistic) and literary drama (see "Le Theatre et son double, 1938). It should "release a primal spontaneity and communicative delirium to the audience, rediscovering the necessary cruelty that is a law of nature, creative through destruction" (Innes, 1995: 412). Like W.B. Yeats and Brecht, he used the Oriental tradition as a source but instead of the No Theatre, he turned to the Balinese dances which he had seen at the Exposition Coloniale in Paris in 1931 (Innes, 1995: 412).

The Japanese No drama was a source in France for Jean-Louis Barrault (1910-1994) whose concept of a "total theatre" was a purely imaginative world, more expressive than reality, created on the stage through a synthesis of stylized conventions not only from No drama but also from circus and commedia dell’arte (Innes, 1995: 409-410).

The Japanese No, as used by Brecht, is also a source for a contemporary British playwright, Edward Bond, who, influenced by Antonin Artaud’s theatre of cruelty, combines this Eastern source with borrowings from the Elizabethan Theatre.

And so Western Theatre goes on as the 20th century draws to its end with an ever growing number of performances of all kinds and with an intense contact between Western countries and an increasing one between all parts of the World, notably through the popularity of festivals (for example in Avignon since 1946). Indeed, on the world scale, contacts have multiplied since the 19th century, with an opening of the West to Eastern artistic forms: Chinese and Japanese Theatre, Indian and Balinese dances. Simultaneously, China, Japan and also Arabic countries (in which Theatre was non existent until mid -19th century) as well as Black Africa have been discovering Western Theatre and strengthening it with their own cultural tradition. But even though a keen interest in the use of Oriental theatrical forms is without any doubt a characteristic of "l'air du temps" in Western societies, this interest only led to borrowing and adapting some theatrical techniques without modifying the deep level of creation, even though innovations borrowed from Non Western Theatre were not mere imitations but consisted in a creative adoption of new techniques into what remained a Western cultural phenomenon. Perhaps the experimental theatre of to day will go one step further in this creative process of adoption. For both the "traditional" and the "intercultural " avant garde theatres testify to an active interest in Non Western Theatre. The "traditional" avant garde, refusing technologic modernity, takes its inspiration from "ancient wisdom" and from non Western rites and traditional cultures, with, for example the experiments of Jerzy Grotowski, the Polish stage director who now has a Theatre Professorship at the College de France in Paris. As for the "intercultural" avant garde, one of its forms emphasizes universal traits and links between different cultures, with for example the work of Danish Eugenio Barba in his "International School of Anthropological Theatre". Convinced that some "pre-expressive" gestures and movements are the condition for efficient corporal expression, he finds the best models of those in the Theatre from Asia: kathakali and odissi in India, jiingsu in China, buto in Japan Schechner,1997: 7-8).
If we go back to the issue of evolutionism or diffusionism as the origin of similarity of cultural traits in different civilizations, it is clear that we deal here not only with what Arnold Kroeber (1876-1960) called diffusion by contact and by borrowing but also with what he called "diffusion through stimulation", which occurs when it is not the actual culture trait which is adopted but its adaptation to a different culture (Kroeber, 1944). So Ralph Linton's comment "The comparatively rapid growth of culture as a whole has been due to the ability of all societies to borrow elements from other cultures and to incorporate them into their own" (Linton, 1936: 324) applies to Western Theatre. While interactions, influences and imitations were intense within its geographical area throughout its history across time and space the impact of 'theatrical traditions of civilizations which are milestones along the Silk Road remained quite limited, in a situation where Western Theatre appears as a cultural unit of its own with a capacity to incorporate new elements from other horizons.

REFERENCES
The Leisure Experience of Chinese Theater Appreciation

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Introduction
This study is a subproject of theatrical traditions along the silk road, which tries to trace Western, Chinese, and Indian orientations in today's theater-going. This paper concerns the Chinese civilization, Chinese theatrical traditions, and the leisure meaning of theater for contemporary Chinese in Taiwan.

The performance style of Chinese theater has been influenced by the changes in social and political environment. The Chinese theater in Taiwan has been influenced by immigration from Mainland China, Japanese rule, and cultural impact from western society. Therefore there are performances of all kinds of traditional and modern drama styles. Basically, the development and changes of Chinese drama reflect the interaction of Chinese culture historically and today. These years, more and more Taiwanese have leisure time to develop a taste for cultural experiences. Of all the leisure experiences, drama gives the benefits of social communication, entertainment, education, art, and recreation for the participants.

Actors, scripts, and audience are three important elements in theater, but the performances also need to take into consideration theater space and the social environment. In a performance, the possibility of interactions between actors and spectators create the drama experience. There is an old Chinese idiom “life is a performance of theater.” In theater, we can see a brief picture of real life; the style and space of theater are used for people on and off stage to communicate their feelings to move their emotions.

The Chinese dictionary defines theater as: “an art performed on stage in front of the audiences by actors as characters about events.” Drama has been recognized as the seventh important art following poetry, music, painting, sculpture, architecture, and dance. Drama is a combination of art forms; there are all kinds of different elements of art in the process of a performance. Furthermore, theater as one of the performing arts draws actors, musicians, and spectators together. On stage, actors are face to face with the audience who are educated and receive elements of culture during the performance. People could not only see the historic fate, current events, and future development of a country or a race but also understand the life style and social norm in that society.

This study first reviews the historic background of Chinese theater in Taiwan and how the styles have been influenced by changes in the social-political environment. Then an investigation is carried out about how people in Taiwan are presently involved with drama as a leisure experience. The meaning of the leisure experience for amateur performer and spectator is compared. Finally, it explored the difference in leisure experience between participating in traditional and modern dramas.
Literature Review

The Origin of Chinese Theater

Greece, India, and China are the three civilizations with the most ancient theatrical tradition. Originally, Chinese theatre was very primitive. It consisted purely of song and dance that reflected people's lives and their hopes for blessing from nature. There were no decorated scripts and theaters used in those plays. During the Shag Dynasty (1500-1027 BC) the myths include representatives of those supernatural forces that the rites celebrated or hope to influence. The dramas were presented to thank gods for giving them a peaceful life and to celebrate after the hard work of the harvest. At that time, dance, music, and ritual played an important role in Chinese life. These kinds of theaters developed into folk theater. A few secular elements, in the form of stories, pantomime, jests, and songs seem to have crept into these rituals and into court entertainment during the Chou Dynasty (1027-256 BC). Historians have sought to draw a parallel between such practices and the dithyrambic choruses of Greece.

The first great period of Chinese art and literature came under the Han Dynasty (206 BC-221 AD), during which China came to equal the Roman Empire. All sorts of entertainment seem to have flourished which were called "the hundred plays." Entertainment was presented at competitions at fairs and markets as well as at court. Many of the instruments still used in Chinese theatre orchestras' date from the Han Dynasty. The Chinese also trace the origin of the shadow play to this period. Some historians thought Indian theater came from Greece, while Chinese theater related to Indian. The Greek emperor conquered India and built a path to connect western and oriental culture. Then the forms of entertainment were conglomerations of native traditions and Buddhism with elements imported from India.

During the succeeding Tang Dynasty (618-904 AD) great progress was made toward a distinctive theatrical form incorporating music, dance, dialogue, and acrobatics. Chinese actors traditionally date their origin from 714 AD, when the Emperor Ming-Huang opened the "Pear Garden Dramatic College" as a training school for performers of music and dance. Stories of considerable length that would become a fertile source for future dramatists also began to appear in abundance in this era. A fully developed drama did begin to emerge during the Sung Dynasty. The Sung Dynasty (960-1279 AD) brought China another of its great cultural eras. Story telling also reached a new peak. The playhouses were situated in special areas called "tile district."

The Mongols, whose empire stretched across Asia into Europe, established the Yuan Dynasty, which ruled China from 1279 to 1368. The native Chinese intellectuals began to practice and perfect native folk arts. Especially attracted to earlier forms of music-drama, these writers created works usually considered the foundation of the classical Chinese theater. Yuan dramatists drew their stories from history, legend, novels, epics, and contemporary events. The Yuan Dynasty dramas divided into two types -- the Southern and the Northern -- on the basis of differences in prosody, music, and composition. During the Yuan Dynasty, Chinese drama began to take on its distinctive characteristics.
During the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) for some time the Southern and Northern two earlier schools of writing continued to be equally important, but during the 16th century, the Southern school began to dominate. Plays of this period often run as many as fifty or more acts, each relatively complete itself and separately titled. In the opening act, usually called the prologue, a secondary character sets forth the author’s purpose and explains the story. Succeeding acts introduce many plot strands. All are resolved happily. Any of the characters may sing, and there are solos, duets, and even choruses.

After the mid-nineteenth century Beijing Opera was the dominant theatrical form, it was an amalgamation of several regional forms. Beijing Opera is primarily a theatrical rather than a literary form; its emphasis is upon rigidly controlled conventions of acting, dancing, and singing rather than upon the text. During Chin Dynasty a lot of scripts were created by writers; acting roles were divided into male (sheng), female (tan), painted face (ching), and comic (chou). The male roles were subdivided into old men (lao sheng), young men (xiao sheng), and worrier (wu sheng). The female roles are subdivided into the quiet and gentle (qing yi), the vivacious or dissolute (hua tan), and old women (lao tan). Originally, all tan roles were played by women, but from the late eighteen century until the twentieth century actresses were forbidden. After 1911, actresses returned to the stage and now have largely supplanted the male tan actors. The painted face (ching) roles are distinguished by the elaborate painted facial makeup worn by the actors. The ching roles include gods and other supernatural beings; they are subdivided according to whether they are good or evil or whether they must engage in fighting and gymnastics. The clown (chou) roles are the most realistic. They speak in everyday language and are free to joke and improvise. The clown must be a good mimic and acrobat. The actor’s delivery of lines is rigidly controlled by conventions. The stage gestures and spoken rhythm of each role also has been codified. The visual appearance is completed by makeup and heavily patterned costume. Beijing Opera has a complex and formalized system of performance.

The Development of Taiwanese Theater and Its Relationship to Social-culture Changes

Taiwanese drama performance started in the 17th century as immigrants arrived from Mainland China. Drama performance spread out for religious reasons and formed as an important cultural style in counties and towns. The temple was the center of local community life. Performances in front of the temple were set up to thank the gods during marriage, funeral, holiday and festival celebrations. Paying for public performances was demanded of some people as penance for crimes or bad behavior. Most of the performances were historical stories related to loyalty, filial piety, or morality for educating the people. Drama was not only an important entertainment but also helped the civilians to understanding culture, learning to have better relationships within the community. Traditional theater kept a closer relationship between people and people, humans and nature, and humans and the supernatural world.

Because of the influences from Japanese “new drama” and Chinese “cultural drama” during the twenty’s, some performance groups other than traditional Taiwanese were established. The aim of “new drama” and “cultural drama” was to reform society and drama; therefore these kinds of dramas were realistic and reflected Taiwanese social
and political environment. In the years leading up to World War II, under the Japanese government in Taiwan, the Empire movement promoted “empire drama” which was substituted for Taiwanese traditional dramas. After the World War II, Taiwanese traditional dramas were prevalent again. There were hundreds of drama groups and a lot of local amateur crews. After KMT began ruling Taiwan, most of the performances were anti-Communist plays. Beijing Opera was the only formal performance in large theaters; while traditional Taiwanese dramas played in local playhouse or small private theaters.

Modern Drama and Small Community Theater

Western-style drama made considerable headway after the 1950’s. Modern dramas are translations or adaptations of western works, which require skilled teamwork including playwright, producer, lighting, design, stage design, music and dance and careful rehearsal. Audience behavior has also altered somewhat; they buy tickets to see the most professional performances. After Martial law was ended in the 1980’s, political restrictions begun to lessen. A lot of history and social events have been performed; scripts are also multi-forms that related to politics, sociality, and native tradition. The audience has more open vision in theater experience than before.

People who work with modern drama are familiar with theatre theories and performance style. Recently the development of community theater is getting more important in Taiwan; a lot of drama workers care about local development. Community theater often uses an experimental style. The aim of small community drama is not to entertain the audience, but to convey the ideology of political and social issues. Their performances contain arguments on issues such as feminism, homosexuality, laborer’s rights, and aboriginal culture which are concerns of the middle class. They are involved with social activities and reforming the society and culture. The small theater works also try to perform traditional or folk drama. Small theater groups are becoming the main performance groups in Taiwan during the past ten years.

Leisure Meaning of Theater

In an influential essay published in 1952, Josef Pieper developed an argument that leisure is the “basis of culture.” The philosophers advanced the concern that modern civilization more become quite “unleisurely” in order to have leisure (Kelly, 1990). In the ancient agricultural society, people had celebrations after the hard work of the harvest or holidays. People not only attended ceremony but also had entertainment with reunified family and friends. Theater was the major recreation activity in ancient life; through it all kinds of folk art such as local songs, musical instruments, and spoken dramas were developed. These folk arts have the functions of ritual ceremony, life decoration, and entertainment. The community donates money and invites theater group to entertain gods. The residents usually organize local amateur performance groups. Participating in theater programs is a way to be involved in public affairs and to show a symbol of power. Theater helps to provide meaning in people lives. A folk theater work expresses the customs and attitudes of the local people.
As the society progresses and became more urbanized, people are involved less in the folk arts, and a lot of the traditional leisure activities are vanishing. Today people tend to work very hard and seriously to obtain the opportunity for something far inferior to the real freedom of leisure. However, leisure is a “mental and spiritual attitude” rather than spare time or a holiday. It is an inner condition of openness and receptivity (Kelly, 1990). According to Verduin & McEwen (1984) suggested five benefits of leisure, the significance of theater experience is proposed as follows:

1. Social benefits: Drama is an assemble artistic activity. Participating in theater both the audience and the performers who have the experience of contacting and communicating with the society and community.

2. Recreation benefits: Chinese traditional “the hundred plays” is one of the origins of Chinese theater. Drama is a leisure activity with the characteristics of relaxation, entertainment, and self-expression. Participant’s satisfaction is concentrated in the experience of doing the activity and accepting the intrinsic meaning of the play’s context.

3. Educational benefits: Drama performances often bear certain religious, political, commercial, and cultural values. The Chinese theater has been a stabilizing agent of public morality and is officially endorsed as an important medium of mass education.

4. Psychological benefits: Feedback is most valued in the theater performance. Some feedback from those who watch and listen was that theater makes them more able to appreciate the quality of life. It creates a mental and spiritual receptivity.

5. Aesthetic benefits: Probably beauty is the most important element in theater performance. The stage design, costume, actor’s makeup, and the meaning of the script represent the visual or imagination beauty of theater. The aesthetic experience could heighten the audience’s sensory and emotional perception. The aesthetic benefits in drama are mostly gained by:

   Formal beauty -- could include stage design, musical rhythm, performed gesture, and customs. These are received by sight and sound in theater.

   Theater tension -- which is the element that causes the audience to feel the special drama effects.

**Theatric Leisure of Chinese**

The Silk Road Theater Traditions Project has focused on theater as a cultural domain which can reveal the differing and evolving contributions. A comparison of Western, Chinese, and Indian civilizations tries to identify characteristics of theater-going which specifically relate to each. This study centers on Chinese theater; it is a subproject of “Theatrical Traditions Along the Silk Road.” A primary research instrument was constructed by Karin Blair. Since a pretest of primitive questionnaire has shown difficult to conduct, a revised structured questionnaire has been administrated for Chinese in Taiwan. The question items used a five-point Likert scale ranging from “not at all important (disagree)” to “extremely important (agree).” The purposes of this subproject are:

1. To investigate and explore how people in Taiwan are involved with drama as a leisure experience.

2. To compare the meaning of the leisure experience for amateur performer and spectator.

3. To explore the difference in leisure experience between participating in traditional Chinese theaters and modern dramas.
Description of the Participation Profile:

The sample was collected from people who participated in traditional Chinese theater and modern drama. The background information of this sample is shown in table 1. The sample includes 207 (67%) subjects who primarily participated in modern drama and 102 (33%) respondents who participated in traditional theater. A small percent (9.7%) of the sample are amateur performers, the others (279) are spectators. This sample is dominated by female participants, consisting of 190 (61.5%) females and 119 (38.5%) males. Education level for the entire sample typically includes college, university and above; about 75% of the group has a higher level of education.

Background Information of Those Participating in Theater

Fifty-four percent of the sample reported having been to the theater 2-6 times in the last 12 months; about twenty-seven percentage reported only one-time; nine percentage reported 7-12 times and 11 percent reported 13 times or more. Most subjects thought that the reasons for participating in theatre were for entertainment (44.2%), it’s a part of life (19.2%), friend’s invitation (16.5%), and for getting mental inspiration (14.8%). Before going to the theater, approximately half of the subjects read the text or review related papers. About 15% of the sample reported that they did personal activities such as mediation or relaxation before went to the theater. Sixteen of thirty amateur performers answered that he or she did voice and physical training for preparing the performance. The qualities of good audience include being open to portrayal of social values (31.5%), cultured (25.6%), enthusiastic (23.7%), and critical (12.8%). Only a small percentage (6.9%) of the sample thought the audience should be respectful. The sample reported that important qualities of a good performer include having the capacity to communicate (18.6%), sensitivity (17.9%), and personal revolution (17.1%), followed by having the capacity to identify with others (13.0%), a resilient body (12.9%), and strength (11.9%). A small sample reported that good performers should have a good voice (4.1%), purity (3.7%), and high social status (0.8%).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for sample background of participating theater

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background Information</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of theater</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese traditional theater</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>33.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Modern theater</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>67.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participant role</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amateur performer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spectator</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>80.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education level</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Junior high school</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior high school</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>36.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>University and above</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating dramas in the last 12 months</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 time</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-6 times</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>54.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12 times</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 + times</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reason to go to theater (n=364 *)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a part of life</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape from work</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.2</td>
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</table>
### Table 2

<table>
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<tr>
<th>How do you prepare</th>
<th>How many</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading of text or reviews</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meditation or relaxation</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice and physical training</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### How do you prepare

**Friend’s invitation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you prepare</th>
<th>How many</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading of text or reviews</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meditation or relaxation</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice and physical training</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### What qualities do you think good audiences should have (n=391)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualities</th>
<th>How many</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be cultured</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be respectful</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be enthusiastic</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be open to portrayal of social values</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be critical</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### What qualities do you think good performers should have (n=614)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualities</th>
<th>How many</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sensitivity</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity to identify with others</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity to communicate</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A resilient body</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good voice</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal evolution</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purity</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High social status</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Multiple response of the question.

### Difference Between Spectator and Amateur of Participating in Chinese Theater

Five items exhibited significant differences between spectators and amateur performer (table2). The perceived benefits showed that amateur performers placed greater importance upon the social benefit than spectators did. A socialization-oriented explains the amateur attended theater activities which incorporates the development of social relationships. From the time aspect, amateur gave a higher score than spectator did upon theater providing a temporal experience through time apart for oneself. The amateur also showed significantly higher scores than spectator in the theater providing opportunity to transcend oneself and for appreciating of actors emotional skill. The amateurs emphasized attending the performance for self-awareness significantly higher than spectators did.

### Difference Between Those Who Participating in Traditional Theater and Modern Theater

There were eleven items that people who participating in traditional theater put statistically higher importance on than modern theater groups. The perceived beauty experience of Chinese theater was higher than that of modern theater; the participants in Chinese drama emphasized the importance of visual appearance and costumes attractiveness. The past of the culture and the historical past offered higher possibility of interaction with the performance in Chinese theatre than modern theatre. During ritual ceremony and holiday festival traditional drama is an important program, the data also showed traditional Chinese theater was interwoven with Chinese ordinary lives. Exploring oneself was the only item which participants of modern drama gave higher importance than those who attended Chinese theater. In Chinese theater there is an emphasis on music and vocal performance; therefore the rhythmic and music were the mainly appreciative skill of actors by subjects of Chinese theater than of modern theater. Most Chinese dramas are resolved happily. The result also exhibited the Chinese theater participants more preferred happy ending for the main characters and socially harmonious endings. Traditional Chinese theater had significantly higher
scores in characters role and stage design than modern theater. People attended Chinese theater for self-awareness more than in modern drama.

<p>| Table 2. T-test analyses for spectator and amateur and for those who participating in traditional and modern theater |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Spectator</th>
<th>Amateur performer</th>
<th>T-value</th>
<th>Modern theater</th>
<th>Traditional theater</th>
<th>T-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>-2.41*</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>-1.07</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>3.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>-.42</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. A theater is a place of...

| A social place | 3.54 | .86 | 3.58 | 3.40 | 1.025 | 3.50 | 3.67 | -1.010 |
| A sacred space | 3.13 | 1.03 | 3.13 | 3.13 | -.040 | 3.06 | 3.33 | -1.436 |
| An experience of reality | 4.31 | .70 | 4.28 | 4.43 | -1.094 | 4.34 | 4.22 | .873 |

3. Does theater offer the possibility of interaction with...

| Past of universe | 3.41 | .75 | 3.46 | 3.23 | 1.436 | 3.37 | 3.53 | -1.099 |
| Past of the culture | 3.49 | .83 | 3.50 | 3.43 | .389 | 3.41 | 3.72 | -1.953 * |
| Historical past | 3.54 | .81 | 3.58 | 3.40 | 1.079 | 3.44 | 3.83 | -2.533 * |
| Socio-political events | 3.54 | .89 | 3.60 | 3.33 | 1.284 | 3.56 | 3.50 | .325 |
| Experience of normal life | 4.30 | .69 | 4.29 | 4.33 | 1.456 | 4.36 | 4.14 | 1.653 |

4. Theater create an aesthetic experience by means of...

| Decoration, stage | 3.86 | .66 | 3.85 | 3.97 | -.270 | 3.85 | 3.87 | -2.797 |
| Rhythm and music | 4.22 | .62 | 4.22 | 4.20 | -.954 | 4.19 | 4.28 | -1.277 |
| Skill of actor | 4.38 | .62 | 4.37 | 4.53 | .186 | 4.36 | 4.43 | -.983 |
| Costumes | 3.90 | .67 | 3.89 | 4.03 | -1.407 | 3.85 | 4.01 | -1.986 * |

5. An emotional experience most importantly...

| Socio-political enthusiasm | 2.84 | .90 | 2.85 | 2.77 | .494 | 2.83 | 2.87 | -.368 |
| Religious excitement | 2.59 | .84 | 2.60 | 2.43 | 1.064 | 2.55 | 2.67 | -1.256 |
| Identification of characters | 4.22 | .64 | 4.18 | 4.37 | -1.429 | 4.22 | 4.22 | -.042 |
| Meaning of script | 4.21 | .66 | 4.20 | 4.27 | -.515 | 4.20 | 4.25 | -.406 |

6. Does theater for you permit temporal experience most importantly through...

| Time apart for oneself | 3.76 | .81 | 3.72 | 4.17 | -.2889** | 3.80 | 3.69 | 1.176 |
| Interverwoven with ordinary time | 3.18 | .89 | 3.21 | 3.10 | .576 | 3.07 | 3.53 | -2.737 ** |
| Transcendent time | 3.85 | .81 | 3.84 | 4.03 | -1.267 | 3.91 | 3.74 | 1.810 |

7. Does theater for you represent primarily...

| Real time | 3.32 | .92 | 3.34 | 3.27 | .383 | 3.27 | 3.47 | -1.121 |
| Condensed time | 4.05 | .82 | 4.04 | 4.07 | -.125 | 4.09 | 3.92 | 1.125 |
| Expended time | 3.70 | .94 | 3.63 | 3.97 | -1.786 | 3.70 | 3.69 | .020 |

8. Is much of the specialness of theater for you due to the possibility of...

| The interactions between performers and spectators | 3.94 | .78 | 3.92 | 4.10 | -1.199 | 3.96 | 3.90 | .576 |
| Exploring oneself | 4.06 | .75 | 4.04 | 4.20 | -.1137 | 4.12 | 3.93 | 2.089 * |
| Transcend oneself | 3.84 | .85 | 3.81 | 4.20 | -2.429* | 3.82 | 3.89 | -.692 |

9. Is the quality of skill you appreciate in actors mainly...

| Physical body language | 4.29 | .69 | 4.29 | 4.30 | -.046 | 4.30 | 4.28 | .182 |
| Technical performance | 3.98 | .72 | 3.96 | 4.10 | -.978 | 3.92 | 4.09 | -1.901 |
| Rhythmic and music | 4.08 | .72 | 4.09 | 4.00 | .624 | 4.00 | 4.24 | -2.743 ** |
| Emotional expression | 4.41 | .70 | 4.38 | 4.70 | -2.383* | 4.40 | 4.44 | -5.528 |

10. Do you prefer theatrical performances with...

| Clear climax & denouement | 3.89 | .93 | 3.94 | 3.70 | 1.243 | 3.86 | 3.97 | -.652 |
| Happy ending for main characters | 3.31 | .91 | 3.35 | 3.17 | .980 | 3.18 | 3.69 | -2.267 ** |
| Socially harmonious ending | 3.36 | .93 | 3.42 | 3.13 | 1.375 | 3.21 | 3.86 | -3.449*** |

11. Which contrasts are most important for you?

| Visible vs. invisible | 3.76 | .81 | 3.73 | 4.00 | -.344 | 3.74 | 3.79 | -.511 |
| Possible vs. impossible | 3.54 | .79 | 3.52 | 3.77 | -1.667 | 3.52 | 3.60 | -.852 |
| Actual vs. fictional | 3.83 | .82 | 3.80 | 4.10 | -1.638 | 3.87 | 3.74 | 3.37 |

12. What is your most appreciation in a theater?

| Characters role | 3.66 | .98 | 3.64 | 3.80 | -.839 | 3.54 | 3.90 | -3.014 ** |
| Script meaning | 4.30 | .71 | 4.29 | 4.40 | -.808 | 4.27 | 4.37 | -1.169 |
| Stage design | 3.88 | .75 | 3.86 | 4.07 | -1.479 | 3.82 | 4.00 | -1.969 * |
| Director skill | 4.07 | .80 | 4.05 | 4.27 | -1.409 | 4.02 | 4.17 | -1.488 |
13. What do you hope to get out of theater?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A renewed vision</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>-1.110</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social contacts</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>-1.105</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>-1.837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>-3.005**</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>-2.223 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning something new</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>-1.821</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>4.47</td>
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</table>

14. Have you ever imagined yourself in...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>During a particular social or...</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>.243</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>-0.313</td>
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<tr>
<td>During a particular time in...</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>.412</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>.823</td>
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<tr>
<td>A particular festival</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>.832</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>-1.798</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. During a performance do you hope to feel...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One with the audience in a larger context</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>.927</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>One with the character</td>
<td>4.47</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>4.47</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>-1.175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As an interpreter between audience and character</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>.790</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

16. What provide the dramatic tension?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict among characters</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>-7.172</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>-5.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast between actor as character and as performer</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>.236</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>-1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast between balance &amp; imbalance</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>.349</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>-1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between what happens and expectations</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>-1.19</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>1.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast between suffering and joy</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>-5.62</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>1.592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in the building crisis and the denouement</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>.94</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>-1.274</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>.604</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Conclusion

Although Chinese theater has undergone many changes since its origins, its basic conventions have remained relatively stable. The Chinese theater also has been a stabilizing agent of public morale and is officially endorsed as an important medium of mass education and as the encouragement of the cultured people and the authorities. It wields a great influence in the very life of the Chinese. It is a part of China. Nowadays drama is becoming one of the popular leisure experiences. Western-style dramas have more and more audience, while Chinese traditional theaters are vanishing. The results show that the main benefits of the theater experience are aesthetic feeling and recreation. The experiencing of theater shows little differentiation between amateur and audience. Audience of traditional Chinese theater and modern drama have some of significant differences in their theater experience. However, if the findings are compared with the research on Western and Indian theater-going they should reveal the differing and resembling contributions.

Reference

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DECOMMODIFYING ECOTOURISM: RETHINKING THE INTERACTION OF THE GLOBAL AND LOCAL

Stephen Wearing, University of Technology
Michael Wearing, University of New South Wales

Introduction
The exponential rate of growth of the tourist industry (between 1972 and 1992, tourism expanded by 300 per cent Hannenburg 1994), and the profusion of touristic experiences that has resulted during the last twenty years have generated a variety of means of theorising, analysing and marketing tourism. Tourism theories and research have ranged from micro-social psychological explanations to macro-social explorations concerning the globalization of tourist venues, in part as a response to the increasing domination of the market by multi-national corporations, and the increasing proliferation of international travellers. This has occurred through the conjunction of increases in leisure time, disposable income, mobility, technological improvements in communications technologies, and demographic changes (Young 1992). This growth is evident in figures such as worldwide international arrivals which have increased from 25,282,000 in 1950 to 443,477,000 in 1990 (World Tourism Organisation 1990) further increasing to 476,000,000 in 1992 (WTTC 1993), and are predicted to reach between 637 and 956 million by the year 2000 (World Tourism Organisation 1990). Tourism is said to be the world’s largest group of industries (cf. Boer 1993) with international tourism receipts rising 6.8% in 1992 to reach a level of U.S $279 billion. The tourism industry has a gross throughput of over U.S $3.5 trillion per year, employing around 127 million people world-wide, accounting in 1993 for over 7% of the world’s capital investment (WTTC 1993). A high percentage of this tourist is based on the use of nature as a product to be exploited in this system and with this has come an increased interest in an area called ecotourism.

Ecotourism has caught the imagination of many local communities, governments, international organisations and the tourism industry. There is a current debate worldwide concerning the benefits and costs of ecotourism. This is generating more and more interest in the potential of ecotourism particularly by operators in the tourism industry. For while ecotourism is increasingly being seen as a way to promote sustainable tourism it is also seen as being able to provide valuable income. This is highlighted by O’Neill (1991) who wrote, the Thomas Cook Group, one of the largest international tourism outfits which in many ways epitomises the practice of mass tourism, said it was "joining the gentle tourism revolution". Its movement towards ecotourism or aligned types of tourism is occurring, how it aims to achieve this is yet to be seen.

The global commodification of ecotourism is almost complete in international tourist markets. As Campbell (1983) observes, consumption can become an end in-it-self. This commodification can be seen in the ambiguity over definition as to what ecotourism is and as such the profit objective has perhaps led to ecotourism's misinterpretation by the industry and to the inclusion of a range of unethical products. Butler (1992:1) believes that for this reason a general understanding must be arrived at, the ecotourism is not just an activity but a philosophy. This philosophy must be
modelled on a sustainable way to approach the environment is the ecotourism experience is also to be sustained.

We argue in this paper that for such a sustainable and valued end to occur decommodification principles and practice has to take place in the global 'industry'. In arguing this we accept the constraints that conditions of decommodification occur differentially across Western nation states. The Swedish sociologist Gosta Esping Andersen (1990), has outlined a theory of commodification and decommodification of social policies by nation (welfare) state regimes. Australia and the USA represent highly commodified countries as liberal market regimes, Germany represents a conservative regime and Norway a social democratic one (See Matheson and Wearing 1997 for an overview). Without going into unnecessary detail, each OECD nation state has some unique and specific policy features yet maintains general policy developments that are particular to regime type. The location of countries in such clusters in effect means that a county's regime type indicates specific impacts of policy development on major social and economic indices such as living standards, quality of life and social inequality. For example, the USA and Australia as liberal regimes are two of the worst performers of all OECD countries in redressing inequality in their policy frameworks, whereas Sweden and Norway as social democratic regimes are the best performers.

In this paper we are concerned to outline the features of ecotourism in a liberal regime such as Australia and leave the reader to draw parallels with other liberal regimes particularly the Anglo nation states such as the USA, Canada and England. The paper illustrates some of the effects, and also the degree of flexibility, in Australia's liberal market regime on ecotourism development and, to a lesser degree, public regulation of the industry. Depending on the organisation, ecotourism in Australia oscillate between the high minded decommodfied principles of ecological values and sustainability, and the harsh economic reality of a privatised, competitive and, hence, highly commodified industry. Where possible we use case examples from Australia to indicate how some ecotourist organisations have decommodified or attempted decommodification almost despite the rule of market forces and market criteria in public discourse and policy making on Australian tourism.

In order for ecotourism organisations to become aware of their place and role in providing the ecotourism experience, it is important to make them aware of the differing needs of local communities while also aligning both these groups with national conservation/development strategies. It has been put forward that ecotourism can only operate if it is developed and interlinked with concepts such as national conservation strategies" designed to demonstrate to sectoral interests how they inter-relate with other sectors, thereby revealing new opportunities for conservation and development to work together" (McNeely and Thorsell 1989). These different sectors include governments, private enterprise, local communities and organisations, conservation non-governmental organisations, and international institutions.

If each sector has an understanding of where it fits within the broader framework of the tourism and conservation sectors there is a better chance of carefully designed ecotourism programs. These would take protected areas as a focus for fostering host communities values while providing education for outsiders (Kutay 1990: 38). The ecotourism organisations and their approaches therefore are an essential part of what
the ecotourism experience is. These organisations need to ensure that their operations conform in both theory and practice to the basic principles that underlie ecotourism if they are to meet the criteria of ecotourism as examined in this paper.

In order for decommodification of ecotourism to occur to any meaningful degree in Australia private operators can develop appropriate infrastructure and services if they desire to provide ecotourism experiences. Ecotour operators need to instil a conservation ethic for environmentally sensitive travel in their clients (Whelan 1991). By creating appreciation for natural areas and traditional cultures tour companies can teach their clients to "tread lightly" when they travel to remote regions. This paper discusses how we may now decommodify the now commodified product ecotourism.

A wide range of institutions and organisations do, and will continue to, play an important role in providing ecotourism experiences. The type of organisations vary considerably and a number provide international support and sponsorship for the implementation of research projects and community development. These organisations facilitate this process through provision of necessary resources that may not otherwise be available. The international scope of these organisations can prove invaluable assistance in terms of their accumulated knowledge and experience.

These type of organisations provide a large number of recruits through ecotourism with free time and money to spend on sustainable development efforts (Whelan 1991). As such they need access to relevant educational information before, during and after their experience. This will ensure maximisation of their experience both on site and back in their own community.

Ecotourism is a growth area (Lindberg 1991) and has the potential to influence general change in the tourism industry (O'Neil 1991). Kutay (1990) has attributed this increase as arising from a concern for the environment. Added to this is a need for: tourist infrastructure which is sensitively developed where the tourism industry accepts integrated planning and regulation; a supply-led marketing by the tourism industry; the establishment of carrying capacities (environmental and cultural) and strict monitoring of these; and the environmentally sensitive behaviour and operations of tourists and operators.

Ecotourism does not legitimise nature's right to exist as its own entity, but provides another source of consumption that will only first endanger the very environments it wished to protect. Further, the tourists themselves are complicit in this consumption and commodifying process and are then the economic 'units' targeted by the industry.

The Tourist Industry and the Commodified Ecotourist
What then is the tourism industry and what are its characteristics? Stear et al (1988:1) define the tourist industry as a 'collection of all collaborating firms and organisations which perform specific activities directed at satisfying leisure, pleasure and recreational needs.'

(For profit firms and organisations)... are purposefully performing specific production and marketing activities which are directed at the particular needs of tourists'. While this definition suggests that firms are defined as private companies or enterprises whose existence is focused on profit motives, it also allows for reason for
organisations being involved in tourism. Organisations can operate with a focus on achieving both tourism and conservation and offer a range of experiences that engage the tourist in activities aimed at developing their valuing of the need for conservation. The definition is expansive enough to include organisations such as One World Travel etcetera who's focus is beyond normal profit motives this differs from the main stream mainstream tour operators in group tours such as Thomas Cook who provided organised tours for large groups. This type of organisation fits into the idea of Fussell who suggests that, "The tourist is that which has been discovered by entrepreneurship and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity" (Graham 1991:99) or in our words the commodified tourist.

Following this approach of entrepreneurship comes the development of a tourism industry that Lea (1988; 1993) provides a perspective on that maintains the structure of developing countries' economies, due to historical 'imperial' domination, trading links and spheres of influence, places them in an unequal relationship with the industrialised world. Tourism perpetuates this inequality, with the multi-national companies of the advanced capitalist countries retaining the economic power and resources to invest and control developing nations tourism industries. In many cases, a developing country's engagement with tourism serves to simply confirm its dependent, subordinate position in relation to the advanced capitalist societies - this can be expressed as a form of neo-colonialism.

Other authors have labelled ecotourism as being green imperialism and eco-missionaries (Dowden 1992) eco-colonialism (Cater 1987) and eco-imperialism (Hall in Cater & Lowman 1994). Ecotourism development and infrastructure is however not that different from other forms of development and generally could be considered to falls into the commodified state discussed at the conclusion of the previous chapter. This commodification places work and leisure as dialectically opposed whereby leisure and hence tourism are seen as an arena to satisfy these needs. As an industry and a leisure activity, tourism revolves around the production and consumption of cultural difference (Hawkins 1991) and so the thirst for 'nature' and other 'cultures' is endless as it attempts to commodify them by capturing their essence but can never really succeed because it is really an experience that provides only a fleeting gaze.

Developed countries have specific policy regimes for tourism and leisure. Their economic patterns of consumption has enabled them to use modern tourism as a vehicle for packaging 'developing nations' cultures as 'commodities of difference', filling a commercially created need in the mass consciousness. The ability of the developed nations to dominate market forces through the tourism industry is changing the shape of developing nations' communities. Crandall (1987:374) maintains indigenous cultures that have little changed for centuries are threatened by the powerful influences of western culture that often accompany the arrival of mass tourism in the developing world (1).

An examination of the problems created by the practices of the tourism industry can shed some light on how this might be achieved. The power relationships present in modern tourism practices and the emerging resistance to these practices, provides a useful arena to discuss the context of decommodifying ecotourism. The tourist promoters, associated development consortiums and dollar strapped governments
have promoted tourism beyond sustainability for both host and guest in many areas of Europe (Young 1973) and this has resulted in a movement to developing countries.

Failure by operators to change their operating philosophy and behaviour used in the developed world has resulted, not only in the ongoing degradation of already over developed developing nation tourist destinations, but a move by the promoters of mass tourism to the comparative pristine environments found in many developed nations, to be exploited for developing nation consumption. This has been possible because they are relatively free from the restraints, laws and regulations upheld in many developed nations.

Unfortunately in many countries like Costa Rica, such as Guatemala, Belize, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and those in the South Pacific, much of what was initially so attractive to the visitor and inhabitant has already been adversely affected. Mass tourist promoters, utilising their economic and political resources, have begun, largely unopposed, to imprint their modes of behaviour, their models of control on the indigenous peoples, their culture and protected areas. This form of tourism initially establishes footholds in developing countries by promising increased prosperity for the Government and the host communities, however this seldom results. Culture is thus packaged, priced and sold like ....fast food and room service, as the tourism industry inexorably extends its grasp (Greenwood 1989:179).

**Cultural Movements and Global Capital**

To date, few of the rare organised resistances by locals to foreign owned, often multi-national organisations dominating all aspects of tourist trade have been effective. The apparently attractive, definitely sophisticated offers by corporations such as 'Holiday Inns' and 'Club Mediterranea' all too often result in little real financial benefit to the host communities. These two corporations own over seventy resorts and associated services in developing nations (UNCTC 1992)

Ascher (1985) and Lea (1988; 1993) suggest much of the income and perceived benefits generated by mass tourism 'leaks out' to the large, multinational companies in the developed countries that the operators come from. This occurs through corporately controlled industry that is both vertically and horizontally integrated such that one multinational corporation owns an airline, the tour buses, the hotel restaurant and recreational facilities. Profits in this case are mostly repatriated back to the home country (Trask 1991). It is generally accepted by these authors that only a minor percentage of tourist expenditure remains in the country.

Thus multi-national organisations have the power and resources to control the tourism industry on a global scale. Profits to local communities are further reduced through the importation of specialised goods and services which cater to the needs of the tourists. Key management positions are often held by outside management companies, reducing the career opportunities and control local people have of their resources. Hong (1985:25) contextualises this further and suggests international tourism requires high capital investment and expensive infrastructure necessitating heavy borrowing for developing nations, to finance these projects.

This in fact sets the global context for the commodification of community, both traditional and local, and their ability to resist this context.
Commodifying Local and Indigenous Communities

As modern tourism matures, subtle shifts are occurring towards experiences which offer both host and guest more diverse benefits. Communities are now emerging both in the developed countries and developing countries to fight against the negative impacts of tourism (Santosa 1985), and expose the belief that tourism generates export dollars.

Altman (1987) found that Aboriginal people thought tourism could become a powerful tool, for them, it was able to provide a means by which they could explain themselves to the broader community.

"It is the tourists who actively seek out Aboriginal people, places and things. They are our greatest audience. Overseas tourists can apply international pressure, and Australian tourists can provide internal political support.... The tourist industry which presently exploits our culture is big business. It is very important that we have some influence over this industry, especially in national parks. We must work towards having real control over our sacred places and have a say about what information is given out about us." (Bates and Witter 1991:219)

However, a rather different view is expressed in an article titled 'Death by Tourism', is that “Mass tourism has 'Cocacolonised' the planet, trinketising cultures, unbalancing ecosystems and degrading both holiday-makers and hosts.” (Ed. Sunday Review 1990:3) It Comments such as, "...it has homogenised places,...degraded traditions and rituals and made proud people slaves." (Nicholson-Lord 1990:6) The article reinforces this view with views of mass tourism expressed by several noted people: the Archbishop of Canterbury [...tourism can heighten prejudice and cause pollution, prostitution, economic exploitation and “wholesale disregard for indigenous lifestyles”]; a cultural historian, John Julius Norwich ['wants large parts of the industry closed down']; a travel writer, Jan Morris ['I have come to detest all aspects of mass tourism']; the Greek Orthodox Church [a new prayer, “Lord Jesus, have mercy on the cities, the islands and the villages of this Orthodox Fatherland...scourged by the worldly touristic wave.”]; and Bernadette Vallely, of the Women's Environmental Network ["Don't book a package holiday."]. Clearly there is a perception of something going wrong, but what is it?

Nicholson-Lord expresses the view that tourism has changed from 'a quest for understanding' into 'a quest for escape'. He goes further to say that “Travel has been industrialised: its ingredients - landscapes, culture, religion, even crime and suffering - are consumer goods, laid out in brochures as in a mail order catalogue. And the shoppers, the advance guard of capitalism, are everywhere.” (Nicholson-Lord 1990:3) (The shoppers are also in very large numbers: estimates for 1990 world tourism were more than 400 million per year for international tourists, plus another one and a half billion for domestic travellers). Mass migration on this scale has the potential to do enormous damage: and this potential is being realised in many parts of the world.

There can be little doubt as to the negative impacts of mass tourism on the natural environment. Apart from promoting the sale of wildlife souvenirs, threatening habitats and the species within them, the infrastructure for tourist facilities is often made of imported materials, uses imported labour and imported foodstuffs.
If the sustainability of the ecotourism experience is seen to lie partially with host communities where it has been found that as little as 20% of expenditure from tourism in the 'Third World' may remain in these communities (Community Aid Abroad 1990) then question need to be asked about how it will be achieved. This combined with a large foreign ownership in tourism and governmental attitudes which do not take into account the impacts of tourism on minority cultures within their jurisdiction there is cause to question current tourism patterns and trends. As far back as 1980 the World Council of Churches decided that alternative ways of travel were needed to return tourism to the people so that the experience of travel could enrich all. This was seen as allowing economic benefits to be more fully shared, and allowing the people concerned to more fully participate in decision-making (Wearing & Young 1993).

Ecotourism is represented as the means of tourism to become an "environmentally friendly" industry. There are well documented examples of tourist destinations becoming polluted, degraded and congested by mass tourism. One of the features of these impacts is the high socio-cultural impact on host communities (Lea 1993; Sofield 1991:56; Lee and Sneepenger 1992:368; Burchett 1992:5; Field 1986:6; Weiler & Hall 1992:117; Bates 1991:4). Certainly many host communities feel that the tourism industry has a poor track record, and often it disregards their legitimate interests and rights.

Local communities experience the socio-cultural impacts of mass tourism. Disruption to established activity patterns, anti-social behaviour, crime and over-crowding caused by tourism development can also have a negative impact on local lifestyles and the quality of life. To provide sustainability local communities need more control as if the ecological and cultural impacts and perceived social impacts are seen as imposed it may lead to diminished community and political support for the industry, particularly at local levels.

Neglect of conservation and quality of life issues threatens the very basis of a viable ecotourism experience. Increased volumes has not resulted in commensurate increased profits some sectors of the industry, profits are clearly falling while in other areas, the return on investment offered by tourism enterprises offers no incentive for potential investors. It is inappropriate to look at volume as a measure of success recognition must be given to other measures such as length of stay, expenditure levels and quality of experience which provide more relevant and indicators of performance.

The assets, the natural and cultural resources that attract visitors are often treated with a "selling" mentality as distinct from a sense of ownership and stewardship because the control of the tourism influx is external to the area. Local communities are not powerless, but in response to what has happened in the past these communities must have a role in determining their future involvement in tourism.

Mathieson and Wall (1982) maintain that socio-cultural impacts are the "outcome of particular kinds of social relationships that occur between tourists and hosts as a result of their coming into contact" (Mathieson and Wall 1982:135). The the tourist-host encounter can be seen to occur in three general ways, purchasing from the host community, aligned interaction where they may be jointly on a local tour, and where the tourist and host come face to face with the objective of exchanging information or
ideas. Williams (1990:84) suggests ecotourism is a "two-way and equal communication between hosts and guests".

Theoretically then as illustrated in Table 1 ecotourism should have minimal socio-cultural impact upon local communities. The majority of literature relating to socio-cultural impacts is found in general tourism literature. Impacts identified in general tourism literature need to be understood in order to assess and manage socio-cultural impacts of ecotourism projects. Basically the impacts are similar just the emphasis is different. Table 1 summarises the social and cultural impacts which a tourist development can have on a local community.

Table 1: Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Impact on Population Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Size of population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age/sex composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modification of family size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural-urban transformation of population</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Transformation of Types of Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Impact on/of language and qualification levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact on occupation distribution by sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demand for female labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in seasonality of employment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Transformation of Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Influence on Traditional Way of Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Art, music and folk law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habits and customs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily living</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. Modification of Consumption Patterns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative alterations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative alterations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Figuerola, as cited in Pearce (1989).

Mason (1990) maintains that the socio-cultural benefits of tourism on society can include the creating employment, support for local arts, crafts and cultural activities, the revival of social and cultural life of the population, the increase in educational opportunities, the development of friendships and social interaction. (2)

**Australian Tourist Organisations and Developing Countries**

In Australia, the companies that operate under the auspices of ecotourism vary considerable and provide a range of opportunities. It is maintained that Australians are
looking to the shorter stay trips in developing Asian countries (Larbalestier, 1990), organised through an agent providing a package tour, these operations fall close to some of the operation of Youth Challenge Australia (YCA). The range of tourism products available to Australian consumers is diverse and these few operators are perceived to fall into the ecotourism segment of the market and are looked at here to give YCA a context within this industry.

A brief evaluation is done here of case studies of three Australian based travel organisations and one non-profit organisation to provide some context for the reader (see Table 2). This enables some discussion of the elements that might be essential in a travel organisation that is seeking to take an ecotourist approach. This is not provided here as a comprehensive analysis but only to give the paper a context a more complete approach is provided by Manidis Roberts (1994) in their report to the Commonwealth Department of Tourism 'An investigation into a National Ecotourism Accreditation Scheme'. The underlying belief in presenting this is the belief that tourism marketing is one part of the complexity of interactions which make up the touristic relationship between developed and 'other' cultures (Silver 1993). In the majority of cases the travel literature does not portray marginalised peoples as they might represent themselves (Silver 1993:305). The host communities who are the recipients of tourism have little or no ability to influence its construction and Crick (1991:7) has suggested what better way to provide a contemporary illustration of Said's (1976) Orientalism and Foucauldian (cf O'Hanlon & Washbrook 1992:172) approaches to power and the exchange between discourse and power is the way in which developing countries are advertised and sold in the tourist literature.

Table 2 Comparing Travel Organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>World Expeditions</th>
<th>Adventure World</th>
<th>One World Travel</th>
<th>Youth Challenge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of Tour</td>
<td>Adventure tour to remote destinations internationally</td>
<td>Adventure to remote destinations internationally</td>
<td>Travel wise group tours internationally</td>
<td>Working with local communities internationally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>'Discovering the difference of our world'</td>
<td>'...see Aboriginal tribes living off the land'</td>
<td>Understand culture and respect for host community</td>
<td>Working in and with local communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-departure Program</td>
<td>Video Information and trip notes</td>
<td>Limited if any.</td>
<td>Interviews all travellers and education sessions</td>
<td>9 months, weekend selection program, language and cultural program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Experience</td>
<td>Consumption of the environment</td>
<td>Consumption of the environment</td>
<td>Ensures interaction with the environment.</td>
<td>Ensures interaction with the environment, stay in it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation/ Education</td>
<td>Limited visitation to site controlled by tour operator</td>
<td>Images rather than education</td>
<td>Extensive use of protected area agencies to assist</td>
<td>Extensive, developed in conjunction with local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Ethic</td>
<td>No guarantee local communities receive a return for involvement</td>
<td>Non apparent in any literature or operational method</td>
<td>Underlies all operations and is guaranteed</td>
<td>Underlies all operations and is guaranteed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural/Heritage</td>
<td>Stage authenticity (MacCannell, 1976) using 'traditional costumes'</td>
<td>Subservience of local communities, use of inappropriate gender and racial images</td>
<td>Respectful and spends time to ensure not a fleeting gaze</td>
<td>Live with the community and work with them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operations</td>
<td>tend to use own staff and resources rather than local.</td>
<td>tend not to use any local staff or resources all packaged</td>
<td>use all local staff, accommodation and resources</td>
<td>use all local resources, staff and accommodation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport Means</td>
<td>local transport and airlines</td>
<td>Tend to pick cheapest and generally outside owned</td>
<td>Local and stays within ethical considerations</td>
<td>Local and stays within ethical considerations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>Guarantees all needs met and stay at places like the Holiday Inn a trans-national company.</td>
<td>Generally five star at Holiday Inn.</td>
<td>Local where possible.</td>
<td>Local where possible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>Glossy, magazine style brochures using emotive language.</td>
<td>Glossy, magazine style brochures using emotive language.</td>
<td>brochure printed on 100% recycled paper</td>
<td>brochure prints on 100% recycled paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution to local Community</td>
<td>Limited and relies on goodwill</td>
<td>Nearly non-existent.</td>
<td>extensive</td>
<td>work with the local community on projects they establish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**a) 'World Expedition': the market denying nature and traditional community**

World Expeditions does not really fall within the general criteria that are mentioned earlier in the chapter for an ecotourism organisation. Its approach is one of traditional marketing and uses emotive language which presents images of indigenous people in 'traditional' costumes, frequently interacting delightedly with white tourists. These are not balanced with representation of the issues and concerns facing the host communities and the unequal relationship between the developed and developing countries is ignored. The symbols combine to create an image of 'authenticity', packaged for tourist consumption of the 'authentic'. MacCannell (1976) sees this symbolic representation as 'staged authenticity': "What is taken to be real might, in fact, be a show that is based on the structure of reality" (MacCannell 1976:95).

World Expeditions appears not to support its commitment to local community leaders particularly with the tour leaders photographed and described in the brochures are from developed countries. The images presented are of up market outdoor equipment and comforts from developed countries with the local host community members an outside element reinforcing the idea of them as 'other' and all this contributes to the extension of the developed nations lifestyle to these areas. The staff from the developed country generally are responsible for the day to day living arrangements such as preparation of all meals from a combination of local and imported products, thereby further restricting the opportunity of this falling within the idea of an ecotourism experience.

A trans-national company registered in the United States is used for accommodation (Hong 1985) and it features developed country food, luxury accommodation and
entertainment. The accommodation on the treks is in cabins, owned and controlled by Malaysian protected area authorities, and in a traditional 'longhouse' with the indigenous community, the Iban, this part of the experience is however one night, the ability of this to provide a dynamic exchange of culture between hosts and guest is open to question. This stay is also under the control of an agent from outside the host community.

World Expeditions maintains that it uses local resources if available in the area of transport it recommends flying Malaysian Airlines. It is faced with a dilemma however as this airline is boycotted by a number of environmental organisations, including Community Aid Abroad, as it is owned and controlled by the Malaysian Government which supports logging in the Sarawak rainforests.

It offers an orientation program which includes meetings, audio visual information and written information. The information provided gives an idea of the culture, customs, religion and appropriate behaviour while in these cultures.

It has a centralised management structure where tours and leaders are answerable to the senior management the traditional hierarchy of mass tourism organisations. This management structure means that it is not concerned with the financial benefits that the Iban communities receive as this exchange occurs at the face to face level of the organisation and so payments are distributed by the Malaysian operators without guidelines.

b) 'Adventure World': market colonisation of local communities
The next company Adventure World provides a range of tours for groups. Its brochure for one trip appears to have the neo colonialist attitude which casts the guest role as dominant with the host community servicing this role. The information provided gives the impression of the host community as less powerful and a commodity. The population is presented to create images of these roles with women presented as 'beautiful', 'native' and 'girls', providing grounds for gender and racial inequalities and contributing to the ideas women's subservience and reinforcing many of the dominant patriarchal attitudes that prevail in the developing countries that the tourist comes from.

The natural environment is also used to attract the tourist it promotes Sarawak's 'lush green forest' (Adventure World 1990/91 Brochure:6) it is suggested it is offering an opportunity to change environmental policy and practices by producing information about what is really happening with the depletion of Malaysian rainforests; however it appears to ignore the extensive logging which is currently destroying the region.

The accommodation is with the same trans-national hotel chain mentioned earlier and just moves the developed country resort to a developing country. A number of foreign owned hotels in the asian region, including the chain used, have been accused of using local women as objects to attract guests (Hong 1985:68). Women from the local areas have been dressed in uniforms that are sexually provocative that do not relate to the local culture but rather to developed countries males images of that culture. A range of other problems included food not meeting local religious custom, lack of provision of appropriate facilities for staff such as prayer rooms for Muslim staff or
inappropriate location, in one hotel the prayer room was situated next to a rubbish dump and sewage pipes (Hong 1985:68).

Adventure World appears to fall well short of any guidelines that would be put in place for ecotourism it provides 'staged authenticity' for tourist consumption, with images of host communities dressed in traditional costumes and described as "natives, the former headhunters of Borneo!", though from reports (Hong:1985) it is clear that these communities have no control over the images presented. Hong (1985:99) finds that tourists have been known to ask male elders of a longhouse to take off shirts and trousers they are wearing and to dress themselves in loin cloth in order to photograph exposed tattoos on their backs, hands and legs.

Armstrong et al (1992) suggests "The commercialisation of local culture in the Adventure World travel brochure is creating an arena for 'staged authenticity' whereby what is shown to tourists is not the institutional back stage...rather a staged back region" (MacCannell 1976). One tour, with Adventure World consists of three days in the Sarawak region; one day in Kuching, one day in the National Park and one afternoon with the local community; the gazing tourist rather then engaging with the cultural and natural environments that are visited. Another of their tours involves an overnight visit to a 'longhouse'. It is all inclusive and profits for the local host communities are therefore minimal.

Adventure World does not offer any orientation or any appropriate advice regarding tourist behaviour. Although representative of the bulk of accredited product being offered to the Australian consumer, Adventure World's tour to Sarawak, as marketed in its brochure, failed to meet any of the criteria for responsibility (Armstrong et al 1992).

c) 'One World travel': tourist-community dialogues beyond colonisation
One World Travel offers a different perspective it is owned and operated by Community Aid Abroad (CAA) which re-directs all profits from its trading back into host communities. It is attempting through this process to give host communities a higher degree of autonomy so they are able to direct their resources and dictate what occurs. This organisation operates as a normal travel agency but offers a range of special 'Travel Wise' tours. Its guiding principles relate to understand the culture visited and to respect and be sensitive to the people who are hosting the visit, while treading softly on the environment of the host community (CAA, Travel Wise Brochure, Sarawak 1991/92).

The brochure presents just a photo of people in the area. One World Travel advises that it avoids using Malaysian Airlines due to the Malaysian Government's involvement in the logging of Sarawak rainforests, however it does utilise foreign owned hotels in Kuala Lumpur in order to take advantage of international airline deals. Although this reduces direct economic benefits to Malaysia, any profits made by One World Travel are returned back to the local community through non-government social organisations.

CAA researches such study tours to ensure host communities get direct benefit, that local guides and tour operators are used and distribute profits equitably. Local food is consumed, local transport is utilised and cultural and survival issues are presented
realistically. One World Travel interviews all potential travellers to ensure they have an understanding of the factors and difficulties facing the host community and an orientation session is scheduled, where these survival and cultural issues are fully discussed.

When visiting parks, accommodation is provided by the National Parks and Wildlife services. It notes are more field related than glossy. One World Travel appears to be more in line with the Federal government guidelines and ideologies that make up ecotourism. It tours including briefings from representatives of non-government organisations operating in the areas visited. Armstrong et al (1992) find it attempts to raise issues and in one case it looks at the impacts modernisation of a remote hill tribe and in another the impact of new agricultural practice on a traditional farming community (CAA, Thailand Study Tour Notes 1992).

In Sarawak, One World Travel allows four days to visit the Penan and Kelabit tribal people, emphasising the opportunity for ‘learning their culture and survival issues’ and schedules visits to logging areas to assess the damage. Accommodation is in locally owned and controlled hotels and hostels and all tours are facilitated by indigenous leaders. Time is allocated for reflection of the tour: one day is set aside to "discuss experiences and any follow up you may wish to institute" (Armstrong et al 1992).

**d) Youth Australian Australia (YCA): A decommodified non profit?**

Youth Challenge Australia (YCA) is a youth and community development non-profit organisation committed to undertaking projects and programs in developing nations. The program has evolved from a tradition of overseas volunteer organisations which work on projects of community service, medical assistance and scientific discovery. YCA provides volunteer labour of young people to work on projects in developing countries such as Guyana and Costa Rica for periods of 3 months. These projects provide valuable infrastructure in, national parks, communities and for science based organisations such as museums, and are largely free of labour costs. YCA and its parent organisation Youth Challenge International YCI offer a useful example of both decommodified principles and practices in tourism in developing ecological sustainable futures for developing counties.

YCI projects seek to be locally identified and sustainable, while providing the participants — ‘challengers’ — an opportunity to learn and be involved in development issues. These projects incorporate many of the key elements considered essential to the underlying concept of decommodified ecotourism:

* the long term involvement and commitment of host countries in identifying projects and involving local participants;

* specialist staff involved in implementing training courses on language, culture, and development issues for staff and participants in their home countries and during projects;

* the on-going encouragement of youth to be active, responsible participants in local and global development.
One example recently in Costa Rica, the Santa Elena Rainforest Project (Wearing 1992: Wearing & Larson 1996) which provided added economic and social value to the tourism industry through a process that was sensitive to the local ecology and community. The community and YCI established a rainforest reserve on a parcel of land that has been permanently leased to their high school by the Costa Rican Government. The project provides a wider economic basis for the area and employment for students graduating from the high school, it achieves sustainable development and fulfils the development requirements of the population surrounding. Projects like these confront and explore the critical link between tourism development and the natural environment, fostering economic self-sufficiency and natural resource conservation among low-income communities. The labour and support for this project came from youth who provided a free source of labour to the project. Nature provides the basis for the tourism experience of the youth and the ongoing economic self-sufficiency of the community.

However, nature needs government intervention to survive in a free market economy — just as we regulate to protect those disadvantaged in society by the inequity of the system through state intervention so we need to apply the same principles and policy to nature as it is disadvantaged by the anthropocentric nature of the free market system and western society. What is not valued by humans has no value at all in this system, ecotourism has however brought that value to nature, how do we now formulate mechanisms, models principles or policy to enable this value to be recognised in the market place - We do not want the ‘Tragedy of the Commons’ to be perpetuated by tourism.

The invention of the term ecotourism is the result of an increase recognition of, and reaction to, the negative impacts being caused by mass tourism .... and recognition of the importance of conserving natural environmental quality (Orams, 1995: 3). The underlying ideology of ecotourism represents a transition in society from an anthropocentric view, where the world is interpreted in terms of people and their values, to an ecocentric view, where the world fosters the symbiotic relationship between humans and nature. This paper has provided a critical analysis of current tourism industry, government, and association responses to the development of ecotourism with a particular focus on Australia.

**Conclusion**

It is argued that the decommodifying criteria of the kind outlined above must be used by organisations seeking to be called ecotourism operators if a more sustainable tourism industry is to be developed for long term viability which will benefit all sectors of the community and industry. Given that modern tourism has created multinational economic investment and the extent of tourism practices' impact on both the host and guest in a relatively short period of time, it is idealistic to expect that full scale responsible tourism practices within organisations will be embraced or endorsed immediately. However if the concept of ecotourism is outlined and practices established it may prove to be implementable in the immediate future.

As ecotourism incorporates the need for a greater emphasis on behavioural aspects of the visitor and resident, and the reciprocal effects of interactions on the community and its tourists, operators need to ensure local participation and input into tourism developments, incorporating resources which enhance the local culture and build on the skills and resources of the community.
Where developments already exist, an effort should be made to utilise local resources and thus reduce importation of specialised goods and services. Career opportunities within the tourism industry should be extended to the local community. Local tourist development should be in line with local cultural development, sustainable tourism approaches advocate building on cultural strengths and marketing the local culture as a destination site for what culture exist rather then can be created.

Whilst ecotourism is founded in environmental quarters, expanding 'sustainability' from environmental thinking into social thinking encompasses an innovative, progressive approach incorporating a new social responsiveness for cultural and environmental preservation and a long term planning strategy. (3)

Harris (1997: 72) identifies that adopting ecotourism practices has the following advantages for firms: cost savings from more efficient use of energy and water resources; a recognition that environmental quality is essential to their service offering; a competitive differentiation; a minimisation or elimination of friction between business and community during planning/development/operation; a compliance with licensing provisions by natural area management authorities and /or government bodies; a reduction in concern for the future costs that may evolve in rectifying environmental damage from construction/operations; and a reduction in the risk of extensive negative publicity and community backlash against its operations.

Despite however, the success of some initiatives, as well as the obvious advantages for the tourism industry to develop ecotourism practices, the main priority of tourism organisations is no doubt to make a profit. Therefore there is no guarantee, despite the advantages, that profit driven firms will act according to ecotourism principles if profit may be lost. This also suggests that if an evaluation of the implementation of ecotourism practices by a firm lead to the conclusion that the practices were not economically viable then they would cease to continue.

Based on the above analysis it can be concluded that although there has been some progress towards ecotourism through industry, government and association initiatives, the majority of effort by the tourism industry has been focused towards self interest rather than through a true conservation ethic. Figgis (1994: 38) goes so far to state that "essentially ecotourism's been a smokescreen for 'business as usual' with no real change in on-ground behaviour". "The fundamental philosophical changes that need to take place are the development of a true conservation ethic within the travel industry, and the use of ecological principles in all management" (Kennedy, 1993: 4). This involves a move away from tourism centred planning; where needs, demands and pressure lead to protected area modification and adaptation; towards nature centred planning; where protected areas needs and requirements lead to need modification, demand adaptation and pressure education (Figgis, 1997, pers. comm., 14 Aug).

The authors believes that it is the government's role to be at the forefront of engraining a conservation ethic into the industry, through an increasing amount of regulation and legislation. This idea of government interference parallels Marxist theories suggesting that intervention by the state is necessary to compensate for the failures of a free market system. In the context of ecotourism, this intervention is
required due to the inability of the free market (including industry self regulation) to successfully deliver in tourism a balance of economic and employment benefits with environmental and cultural conservation. Just as it is a social responsibility of the government to address the issue of income inequality in Australia through welfare programs, it is equally the social responsibility of the government to provide a balance in tourism between economic and environmental goals.

Notes

1 It has been pointed out that promotion of tourism experiences to developing nations was seen as an easy way to funnel money from the rich to the poorer countries so that they can acquire the foreign exchange needed to buy technology from developed countries and to service their debts (Wasi in Srisang 1991:54).

2. Lea (1988:51) asserts that "tourism results in a form of imported development with many social repercussions in the Third World". Negative impacts on a community can be seen as a high leakage because of foreign ownership of major hotels (Mathiason and Wall 1982). Tourists bring their own social values and behaviour, which can distort social habits and customs (Mason 1990).

3. Both Butler (1990) and Doxey (1975) have postulated the notion of a 'tourist irritation index'. Doxey identifies the four following stages existing in the development and regression of a tourist destination:

| STAGE 1 | Euphoria: Initial phase of the development of the industry. Visitors and investors are welcomed. There is little planning or control mechanism. |
| STAGE 2 | Apathy: Tourists are taken for granted and contact between residents and outsiders is more formal. |
| STAGE 3 | Annoyance: Saturation points are approached. Residents begin to show misgivings about the tourist industry. |
| STAGE 4 | Antagonism: This stage is reached when irritations are overtly expressed verbally and physically. Mutual politeness gives way to mutual antagonism and the outsider is seen as the cause of all the problems, personal and societal (Doxey 1975:195-6). |

In short, this social process of tourism on host communities has bearing on the direct and indirect experiences of ecotourists. This can be evidenced by changing patterns in tourism destinations whereby once popular tourist destinations reach Stage 4 of the Irritation Index Theory and tourist influx has decreased in such resorts due to the negative impact of tourism upon the local culture (Turner & Ash, 1975). This information must be processed and understood by companies wishing to operate under the guise of ecotourism.
REFERENCES


Introduction

During the last forty years there has been a tendency in research to associate rigorous thinking with statistical techniques, resulting in a neglect of the theories on which research is based. Ecotourism scholarship needs to include a variety of epistemological and ontological approaches, inclusive of relevant areas of theory such as philosophy, feminism and post-structuralism (cf. Wearing & Davidson 1997). Too much of ecotourism could become just problem solving with a narrow, applied focus. Our approach in this paper is that there is a need to articulate a theory of value and meaning entirely dependent upon the space-time relations between the ‘I’ and the ‘Other’ and while accepting the primacy of individual sense experience and uniqueness this can in no way imprison us in subjectivism. This uniqueness of the self is precisely that condition in which the necessity of the other is born. As we travel with ourselves we see the ‘other’ as a world we are travelling though but at some stage does that ‘other’ become a part of ourselves. This paper is then about that dialogue, interpersonally, boundaries, travel, self and nature.

As Charles Mingus said about jazz, you can’t improvise from nothing, you have to improvise from something Ex nihilo nihil, and our beginning is what seemingly is most familiar the self, this amorphous, most problematic concept, particularly for the social sciences and humanities. We choose to start with the self as it offers us something — a starting point — to link interactionist traditions with the poststructuralist/postmodern inheritance, some would have us believe, would posit a deconstructed subjectivity in which self and subjectivity are exposed as a socially constructed fiction. Concepts such as death of the author and death of the subject signify a turn away from the celebration of individual worlds and subjectivities and from personal power for the sake of a better appreciation of the nature of social power and the structures of domination, exploitation, repression, and the text (Game, 1991; Jagtenberg, & Mckie, 1997: 128)

Ecotourism brings with it a desire to discover the relationship that travel through nature has with ideas of the ‘self’ and ‘other’ and as a result impacts on identity. It is in the spirit of dialogue we present this paper, Tom Jagtenberg and David Mackie in ‘Eco- Impacts and the Greening of Modernity’ have already initiated a cartographic project

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9 Boo (1990:10) provides the most cited definition to date: ‘We may define ecological tourism or ecotourism as that tourism that involves travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific object of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural aspects (both past and present) found in these areas. Ecological tourism implies a scientific, aesthetic or philosophical approach, although ecological tourist is not required to be a professional scientist, artist or philosopher. The main point is that the person that practices ecotourism has the opportunity of immersing him or herself in nature in a way that most people cannot enjoy in their routine, urban existences ...’. As there is no strict consensus on a specific definition of ecotourism, numerous examples abound. The Ecotourism Society (1992) in the USA defines ecotourism as ‘responsible travel that conserves natural environments and sustains the well-being of local people’.
that in many ways connects with our own. In ‘exploring the exclusion of self-concepts from social theory’ Jagtenberg and Mckie’s cartographic method incorporates a number of convergent perspectives — “from a postmodernized interactionism, through deep ecology, to the coming of the cyborgs...[in order to investigate] ‘how a postmodernized interactionism can contribute to an understanding of processes of ecological identification.. Our starting point is the observation that the critical importance of ecological location in the conceptualisation of self and identity has not been addressed in social, cultural, and communication theory.(Jagtenberg et al. 1997: 121)”

Travel:
We question the meanings we assign to why people travel, ie travel to escape (cf. Rojek 1992; MacCannell 1992; Urry 1990) or travel for self- development, rather than dichotomising these they can be used to build on each other to develop more fully the explanation surrounding the traveller. The tourism field is about to undergo radical shifts in conceptions of how it theorises the traveller who has come from a very diverse group of people. The race, gender, age etc (cf. Richter 1995) variables have come into play and no longer can we assume a benign understanding of the operations of social power across cultures but need to understand it and incorporate it. The traveller has impacts that they know occur often in the case of volunteerism travel is underpinned by an ethic of care and moral concern for the countries they travel too’s welfare., what this assumed ‘goodness’ does is often obscure the very real workings of power in the way people’s lives and bodies are managed. Leisure and tourism is now considered as playing an important role in terms of the desire to improve people’s quality of life. Unfortunately the way tourism is understood in services as an experience someone has with relatively straightforward meaning, tends to assume a notion of freedom of choice that lies with the individual. The way travel options have been constructed reveals something of the way marketeers construct (cf Wearing & Wearing 1996) images of destinations. This is by no means a deliberate ploy, but part of the operationalisation of power through tourism management where the experiences of leisure a person has works towards constituting their subjectivity and understanding of choice. For example the popularity of herding groups of people Japanese people together onto a bus and taking them on a tour and calling that quality tourism is disturbing. The assumptions underlying such practices are that the Japanese people are a homogenous group of travellers and that their tourism experience is a collective means to filling in time that can be supervised, managed and ordered according to the desires of the operator to make a quick profit. If a person has spent much of their life being managed then what opportunities are available to them to know otherwise? Tourism is only then contributing to a normalising effect that in Foucault’s terms contributes to the production of a ‘disabled subjectivity’, and so the spiral emerges where the person’s limited knowledge leads to operators saying they don’t know what they want and providing constructed choices based on profit.

There has been increasing moves towards more specialised tourism practices in the recognition of niche markets and with such moves must come theoretical understanding and development. If post modern thought has contributed nothing more it has enabled us to examine individual peoples difference and the impacts of their own experience on the self as opposed to marco indifferent reductionism based on hegemonic theoretical approaches.
Tourism particularly alternative forms such as ecotourism is often embraced as the vehicle of community integration where all differences between people will be broken down, again a misunderstanding of the way power works and the assumption that tourism professionals are not implicated in its operations leads to a naive view of tourism. There are three issues that require reflexive thinking in this area, the first being the ways in which integration is understood to occur as requiring the tourist to fit into some mythical community, who's lifestyle is upheld as the model that must be emulated? Secondly the issue of the influence the tourist is emulated as some whose values are considered worthwhile by the community member. Last the operators professional involvement in the tourist and community members everyday leisure experiences can't be ignored, the subtleties of power relations and the desires of professionals must be acknowledged.

Reconceptualising interactionist theory around the ideas of post-modernism in terms of tourism travel with contributions from post-colonial theory may allow us to examine the reconfiguration of interactionist theory to enable it to suggest how it might effect identity formation through travel (the importance of leisure to identity formation has been put forward by Clark & Critcher, 1985; Rojek, 1985; Kelly, 1983; Wearing & Wearing 1992). Roberts (1983:62) says, "adolescent leisure is usually a scene where conventional gender identities plus sexual tasks and skills are reproduced, not rejected". However, feminist analyses suggest that leisure can be both an area for the subordination and domination of women and an area of resistance to dominant ideologies and discourses (Wearing & Wearing 1988; Wearing & Wearing 1992).

Questions are raised within this framework as to the influence of travel on the identity formation of youth. Travel opportunities suitable for youth that enable them to experience a multiplicity of subjectivities about themselves (to reconfigure themselves) provide different models of identity formation, the question is can we create theoretical constructs that enable an understanding of this in any comprehensive way. While many white males have role models and a culture that provides them with individual competitive pursuits which at least give them a perception of identity, many other males and females lack such a culture and are thus deprived of the opportunity to develop identity through leisure activities to the same extent (cf Wearing, Wearing & Kelly 1994).

**Theoretical Traditions**

In this respect this paper attempts the development of a deconstructive analysis of the presuppositions that underpin knowledge practices in the theory and practice of tourism travel through the conceptualisation of self particularly in the interaction across cultures and focusing on nature, this form of travel is often viewed as ecotourism. The often explicit and implicit epistemological assumptions that have long

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10 The theoretical traditions that bear historically on discourse about self and subjectivity are vast. But the placement of interactionist and phenomenological notions of self and identity in the context of poststructuralism and postmodernism may seem to further problematise what seems quite a chasm of theoretical divide between the decentered, fragmented, and multiple selves and subjectivities; postulated in the latter against the former seeming adherence to an Identity logic that historically has privileged a white, patriarchal, Western view. But there is a theoretical common ground: Interactionism develops a process model of the self in which communication is a major axis. These processes of the self are, furthermore, not a priori anathema to social structure, difference, conflict, or ecology—and indeed, it is with these directions that interactionists and cultural theorists may find a rare piece of common ground.
pervaded this field have not fully been analysed in relation to their situation within the operations of power and resistance in knowledge practices. Such questions draw on the post Hegelian tradition in contemporary philosophy that posits knowledge as desire, in a formulation that disrupts the now often rhetorical deconstruction of Cartesian rationality premised on the mind-body dualism. The epistemological heritage of leisure and tourism studies (cf. Cohen 1995) must be placed within the broader history of western philosophy and logocentrism. For leisure and tourism theory has invoked the classical connections between leisure and rational contemplation in a desire to establish a sense of origins. The desire for origins in this system of metaphysics, of truth, certainty and reason, has been the focus of much deconstructive analysis as to the hierarchical structure of oppositions in western knowledge but as yet there has been little engagement in leisure and tourism studies with these post-structuralist ideas.

Experiences 'in the field' have lead us into the major concern of how social theory, interactionist theory here specifically, is able to conceptualise the nexus of relations inhering in the relational exchange between 'selves' cross culturally through tourism practices. The traditional primacy of a conceptual division between theory and practice has held sway in tourism: the contemplation of the world as it exists to be known 'out there'. However, deconstructive sociologists such as Anne Game (1991) have shown that theory has been understood as a reflective knowledge, a mirror of the real, a representation that denies its own desire and mediation. Tourism theory has remained within this tradition which relies on a Cartesian rationality, a speculative knowing that is exclusive of the other (ie culture) as disregards new ways of knowing. Paradoxically we end up with knowledge of tourism that excludes an ability to be inclusive of other cultures and nature and so and understanding of the self in travel and its representation, through the desire to hold still the flux of meaning in order to master and know it. The organisation of leisure and by association tourism theory has overwhelmingly been structured by the desire for knowledge as stable truth and reflection in the asking of questions such as 'what is a tourism experience?'. Contemporary theory has moved questions about meaning into a different order of analysis with particular reference to writing the body and deconstructing binary oppositions and decolonising truths. By engaging with this growing body of writing we could approach the study of tourism and its effects on identity through a more open desire by asking 'how does tourism mean?' in relation to the social. Tourism, as is its theorisation, is an embodied practice.

Refiguring leisure and tourism theory, particularly through interactionist theory, as an embodied writing practice breaks with the way in which knowledge of leisure and tourism has been constituted in both functionalist or neo Marxist conventions as a self present phenomenon, reducible to class analysis or to a work-leisure binary that has particular phallocentric implications. The embodied specificity of everyday tourism experiences, the contradictions and productive nature of pleasure are suppressed in totalising claims in knowledge that desires closure, certainty and singular truth. Tourism as a postmodern practice is one modality of many, often contradictory, social sites of reference groups, texts, cultural practices and discourses. It is a social field imbricated and implicated by heterogeneous symbolic exchanges across fields as diverse as psychoanalysis, art, film, and literature, all stitched into a mesh of the popular and it is amongst and across this field that the self traverses in its own idiosyncratic cartography.
The contribution of interactionism in the theoretical ‘post’, as an embodied theoretical practice, is an important contribution towards mapping such a heterogeneous cartography. Classical interactionism contribution is well noted in the movement away from the modern paradigm of subjective consciousness placed firmly within a monadic, self reflexive and autonomous individual locus in a movement increasingly directed towards the recognition of the social imbededness of the subject and the mediation of self within and between diverse and relative symbolic fields, field determined by the system of relations constituted between a field of Others - significant others, generalized others, and reference groups. The individual is an active one in the construction and reception of society that it internalises, transmuted into personal space and reproduced through social interaction. For Berger and Luckmann (1981) it is the self that in dialectic movement, with all of its Hegelian overtones, whereby the self and society dynamic dialecticises this is a dialectic process mediated by the self.

Interactionism placed society and self as copresent realities with the self as foundational, conversational in intent, the nodal point of a dialectic between an I and a me representing the ongoing construction of self in a social space. Self is in society and society is in the self. But in an world of increasing mediation in the interface between the self and society, the proliferation of discourses, processes of globalisation, the rise of the amorphous corporate internationals, regional and global multiculturalism, collapsing political and symbolic spaces, the rapid compression of space and time, the potency of the simulacra, identity becomes increasingly problematic, almost to the point of becoming a subjective redundancy.

It is in such a context that interactionist theorisation is squarely placed, a heterogeneous social field of multiplicity, flux, mobility, and the liminal rather than its historical roots in functional and routine mediation with a formative and ‘solid’ self. The explosion of identities, identarian politics selves: core selves, male selves, female selves, dream selves, transcendent selves, ecological selves, and so on, are all part of the self.

Questions of using interactionism in writing present tourism experiences for youth travelling present us with an interesting conceptual problem, can it deal with the idea of multiple subjectivities which involve travel across culture? Where are the boundaries between Mead’s ‘I’ and ‘me’ when the insights of poststructuralism have challenged the very core distinction, the object/subject distinction between the self and the other. The multiple, contradictory and contestory field of shifting identities, the very challenge to the concept of identity inhering in the contest/conquests of the other, places the discrete categorisation and delimitation of “I” “me” and other in a near shitoid ferment.

The multiplicitious self across culture as a rewriting of the desire in that is about movement, fluidity, openness and transformation. The “I” becomes a real, material body as well as a textual fiction, Iriagary’s poetics of knowledge and metaphoric body undoes the literal-figural split, both at once she desires for the feminine, ‘a possibility of unhindered movement, of peaceful immobility without the risk of imprisonment’ (1993:12). The “I” can be seen as a profoundly embodied metaphor whose multiplicity could be placed within contemporary writing as movement, in between, a temporality and spatiality of meaning that works through difference and deferral, and connects with identity. The meaning in an instance of identity-tourism is relational, a movement between the self and other, real and fantasy, literal and metaphoric that
questions the separateness of each of those terms. It is this movement that is of the order of desire, to know the other, to experience the world and create meaning; tourism in this sense is the practice of desire or in perhaps more specifically the realm of the “I” as fixed to the desire of the “Me” and movement of meaning and understanding in interactionism.

There is a paradox in construction of the “I” in interactionism or more precisely a contradiction in the original theorising that assumes the body as a passive carrier of meaning and object of rational discourse, the “I” is fixed unchanging. Contemporary theory takes the body not as a natural given but as the cultural product (Grosz 1994, Butler 1993). Tourism when theorised in interactionism in this sense is a significant practice of everyday life through which the body is produced as an effect of such processes of materialisation. As an object of inquiry the “I” in the interactionist view of tourism requires thinking as to its relation to theory and the production of knowledge or the body of the theorist. The movement of the “I” through culture in travel is suppressed through representational theory, this desire for mastery in knowledge operates through the repression of passion too. In developing a knowledge practice or writing of tourism experience principled on movement, pleasure and bodily sensuality is to argue for a passionate conception of knowledge-theory. Drawing on Irigaray’s rereading of Descartes first passion of ‘wonder’ we argue that there needs to be something of the experience of wonder found in tourism that inscribes theoretical practice.

Irigaray takes wonder as the motivating force behind mobility in knowledge; in other words wonder is a different desire, to know the self and other-world in relation, through the body-senses (1993:72). As the first passion, wonder is more than a passive conception of knowledge, rather it is the experience of knowing the world in its infinite flux and changeability - its otherness as respected rather than mastered in desire for singularity and stability. The application of this idea to Mead’s “I” gives us an “I” that involves a passionate knowing of the world rather than a detached, disembodied objective view, as such tourism is the everyday practice that affects the world and through which we are as moving, becoming subjects affected. Bringing the body back into the play of theory we move tourism into a different economy of knowledge, one concerned with the desire to know as a passionate engagement with the world and an understanding of the body and the senses as central in the production of meaning in everyday life. In the phenomenological tradition of Merleau-Ponty and early sociological work of Simmel, there are many opportunities to read this writing on bodily knowing with more contemporary textual analysis to refigure theoretical practices in leisure studies; ‘it’s not just what we do but the way that we do it’ as a popular saying goes. Tourism and the theorising of it presents an ideal opportunity to reexamine aspects of interactionist theory.

These theoretical concerns lead us directly to the refiguring of the ideas of interactionism, for to long this important micro social theory has remained stagnate to the extent that it has often remained in the last decade a neglected domain of academic consideration. In terms of developing its direction within the post modern era it needs to take on ‘passionate’ knowledge practices principled on the body and movement. Replacing the “I” in Mead’s idea with a multiple subjectivity, gives us an avenue and a way in which we can move beyond a static model of interactionism that
simply analysis's theory and practice through the imparting of information in a dispassionate way.

The removal of the dichotomy of the "I" and "Me" removes the need to allow a continued process that crucially mediates between theory and practice, the self can be engaged with otherness across culture without the stagnate "I", tourism becomes a passionate practice involving or moves towards interactions that excite the critical imagination. Uniting theory and everyday tourism experience is one such knowledge practice that brings together a self reflexive understanding of the practices of power and desire. Can we bring Bateson's paradox of play into this theorising, to explore the ambiguity and multiplicity of tourism experiences through rethinking the relation between the embodied self and the world and nature.

What is needed are multiple ways of seeing the movement of the tourist across culture that allows for reflexive thinking in terms of the desire and power relations in knowledge, as the examples we have spoken of illustrate.

The "I" is no longer an observer it exchanges and interacts with the "Me" who can still remain a crucial mediator of knowledge and meaning but no longer a controller of it. The dispassion "I" can no longer avoid being absent from the site of productive power relations, it now becomes a part of the engaging passions and creative innovations held out to be solely the sphere of the "Me" and so the dichotomy of the "I" and the "Me" in the self become more interactive which allows a more reflexive self in tourism and a refiguring of interactionism.

This is show by postcolonialist feminist theory which draws attention to cultures in which the western notion of an individualized self does not exist, 'self' and 'other' are interchangeable. Poststructuralist feminists such as Lloyd (1989) and Grosz (1989), have challenged and deconstructed many of the binary oppositions beloved of male post-enlightenment rationality. They have sought, for example, to eliminate the inferiorization of terms such as 'feminine' when set in opposition to 'masculine', body in opposition to mind, nature to culture, intuition to rationality. Ideas from this strand of feminist poststructuralism may allow us also to deconstruct the self/other dichotomy which has, to date, formed a foundation stone for the construction of leisure and tourism theory. In this dichotomous hierarchy 'self' is consistently valued over 'other' and leisure is repeatedly presented as contributing to the self in a distinctive way. Boundaries around the self, distance care and concern for others in this view of leisure. In the leisure literature the terms 'self-expression', 'self-improvement', 'self-determination' and 'self-enhancement' abound and the implication has been that leisure is a unique sphere of life where the self can be nurtured and expressed and can grow in some way. This aspect of leisure may well apply to leisure activities in which competition and winning add to a sense of self-worth and status, such as the male dominated arena of competitive sport. We want to suggest here, however, that in travel the 'other' has always played a vital part in a sense of self, but has failed to be acknowledged in the commodified world of travel and the developing area of tourism theory. We wish to apply these ideas to the area of ecotourism or more specifically to the travelling self and its relation to nature as 'other'
Self and Nature

In the formulate idea of nature we find the classic dichotomy in the way we fundamentally construct nature, this being a view that is anthropocentric (human centred or ecocentric (equal value to all) they are separated by a chasm created by differences rooted in religion, beliefs and behaviour. Anthropocentrism assumes that humans are the most important part of the ecosystem, and ecosystem function is sustained primarily for their benefit. Nature is a 'utility' and of 'value' because it is of use to human beings, if only as a place for camping and recreation.

We can identify the ecocentric approaches, where the ecological well-being of the whole planet is emphasised regardless of the direct benefits of the human population inhabiting it. Employing ecocentrism to prolong the integrity of natural ecosystems would be in sharp conflict with surrounding uses and the overpowering Western utilitarian ideology. Ecocentrism is not a policy that can be applied with officiousness, nor is it politically palpable - it is a philosophy that requires a 'deep' thought process and a change in our exploitive attitude towards nature as a whole.

If we apply the ideas of ecocentrism to travel we can start to formulate the merging of the treatment of nature as 'other' to its incorporation into the self. In the final analysis of ecotourism we must bring the poles of ecocentrism and anthropocentrism to a junction which is about human's acceptance of the self - other dichotomy as invalid for this form of travel. The idea of travelling to incorporate nature into the self becomes prevalent and thus needs to be analysed.

Aldo Leopold assist us in gaining a perspective on the incorporation of nature into self. He was one of the first and most influential exponents of ecocentrism, believing that not only human beings, but plants, animals and natural habitats, have moral rights. This philosophy invited us to 'think like a mountain', beyond our instant desires - to learn to recognise biological wholes or communities and natural entities and process, such as the hydrologic cycle, as the primary Loci of intrinsic value (Callicott, 1989). Such a land ethic would change 'the role of Homo sapiens from conqueror of the land community to plain member and citizen of it' (Leopold, 1949). The proposal is a radical one in view of the historical emphasis on humans as the primary loci of value (Comstock, 1996).

Arne Naess and George Sessions (in Devall, 1988) were latter to extend and frame Leopold’s theme of holism into a reliable manifesto called 'the principles of deep

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11 Theoretical debates on the environment have been structured into three currents that are distinct from one another with respect to the seminal question: that of the relationship between/self and nature. The first is based on the idea that, by protecting nature, the self is still and foremost protecting itself. The environment is endowed with no intrinsic value here. Rather this scenario stems from an awareness that by destroying the milieu that surrounds him, man may be endangering his own existence. Thus nature is taken only indirectly into consideration and based on a position that may be classified anthropocentrist. This philosophy has also been classified as 'shallow' or 'environmentalist' ecology (Nash, 1989). The second current takes a step in the direction of attributing moral significance to certain nonhuman beings. It is the basis of the animal liberation movement, all beings capable of feeling pleasure and pain must be considered legal subjects and treated as such. The anthropocentrist point of view is thus discredited within this framework, since animal are included, by the same token as men, within the sphere of moral consideration (Nash, 1989). The third tendency is to say that nature in and of itself has rights. This philosophy is termed 'deep ecology' - which is 'ecocentric' meaning earth centred (Nash, 1989).
ecology'. They believed that well being and flourishing of human and non-human life on earth have value in themselves (intrinsic, inherent worth). These values are independent of the usefulness of the nonhuman world for human purposes. This leads us to believe that in travel we are able to develop the self the incorporate a believe in the self and nature becoming one. This has been expressed by Ceballos–Lascurain’s (n.d.: 1) in his original definition of ecotourism:

"This person will eventually acquire a consciousness and knowledge of the natural environment together with its cultural aspects, that will convert him (sic) into somebody keenly involved in conservation issues",

The above quote moves us to believe that travel can help develop the self/other ideal to one which opposes the paradigms that dominate Western society - the Judeo-Christian tradition, because it places the spirit and its law above nature; the technical concept of science that triumphed in Europe beginning in the seventeenth century with Bacon and Descartes, for it reduces the universe to a warehouse of objects to serve man; and the entire industrialist world, which gives priority to the economy over all other considerations (Holland, 1996).

We with certain authors such as Rolston (1992) and Nash (1989) wanted to inscribe the recognition of the rights of nature within the logic of democratic societies. We see ecotourism as a means of achieving this, of enabling the western traveller to move nature from a commodified product to become a inclusive part of the self through the travel experience.

Bookchin argued that the earth cannot be saved by lame attempts by staging 'Earth-Day' clean-ups or by banning aerosol cans (Nash, 1989) and we would assume he would extend this the idea of ecotourism. The fundamental problem is that people are unwilling to collectively change the traditional attitudes and values embedded in their consciousness as long as the practices that give rise to those inner values remain unchanged. By borrowing ideas of revolution from Marx, Bookchin wanted to emancipate nature in a similar way - in essence, to extend Rousseau's 'social contract' into a 'natural contract'. Bookchin believes that the capitalistic economic model in its fundamental assumptions is 'anti-earth'. The communist/socialist promise of social justice through economic redistribution remains necessary and valid today. If it incorporates justice for other species, stands against economic growth, is for population reduction and a frugal lifestyle, a transformed socialism could still be relevant today (Bookchin, 1982).

There is a problem with this view. Does the valuing of people as a collective rather than individuals change the anthropocentric view into an ecocentric one? And even if it did, who determines what is the appropriate role for human beings in the ecosystem? There is a dimension of coercion which enters the picture to which many will object. If we can't all have motored vehicles, who does get them? If our population becomes too large for Australia, by some environmental yardstick, who decides who can move here, who must leave and who must stay? Who determines if I can concrete my backyard or cut down a spotted gum tree? We suggest it must come either come from the inside from some sense of environmental altruism or from the outside government regulations (cf. Wearing and Wearing this conference). Deep ecologists will avoid these questions by saying that a change of heart is required in the
human race, the same spiritual shift that moves the deep ecologist to want to change eco-destructive habits.

Robyn Eckersley, in her book *Environmentalism and Political Theory* tries 'to find out how a general ecocentric [ecofeminist] perspective might be fleshed out in a political and economic direction' (Eckersley, 1992). Whilst the strength of the book is a scholarly treatment of political theories of the environmental movement, Eckersley fails like many other proponents of ecocentrism to address possessive individualism as the main barrier to achieving an ecologically sound way of life.

In challenging the western utilitarian philosophy ingrained in our consciousness that allows one to delude oneself into thinking our bodies are separable from the biosphere and from the thing we call nature. Somewhere along our historical lines a dichotomy was posited between self and nature. (the origin may be traced to the Neolithic revolution and the Judaeo-Christian belief in an afterlife.

Say in travel we if we stay within the traditional theoretical ideas that focus on it as a commodity and this leaves us with an inability to conceive pleasure except as being in some way connected with buying, travelling and spending. We never link the buying travel package with destruction of cultures through western tourist contact, the extraction of oil for jet travel, or the abuse to the land for tourist accommodation . The invisible patina on the trip was its value, not its contribution to our self development or nature or a an indigenous community. Bookchin's words are that 'the exploitation of nature is closely linked to human exploitation' (Bookchin, 1982).

Our immediate desires is described by Garrett Hardin in a sad phrase, 'the tragedy of the commons', how individuals can each do what is in their own immediate self-interest but all together gradually destroy the public domain, 'the commons', including their neighbourhood and countryside, its air, water, soil, forest and resources. They end by destroying themselves (Hardin, 1968).

We can now understand Leopold's brevity of thought when he said 'we shall never achieve harmony with land any more than we shall achieve justice or liberty for people' (Leopold, 1949). In 1947 in *The Ecological Conscience* Leopold noted that it 'has required nineteen centuries to define decent man-to-man conduct and the process is only half done; it may take as long to evolve a code of decency for man-to-land conduct' (in Nash, 1989).

**Will the self/other connection through travel ever be achieved?**

We have different ideas of what constitutes a 'self'; but there are certain generally accepted specifications. It is necessary to make my name known; I must have power - physical, social, intellectual, artistic, political....but power. I must leave monuments, I must be remembered. I must be admired, envied, hated, feared, desired. In short, I must endure, I must extend, and beyond the body and the body's life (Fowles, 1968). This sentiment was expressed by Livingston in his book *The Fallacy Of Wildlife Conservation*. Livingston poignantly points out that man's inability to accept death and conceive himself as part of natural selection is the reason for our 'steel-and-concrete mausoleum' (Livingston, 1991).
The elimination of ethics, human freedom, religion and spirituality from the Western world view - the very elements of our experience which empowers us as human beings - has been one of the great contributions to deeply ingraining a sense of powerlessness into the way we think about ourselves and nature. Our sense of nothingness consumes our psyche, and in turn we consume the earth beyond matters of survival (Brennan, 1996).

Primitive cultures with have strong spiritual beliefs combat the nemo because they see themselves on par with nature, not in conflict. 'A rose is a rose, but it is also a robin and a rabbit. We are all of one flesh, drawn from the same crucible' (Watson, 1973). The belief that animals have spirits that are in no significant way different from human spirits helps underlie the essential unity between human and animal (Cavendish, 1970). As a philosophical idea, primitivism has had its proponents in Lao Tze, Rousseau, and Thoreau, as well as most of the pre-Socratics, the medieval Jewish and Christian theologians, and 19th- and 20th-century anarchist social theorists, all of whom argued (on different bases and in different ways) the superiority of a simple life close to nature (Tarnas, 1996).

The sources of ecocentrism lend from the above primitivists. In ecocentrism we find jumbled together a strong reference to the values of the East through 'marginal' books like those of Zen Buddhism by Alan Watts or Daisetz Suzuki (Nash, 1989). Ecocentrism adopts the Eastern theme of the 'ultimate oneness of all, by advocating the submersion of the human self in a larger organic whole' (DeWitt, 1996). In stark comparison, the Judeo-Christian tradition places law and spirit above nature. Nietzsche ca Me to denounce 'the absurdity' of the Christian belief of an afterlife. According to him, this dualism merely conceals a 'pathological and decadent desire' to negate real existence, which is nonetheless the only life that truly is (Nietzsche in Kets de Vires, 1995).

The deep ecology camp claim that nature has intrinsic value because ecosystems are complex, displaying features such as self-direction, purposiveness, harmony and balance and can be likened too human communities (Lovelock, 1979; Rolston, 1992). Modernists (shallow ecology camp) dismiss deep ecology's use of metaphors to describe ecosystem function. They believe that there are no ghosts, or intrinsic propose purpose in the machine' which operates deterministically and is purely factual. The only balance in the system is the energy budget (Howarth, 1996).

The fact is the 'objective', detached and rational stance of the scientist is not our fundamental way of being in the world and so cannot be used as a single basis for explaining travel. The ecocentrist seeks meaning, value and significance in the world by refusing to experience it from the distorting presuppositions made by modernists (Comstock, 1996). Ecocentrists would-be inclined to agree with Nietzsche's speculation that the world is pure chaos, and that our theories and concepts are mere 'life-preserving errors' (in Tarnas, 1996) and poststructuralist feminists (cf. Lloyd 1989; Grosz 1989) who enable us to deconstruct the self/other dichotomy which has, to date, formed a foundation stone for the construction of leisure and tourism theory.

The egalitarian philosophy of ecocentrism, as imbibed in ecotourism, combined with the evolution of interactionism allow us in a poststructural sense to explore the
inclusion of nature into the self through travel previously unexplainable because of limited application of theory.

**Postcolonial theorists and Travel**

When poststructuralist theory is applied to leisure and the self/other binary opposition is deconstructed it becomes clear that concern for others, understanding of others and care of others can impinge on the self in a positive way. If this is used to reanalysis the self/other/nature continuum we are able to move on from the idea of congratulating ourselves on saving nature and our concern for it to a development of ideas of the self that see nature as a part of us. This application may be used for gardening or a range of other leisure activities that bring an interaction with nature but are applied here to ecotourism. Interactionist theory has long recognised the interplay of the self with its emphasis on the contribution that ‘significant others’ and ‘significant reference groups’ make to one’s sense of self. Yet in both interactionist and environmentalist though ‘self’ is prioritized over ‘other’ and there is a clear demarcation between the two, self being seen as the subject and the other as the object. If, through postcolonialist theory the binary opposition of ‘self’ and ‘other’ is deconstructed, so that ‘self’ is no longer prioritised over ‘other’, and ecocentrism is able to be included into our concept of nature the idea of travel can move to a circumstance where the commodified, individualised and self-centred focus is moved on. This allows nature to take on different meaning in which involvement with the other is a part of travel in nature and not separate from it.

If we include postcolonialist theory into our ideas of travel as it relates to ecotourism it enables a ‘...a radical rethinking of forms of knowledge and social identities authored and authorised by colonialism and Western domination’ (Prakash, 1994: 87).

Tourism theory has been particularly concerned with the lived experiences of males who are western middle-class white who have taken on the traditions mentioned earlier that subjugate nature. Collins notes that in the Black community self is not defined in opposition to others, rather, ‘the connectedness among individuals provides Black women deeper, more meaningful definitions’ (1990: 106). For these communities ‘self’ cannot mean the extreme individualism of Western thinking, but is inherently related to others in the family and community.

Postcolonial theorists (cf. hooks 1989, Spivak 1988a; 1988b; Collins 1990) allow us to let nature enter the dialogue with a voice, this reinforced with an ecocentric view of nature brings together the self/nature split and in the deconstruction of this dichotomy there is also a critique of the extreme emphasis that has been placed on the expression and development of the individual self in Western cultures. Travel allows us to expand our views both theoretically and experientially. In this view the idea of self-enhancement without the enhancement of nature would be alienating. The ‘I’ that we talked about earlier in regard to Meads work is very much one that incorporates the ‘we’ of the

Nature as a travelled experience can go beyond one’s own family or community or cultures view of it to take on new meaning as experienced through travel such as indigenous communities views.

**Conclusion**

In this paper we have considered and integration of interactionist, environmentalist and post colonialist theory in an attempt to move towards an explanation ecotourism
as a form and means of integrating ideas of the self/other and nature. For this traveller the potential

In this new view the further the traveller venture into the unknown elements of the other the greater awareness they will have of the integral part nature plays in their travel and as a result the greater their scope for self-realisation and inclusion of nature in their identify. Insights from poststructuralist and postcolonialist theory add another dimension to ecotourism travel. This involves a critique of the self/other –nature dichotomy where self has been valued over the other. The dialogue with other cultures views of nature through travel us a different perspective and decentres the excessive focus on the self which has been at the core of tourism analysis.

When the ‘other’ assumes as much importance in the conceptualisation of ideas surrounding ecotourism leisure as the ‘self’, views of tourism can be pushed beyond the boundaries of just focussing on self-determination, self-improvement, self-enhancement, self-choice, views of nature can be taken beyond commodity price, value for money and been and seen. This is not, however, to eliminate the idea of self and travel but allows an extension of the way we think about travel and a more inclusive role for specialist areas such as ecotourism. It allows us to decommodify our views of ecotourism and move it towards a more appropriate analysis.

A scenario of nature developed from here may see its re-integration into society in a decommodified form, so that its value and the future based on a deconstruction of the self/other dichotomy may see it incorporated into an ethic of travel.
References


ANTIMONIES IN VOLUNTEERING:
CHOICE/OBLIGATION, LEISURE/WORK

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Throughout this paper volunteering, in general, and career volunteering, in particular, are treated as forms of leisure. But from the outset it should be understood that this is a scientific classification and one that is by no means always shared by either the practicing volunteer or the general public. In fact, even some theorists and researchers in the area find fault with the proposition that volunteering is leisure activity (for a review, see Stebbins, 1996b). In short, there is everywhere considerable confusion, if not disagreement, about the essence of volunteering.

The main goal of this paper is to try to bring some clarity to this conceptual morass. To this end, I asked a representative sample of 44 French-speaking key volunteers working in the francophone subcommunities of Calgary and Edmonton in Canada to answer two special questions: do you see your key volunteering as a choice or an obligation and do you see it as work or leisure? Key volunteers are a special variety of serious leisure volunteer; they are highly committed community servants, working in one or two enduring, official, responsible posts within one or more grassroots groups or organizations. The results of my interviews with them are presented first, after which I will show how the contradictory elements they present can be resolved to give us a conception stating that, at bottom, volunteering, including especially the career type, is chosen leisure activity. The entire discussion is then framed in the context of the marginality of serious leisure in modern industrial society.

Volunteering: Choice or Obligation?

In fact, a substantial majority of both samples said they had taken up key volunteering by choice, while a substantial minority said they had done so out of a combination of choice and sense of obligation. Only four of the forty-four respondents said volunteering was purely an obligation for them. Regardless of who expressed it, the obligative facet was invariably explained in social terms, as the duty either to return something to the francophone community or to help maintain and develop that community.

Additionally, a few of the respondents who saw their volunteering as activity they choose to do did note, however, that it could turn into an obligation should they become trapped in a post, most likely because their group or organization was unable to find a replacement for them.

It was my choice to seek the presidency of the _____ Society, but now I find I can't leave this position because no one will agree to take my place. What can I do? It is clear that I can't leave them without a president; I am too committed to this group to do that. Still, I have too many other volunteer commitments and family responsibilities [respondent is married with three children at home] to continue my participation in the _____ Society at a level as high as this. (female volunteer in the sport and leisure sector).
One important lesson to be learned from these observations is that the perception of volunteering as choice or obligation hinges in part on the level of freedom the person believes he or she has to abandon a given volunteer post.

**Volunteering: Work or Leisure?**

Responses to the work/leisure question were more complicated than those given to the choice/obligation question. Only 10 percent (2 respondents) of the Calgary sample defined their volunteering as work compared with 39 percent (9 respondents) of the Edmonton sample. By contrast, 33 percent (7 respondents) of the Calgary sample saw volunteering as leisure, whereas only 17 percent (4 respondents) of the Edmonton sample viewed it in these terms. Finally, a somewhat larger proportion of respondents in Calgary than in Edmonton were reluctant to classify volunteering as either work or leisure; instead they regarded it as a distinct category of activity of a third kind. This category, however, was a hybrid formed of both work and leisure properties; it was not a pure category formed of properties found in neither.

It is unclear why the responses to this question provided by the two subsamples should vary in the ways just described. The explanations the respondents gave for their answers were of little help in accounting for these discrepant patterns. Several said that whether volunteering is work depends on the level of responsibility involved: the greater the responsibility in an activity the more like work it becomes.

For my part, being the president is very different from being an ordinary member. The president has many more responsibilities than the ordinary member, and that is what makes it [the presidency] seem like work. Being an ordinary member is more like leisure. One just has to attend the meetings and vote from time to time and talk and drink coffee with friends. However, I do like being president. I wouldn't want you to misunderstand that (male in the club and association sector).

A variation on this theme, mentioned by a couple of respondents, is that volunteering is essentially unremunerated work.

A number of others maintained that volunteering becomes work when it becomes disagreeable in some way. In this interpretation, a person can hold responsibilities that he or she finds generally interesting, challenging, and therefore agreeable. This same person, however, might also have to live with certain unpleasant aspects of the post, aspects disagreeable enough to lead him or her to view the entire role as work. A female respondent spoke about some of the dislikes mentioned in the preceding chapter, showing in the course of her answer how volunteering can become work according to this logic:

As chair of this committee, I sometimes get criticized for my actions. Moreover, I have to try to control the meetings where there are contentious issues, but I find this is difficult to do. And what is worse, I have one member who sits on this committee who seems never to be satisfied with the decisions we make and wants to debate them at length. I like volunteering, but for me these aspects of it make it seem like work.
And, formerly agreeable aspects of volunteering can become disagreeable when the volunteer begins to burn out, often the product of being overinvolved.

Additionally, several respondents classified volunteering as work primarily because they regarded leisure as casual, lighthearted activity. How could something as complicated, important, and rewarding as key volunteering be lumped in the same category with lying on the beach, watching a television sitcom, and chatting with friends over beer? "No, I would say it is work, because it is not frivolous like leisure is. I engage in leisure when I don't want to think or do something challenging" (female volunteer in the religion sector).

The Case for Volunteering as Chosen Leisure Activity

In the following attempt to cut a path through this tangle leading to a clear understanding of the relationship between work, volunteering, and general leisure, I will start with an analysis of the choice/obligation antinomy, proceed to the one bearing on work and leisure, and then frame it all with a statement about the marginality of serious leisure.

First, note that the sense of obligation to perform volunteer work in general or to help the local subcommunity in particular is strongly felt among the key francophone volunteers of Calgary and Edmonton. Although this study did not directly explore this link, it is certainly possible that the obligative sentiment felt by these respondents can be traced to the upbringing many of them received in families in which at least one parent volunteered regularly (Stebbins, in press). It is equally possible that these respondents learned from their parents that volunteering is good, expected, morally acceptable activity as well as an ideal outlet for the altruistic motive, itself a product of family socialization. Turning to another matter of family socialization, a couple of the interviewees said that, for them, the obligation to volunteer grew out of spiritual considerations. Both served in the religion sector.

Yet, whereas many of the respondents feel a profound obligation to volunteer - expressed by helping the francophone community - discussion in the interviews revealed that they also know that, in general, they can quit a given volunteer position at any of several convenient points in their leisure careers. They recognize that they have chosen their particular volunteer posts even while feeling obligated on a more general plane to volunteer. A female volunteer with long experience in the sectors of religion, education, and various clubs and associations put the matter this way:

Of course, it [volunteering] is a personal choice, but it is also a moral obligation. One should volunteer; it's a question of noblesse oblige, I really believe. But I would say that this is a general principle. I can certainly chose each volunteer position I would like to fill, although it is unfortunate that the choice is sometimes rather restricted around here [in comparison with the range of choice in the larger anglophone community].

Indeed, what upsets the respondents about the possibility of becoming burned out is that, in this condition, they would face a maddening lack of choice brought on by the transformation of a chosen activity into a forced one.
Still, the central kernel of leisure is preserved within this husk of obligation. Why? Because obligation can be expressed through choosing one or a few of several different activities, at different times during the volunteer's life, for periods of involvement sufficient to generate deep satisfaction. In other words, the sense of obligation for these volunteers is diffuse; it can be satisfied by filling any of a variety of volunteer positions and accomplishing something useful while there. In this respect, the present study shows that most of the key francophone volunteers in urban Alberta feel obliged to complete francophone group projects and help maintain and develop the local francophone community. Moreover, this obligation can be so powerful that it even prevents some of them from eventually exercising the leisure feature of choice, pushing them instead to stay on the job well beyond the point of leisure satisfaction. Burnout soon follows, the arrival of which is heralded by a draining away of one's sense of leisure and a transformation of the meaning of the activity from being satisfying to being a nonwork obligation, the third category of human activity beyond work and leisure (Stebbins, in press, chap. 2).

Work/Leisure

Although career volunteers can have both choice and obligation in their serious leisure, they are less fortunate when it comes to the work/leisure antinomy. This is because, first of all, work by definition constitutes a livelihood, a job (Applebaum, 1992, p. x), something volunteering can never be. We can never be dependent on volunteering for our basic economic needs, since this would essentially be coercion, the very antithesis of voluntary action. This elementary fact, however, is not what troubled the interviewees of this study.

Rather, some of the respondents equate disagreeableness with work and, when they encounter similar qualities in their volunteering, tend therefore to see the latter in the same light. But this is a misperception of work for, in fact, some of its forms are largely pleasant; work in art, sport, science, entertainment, and many of the professions has this attribute. Interestingly, the respondents with work experience in these areas stood this equation on its head, arguing that, since volunteering is satisfying and agreeable and their work can also be described in these terms, both forms must be work. They recognize their work in their serious leisure. From either perspective, however, unpleasantness cannot be used as a defining quality of work.

Meanwhile, other respondents looked on their key volunteering as work because the first carries with it numerous obligations and responsibilities. But this, too, is a misperception of at least some work, most of it manual, in which obligations and responsibilities are virtually nonexistent, apart from the requirements that the employee arrive at work on time and in a state of physical condition appropriate for performing the assigned tasks, which are normally heavily supervised. We must further conclude, then, that neither obligation nor responsibility are essential qualities of work.

Finally, given their commonsense view of leisure as constituted exclusively of the casual type, many of the respondents bristled at the thought that their key volunteering might be conceived of as being cut from the same cloth. So in several of the interviews, once the respondent had stated his or her position, I pursued the question further, by introducing the concept of serious leisure and then contrasting it with the idea of casual leisure. After this "lesson," which was presented in terms similar to those used earlier in this book, I
again posed the question, "do you see your key volunteering work or leisure?" No one had trouble this time seeing his or her kind of voluntary action as a subtype of serious leisure and seeing the popular conception that all leisure is casual as little more than an unfortunate stereotype.

The Marginality of Career Volunteering

Of the two types of volunteering, the career, or serious, variety is more susceptible than the casual variety to confusion over whether it is chosen or obligated, whether it is work or leisure. Indeed, if all volunteering were casual - e.g., handing out leaflets, stuffing envelopes, taking tickets, giving directions - I could have omitted the work/leisure sections of this chapter. For neither the respondents of this study nor the voluntary action scholars interested in this area would likely see casual volunteering as other than leisure.

But volunteering is often of the career variety. And it is with reference to this kind that the foregoing discussion has, I believe, resolved a thorny theoretical problem of considerable interest to a number of thinkers. Nevertheless, I am also aware that all but a very few of the Calgary-Edmonton sample have ever thought about either their volunteering or the volunteering of others in terms of choice and obligation or work and leisure. But notwithstanding their ignorance of these questions and the answers to them presented in this chapter, they have served as volunteers for many years and done so with considerable success. That success, however, raises still another question: will knowledge of the present discussion make a difference to them?

Yes, it will. To be sure, knowledge of the contents of this chapter will not sharpen, at least directly, their efficacy as volunteers, but it will increase, I believe profoundly, their broader understanding of the nature of career volunteering and their ability to explain it both to themselves and to other people. When the going gets tough for the officers of francophone organizations, for example, it is enlightening, and possibly comforting, for them to see how choice and obligation articulate at that time in their volunteer careers with reference to the positions they are occupying. It may also be enlightening (and comforting) at this point for them to know how to differentiate work from serious leisure. Using the foregoing ideas, key volunteers can effectively explain their situation to themselves and to others.

With this same knowledge volunteers can also explain their situation to their intimates, when the latter ask why volunteers work so hard for no pay and why others around them must endure the four tensions mentioned in the preceding chapter. They can also explain to those who engage them as volunteers, be they other francophones, government agencies, or private sector nonprofit organizations, the true nature of career volunteering, emphasizing strongly that it is in no way casual leisure. By the way, that it is occasionally necessary to provide such explanations, attests the marginality in North America, perhaps even in all of Western civilization, of serious leisure in general and career volunteering in particular.

Each study I have conducted on amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers, the present one included, has added weight to the proposition that they, and in some instances their activities as leisure activities, are socially marginal. This is most evident for the amateurs, who are neither dabblers nor professionals. But, as noted elsewhere (Stebbins, 1992) all serious leisure is characterized by a significant level of commitment to the
pursuit as expressed in processes like regimentation and systematization. This commitment is measured, among other ways, by the sizeable investments of time, energy, and emotion its enthusiasts make in their leisure as a central life interest. These qualities marginalize most serious leisure participants in a world dominated by casual leisure, producing a picture that runs counter to commonsense. For example, participants in serious leisure pursue their activities with such passion and earnestness that Erving Goffman (1963) was led to describe them as "quietly disaffiliated deviants." The remarks of journalist Charles Gordon (1992) further illustrate the popular attitude:

In the first place, the reaction of many people to the Age of Leisure is to work longer and harder - in other words to refuse to participate in it. In the second place, others have taken to the Age of Leisure by turning leisure into work.

You have only to set foot - or wheel - upon one of our bicycle pathes to appreciate the point. For many people, the bicycle is not a leisure vehicle, used to tootle in a leisurely way through the greenry of the capital [Ottawa]. No, it is an instrument of performance - used to create fitness, and to measure it in kilometres per hour, in distance travelled.

The bicycle is not to be taken lightly. Bicycling is serious business. Do not go slowly in front of a serious cyclist.

Something similar is happening to bird-watching, a pursuit that used to be confined to slightly dotty denizens of the slow lane. There could be no activity less intense than strolling through the woods carrying a book and a set of binoculars.

Now something has happened. In the Age of Leisure, bird-watching is called birding and birding has become competitive. Last month something called the World Series of Birding was in New Jersey. There were 46 teams and heaven knows how many birds.

Which brings us to gardening . . .

Furthermore, serious leisure tends to be uncontrollable; it kindles in its practitioners a desire to engage in the activity beyond the time and money available for it. Whereas some casual leisure can also be uncontrollable, the marginality proposition implies the presence of a significantly stronger tendency in this direction among serious leisure enthusiasts. Finally, the amateurs, who it was just said occupy the status of peripheral member of the profession on which they model their activities, are nevertheless judged in their execution of those activities by the standards of that same profession.

The kind of marginality under consideration here differs from the kind afflicting the "marginal man," a concept used for many years by sociologists to explain the lifestyles of immigrants. The latter are marginal because, in the typical case, they are caught between two cultures where marginality becomes a way of life, a condition touching nearly every corner of their existence. Although this ethnic marginality and the leisure marginality on which the present chapter focuses both center on peripheral, ambiguous social statuses, the second kind of marginality is hardly as pervasive as the first. Rather,
leisure marginality is a segmented and hence limited marginality associated with certain uncommon central life interests.

In leisure marginality, as in ethnic marginality, we find among the marginal people themselves as well as in the wider community an ambiguity, a lack of clarity, as to who they really are and what they really do. The studies I have conducted on amateurs and hobbyists reveal the multifaceted nature of this ambiguity. On the cultural side, ambiguity is manifested narrowly as a conflict of expectations and broadly as a conflict of values. On the social side, incongruent status arrangements develop, such as when amateurs in pursuit of their leisure goals help professionals reach their work goals. On the psychological side, practitioners may become ambivalent toward their serious leisure as they confront their own marginality during the many and diverse expressions of this ambiguity in everyday life. In francophone key volunteering, for example, psychological ambiguity arises from the situation faced by some of the volunteers in linguistically mixed marriages. Many would like to serve the local subcommunity more than they do, but to the extent that they have different priorities, their nonfrancophone spouses try to limit the amount of time they spend in this regard. These spouses hold that the family or they themselves are more important than their partner's volunteering, unless, as we saw earlier, it is done with the direct interest of the children in mind.

In summing up these ideas about ambiguity, it is evident that both the practitioners of a serious leisure activity and the members of the larger community are inclined to see it as marginal to the main problems around which the social institutions of work, family, and leisure have developed and to the principal ways in which members of the society are trying to solve those problems.

My research on all three types of serious leisure demonstrates further that family and work and even other leisure activities pull many serious leisure practitioners in two, if not three, directions at once, making time demands that together often exceed the total available hours. Moreover, unlike family and work activities where institutional supports sustain serious involvement, such supports for activities of equivalent substance are absent in leisure. For example, such widely accepted values as providing for one's family, working hard on the job, and being family centered - all of which help justify our efforts in these spheres - are simply lacking in most serious leisure. In addition, their very existence in the institutions of family and work threatens serious leisure involvement elsewhere by reducing the importance of the latter while raising that of the former.

Most critical, however, is the observation that serious leisure practitioners are marginal even to the institution of leisure itself. In other words, implicitly or explicitly, they reject a number of the values, attitudes, and patterns of behavior making up the very core of modern leisure, which is constituted mostly of casual activities. For instance, many an interviewee told me about his or her feeble interest in television or in such passive leisure as frivolous conversation and people watching. Like marginal people everywhere, then, those who go in for serious leisure lack key institutional supports for their goals as well as for their individual and collective ways of reaching them.

Marginal statuses are common in industrial societies where rapid social change frequently gives birth to new forms of work and leisure. Still, as time passes in these societies, certain forms do become less, sometimes even much less, ambiguous and
marginal. A few of them even become central. Nevertheless, according to the research conducted to this point, such a transformation has so far failed to occur for any of the serious leisure activities. Yet, as the Information Age unfolds and work continues to decline in significance and availability, this kind of leisure could well come to occupy a more prominent place in community life than heretofore. Such a rise in stature is especially likely for career volunteering, said in the next chapter to be poised to take over a variety of the functions once filled by paid work.

In the meantime, the serious leisure participants with whom I have spoken, the Calgary-Edmonton francophone volunteers included, generally seem quite undisturbed by the marginality of their activities. They see them as harmless social differences of which they are rather proud indeed: they are committed to a deeply fulfilling serious leisure activity in an era when most people are committed only to the comparatively superficial search for pure fun. A badge of distinction you might say, which they wear with pride, even while most of the other people in their lives have some difficulty understanding the values and motives that explain and justify their love for amateurism, hobbyism, or career volunteering.

Conclusion

The three main goals of this paper have been to present the respondents' views of the antinomies of choice/obligation and work/leisure, then, by means of the serious leisure perspective, to iron out the contradictions and inconsistencies found in them, and finally to frame the argument as it had evolved to that point in the context of the marginality of serious leisure in modern industrial society. The personal utility of this emergent conception of the nature and place of career volunteering was also considered. What remains to be done now is to show how and where the serious volunteer of the future fits in the Information Age. Widespread understanding of this new conception is absolutely indispensable there, if career volunteers are to gain the level of acceptance needed for them to be allowed to fill the many volunteer roles that will be springing up everywhere in society in the coming years, in government, the private sector, and the Third Sector.

So far, many of these leaders have shown an abysmal ignorance about the serious leisure nature of career volunteering and, as a consequence, about the social and motivational backdrop against which such volunteering is carried out, a deficiency that drew a sardonic comment or two from many an interviewee in this study. Yet, for many people, the Information Age and its attendant decline of work will combine to give rise to a great deal of career volunteering, which will be conducted in the full range of sectors by people with vastly different relationships to the world of work.
References


Notes

1. The data for this study were collected in 1996 and 1997 by means of semistructured interviews conducted in French (with two exceptions) within a qualitative/exploratory research design. Further details on the methodology of this study and its findings are presented in Stebbins (in press).

2. Somewhat more than a third of both samples also performed volunteer work in English, although they were much less likely to occupy key volunteer posts in this language than when volunteering in French.

3. As good a descriptor as “quietly disaffiliated” is, Goffman’s decision to classify such people as deviant fails to square with the serious leisure participants’ views of themselves and, for that matter, with the canons of deviance theory (e.g., Stebbins, 1996a, pp.2-7).

Nevertheless, the present study suggests that, where career volunteering is rooted in such motives as altruism and obligation, participants may be blessed with a higher degree of community-wide support than is normally given to the typical amateur and hobbyist activities.

Tourism as experience, involving complex and often subtle interactions between the tourist, the site and the host community, problematises analyses of tourism forms that are predicated on the conceptualisation of the tourist as 'wanderer', 'gazer' and 'escaper.' A focus on subjective experience itself, in providing for the significance of the tourist experience, while not being divorced from its sociological contextualisation, allows for the elaboration upon the role of the individual tourists themself in the active construction of the 'tourist experience'. The centrality of experience is relational in respect to the individual, the individual's social groups, their travel experience and the interrelating elements that sustain the experience. In differentiating the specificity of alternative forms of tourism - specifically here, ecotourism - through the positing of experience as a nodal point, allows for the elaboration of the conceptual, theoretical and practical bifurcations and conjunctions between specific tourism forms thus contributing to the movement towards an understanding and elaboration of the potential benefits of particular tourism experiences as an holistic interchange rather than chiefly evaluated through economic analyses.

In accounting for tourism as a global phenomenon, much of the initial sociological and social psychological work was concerned with the individual tourist and the part that holidays play in establishing identity and a sense of self. This self was predominantly posited as a universal and tourism, like leisure, was seen in a dialectical relationship with the 'workaday world'. Cohen and Taylor (1976), for example, drew on Goffman's concern with the presentation of self in everyday life to argue that holidays are culturally sanctioned escape routes for western travellers. One of the problems for the modern traveller, in this view, is to establish identity and a sense of personal individuality in the face of the anomic forces of a technological world. Tourism serves to provide a free area, a mental and physical escape from the immediacy of the multiplicity of impinging pressures in technological society and, as such, holiday experiences provide a scope for the nurturance and cultivation of human identity. As Cohen and Taylor argue, overseas holidays are structurally similar to leisure because one of their functions is identity establishment and the cultivation of one's self-consciousness. The tourist, they claim, uses all aspects of the holiday for the manipulation of well-being. However, in the tourist literature, these arguments became diverted into a debate about the authenticity or otherwise of this experience (cf. Cohen 1988; MacCannell 1976), serving to focus attention on the attractions of the tourist destination. Such a shift objectified the destination as place - a specific geographical site which was presented to the tourist for their gaze (Urry 1990). Thus the manner of presentation became all important and its authenticity or otherwise the focus of analysis: 'I categorised objects of the gaze in terms of romantic/collective, historical/modern, and authentic/unauthentic', says Urry (1990, p. 135). The tourist themselves became synonymous with the flaneur: 'the strolling flaneur was a forerunner of the twentieth century tourist' (Urry 1990, p. 138) who travelled as a passive observer and this flaneur was generally perceived as escaping from the workaday world for an 'ephemeral', 'fugitive' and 'contingent' leisure experience (cf. Rojek 1993, p. 216).
In such an analysis, tourism essentially becomes a mass phenomenon, predicated on ontological universal categories with sharply dichotomous conceptions — authentic/inauthentic for example — utilised to account for the dynamic processes, interrelations and the inherent divergences, of tourism experiences. However, as Cohen acknowledges, authenticity does not have an 'objective quality', but is attributed by 'moderns' to the world 'out there', and thus is a socially constructed concept with a connotation that is not given but 'negotiable' (Cohen 1988).

The theorisation of tourism therefore, like that of leisure\(^\text{12}\), needs to not only recognise the interrelation of time, the site and the activities provided for at the tourist destination, but requires a fundamental focus on subjective experience itself in providing for the significance of the tourist experience that, while not being divorced from its sociological contextualisation, allows for the elaboration upon the role of individual tourists themselves in the active construction of the 'tourist experience', thus identifying the relational complex of the individual, the individual's social groups, their travel experience and the interrelating elements that sustain the experience.

Tourism as experience, involving complex and often subtle interactions between the tourist, the site and the host community, problematises analyses predicated on the conceptualisation of the tourist as 'wander', 'gazer' and 'escaper' as is common in the tourism literature. As the tour group, the host community and the natural environment, to varying degrees, are interdependent components of any tourist experience, there is a need to move beyond these simplistic typologies towards a more analytically flexible conceptualisation that allows for the exploration of the assumptions implicit in the 'tourist gaze', the tourist 'destination', the marketing 'image', the 'visit', in suggesting other modes of analysis that may better account for the significant range and diversity of tourist experiences.

Alternative forms of tourism — such as ecotourism — are now being seriously considered as a significant area of tourism experience (Cohen 1987; 1995; Holden 1984; Pleumarom 1990; Smith and Eadington 1992; Vir Sigh et al. 1989; Weiler and Hall 1992). However, a number of authors (Butler 1992; Cohen 1995) have attempted to incorporate it into the analysis of 'mass tourism' thus subordinating it to mainstream tourism research. Questions thus arise as to the value of analysing alternative tourism in terms of a separate construct, independent variable or different paradigm. A major obstacle in specifying alternative forms of tourism and the experiences that may be aligned to it are the surrounding ambiguity in the perceptions and conceptualisation of what defines it (Smith & Eadington 1992). A significant and often raised question in this respect is to what extent has the specificity of alternative tourism modalities been disavowed through the inclusion of a range of experiences that may not relate to the initial conceptualisation and the ethos that underpins it. In response, Butler (1992) — in relation to ecotourism — states that a general understanding must be arrived at, suggesting that ecotourism is not just an activity but a philosophy, and that this philosophy must be modelled on a sustainable approach to

\(^{12}\) See for example Wearing and Wearing (1988) for a definition of leisure as experience. The term is used here to encompass tourist experiences which are considered to be a sub-group of leisure experience, leisure theory being the underlying theoretical contributor to the sociological analysis of tourism (cf. Cohen 1995).
the environment if the specificity of the experience is also to be sustained. Situated in this respect, this paper attempts to contribute to the movement towards a more comprehensive theoretical understanding, and hence provision of, these types of experience. It does so by positing a conjunction of interrelating elements that often contribute to alternative tourism experiences — ecotourism, volunteerism and serious leisure — which raises significant questions in respect to the view that tourism is a culturally sanctioned escape route for Western travellers.

It is not the purpose of this paper to focus on the relative dualism of positive or negative impacts of various tourism forms. Its focus is instead, on developing an approach that recognises the interdependence of the tourism experience, culture and ecology, and explores ways of enhancing the sustainability of the experience, and eliminating or ameliorating the negative consequences of tourism to developing countries. Tourism itself is regarded by many social scientists, and many tourists themselves, with increasing scepticism. It is increasingly seen to have a poor environmental record, negative cultural impacts, and to provide unsatisfactory benefits such as intermittent, low level employment for members of the host community.

In differentiating the specificity of alternative forms of tourism — specifically here, ecotourism — it will be argued that the conceptual basis underlying the analysis of tourism must significantly include experience, particularly as demonstrated in the social science literature (cf. Wearing and Wearing 1988). The positing of experience as a nodal point allows for the elaboration of the conceptual, theoretical and practical bifurcations and conjunctions between specific tourism forms thus contributing to the movement towards an understanding and elaboration of the potential benefits of particular tourism experiences as an holistic interchange rather than chiefly in terms of economic benefits.

Kenny (1994, p. xiii) finds that the OECD has emphasised the importance of local initiatives in both social and economic development. Further to this, community development is seen as process for responding to the diversity of community needs in the establishment and maintenance of local resources. Analyses of community based initiatives in various locales indicate the success of innovative changes generated at the local level. These initiatives can empower ordinary people and unleash the creative capacity to deal with social and environmental problems without sacrificing economic activity. A major study of some 400 grassroots programs worldwide looked at successful approaches to rural development, and provides strong evidence for participating effectiveness in promoting equitable, self-reliant development (Burbidge 1988). Further, Participatory Action Research (PAR) approaches have relevance in treating individual case studies as micro- experiments for macro–social change (TSID 1987).

Ecotourism

Ceballos-Lascurain (n.d.: 1) is widely acknowledged as having first coined the term ecotourism in 1981. He used the word in 1983 in discussions as president of PRONATURA, a conservation non–government organisation (NGO) and as director general of SEDUE, the Mexican Ministry of Urban Development and Ecology. At the time he was lobbying for the conservation of rainforest areas in the Mexican state of Chiapas. One of the arguments he used for maintaining the integrity of the forests was
the promotion of ecological tourism in the region emphasising that ecotourism could become a very important tool for conservation.

The first appearance of the word in the written form was in the March-April 1984 edition of 'American Birds' in an advertisement for a tourist operation initiated by Ceballos-Lascurain. His definition first appeared in the literature in 1987 in a paper entitled 'The Future of Ecotourismo' which was reprinted in the *Mexico Journal* of 27 January 1988 (Ceballos-Lascurain n.d: 2) and this initial definition was expanded upon by Boo:

“We may define ecological tourism or ecotourism as that tourism that involves travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific object of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural aspects (both past and present) found in these areas. Ecological tourism implies a scientific, aesthetic or philosophical approach, although the ecological tourist is not required to be a professional scientist, artist or philosopher. The main point is that the person that practices ecotourism has the opportunity of immersing him or herself in nature in a way that most people cannot enjoy in their routine, urban existences” (Boo 1990, p. 10).

A number of important basic ecotourism concepts have emerged in recent years. The notion of movement or travel from one location to another is obviously a fundamental component. This travel should be restricted to relatively undisturbed or protected natural areas as ecotourism focuses on the promotion of nature (O'Neill 1991). Such natural areas offer the 'best guarantee for encountering sustained natural features and attractions' (Ceballos-Lascurain 1990, p. 2). Thus in 'travel[ing] to unspoilt natural environments...the travel has to be for the specific purpose of experiencing the natural environment' (Jenner and Smith 1991, p. 2). Ecotourism would thus seem to exclude such activities as business travel, travel to cities, conventional beach holidays and sporting holidays where the experience is not focused on the natural environment of the area visited.

The definition of ecotourism, after much discussion at international conferences and in the literature¹³, has evolved significantly with conservationists and responsible tourism operators now believing that conservation is an essential component of ecotourism. As a segment of the tourism industry it has emerged as a direct result of ‘increasing global concern for disappearing cultures and ecosystems’ (Kutay 1990, p. 34) with The Ecotourism Society in the USA describing ecotourism as ‘responsible travel that conserves natural environments and sustains the well-being of local people’ (The Ecotourism Society 1992, p. 1). Fundamentally, the central concept revolves around people experiencing natural areas and their respective local communities first-hand, thus the potentiality exists that they will more likely be concerned with preserving them (O'Neill 1991). Mass tourism, on the other hand, historically errs towards ‘inappropriate tourism development...and can degrade a protected area and have unanticipated economic, social or environmental effects on the surrounding lands’ (Ceballos-Lascurain 1990, p. 1).

¹³ Hvenegaard (1994); The United Nations Conference of Environment and Development, Earth Summit; The International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN); IV World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas.
Ceballos-Lascurain suggests that ‘the pressures of urban living encourage people to seek solitude with nature’ and therefore, ‘the numbers of visitors to national parks and other protected areas continue to rise’ (1990, p. 1). Ecotourism is considered nature dependent and some argue it should involve active nature appreciation, education or interpretation (cf. Mieczkowski 1995 for a general overview of definitions). This educative role refers not only to the tourists themselves but also to industry operators and local communities. As Swanson (1992, p. 3) recognises: ‘Most ecotourists expect discovery and enlightenment from their ecotourism experience’ and this is brought about by such factors as; communication, culture, knowledge and information, which have to be effectively conveyed to become educative. Significantly, the last sentence of Ceballos-Lascurain’s definition was omitted by Boo and by others who have since quoted him. It reads:

“This person will eventually acquire a consciousness and knowledge of the natural environment together with its cultural aspects, that will convert him [sic] into somebody keenly involved in conservation issues” (Ceballos-Lascurain n.d: 1).

By their active participation in the experience, ecotourists may be able to be educated to appreciate the importance of natural and cultural conservation. ‘The need to disseminate information to tourists on appropriate behaviour in fragile social and ecological settings’ is increasingly being recognised as the responsibility of industry operators (Blangy and Epler-Wood 1992, p. 1); guidelines presented to tourists before commencing a trip for example. Ecotourism can also provide local people with the opportunity to learn about and use the area and its attractions (Wallace 1992). It may also stimulate renewed appreciation of the ‘unique value of their own cultural traditions’ as a result of the interest shown by tourists (Kutay 1990, p. 40).

Other activities occurring in natural environments, such as hunting and white water rafting, are more difficult to locate within this context and require further evaluation before consideration. The ecotourist generally expresses a strong desire to learn about nature on their trips (Eagles et al 1992) hence some authors greater emphasis on nature appreciation, education and interpretation and the explanation of ‘concepts, meanings and inter-relationships of natural phenomena’ (McNeely and Thorsell 1989, p. 37). Ecotourism also seeks to generate revenue while at the same time protecting vulnerable natural resources (cf. O’Neill 1991, p. 25; Wheeler 1992).

Additionally, it is believed that ecotourism will ‘contribute to a sustainable future’ (O’Neill 1991, p. 25) in the form of equitable economic returns. It is intended that the ecotourist who is affected by the experience will want to ensure the environments visited are sufficiently maintained for the benefit of others. In this way ‘ecotourism has the potential to foster conservation of natural resources by increasing the awareness in people of the importance of the natural resources’ (Swanson 1992, p. 2), and for this reason the notion of conservation must be included in a definition of ecotourism. Ecotourism therefore ‘promotes a greater understanding and respect of cultures, heritage and the natural environment — and people usually protect what they respect’ (Richardson 1991, p. 244).
The profile of an ecotourist is said to differ in matters of degree and purpose from the profile of an average conventional tourist. Ecotourists are ‘relatively affluent, well educated, mature and environmentally-focused’ (Williams 1990, p. 85). Also, according to Eagles et al: ‘Ecotourists are interested in seeing as much of their money spent on conservation as possible’ and they will pay a little extra for a more acceptable product (Eagles et al 1992, p. 1). Some common characteristics in the varying definitions of ecotourists do exist, such as higher income levels, tertiary education, environmental concern and awareness, the desire to travel in small groups, and the desire to learn about nature (Kerr 1991; Eagles et al 1992). Generally, the scale of ecotourism differs to that of conventional tourism, with most ecotourism operators averaging less than 300 clients per year (Ingram and Durst, 1989), rather than an equivalent number per day, or per week, which is the case for some larger conventional tour operators.

However, specific nature based experiences within the western market economy may be delicately balanced and difficult to differentiate. For example the intrinsic pleasure which comes from being closer to nature, focusing on the education/interpretation elements rather then equipment based activities such as rafting, and contributing in some way to conservation, does not necessarily equate with ecotourism (cf. Butler 1992; Mieczkowski 1995; Pigram 1992; Williams 1990).

Boo (1990) uses the term ‘nature tourism’ synonymously with ecotourism. However, it is argued here that the terminology is not so easily transposable because not all nature tourism endeavours to preserve natural ecosystems, whereas a fundamental defining principle of ecotourism is this very issue. In addition to this, some forms of volunteering can be considered ecotourism but the focus of volunteering is not necessarily on the natural environment. The establishment of a conceptual framework that explores these interrelations may help clarify the commonalities between the two and their relationship with mass tourism.

**Volunteering for Serious Leisure**

The development of organisational volunteering has occurred without it having been considered as a form of tourism. The modern phenomenon of travelling overseas as a visitor appears to have begun in about 1915 (Gillette 1968; Beigbeder 1991, p. 109-110; Clark 1978; Australian Volunteers Abroad 1989; Darby 1994) and has involved a variety of organisations and groups throughout the world, with Australian Volunteers Abroad operating in Australia and similar types of organisations such as the Peace Corps USA, Voluntary Service Abroad NZ operating in other countries.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimates that in 1990 over 33,000 overseas volunteers were involved with projects, primarily in developing countries. The investment in over 18,000 volunteers for 1986 was $389 million (US), a growth of 400% since 1976, according to OECD figures (Beigbeder 1991, p. 103).

International volunteerism generally involves some form of travel and, as this brief outline will demonstrate, the underlying concepts comprising specific forms of alternative tourism and organisational volunteering overlap significantly to a substantial degree, thus providing for a more specific form of ecotourism which falls...
outside the context of mass tourism and within a conceptualisation that involves altruistically motivated travel. Significantly, there are a number of studies (cf. Clark 1978; Dickson 1976; Darby 1994) that focus on the range of volunteer programs for the 17–25 year old age group, which provides a perspective that allows for the elaboration of the specificity on the conjunction between volunteer and ecotourist experience.\footnote{For a detailed account of volunteerism see Darby (1994).}

It is generally agreed that the volunteer is one who offers service, time and skills to benefit others (Beigbeder 1991: 109), provides voluntary personal aid while living in developing communities (Clark 1978), and gains mutual learning, friendship and adventuropus (Gillette 1968). Definitions of volunteers necessarily include the recognition that they are those who provide assistance, or unpaid service, usually for the benefit of the community (ABS 1986). This may be through formal involvement as a volunteer in an organisation, and/or independently as an individual. For the purposes of this paper, the concept of volunteering is defined as an action perceived as freely chosen, without financial gain, and generally aimed at helping others (Stebbins 1982; 1992; Van Til 1979). There have been suggestions that there are enough developed nations already working in developing countries (Chavaleir 1993) and increasing this level through alternative tourist activity is not going to help resolve local problems. One fundamental danger is that volunteers can reiterate the ethos of the ‘expert’ thus promoting deference in the local community to outside knowledge, therefore contributing to the curtailment of self-sufficiency.

A tourist experience that allows for the opportunity to live and work with people of other cultures may provide a modality of alternative tourism that is able to effectively meet some of the concerns raised by destination communities about the impacts of tourism. Younger tourists are possibly more likely to use the knowledge gained from their volunteer tourism experiences to influence other areas of their lives, such as the choice and development of career paths, particularly if these experiences allow for inclusiveness of issues and impacts that relate to natural environments and destination communities.

The research in the area of volunteerism has shown that people working and living together on jobs of social significance often result in the facilitation of understanding and friendships that are more important to the participants than the physical construction itself (Clark 1978, p. 13). Whatever the genesis of the program, it is the personal encounter between the volunteer and the community that is essential (Clark 1978, p. 4). Additionally, research on international volunteer organisations has demonstrated an orientation towards reviewing the issues around personal development. The links between volunteering and ecotourism can possibly be made more apparent when viewed as leisure experience and the research on personal development and international development volunteer programs initially provides some background for positing such a conjunction in alternative tourism experiences.

In reviewing the international volunteering literature\footnote{The initial studies considered the more widely researched area of personal development and the university student, or college experience (Karen 1990; Kuh et al 1988; Terenzini and Wright 1987), as}, there is a focus on personal development and the role of learning in changing or influencing the self which
introduces to the alternative tourism experience issues relating to self identity and change. It is proposed that the concept of international volunteering, as an element within the context of alternative tourism experience, highlights learning as a central element of the interaction with the destination culture and environment.

The research of Weinmann (1983, p. 16) and Carlson et al (1991), in considering exposure to a new culture, found personal development related to: greater tolerance; a more compassionate understanding of other people and their individual differences; and the gaining of a more global perspective and insight into new values, beliefs and ways of life. Learning components within this exchange included academic learning, the development of personal knowledge, self-confidence, independence, cultural awareness and social abilities.

Stitsworth (1987) similarly indicated that participants, as part of a group for six weeks, contributed to their own personal growth and development while gaining a better understanding of the role of developed countries, particularly the issues surrounding development in experiencing another culture. 'The AFS Impact Study: 1986' (American Field Service 1986) of over 1000 high school students found that participants’ greatest amount of positive change was in awareness and appreciation of the host country and its culture. In this way, the studies of volunteering provide an added dimension to the examination of alternative tourism experiences.

The time contributed to participation in international volunteering can be considered voluntary leisure (Stebbins 1982; 1992; Henderson 1984) and many organisations rely on this ‘free’ time in order to operate (Bishop and Hogett 1986). It is evident that the travel component of volunteerism in these alternative tourism experience is an essential component of the appeal of organisations operating in developing countries. Rather than travelling simply as a ‘tourist’ the volunteer may regard travel ‘as an activity for the stimulation and development of character’ (Foucault 1983, p. 115). The appeal of travelling with a purpose, working with communities in developing countries and spending time to assist in saving natural environments, provides a strong platform for expanding the conceptualisation of tourist experience.

Stebbins (1992), in defining ‘serious leisure’, uses the fields of amateurism, hobbyist and volunteering to encompass the range of specific characteristics. Similarly, Parker (1992) links ‘serious leisure’ to a range of activities such as volunteering, suggesting these activities fundamentally affect individual values. Two distinguishing features of volunteering identified by Stebbins that may contribute to our understanding of alternative tourism experiences — particularly in relation to ecotourism — are that volunteers are usually motivated by a sense of altruism, and that they are often delegated tasks to perform, making them a ‘special class of helper in someone else’s occupational world’ (Floro, 1978 in Stebbins, 1982)

well as personal development through culture shock (Weinmann 1983). These studies were followed by research on university student study abroad (Carlson et al 1991; Kauffman and Kuh 1984); youth programs and national service (Thomas 1971; United Nations 1975); and international youth exchange (AFS 1986; Stitsworth 1987). Studies of international development experience include, specifically, youth based Canadian Crossroads International and Operation Raleigh USA (1989) as well as government based volunteer programs — United States Peace Corps (1980, 1989 and Winslow 1977) and Volunteer Service Overseas (VSA) (Clark 1978).

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Similarly, Stebbins (1982, p. 257; 1992, p. 18) in identifying a number of components that contribute to volunteerism — including: demonstrated perseverance, significant personal effort based on special knowledge, training or skill, durable benefits relating to; self-actualisation, self-enrichment, recreation or renewal of self, feelings of accomplishment, enhancement of self-image, self-expression, social interaction and belongingness, lasting physical products of the activity, and a unique ethos demonstrating a subculture with intrinsic beliefs, values, and norms — provides significant overlapping qualities between the alternative tourist and volunteerism.

Significantly, research (Parker 1992; Stebbins 1982; 1992) indicates that some volunteers do not perceive themselves as being 'at leisure', but rather involved in a sense of 'good citizenship concern for the community'. The addition of volunteering to the analysis of alternative tourism experiences enables us to differentiate it from forms of mass tourism that are inclined towards a specific focus on relaxation and excitement. This is not to deny that relaxation and excitement are components of alternative tourism experiences, but allows for volunteering as a significant differentiating component.

The examination of motivation is significant in linking volunteer experience, serious leisure and ecotourism forms. Neulinger (1982, p. 30) and Henderson (1984) both note that volunteerism and leisure fulfil higher level needs such as self-esteem, belonging and self-actualisation. In addition Stebbins (1982; 1992), in examining 'serious leisure' sees 'career volunteering' as a specific example. In his consideration of 'serious leisure', Stebbins points out that it is an important part of people's lives in its relation to personal fulfilment, identity enhancement, and self-expression (1982, p. 253).

The research16 on volunteerism which focuses on individual motivation acknowledges that volunteers seek to gain considerable personal benefits from their endeavours, including; self-satisfaction and social and personal well-being (Frank 1992; Henderson 1981; 1984; Stebbins 1982; 1994). Motivations, such as being useful (Independent Sector 1990), altruism and being needed (Beigbeder 1991, p. 106), personal satisfaction and being cared for by the organisation (Tihanyi 1991), are all considered important by the volunteers. Alternative tourist experiences could be studied within this rubric as a fundamental motivating element for the participant is the desire to assist communities in developing countries.

Volunteer experiences often include long term educative impacts: '(T)hough not often articulated in a formal sense by participants, learning in these community settings is nevertheless real and substantive' (Whitmore 1988, p. 53). Whitmore's study outlines a variety of learning statements by community volunteers relating to self; external (outside the community group) knowledge and skills; and internal (within the community group) knowledge and skills. While the motivation to volunteer may imply an altruistic, or helping perspective, the potential learning from such an experience, as shown by Whitmore's (1988) study, can be diverse and influenced by a range of factors.

The consideration of serious leisure with its component of volunteering thus becomes an element that provides a significant broadening of the analysis of alternative tourism

experiences\textsuperscript{17}. The early literature that attempted to clarify the concept of leisure\textsuperscript{18} does so without adequately considering the relationship between leisure and natural environments, focusing instead on the ideas of non-work time and individual activity. It is this perspectival limitation that serves to obscure elements of leisure, such as volunteerism. A more inclusive approach beyond the simple paradigm of work/non-work serves to question the theoretical construction of leisure as individually conceived arguing instead that it should be built around the micro-social dynamic exchanges that are a part of the participant’s experiences. Such an approach allows the incorporation of interaction of cultural or social influences such as those between the host community, the participant and the site. Budowski (in Valentine 1991) draws attention to the two-way interaction between ecotourists and the environment upon which their experience depends, in that the environment consists in part, of the dynamic social exchange which establishes much of the experience of the natural environment. What is at issue here is, fundamentally, the dynamic social exchange between and within social groups (the host–community and the tour group) which forms the basis of the participant’s experience and the way they construct their ideas of the experience.

**Time Out For Serious Fun**

Alternative tourism experiences, when contextualised in relation to the differential elements of volunteerism, serious leisure and ecotourism, illustrates the centrality of the interactions that take place within the destination area in conjunction with the exploration of personal identity and development through enabling the tourist to contribute to the community development of local area, often in specific relation to protected areas. This has significant implications in relation to tourism research and future policy as it enables the examination of protected areas, local communities and (eco)tourism as socially constructed institutions within wider social constructs rather than simply as contributing elements in an escape to a natural environment isolated from the social boundaries that mediate and influence it.

Tourism in the 1990’s is often assessed as providing an attractive alternative to other forms of economic development because of its potential for growth through employment generation, its ability to facilitate the protection of natural and cultural assets, and the support it generates for activities and facilities which make local areas more interesting and rewarding places to live (cf. Mieczkowski 1995, p. 457-489). Trainer (1985), in discussing developing nations and development, suggests that the living standards of hundreds of millions of the world’s poorest people are hardly improving at all, and for many of them conditions are getting worse. In focussing specifically on the substantial increases in Indian national wealth, Trainer found that the majority of benefits accruing as a result of economic development substantially enhanced the already wealthy sectors with the concomitant result that the disenfranchised poor members of society actually became poorer. Trainer sees the

\textsuperscript{17} See for example: Bishop and Hogett 1986 on the leisure profession and the consideration of available time for travel; serving communities through leisure (Henderson 1984; Neulinger 1982); the provision of purpose for leisure (cf. Roberts 1981, p. 61 and Stebbins 1992, p. 19); the high correlation between individual description of their volunteer efforts and their perception of leisure (Henderson 1981); the degree of involvement and its correlation to commitment and more satisfying and rewarding experiences (McIntyre 1994).

\textsuperscript{18} Cf. Wearing and Wearing (1988).
fault lying in large part as a result of the type of development taking place in being oriented towards maximising sales and profits which means targeting the higher income groups with the affluent urban groups benefiting and the poorer rural groups being neglected.

Alternative tourism may provide some means of at least addressing some of the concerns that have arisen in developing nations from existing forms of economic growth. Conventional tourism brings with it many of the same problems identified through the exploitation of developing nations in the past. It is often driven, owned and controlled by the developed nations with a high return to these nations. Packaged tours are offered and the only use of local people is through the use of their resource at a minimum or no cost to the operator. Where local people are used as guides they are again paid minimal salaries, in contrast to the profits made by the investors and owners which are defended on the pretext that if these operators did not come, there would be no money injected into the community at all.

"In this dominant 'market' paradigm the good life is obtained by the buying of commodities, the environment is fragmented; its holistic properties are ignored; and the costs of environmental disruption are externalised"(Gudynas in Encel and Encel 1991, p. 140).

It is obvious that ecologically sustainable development is essential for the long term survival of the tourism industry. In order to ensure that tourism does not exceed its sustainable base, an understanding of the elements of the experience for the tourist may provide a means of providing infrastructure for development that allows a change in orientation in the currently accepted models including; lower infrastructure cost; a reduction in the number of inbound visitors which could conserve natural and cultural sites; an increase in the quality of visitor experience through understanding group and community interactions and a means to find ways to increase long term benefits for local communities.

Crocker (in Encel and Encel 1991, p.150) maintains that participatory eco-development is a means of achieving these objectives particularly through its utilisation of cooperative, self-management (autogestion), co-management (cogestion) and solidarity (solidarism) approaches. It is widely recognised that existing economic models have created far reaching problems in developing nations often serving to benefit only the developed nations who, in large part, end up controlling the local economy.

If alternate tourism experiences, such as ecotourism, are able to motivate the tourist, tourism operator, or local community to become active in the conservation of natural resources then they have achieved their main aim. Originally, in both ecotourism and biodiversity debates, conservation issues were foremost and the local community element was neglected. However, it has become increasingly obvious that biodiversity

19 The World Bank has recognised the inadequacies of existing economic models in reports such as "The World Bank and the Environment" (World Bank 1992), which saw policy review as essential and movement to support and initiate the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development's blueprint for environmental action - Agenda 21 - which notes that unregulated economic growth can have profound and sometimes irreversible effects on the environment (World Bank 1992:8)
cannot be conserved without the involvement of local resident communities. While it is necessary to recognise national parks and protected areas as integral to biodiversity and ecotourism, ecotourism must also stress the importance of local human populations and tourist experiences.

Kenny (1994) notes that the dominant characteristics of community development are participation in decision-making, acceptance of individual differences and involving the transference of skills that are resourced but not controlled by professionals. It involves multi-sector and multi-issue approaches to the whole and sees the inter-relations between the parts. In this way it is a systemic (looking at the operations of the overall social system as a whole) rather than systematic (looking at parts sequentially and separately) approach, involving the breaking down of the barriers to cooperation, understanding the wider implications of issues, linking people together on issue-based actions, adopting a task orientation, exchanging knowledge and skill and constant renewal and consolidation of the relationship, whereby support is maintained, trust continued, realistic tasks set and achieved and those involved rewarded. The perspective encapsulated here is quite different from that of the tourism industry as a whole, which is predominantly focused on a profit ethos. Instead, community based approaches place far more importance on resourcing the information networks of people and, in particular, groups forming around particular issues. Alternate tourism experiences — such as ecotourism — when differentially analysed in terms of its volunteering and serious leisure components, actively facilitate the type of interaction and exchange identified here, thus significantly shifting the analysis of tourism research, and the provision of tourist experiences, into a realm that enables the elaboration of the specificity of component elements that sustain particular touristic experiences and which are not bounded by the simple dichotomous conceptualisations of work/non-work.
Bibliography


The samba-schools parade in Rio de Janeiro is, by any measure, an impressive and massive spectacle and, undoubtedly, part of a powerful cultural and tourist industry, which commercializes sex and fun. Each year, around fifty million dollars and more than fifty thousand people are involved in its production. There are lights everywhere, television cameras and reporters in helicopters overflying the mile-long parade. Watching the parade are ninety thousand people sitting on ordered concrete stands and in luxurious boxes. The large number of billboards with messages warning against HIV infection during carnival suggests that the festivities are an opportunity for casual sex.

One of the roots of these parades goes back to the 30's, when they were officially recognized and acquired an organized façade. Under the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas, popular street manifestations with mainly black participants ceased to be repressed during carnival and became a key element of a new national identity. From the 70's onwards, the parade became an event of huge proportions, with an increasing audience. In addition to government assistance, it started to receive regular financial support from the bosses of the jogo do bicho (illegal gambling). Recently, drug trafficking has substituted the numbers rackets, showing a stronger interest in trading opportunities than in political compromises.

However, it has been observed that, in different kind of festivities, from classical calendric festive practices and saturnalia orgies to more recent Afro-American ceremonies, there is an association between drinking and the lack of control, on the one hand, and a sort of catharsis and spirit of freedom, on the other. It seems that some singular moments, when everything is turned upside down and distorted, allow the emergence of new forms of utopian desires and realizations.

What, then, is to be said about Rio’s carnival parades? Are these productions completely devoid of personal experiences and cultural expressions? Is the mockery of taboos and political authorities just a domesticated practice in the interstices of our societies? Is the entertainment industry the same as an escape of reality? Or, on the contrary, despite market and political interests in the huge spectacle, the parades still hold the utopian possibilities of Dionysian laughter?

The aim of this paper is to argue that Rio’s carnival parades, the more institutionalized side of the carnival manifestations in the city, not only involve commerce, entertainment, reproduction of political and economic structures, but also the politics of transgression. The main point is to show that the controlling and the transgressive potentials of these festivities cannot be seen in opposition to one another, but rather intertwined and entailing different outcomes according to particular and historical conjunctures. I will attempt to do that by showing, first, that much more than a relief from social constraints, the parade holds many dimensions.
within a complex historical constellation, and, second, I want to emphasize that it keeps a liberating potential; discloses unknown dimensions and allows desires, feelings and practices that are not present in ordinary everyday life.

Hierarchical Power Structures, Popular Culture And The Culture Industry

It is my aim to emphasize here that rather than a massive and homogeneous festivity, the parade is in fact Rio’s major celebration, and it has been continually created anew, despite sweltering weather, heavy storms, national and international calamities, such as epidemic diseases and world wars. In a very similar way to any ritual, the carnival parades follow a complex set of rules and conventions that cannot be understood exclusively according to a single set of explanations, be it the logic of cultural industries; the understanding of popular culture or, even, the perception of the chaotic inversion of established values. All these features have to be considered simultaneously according to historical situations. I will attempt to show in what follows that many aspects that can be observed in the hierarchical structure in Brazilian society are also found in the parades: those who have more political or economic power not only guarantee the profits from the spectacle, occupy the best places in the grandstands but are turning out to be, gradually, the sole audience. Inhabitants of the city loose their seats today to tourists as the poorest ones lost them in the past to the middle-classes. The parades, therefore, bring us face to face with hierarchical structures, which are responsible for the maintenance of privileges of the few despite the majority of the population. What has become increasingly clear is that conversely to the belief in a radical separation between past and present, tradition and modernity, Brazilian colonial experience and its hierarchical and religious values lie transverse to the modern conception of nation and is still present in the parades. Yet, it is worth noticing that these features do not contradict in the present as they did not in the past the liberating power of carnival practices.

By the 1930’s, the emerging bourgeoisie did not cope with the majority of the poorer population, mainly blacks and mulattos, with no regular jobs. Then, around half of Rio’s population was constituted by the black people. They lived not only on the hillsides and in shantytowns close to the downtown area, but also in the suburbs, which were more similar to rural areas. The wheels of samba were the places where mostly black people joined together to compose, singing and dancing to the sound of percussion instruments. They did not adopt any ordered structure in carnival, following instead their own pattern of festivities; they came to the city center and had a good time on the streets, drinking, dancing and fighting. They also formed street groups, called blocos, which were fiercely persecuted by the police. But as they took the streets, they were put in jail. It is reported that their tambourines were considered weapons and that it was usual that the police ripped them with knives.

I want to emphasize that Brazilian society has from colonial days kept a hierarchical structure throughout republican and democratic regimes, discriminating and excluding.

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21 On the new habits and customs introduced by the emerging bourgeoisie who attempted to modernize the city and its harbor, which it was necessary to turn into a safe place free from tropical diseases, urban poverty and violence to allow the development of the burgeoning commercial trade, see Needell, 1987; Benchimol, 1992 and Sevcenko, 1983. Also, for an association between new forms of carnival festivities and the public sphere, see Santos, 1996.
large parts of the population, without open struggle. Whereas nations sprang up as republics in the whole of South America between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Brazil was the single exception, as the nation emerged under the rules of a kingdom. In the first two decades of this century, although a republican system had been adopted, there was a great fear of the mobilization of the lower classes and a large part of the population was not allowed to take part in political elections. Women and illiterate people did not vote, and there was a general manipulation of the votes of the rural population, since balloting was not yet secret (Carvalho, 1987).

With the Great Depression of 1929, the Brazilian economy, which was based on coffee plantations, was plunged into a major crisis the effects of which were, on the one hand, the emergence of a process of import-replacement industrialization, and, on the other, a political movement which resulted with Getúlio Vargas taking over the power, supported by the military. Assuming the presidency, he found an expanded urban population with new demands for political participation and consumer goods. He integrated not only the emerging middle-classes, but also poor urban and rural populations into a new economic way of life, by establishing a strong brand of nationalistic populism. He created a corporate state in which both labor unions and cultural manifestations were subjects of an encompassing political organization. 22 Vargas institutionalized the strong legacy of clientelism, in which the rule is the exchange of political rights for private benefits. Indeed, clientelism has been one of the major political practices that accompanied the republican and democratic regimes. To this day, rather than citizens, Brazilians visualize themselves as subjects of a state, in which they do not have any control. It is not strikingly, therefore, that the country holds the biggest inequalities among social classes to the present.

There was, therefore, a sort of alliance between Vargas and the poor population of the city. Pedro Ernesto, the mayor of Rio de Janeiro chosen by Vargas, is to this day seen by old samba-school members as the greatest friend and protector samba schools ever had. During his government, the samba schools became legal and disciplined manifestations, with powerful commercial interests and nothing to fear from the authorities. Popular leadings readily accepted the institutionalization of the parades as well as the official rules imposed to their festivities by the dictatorship. Few people remember that the bohemian downtown areas were fiercely repressed at that time and that those persecuted blocos either gave rise to the samba schools or disappeared.

In the 20's, black musicians, who congregated together in poor and bohemian downtown districts, such as the famous Praça Onze and its surroundings, played European polkas, mazurkas, maxixes — a Brazilian innovation — and also waltzes and marches. Besides these, they created a very beautiful melodic rhythm known as choro ("weeping"), melancholic and languid, which merges European melodic structures and African tonal systems in syncopated and cyclical rhythms (Sodré, 1970). These musicians were a great influence in the musical style that was later recognized as samba.

"Semba" is the Angolan word for "navel," and this term, slightly modified, subsequently became the designation of a variety of sensual forms of song and dance.

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22 On the rise of populism, see Ianni (1968), Weffort (1978), Conniff (1981) and Gomes (1994).
with African origins, in which the dancers moved their hips and bellies and touched their navels to the sound of drums (batuques). The Brazilian music called samba was primarily restricted to black and poor people and did not become widespread before the late 20's. The first radio programs appeared in 1923 and 1924, but then their audience was limited to a very small circle. At that time, not only was electronic equipment quite expensive but also programs were restricted to educational and narrowly-defined cultural themes. In the late 20's, the phonograph-record industry underwent a large expansion in Brazil; radio sets became less expensive; a new variety of popular programs appeared and there was the public recognition and social mobility of a whole generation of Brazilian popular singers and songwriters such as Ary Barroso, Lamartine Babo and Carmem Miranda. Then, samba started to be widespread. Black musicians did achieve wider recognition and a small degree of social mobility, which was hard to come by in Brazilian society. The samba schools were in existence by then and proved to be a privileged space for the diffusion of the new musical style. Even though, these musicians had a hard time to have their compositions recognized. They often needed to sell the authorship of their compositions to famous radio singers in order to have them publicized (Cabral, 1990).

It has been pointed out that Vargas sought for the support from a less organized popular crowd as the basis for repressive politics against the uprising of class-based movements (Queiroz, 1992). However, if we think of a nation as an imagined community simultaneously opened and closed (Anderson, 1991:146), that is, created and invented, we need to consider the different movements and tensions in the continuous processes of creation and invention. The recognition of samba schools as a national symbol is associated not only with the recognition of black culture, but also with the ideal notion of the democratic mixture of races, which superseded former notions that valued exclusively heroes drawn from the white race. The great problem with the myth of racial democracy is that it emerged subordinate to the idea of the goodness of progressive whitening through racial miscegenation, keeping for white people their privileges. If the blacks held the rhythm and musical gifts, the whites held the intellectual competence. The new nationalism allowed the incorporation of the black and poor population within the hierarchical system of values and power, in which the supremacy of the old elite, which consisted of white people, was assured.

This supremacy cannot be understood as a totalitarian ideology. In 1946, with the end of the Vargas dictatorship, there was a political openness and the Samba-Schools Union (União Geral das Escolas de Samba) strengthened links with the Comunist Party. It happened that the populist government that followed the dictatorship was backed by Vargas and answered the challenge according to old practices: they gave financial and administrative support to a new Union (Federação Brasileira das Escolas de Samba) and a new Samba School (Império Serrano), allowing that these latter institutions superseded the old Union. The fact is that the samba schools proved to be a place in which struggles for power and new identities can take place.

In the 60's, the government could not afford any more the financial support of the samba schools, which became a great spectacle. By this time, artists from the School

23 On the reconstruction of Brazilian nationality based on the myth of three races, see, among others, Mota, 1994 and Ortiz, 1992.
of Fine Arts started to become part of the organization of the parades, giving to the schools a new appearance, which became more accepted by the middle classes. The city government started to work with enterprises that built the stands and promoted the show: commercial interests were associated to political ones once more. For many participants this was the period of major glory, when the schools achieved an immense prestige and recognition by the whole population. In the 70’s, number rackets organizations, which were illegal since 1946 and had achieved huge proportions, gradually replaced commercial investments and the government’s subsidizing of the parades by a sort of patronage. The media always covered the close relationships between these gangsters and politicians, ranging from deputies to presidents of the Republic. Politicians are interested in the big spectacle the parade offers, which strengthens the tourist industry and their popularity. Besides, the illegal organizations guarantee them votes through the popularity they achieve amongst impoverished neighborhoods as they give financial support to their schools. Recently, we have seen drug trafficking growing in influence around the slums, impoverished neighborhoods and their samba schools. Along with the several transformations underwent by the spectacle to adapt itself to the taste of an ever changing audience, the community leaderships lost power. According to our interviewees, today only 30% of the paraders are members of the neighborhoods associated with the schools, the remaining being those outsiders who can but the increasingly expensive costumes.

To this day, the cultural recognition of samba schools is done without entailing political rights to their participants, and in a way that the social hierarchical structure is maintained as well as the overall racial discrimination and exclusion of blacks from social and economic benefits. Yet, samba occupies a very special place among other varieties of urban popular music and dance in Brazil. It is recognized by its beauty and implicit value, and, once a year, black people and poor neighborhoods are the center of attention in Rio and loose their images of poor, marginalized, downtrodden and discriminated people and become the teachers of the Brazilian elite, inverting established values.

The conclusion to be drawn so far is that from the very beginning the samba-school parade has meant much more than unwitting pleasurable feelings: it gave rise to multiple negotiations between different groups and power structures. Inhabitants from poor shantytowns wanted to sell their art and to see it socially recognized; politicians fought for prestige and votes; criminal organizations looked for a legal space and an emergent urban population sought pleasures in a new full-blooded entertainment.

**The Transgressive Powers Of Sex And Fun**

Although the parades follow well established rules and conventions and may be considered as ordered rituals situated in time and space, they also allow an act of perception that is outside one’s own consciousness. Many practices, which are marginalized and oppressed throughout the year, make themselves visible during carnival and show the inconsistences of the “good” society. At the same time that

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24 Several studies have shown the hierarchies and inequalities within Brazilian racial “democracy”. See Fernandes, 1964; Skidmore, 1974 e 1993; Hasenbalg, 1979, 1992 and Souza, 1997.
these performances are part of ordinary social life with all the codes and constraints inherent to it, they bring up some unexpected feelings, desires and actions that lie outside this same world. There is, therefore, a perception of incongruity and a subvervise power in these practices despite their embedment in time and space (Berger, 1997: 208).

In the samba-schools parade, the influence of black performances is very important. Some of these performances are still preserved as rituals simultaneously both sacred and profane and develop an immense liberating power in Brazilian society. Special sections throughout the samba schools, such as “drums” and the baianas are among the main upholders of the presentation. There is a strong feeling that emerges with the sounds of the drums that is elicited by the desire of pleasure, in the sense of being alive. Men and women can just sense the sound of the drums and liberate their movements, feelings and emotions. The intensity of the beats is so strong that it is not possible for anyone to hold his or her own thinking and imagination. The freedom from the socially constructed subjectivity releases the bodies, which are absorbed into a common experience, in which the same moments of the festivity are shared. The participants are struck by something that comes from nature and that makes bodies energetic by themselves, without any sort of rational control. There is the celebration of a single moment that repeats itself infinitely with each beat of the drums. It was this feeling of togetherness, wholeness and belonging to something bigger than oneself that made samba schools become so well accepted and overthrow other carnival manifestations in Rio. Thus, samba has a unique way of dealing with dancing and bodily movements through the syncopated rhythms of drums. Music and dancing are bound together by strong community links, which in some way reach a wider public and destroy the individual frames during carnival. For three days, the parades encourage a large part of the population to live under rules that allow orgy as an option within the frames of brotherhood.

I have already made the point (Santos 1997b) that the sensuality that has been astonishing and exciting a large public since the 30’s does not have just one discourse based on sex. The sensuality that black festivities carry is present neither in the public nudity of bodies, in the transvestitism nor in the masks that guarantee anonymity for casual sex, since it has neither a name nor anything to disclose. We do not find naked bodies in the baianas section and the bateria (drum section). The baianas whirl their fat and old bodies clad in long, multilayered dresses and those men who beat their drums are entirely concentrated on their performances. Sometimes their hands bleed, but the drum players have their bodies subjected to the intensity of their performances and they seem to feel nothing. Even the pain appears as an inversion of the social codes for suffering. There is a sense of freedom that samba schools keep alive, despite both exploitation and commercialization, that is mainly due to the energy they liberate. The sensuality of these performers are related to the sweaty and dirty bodies touching one another regardless gender and individual identities. It is worth noticing that the traditional sections associated with black performances consist of either women or men.

Contrary to the different languages of the carnivalesque inversions, these black performances do not entail the suspension of social rules for black people, but simply
the confirmation of formerly prohibited manifestations.\textsuperscript{25} Whereas masks and costumes allow sexuality to be freed from rigid religious and social constraints, the beating of the drums entails the reenactment of old black performances. Yet, strong as it may be, this sensuality, whose traces are linked to the performances of black people, is just one of the different languages of sexuality we observe in carnival manifestations. It is to these other languages that we turn next.

Besides political and economic constraints, we also find in Brazilian carnival many traces of the old rural and patriarchal societies, in which there were strict values separating nobles from commoners, women from men, as well as sex for reproduction from sex for fun.\textsuperscript{26} As we consider sexual morality and sexual interdictions in those societies, it is undeniable that very few chances were given to women, either white or black. If the rules were very restrictive to white women, daughters and wives of plantation owners, they were freer when applied to white men who could look for pleasure with prostitutes or black women. Those chauvinistic and classist sorts of moralities are still visible in Rio and have been mixed with different sorts of restrictive sexual discourses, such as those of the Catholic Church; Protestant doctrines and those of the hygienist and medical discourses.

Rather than diminish control over sexuality, the process of urbanization and modernization of the city brought a new set of values and ideas about sexuality (Parker, 1991). The highly rationalized discourse about sexual and gender freedom not only brought a new set of restrictions related to it, as well as it maintained, at least, the dualities between activity and passivity of patriarchal societies and bodily interdictions imposed by religious beliefs. Foucault has rightly denounced the way in which the scientific treatment of sexuality included "uneducated" and "improper" sexual behaviors in a new \textit{rationale}, rejecting some old submissions but, ultimately, creating a much more rigid set of moral values in order to regulate sexual behavior. According to him, the merging of sexuality and freedom would be another way of naming or regulating what had to be let free of rational explanations (1978). Indeed, we know that total freedom, sexual or not, does not exist, and that any new way of affirming total freedom becomes new restrictions to it.

There are some themes and experiences like nakedness, grotesqueness, absurdity, exaggeration, all of them elements of the carnival folly, that by themselves have the power to argue and violate social codes. In the samba-schools parades different values and worldviews meet and there are appropriations of features of some of them according to the necessities of others in unpredictable and multiple ways. The different languages of sexuality, for example, are appropriated according to unexpected probabilities. Those who go to the samba-school parade looking for sexual practices find what they want and are blind to that which lacks meaning for them. The naked female body has one meaning for those who associate it with a complete subversive pleasure and another for those who hallow it.

\textsuperscript{25} For the importance of black sensuality in Samba Schools, see Santos, 1997b.

\textsuperscript{26} Freyre's book \textit{Casa Grande e Senzala} (1983 [1933]), translated into English as \textit{The Masters and the Slaves} in 1956, is the one which best shows the complexity of cultural and social interrelationships in colonial Brazil. Yet it must be observed that Freyre's analyses focused on the reciprocity between master and slaves, emphasizing the resulting mixture of races as a positive one (which remains present in the national ideology of the Brazilian democratic mixture of races) and overlooking the abuses of the slavery system.
So, whereas the sensual frame of reference in festivities linked to black performances reinvents the collective ceremony, the erotic frame of reference associated with other types of carnival manifestations consolidates the opposition between the male and female bodies as a source of pleasure. The samba schools have shown a great flexibility in dealing with different languages and discourses in their structural organization. They preserve links with original communities in sections such as the baianas and drums, in which only old participants parade, and, allow the participation of those who can afford the costumes or bring prestige to the school in the other sections. It follows that the majors hallmarks of Rio’s carnival, and, therefore, of samba schools are based on different practices: the sound of drums and bodily movements, travestitism and the profusion of nude bodies of women who celebrate the commercialization of sexuality.

Thus, it is necessary to move beyond an understanding of these parades as homogeneous structural or functional unities and look for the multiple dimensions that are present in them. The combination of carnival and political criticism has not been the rule and even when criticisms are raised by samba schools there is no concern with the construction of any proposal to replace what is criticized. The aim is not to build a new political regime or authority, but to ridicule the current ones. The merry-makers are not reasonable as they laugh. Yet, they occupy a place of resistance and, therefore, a political significance, to the extent that they keep alive feelings, meanings, gestures, desires and bodily movements that have a potential subversive force. As the world of fools, folly and madness meets the historical conditions of Brazilian societies, it is capable of strengthening alternative identities and, with them, goals and values that seem to have been forgotten.

I have tried in this paper to argue that if carnival in Rio provides a relief from social constraints, it is also true that it is always a threat for established societies. On the one hand, it can be said that these practices strengthen that to which they are opposed. On the other, it is undeniable that the samba-school parades bring up the mockery of authorities, taboos, official politics and sexual rules. Features strongly repressed in everyday life acquire visibility and are exhibited by the media as being natural. My aim was to emphasize that some features of popular festivities, such as bodily excesses, laughter, pleasurable feelings and egalitarian utopia, so well described by Bakhtin (1968) as features of the carnivalesque, are not absent from Rio’s samba schools. Despite the controlling aspects they reproduce, as the parades deal with sexuality and leisure, they still hold the transgressive power against established institutions as well as the claim for justice and equality. So, rather than choosing between controlling and transgressive powers, the point is to understand the historical conditions and socially located practices throughout the carnivalesque manifestations.
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Introduction: Changing Relations between Work and Leisure

What has come to be understood as the 'post industrial society' thesis (Bell, 1974; Toffler, 1970; Gorz, 1982; Touraine, 1971) and associated views regarding the 'declining importance of work' (Kaplan, 1975; Best, 1976; Dumazadier, 1974; Kelly, 1983; Roberts, 1978) shares some aspects of the themes which have informed contemporary theorising associated with a sociology of postmodern culture, particularly the relationship of postmodern culture to the formation of the new middle classes or service class. In these analyses it is increasingly consumption rather than production which is seen as the primary locator of contemporary identities. Whether this can be understood as a process occurring primarily with the emergence of a new middle class(es) or service class as outlined in that work, or whether this can be understood as symptomatic of more widespread social and economic changes in the latter half of the twentieth century (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991, 1992; Bauman, 1992; Featherstone, 1995; Lash and Urry, 1994), has been one of the debates amongst those attempting empirical analyses of the implications of the 'postmodern thesis' (Sulkunen, 1992; Sulkunen et al., (eds) 1997; O'Connor and Wynne (eds) 1996; Wynne, 1998; Henry (ed) 1993). In such analyses the sociology of leisure refocuses its attention from the work-leisure couplet exemplified in the work of Parker (1971 & 1983), to examine not just other social criteria such as gender (e.g. Deem, 1976; Green et al 1990) and ethnicity (Hebdige, 1979 & 1988; Gilroy, 1987) but rather to problematise the very concept of leisure itself.

While Bourdieu's work has sometimes been employed to reaffirm a relationship between culture and social class (Murdock, 1977), we wish to argue that in Distinction (1984), Bourdieu begins the development of a theme which has important implications for the debate on class, consumer culture and postmodernity. Within Distinction there resides a recognition of contemporary cultural change in Bourdieu's discussion of the new bourgeoisie where he asserts that,

"The new bourgeoisie is the initiator of the ethical retooling required by the new economy from which it draws its power and profits, whose functioning depends as much on the production of needs and consumers as on the production of goods. The new logic of the economy rejects the ascetic ethic of production and accumulation......in favour of a hedonistic morality of consumption, based on credit, spending and enjoyment. This economy demands a social world which judges people by their capacity for consumption, their 'standard of living', their life-style, as much as by their capacity for production." (Bourdieu, 1984:310).

Here Bourdieu appears to suggest that the new service economy is productive of a new middle class which rejects the standards of an 'old' bourgeois ethic of duty and obligation, in favour of a hedonistic morality based more upon enjoyment and the
pursuit of pleasure. For our purposes the primary interest here is the increasing concern given to those fields of social life which lie outside the world of work, and the increasing importance given to leisure in the development of social identity. Rather than seeing the field of leisure as subsumed to and by work, essential to Parker's analysis, this approach would suggest that for many work is becoming increasingly less significant in the production of social identity, and that, at least for significant sections of the new middle class, new value systems maybe replacing those traditionally associated with the Protestant ethic. Such debate can be said to centre around attempts to understand contemporary cultural change through an analysis which develops Bourdieu's concerns with the alleged move from a social world centred on the relationships of groups, classes and individuals to the means of production, towards one in which the principal explanatory features centre around relationships to the means of consumption.

**Consumer Culture And Cultural Intermediaries**

In contextualising the role of consumption we would argue that an understanding of the increasing commodification of culture is central to any understanding of the postmodern, and therefore, that an historical grounding of the postmodern is a neccessary precursor to a discussion of consumption and postmodern culture. For us this requires an understanding of the changing nature of the relationship between culture and the commodity form and recognition of an increasing interpenetration of the cultural and the economic. In this context we would argue that theorists of consumer culture and cultural consumption need to acknowledge the growing importance of cultural production. Most recently Scott, in his article on The cultural economy of cities, argues,

"As we enter the twenty-first century, a very marked convergence between the spheres of cultural and economic development seems to be occurring...... in which the realm of human culture as a whole is increasingly subject to commodification ...... an ever-widening range of economic activity is concerned with producing and marketing goods and services that are infused in one way or another with broadly aesthetic or semiotic attributes" (Scott, 1997:323).

Such a view reflects those expressed in some of our earlier work, (Wynne, 1992; Wynne and O'Connor, 1992) where we argue that one aspect of the process related to the emergence of 'new cultural intermediaries' is the way in which new cultural producers are actively involved in promoting the collapse of the traditional distinctions between high and popular culture, and the way in which 'everyday consumer goods' are increasingly infused with symbolic value - part of that process referred to by Featherstone as the 'aestheticisation of everyday life' - one of the defining characteristics of postmodern culture (Featherstone, 1991). Here Baudrillard's work on the commodity form, sign and symbolic exchange is fundamental. Postmodernist claims for 'the end of the social', for the emergence of a world of hyper-reality may indeed have reflected a truth in the observation that 'the centre no longer holds', if we locate that centre in 'relations to the means of production' (Baudrillard, 1981). For Baudrillard, as mass consumption and the consumer economy develops in the twentieth century the value of commodities is seen to derive not from their use or exchange value but rather from the way such
products function culturally as signs within coded systems of exchange. As such the
distinction between real and false needs collapses, as does the distinction between
commodities and signs - signs themselves come to take on a life of their own rather
than as signifiers of any external reality. The implications of such a position are that
we can no longer read-off a reality signified by sign consumption. The 'triumph' of a
postmodern signifying culture produces a simulational world of endless re­
productions. It is this loss of the 'real' and its replacement by simulation which allows
Baudrillard to claim 'the end of the social'.

However, rather than a passive acceptance of Baudrillard's essentially pessimistic
conclusions we would turn to Featherstone's analysis of consumer culture, which,
employing Bourdieu, offers an escape from this seeming impasse. Originally in
Lifestyle and Consumer Culture (1987, see also Featherstone, 1991), Featherstone
begins with an analysis of Baudrillard and the claim of postmodernism to signal the
'end of meaning', a move towards a society beyond fixed status groups, producing a
proliferation of signs which cannot be ultimately stabilised. However, rather than
seeing such sign-consumption as producing the 'end of the social', Featherstone
retrieves Baudrillard to suggest that,

"the [post-modernist] proclamation of a beyond [the social] is really a within,
a new move within the intellectual game which takes into account the new
circumstances of production of cultural goods, which will itself in turn be
greeted as eminently marketable by the cultural intermediaries."
(Featherstone, 1987:167).

This retrieval is accomplished by suggesting, a la Bourdieu, that social groups
competing for control in particular social fields, use their relative amounts of
economic and/or cultural capital accumulated to promote their own symbolic ordering
in attempts to control such fields. For these new social groups it is argued that
postmodernist cultural productions offer a schema whereby new cultural producers
and other cultural intermediaries together with 'service' professionals, combine to
promote their own cultural and economic productions in order to establish their
position in a changing social world.

A similar position has also been offered by Lash and Urry (1989) and Savage et al.,
(1992). However for these authors postmodern culture is tied strongly to the
emergence of a new middle class, understood, a la Bourdieu (1984), as a class fraction
of the middle class. This is the position developed in the work of those 'gentrification
theorists' who have attempted to understand gentrification and the re­valuation of the
city centre as a process primarily associated with its redevelopment as a residential
space for the new middle class.

However, rather than a view of consumer culture as being primarily concerned with
the purchase and display of consumer goods amongst a particularly residentially
located fraction of the middle class, we would argue that its impact has to be
understood in all its forms. These include the very making of culture itself, the
legitimation practices that it produces, and its aesthetics. As such consumer culture
provides, like other cultural forms, the means by which social structure is mediated to
and by individuals. Consumer culture, like other cultures, provides the 'stuff' that
allows for such mediation. It is here that we would argue that the processes of cultural
commodification outlined above have had a destabilising effect on the very nature of the cultural and the individuals relationship to it, and that such a changed relationship casts some doubt on the contemporary relevance of Bourdieu's original project in Distinction and, therefore, on some of the work of such 'gentrification theorists'.

City Cultures

Our own research seeks to attend to this debate by concentrating on two specific aspects: first, that associated with urban regeneration and the changing role of the city; second, that associated with the construction and deconstruction of identities claimed by much of postmodern theorising (Featherstone, 1991; Harvey, 1986 & 1990; Lash, 1990; Sheilds, 1991; Smith & Williams, 1986; Zukin, 1982 & 1992; Leys, Beauregard, Bramham and Spink, 1994)). In addition we are particularly concerned to relate our research to that undertaken by Bourdieu (1984). Given the impact of Bourdieu’s work in the sociology of contemporary cultural change, and the implicit debt owed to Bourdieu in much of the work on gentrification our research has attempted to incorporate some of the concerns of his thesis into our own investigations. The last decade has seen a growing literature on this area of cultural change and on those groups which are seen to be central to the active dissemination and promotion of such change - the new cultural intermediaries (Betz, 1992; Bourdieu, 1984; Featherstone, 1991; Lash & Urry 1989?). In this context our research seeks to investigate the claims made by those who would use Bourdieu to characterise culturally based urban regeneration as integral to a distinction strategy of this fraction of the new middle class and that this class fraction can be identified as being among the prime bearers of postmodern lifestyles.

We examined these claims by choosing a study population which had recently moved into the new and refurbished residences in Manchester city centre, hypothesising that these would conform most closely to the above model. The residential developments were closely linked to a culturally based urban regeneration strategy. The lack of any recent tradition of city centre living, the particular quality and style of the developments, and the relatively condensed timespan in which these were occupied, suggested our survey would pick up a sufficiently homogenous group against which to test these claims.

Correspondence Analysis - awareness, commitment and style - factors underlying cultural consumption

Central to our concerns, we carried out a multivariate homogeneity analysis in an attempt to achieve a map of the cultural consumption of city centre residents (Phillips, 1994). In this procedure, the relationships between seven ‘cultural indicator’ variables were explored. The seven variables used as ‘cultural’ indicators derived from discussions of the preliminary statistical, in-depth interview, and ethnographic research methods that were utilised. They were as follows:

1. MUSIC (Knowledge of composers, scaled 1-4). Note that this is a fairly “objective test” of classical composers, unlike the other questions. Answers did not derive from attendance.
2. FILM (Knowledge of film directors, scaled 1-3).

3. THEATRE (Theatre going on a regular basis, scaled 1-5). The variable reflects weightings both for frequency of attendance, and attendance at relatively “serious” events.

4. FASHION/STYLE (Attitudes to clothes purchases, scaled 1-4). To score at the high end respondents had to prefer clothes that reflected fashion, or were “daring and out of the ordinary”. Further, they had to purchase mainly from small fashion boutiques.

5. GALLERY (visits to art galleries, scaled 1-4.) To score at the top on this, respondents had to visit frequently and to visit out-of-town galleries.

6. POLITICS (affiliation to political and voluntary organisations, scaled 1-5). Given the emergent character of the politics of the sample, this variable reflects degree of commitment or opposition to “new political topics”. For a score of ‘4’, a respondent had to express very general support for ecological, liberationist and caring organisations, together with a generally left-leaning political attitude. For a ‘5’, respondents had, in addition, to be members of relevant organisations. For a ‘1’, respondents had to express active opposition to some aspects of the new politics.

7. CLUBBING (familiarity with clubs/venues, scaled 1-3). This involved factors of recognition and “knowledge” as much as attendance.

Our initial results suggested that an attempt to reduce the dimensions to two would produce only a poor representation of the relationships. The following maps are the results from selecting a three dimensional solution.

Fig 1 maps the object scores on all the variables assigned to cases (respondents). Clearly the mass of scores are closely clustered with a small proportion distinguished on the ‘fringe’. There are no obvious outliers. It suggests again, that we have a relatively homogeneous group, in terms of cultural taste.

The map of discrimination measures, fig 2, suggests that the first dimension in the multivariate case is related most strongly to the knowledge of film directors, the second to music. Fashion is discriminating poorly in the two first dimensions. Theatre attendance, gallery and club visits and politics are in between.

The effect of the influence of film and music knowledge is clearly seen in the map of the category quantifications, fig 3. This map places categories that contain the same object scores close together. The first dimension differentiates most clearly along the categories of film knowledge, the second on the music scores.

Taking the left hand side of the plot, a low knowledge of film directors (fl1) is also closely associated with low scores on visits to galleries (g1), theatre (t1) and music (m1). On the right hand side, a high score on film knowledge (fl3) is associated with high scores on gallery and theatre visits (g4, t5). High scores on politics (p5) are also
associated with high scores on film knowledge. Although the second dimension discriminates most obviously on knowledge of music, it also discriminates between high scores on all dimensions except politics and middle and low scores. However a score of 1 on politics, it should be remembered, indicates a level of active opposition that does not characterise a score of 2 or 3. We have treated, in these indicators, the political choices as a 'cultural' variable. This is justified in our argument, and in terms of the raw scores. The latter show clear 'position taking' with much less actual activism. Theoretically we think our sample are largely defining themselves by their expressed position in this 'new politics'. Tentatively, given a three dimensional solution, we propose that these dimensions are:

1) cultural awareness ('low' to 'high' taste).
2) activism and commitment.
3) style.

Hence we read the map, using the first dimension, as levels of cultural awareness. The second dimension involves levels of active commitment. The highest score for music (m4) is an expression of lengthy commitment to music. A score of p1 or p5 on politics, indicates activism and independence of mind at both ends of the political spectrum. A score of g4 on gallery indicates an active use of art facilities, locally and nationally. On fashion, f4 puts a concern with clothing/style at the centre of commitment.

In terms of our original questions, the maps, taken together, indicate that the majority of the study sample are culturally active, with the politics of the expanding circle working like other cultural dimensions. They are a large 'centre' with substantial usage, but not particularly high on what Bourdieu would call cultural capital, or exploratory cultural practice. There is then in each cultural dimension a much smaller group of serious enthusiasts. This group includes some who are scoring high on all scales except fashion and 'clubbing'. There is, in addition, a cluster of scores low on all dimensions. We would interpret this in relation to the 25% of the sample population who make little or no use of the cultural facilities and score low on knowledge and 'taste' tests. The only obvious anomaly to this broad interpretation is that a high score on clubbing rates low on commitment and activism. It should be remembered that this question reflects awareness and recognition as much as actual attendance. The positioning of high fashion scores close to low scores on the other variables appears to suggest a separateness of style activism from other activism's.

Conclusion

Tentatively, the maps fit a picture of a substantial middle to high usage and high cross-over, without general enthusiast commitment, with two separate groupings of low awareness and use, and one of high awareness, use and active commitment. This could suggest a continuity of taste boundaries (Bourdieu) rather than a 'postmodern collapse', but the relative 'size' of the middle grouping suggests that this would be a very partial explanation. Rather we would interpret these results as suggestive of a de-differentiation of previously structured tastes in these cultural fields with our relatively large 'middle grouping' experiencing a variety of cultural pursuits - a 'sampling culture' constructed by individuals - in which traditional practices and
competencies are rejected or, at least, no longer adhered to (Lash, 1990). In such circumstances the society in which cultural propriety is associated with an established cultural hierarchy engaged in a particular set of cultural practices which it has made its own, is challenged by new cultural practices associated with the commodification of cultural forms which threaten the very basis of any established economy of cultural practices. We would argue that the results reported above suggest a destabilisation of cultural hierarchies and taste distinctions such that the social practice of distinction, and the resultant social edifice it helps to reproduce, is itself made problematic. As a result, social identities may no longer be 'read' from class or occupational position, but rather exist as a combination of lifestyle choices made available by these destabilising processes. In this context we would turn to what Beck (1992: 127-139) understands as an increasing 'individualisation of the social', the emergence of a society which requires the individual to choose, precisely, in part, because of the commodification processes referred to above. Through such 'individualising' processes Beck argues that,

'The Individual himself or herself becomes the reproduction unit for the social in the life world. People with the same income level, or put in an old-fashioned way, within the same "class", can or even must choose between different lifestyles, subcultures, social ties and identities'. (Beck 1992: 130-1).

A similar position has been advanced by Schulze (1993) where he argues that the increasing aestheticisation of everyday life, of consumer objects and services in addition to the proliferation of leisure goods, allows and encourages the individual construction of life 'styles' which themselves contain and require both aesthetic and moral choices to be made. For Schulze, Erlebnisgessellschaft (the experience/event/adventure society) contains a moral imperative to 'make the most of one's life', 'to live life to the full'. To Erleben one's life becomes the new practical necessity in Erlebnisgessellschaft and this self-determinant existence allows for the construction of identity through social milieus, rather than a given identity provided through social class. Such a position is reflected in our own research subjects whose desire to participate in different cultural worlds speaks more of a multiplication of choices, a need to manage fluidity and uncertainty, than it speaks of the determinants of social class.
Object Scores

Cases weighted by number of objects.
Fig 2

Discrimination Measures

MUSIC

POLITICS

THEATRE

DISCO

GALLERY

FASHION

FILMS

Dimension 1

Dimension 2
Fig 3

Category Quantifications

THEATRE
MUSIC
GALLERY
FILM
FASHION
DISCO
POLITICS

Dimension 1

Dimension 2
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MULTI DIMENSIONS OF LEISURE ACTIVITIES IN INDIA

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Introduction

Culture is agriculture plus everything etc., the casual chance remark is so very appropriate to the Indian context. Right from the agrofacts to the mentifacts, the rubric of Indian culture consists of many tenets, which mark it off from other cultures. The specific style of life of people consists of the value orientations, which provide the action frame of reference for the people. The basis of Indian culture consists of Hierarchy, Holism, Transcendence and Continuity. Taken together, the value patterns of Indian culture consist of a theoretical frame of reference in the form of Purushartha (Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha) – Hierarchical values in the strict order for the individual which is to be actualised in the form of code and mode of conduct in the Ashrams (Brambachhira – the studentship, Grihastha – the household, The Vanprastha – the renunciator, and the Sanyasi – the monk).

The fabric of life of the people of India is so interdependent, interacting and inter-related that the various value systems can be academically distinguished, but are inter-twined in reality. The transcendental (Moksha) life after death is dependent on temporal life (Dharma, Artha and Kama).

The values also indicate the negative aspects of life in the shape of the disvalues, for example the person who does not adhere to the value of Dharma in this life on earth will not get Moksha (Salvation) in life after death. Similarly, Artha and Kama may lead to a battle like Ramayana and Mahabharata (as depicted in the epics by the same name). The transcendental (Moksha) and the temporal (Artha and Kama) seem to meet as the sky and the earth meet on the verge of horizon, when you stand in the open field and gaze. The inter-twinning of the various values results in the Holistic approach in Indian life. Dharma, Kama, Artha, and Moksha are all constituent of a composite system of life. The highway robber Valmiki abandoned robbery because he was not earning (Artha) in the proper way to maintain the family (the household). In similar way Rishi Vishwamitra’s spiritual practices were hindered by Kama (Menaka).

The ethos of Indian culture is expressed in the value systems mentioned above. The hierarchy of values is linked with hierarchy and continuity of life of the individual – the four fold stages of life – Ashrams

The Geographic Bases

India is a large country with an ancient cultural heritage. We notice a difference in pattern of different regional leisure activities. Because of the varying climatic conditions and seasons of the different regions, the people have different interests. The cosmos was created by God but man in leisure time created myths, legends, and fables about the deities in ancient times which are handed down to us as a cultural heritage. Man first created then re-enacted and wove a halo around these activities of re-enactment. A distinctions has to be made however, between a Myth and a legend.
a festival and leisure activities. To give an example, Adi-Guru Shankaracharya in sixth century A.D. travelled from the south to Badrinath in Himalayas along the banks of circuitous Ganges river on foot. Subsequently people from all parts of India today go up to Badrinath by bus or car. The purpose of this exercise may to always be pilgrimage but a belief in the authenticity of the myth to be re-informed. Similarly, in ancient times there was a fight (Devasur – Sangram) between Lord Vishnu (Devata) and King Mahabaki (Asura-Demon) in which Mahabali was banished from his kingdom in the south (Kerala of today) but was given permission by Lord Vishnu to visit his kingdom and his subjects once a year. So we have the festival of Onam. The festival of Onam also coincides with harvest of crop, and boat-racing is part of the leisure activities. Hence the myth, the festival and the leisure are inter-twined. Similarly the Kullu festival of Dussehra precedes the winter and heavy snowfall. The pomp and gaiety of re-enacting the myth of Lord Rama in which the local inhabitants and the tourists equally partake. The plains of Northern India after the paddy go for the Kartika Ganga Shanana. Men and women and children bullock-cart leisurely to beat the heat of the field. The Bihu and Bihag Bihu. The drinking and dancing and revellry form a part of their leisure activity. The geography of a region determines the camel race of Rajasthan. The kite flying of Gujarat and U.P. The culture trait of a region is woven into a culture pattern of leisure activities with strong geographical base. Because the “Calendrical Festivals” coincide with harvesting seasons, and change in seasons ultimately shape the leisure activity.

Sanskritization and De-Sanskritization

De-sanskritization is a process and medium of mobility in this temporal world. Personal sanskritization on the contrary is a medium of and effort on the part of an individual to move higher in the other world ie spiritual attainment. Traditionally the third lap of life is Vanprastha Ashram (Renunciator) which in modern time in a modified version is expressed through personal sanskritization. Men and women in their middle ages who have fulfilled the responsibilities of the Grihishtha Ashram and no worldly liabilities left seek spiritual upliftment. This category includes widowers, spinsters, chronic bachelors, and retired persons. They go to Hari Katha and Pravachans (Congregational worship and sermons by the saints). They also go on a pilgrimage to Badrinath, Vaishno Devi or Jagannath Puri. The purpose of these efforts is to attain salvation. These people spend their leisure time in holy activities. On the contrary the process of de-sanskritization of the individual/individuals is discernible. Families working in metropolitan towns have the problem of domestic help and child care. They call back their parents or in-laws from the native place. Such people instead of devoting their time to transcendental pursuits are obliged to remain pre-occupied with the up keep of children and supervision of domestic drudgery. There is another category of persons whose foci of attention has shifted to more mundane matters. There are the people whom Nicholas Ponti (M.I.T. Cambridge-USA) has called “Digitally Homeless”. These people were deprived of the privileges of more advanced scientific education like the use of computers and internets. Their grand children are learning to use these gadgets./ The grand paa and the grand maa feels disoriented in the contemporary context. To gain esteem in the eyes of the grand children these older people renounce the rosary to devote the leisure time to pick up the working knowledge of computers etc. Another facet is the compulsion of space where the old people have to listen to Channel V or MTV instead of Mahabharat and Ramayana serials. Another feature of contemporary India
is that nobody wants to retire and renounce because of the dubious imagery of life after retirement means waiting for the death. So these persons even after retirement seek re-employment and part time jobs. They may gain the world but loose the soul. Sanskritization and desanskritization reflects the reference through which the Vanprasthi engages himself in the leisure time. The shift in values from ideational to the sensate is a recent phenomenon.

The Intellectual Elite

This segment of society comprises of writers, painters, performing artistes, scientists, journalist and the like who have a perception of the objective reality which is created and recreated through subjective perceptions. Involved in a sharp mental activity these people equally indulge in and seek sharp pleasures, not necessarily notorious, motion of sharp pleasure while not working. The writers and artists come together in a pub or a coffee house. Here they dissect, evaluate and appreciate the work of other persons. Some of them propound their own theories of art and culture and put forward their “Weltanschauung”. Some artists have successfully undertaken “pad-yatra” for national integration. Others have flocked to Rajneesh asharam and such other places. Scientists have taken recourse to classical Indian music and philosophy. The more affluent ones go to the middle-East or Europe for a shopping spree. The leisure activities of the intellectuals in releasing the mental tension of creativity, the median and mode of which vary to wear off weariness. The erotic exploits of the elite is an exception rather than a rule.

The Studentship

The first lap of the life is that of a Brahmachariya i.e. the school/college going age. This category of the students are divided into the primary, middle and higher level of learning. The primary school going children in their leisure time either watch cartoon and comic serials or go to the singing and dancing schools or read a comic/illustrated classics. The middle level boys and girls are interested in film Antyachri (shift from traditional recitation of poetry to silver screen of songs or pop). The under graduate and above students haunt a coffee house or disco theque. Students who have graduated from the professional colleges but have not as yet joined an organization work as interpreter/demonstrator in a pavilion of Trade Fair/Exhibition etc. The focus of the attention and the range of interest changes on the basis of age, the group to which the students belongs to. Once thing is noticeable and that is a shift from the traditional to modern way of indulgence in leisure activities. The age old Brahmachari is no longer so innocent in today’s India.

The Gender Bias

The so-called weaker section of the Indian society – women demonstrate a pattern of leisure activities. The tribal and the rural women fold (burdened with domestic drudgery) have some leisure moments when they go out to a well, pond, or a river to fetch a pail of water. They pause, chat, exchange news and views of the neighbourhood, the weather and the prospect of the coming crops. The women living in small towns have some time to spare to either watch TV or go to a movie or the club for a chat and gossip and cards. Other women indulge in welfare activities like the inner wheel etc. organising a flower show, a Diwali mela, and collecting donations.
for drought, flood, or earthquake victims. Women in the metropolitan towns flock to kitty parties to show off clothes and jewelry or glamour of the gold. Some women visit five star hotels to have a lemon tea to while away the time. Whenever and wherever feasible, women make it a point to have a date with the beauty parlour. Not every Indian woman is a Bachandry Pall who goes out for trekking and mountaineering. The wives of army personnel are a distinct category or persons who involve themselves with cultural programmes, and welfare activities. Right from the rural to the metropolitan women the conception of “Cosmetic Consciousness” predominates through the exchange of news, views and stealthy glances of the latest trends.

The Professionals

Professionals of all kinds have a pattern of leisure activities. The Doctors normally go out to the club or the pub at late night after closing the clinic. They move out of the town during the winters because that is the healthy period and not much medical help is required by the patients. Teachers from the primary to the university level plan their holidays according to the academic calendars. The lawyers coincide their leisure activities with the working of the courts. Executives of all categories have their LTA and leave the routine. The difference between the small town and metropolitan executive is clear. The metropolitan executive who changes a chartered bus or drives from the periphery township to the down-town area and back is so exhausted in the evening that he has only the energy to watch a TV serial and does off to face the next day. The middle and higher level executive have frequent cocktail party and ball. On the contrary the small town executives go back to their home for lunch and nap and when they come back in the evening they have the energy to go to the club or to visit a friend. Armed forces persons like to be near their family members or listen to music or sleep it off. The politician in his leisure time schedule envisages a plan to oust the establishment. Even the unholy professions (Mrs Warram’s professions) have their shopping spree for nick-knacks.

The Religious Retreat

The last lap of life is an individuals life cycle is that of a Sanyasi (Monk). The main goal of these religious recluse is to attain salvation (Moksh) transcendental (other worldly ends). Even these monks and mendarins sadhus and sanyasins (not the flying sadhus) indulge in mundane activities and hob-nob with the materialistic worldly people. Individuals and Ashrams generate resources to provide comfort to and welfare of the down trodden. Mention may be made of Ram Krishna mission, Aurobindo missions who run regular medical and educational services. Special mention may be made of Brahmachari Surjit of Man-Mandir at Barsana who spares time, energy, resources to fight the evils of religious fanaticism and evil practice of the dowry and the purdah, female infanticide etc. The universalistic vision of the monks encompasses both the worlds.

The Frontier of Financial freedom

Of the four values Artha has assumed enormous proportions. The fiscal facility/hardship determines the leisure activity of an economic class. The lower wrungs of society are happy with a movie or a country liquor shop. The middle
income groups may visit a hill station subsidised by LTA or a railway pass. The upper class people go on a shopping spree to the middle East/Europe/South Africa. Conspicuous consumption in the shape of the tag of the T shirt or a travel bag is assuming greater importance. India is moving towards a more economically oriented society.

The Epilogue

To sum up some broad propositions can be outlined. The creating of the Mythology (feeling – thinking) recreating it (oral and written tradition) and re-enacting it (fair festivals) leads to serious thinking about linking the sociology of leisure to sociology of culture and ultimately to the sociology of knowledge because thinking, feeling, action are all a part of the social process. On this account the sociology of leisure can be enriched and re-enriched by other academic pursuits like the sociology of knowledge. From the above it is also tentatively feasible to decipher the process of social and cultural change. The patterns of leisure activities in India have changed from the ideational to the sensate forms of leisure activities. The causes for this shift in the pattern of leisure activities can be alluded to consumer culture, aping of the west and the socio-political changing scenario in India. From the Mystical to mundane is a shift in the focus of attention and value orientation. If we look at the cultural dimensions of leisure activities in India one thing is very clear i.e. the ethos of culture, the value orientation, the action frame of reference and the pattern variables of leisure activities all reveal a shift in focus of attention. In the end it is suggested that a theory of society can be built up on the basis of the study of the sociology of leisure in India.
Women’s Adventures at Work
Women and employment in adventure recreation

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People pursue outdoor adventure for many reasons. There is tremendous potential for personal enjoyment and the physical and educational benefits of participation in outdoor pursuits are well documented (Ewert, 1989). Most published material has originated from the United Kingdom and North America and, until recently, presented adventure from a primarily “malestream” perspective. The contributions of women and the specific benefits of adventure for women were largely ignored (Stockham, 1996). It would appear that adventure pursuits were developed by white northern hemisphere males with little recognition of gender issues or cultural and ethnic diversity. As a result, many women feel they have limited power and access to positions of responsibility within the adventure recreation industry.

This paper explores the emergence of women in the outdoors as it traces early accounts of women’s participation and employment in adventure recreation. The development of opportunities for women within the adventure industry is discussed. Particular reference is made to opportunities for industry training and changes resulting from the increasing number of women participating and seeking employment. Finally, the contemporary views of Western Australian women and their perception of the adventure recreation industry are presented. This information was sourced from interviews currently being conducted with Western Australian women employed in the adventure recreation industry.

It is important to note that a distinction is often made between “adventure recreation” and “adventure education”. To further increase the confusion, the terms “outdoor recreation” and “outdoor education” are also often used. The boundaries between the disciplines are somewhat blurred. The use of terminology depends on the perspective of those involved and consequently is open to interpretation and discussion. The relationship between outdoor/adventure recreation and outdoor/adventure education is an issue within the industry and an important area for future study (Gray, 1997). It is generally understood that the purpose of outdoor/adventure recreation is primarily enjoyment whilst the purpose of outdoor/adventure education is reach a specific learning goal through the use of adventure recreation activities. The term adventure recreation is used to enhance fluidity in this paper and it is assumed that it encompasses outdoor pursuits from all outdoor and adventure recreation and education perspectives.

An historical perspective on women and adventure recreation

As previously stated, much of the recorded history of adventure recreation industry originated in the United Kingdom and North America. This is not to say that women in other western countries were not active, it may be simply that their stories were not recorded or only gained recognition when their lifestyle was regarded as highly unusual. Markham (1998) notes that women who left accounts of their adventures were often writing from positions of privilege. Few of the stories of native women, female park wardens and the wives of miners, farmers, missionaries and guides were
recorded. Very little is written on Australian women, though one notable exception is Daisy Bates, known for her anthropological explorations of the lives of Aboriginal people in the Kimberley region of northern Western Australia in the early 1900s (Hall, 1998).

At the same time as Daisy Bates was exploring the Kimberley region, Mary Schaffer and her friend, Molly Adams, in 1911, became the first two non-indigenous women to explore the Canadian wilderness that is now Banff and Jasper National Parks (Bialeschki, 1992). Other Canadian women such as Mary Vaux Walcott, Mary Sharples Schaffer, Elizabeth Parker, Henrietta Tuzo Wilson and Phyllis James Munday (and her eleven week old daughter!) explored wilderness and mountain regions of Canada in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Markham, 1998).

Our understanding of history may suggest that these women were most unusual for their time, but as more of women's history is revealed, we find that their adventures were far from unusual. At the turn of the century many women in North America participated in sports and recreation pursuits such as bicycling, gymnastics, ice hockey, swimming, athletics (Lenskyj, 1986) and actively explored the outdoors (Bialeschki, 1992). Bialeschki's study suggests that from the earliest beginnings of outdoor recreational activities, women commonly accompanied men, but their accomplishments were obscured in the literature as they were relegated to the role of helpmate. Women's achievements in adventure recreation were questioned or minimised.

The lack of recognition of women and girls' involvement in outdoor activity is typified by the history of the Girl Guide Association in the United Kingdom. The Boy Scout Association, established by Robert Baden Powell in the early 1900s, followed a very popular camp for boys and the publication of the book, "Scouting for Boys". Unbeknownst to the Scouting Association, large numbers of girls also registered as "Boy Scouts", using their initials only to avoid disclosing their gender. In 1909, 6000 girls in the United Kingdom were registered with the association. At a public Scout rally held in that year, a group of girls approached Baden Powell to make their involvement public. This approach resulted in the establishment of the Girl Guide Association in 1910. The girls were called "guides" to distinguish their organisation from the boys and dispel parent's fears that their girls might become tomboys (Evans, Sutton & Moynihan, 1992).

The employment of women in adventure recreation was also virtually invisible despite women holding paid positions as national park rangers in Yellowstone National Park as early as 1918 (Bialeschki, 1992). Prior to this, in 1916, an association for women camp directors was founded in the United States. Women working in this field were excluded from membership of the Camp Director's Association of America on the basis of their gender (Miranda & Yerkes, 1996).

Social trends impacted greatly on women's participation and employment in outdoor pursuits. Following suffrage in North America in the 1920s, the women's movement lulled and the belief that physical activity was detrimental to women's health began to gain greater acceptance. In particular, in the 1930s, the opinion that physical stress would interfere with a woman's ability to bear children was given great credence. Women were actively discouraged from participating in physical activity as the
reproductive ability of women was to be protected at all costs (Lenskyj, 1986). The 1940s and World War II, saw much of this argument discarded as women were forced to step into roles previously held by men. It was only on the men’s return from war that women were forced out of the workplace. For women in areas of outdoor employment, such as National Park rangers, employment criteria was changed to stipulate men only. A new social movement grew in the 1950s that pressured women back in to the home and redefined their accepted role as that of wife and mother (Bialeschki, 1992).

It was not until the Women’s Liberation Movement of the 1960s that, throughout the western world, women again began to enter into outdoor pursuits in greater numbers. It is interesting to note the parallels that exist between social expectations of woman, the emergence of the various women’s movements and women’s participation in outdoor pursuits. Bialeschki (1990) proposed that women’s involvement in physical recreation may contribute to changing the perception of women’s roles, particularly for women entering non-traditional areas of employment. Women’s competence and skill development in physical activity challenged the myths of female frailty and male physical supremacy.

**Women in the Adventure Recreation Industry**

Women were not specifically catered for in early adventure recreation training courses and in many cases, were not even initially considered as possible participants. The Outward Bound School, established in the United Kingdom in 1941, was developed to provide life and survival skill training for young men. Miner (1990) noted that the organisation broke its constituency precedent with the introduction, and unexpected success, of courses for young women. It was considered an astonishing discovery that young girls could handle the same courses with the same degree of difficulty as young boys. Adult coeducational courses were then established though it was not until the 1980s that courses for women only were introduced (Miner, 1990). The North American National Outdoor Leadership School (NOLS) first offered courses for women in 1966, its second year of operation. Even though rated as successful enough for the school to offer three such courses in 1967, women only courses merged into “practical and popular” coeducational courses in the years to follow (Bachert, 1990, p. 86). There began to be increasing recognition that women came to outdoor programs with a different acculturation than men and wanted a different outdoor experience to men. Woodswomen, Incorporated, established in Minneapolis, USA, in the mid 1970s, was the first organisation to offer wilderness experiences and training exclusively for women (Mitten, 1985).

It is projected that more women than men will participate in backpacking and hiking by the year 2000 (Kelly, 1987, p. 46). In addition, the percentage of women participating in all aspects of adventure recreation is increasing faster than men (Henderson, 1992). With these predictions and trends, there is heightened recognition that it is important for outdoor programs to incorporate a female perspective (Jordan, 1992; Knapp, 1985; Mitten, 1985, Warren & Rheingold, 1993).

Despite a increasing stock of literature that deals with women’s experiences of adventure, there is limited research that examines the issues of employment and training for women in the outdoor industry. In fact, there is little information
available that discusses how adventure recreation professionals in general cope with the recognised conditions of working in this industry. It is appears that outdoor workers simply accept, and expect, that the adventure recreation industry places tremendous physical and emotional demands on its employees.

Much employment occurs away from home, often in wilderness environments with limited access to emergency services. Many of the activities included in outdoor programs contain a high degree of risk, with serious injury a real possibility. Employment is predominantly seasonal and program structure is diverse, with activities ranging from several hours in duration to camps and expeditions lasting days or even weeks. It is not uncommon for employees in the adventure recreation industry to be employed away from home for several weeks at a time, without a break during the busy seasons (Watters, 1990). Staff turnover is high and problems identified with continual working in the field include lack of family and social contact, as well as the physical and emotional ramifications of stress and exhaustion (Stephanie van den Hoek & Paul Wallison, personal communication, July 8, 1997).

The expectation that employment in the adventure recreation industry will involve long periods away from home, a high level of physical activity and the very real possibility of injury takes employment in this field out of the realm of career opportunities traditionally offered to women. Outdoor leadership requires women to exist outside traditional indoor employment roles and contrary to social expectations that they will be home based carers and nurturers. The concept of women in the outdoors may hold a degree of curiosity value or conjure images of “rough and tough” individuals (Henderson, 1992, p. 49). Humberstone (1996) feels the continuing general perception that adventure is inappropriate for women has resulted in a lack of women seeking career paths within this industry.

The issues of inequality and inequity for women in their access to their training and employment in the outdoor industry has gained greater prominence in recent literature (Hornibrook, et al, 1997, Humberstone, 1994, Humberstone 1996, Neill, 1997). The issues most evident in these discussions are the need for positive female role models in leadership and the general under-representation of women at all levels of the industry. The North American National Outdoor Leadership School has a goal of 40 per cent of its staff positions filled by women, to match the percentage of female students. In 1992, despite a 41 per cent increase in female instructors over the previous four years, its overall percentage of female staff was only 31 per cent. As a result, many NOLS courses were conducted with all male instructional teams (Koesler, 1993).

The lack of women in adventure recreation is exacerbated by the popular media as it continues to largely represent outdoor adventure as white “machismo” with little awareness of the contributions of women (Humberstone, 1996, p.48). The story of Alison Hargreaves illustrates the attitude of media and the part it plays in influencing how adventurous women are perceived by the general public. Alison Hargreaves, a well known climber, published several accounts of her climbing adventures. When she died in 1995 whilst descending K2, the world’s second highest peak, she was portrayed by the media as “obsessed” by the desire to reach the summit of K2, and as an unfit mother who abandoned her children to pursue her own goals. Questions were asked about why she, as a woman, was there in the first place (Stockham, 1996).
Male climbers were described differently in similar tragic circumstances. When two male climbers were killed not long after, in a similar incident, the media reported the loss of men of integrity and stature. Nothing was said of the fact that one had children and, unlike the reporting in Hargreaves’ case, there was no criticism of their taking part in a high risk physical activity. It would appear that the media condoned fathers participating in high risk mountaineering, but not mothers. Further to this media report, in a televised interview with Francesca Shashkova, a free fall parachutist, the suggestion was made that women should not do adventurous, high risk activities. Her blunt reply was that “women are much more than simply grow bags” (Stockham, 1996, p. 2).

Gender specific language and images also exclude and discourage women from seeking employment in the outdoor domain. A recent edition of a highly regarded UK mountaineering manual is clearly addressed to males. Leaders are referred to as “he” throughout the entire publication. The same observation was made of a well known survival manual. Males only are shown in leadership positions. There are very few references to women. An example of how some people may be inappropriately dressed for the outdoors was illustrated by the image of a woman wearing high heels. The only image of a competent woman presented in that particular publication was a nurse doing resuscitation (Levi, 1995).

It was noted previously that the situation for women outdoors could well be related to socialised expectations of women’s behaviour and responsibility for the family. These expectations, coupled with traditionally accepted gender divisions of labour, have enabled some jobs to be traditionally defined as female or male (Hannam, 1993). Bradley (1989) further acknowledged that once a job has become sex-typed, the pattern of segregation is hard to break, limiting the access of women into non-traditional fields of employment.

Instructors employed in adventure recreation are predominantly male with outdoor adventure described as a male domain in that the experience is “male defined and male dominated” (Knapp, 1985, p. 16). The predominance of male employees in the adventure recreation field has created a tradition of male control that excludes women from key positions within the industry. Loeffler (1995) identified that the “old boy network” as the greatest barrier faced by North American women in developing careers within the adventure recreation industry. Women felt that there was discrimination in hiring and training and that they were excluded from informal male networks. It was also felt that the expectation of high levels of technical competency was male driven, so that when women were measured against these standards, they often failed. To add a further degree of difficulty, very few women “got in on the ground floor” of organisations instituted in the 1970s and 1980s. Consequently, few women hold key positions in established adventure recreation organisations where they can influence policy and decision making that takes into account women’s needs in the outdoors. Given all of these circumstances, it is not surprising that a far greater number of men than women are actively employed in the outdoors.
The Changing Workplace in the Adventure Recreation Industry

Little by little the adventure recreation workplace is changing. In a recruitment drive in Australia in 1996, Outward Bound received 170 applications with 54 per cent from men and the remaining 46 per cent from women. Five women and four men were selected to train as instructors (Neill, 1997). Some organisations have taken positive steps in recognising and valuing the voices of women. For example, workshops on gender awareness were conducted by the USA National Outdoor Leadership School (Appling, 1989). Considering the number of recent international articles that deal with gender inequities and the continuing negative perception of physically active women (Harris & Griffin, 1997, Henderson, 1996, Humberstone, 1994, Levi, 1995, Warren, 1997), one must wonder if workshops by organisations such as NOLS are at all effective or simply the first stage in a very slow process. Recognition of the issues for women in the outdoors is only one step. It is important that the adventure recreation industry challenges male dominance and the acceptance of traditional masculine models and practices.

One of the many reasons given for the lack of women in adventure recreation employment was an over-emphasis on the teaching of technical or activity (hard) skills and an under emphasis on the teaching of people (soft) skills in outdoor leadership training programs (Freiderich & Priest, 1993). Ironically, it is the soft skills that are perceived by many to be the most important skills in outdoor leadership. A study undertaken by Priest (1989) invited outdoor leadership experts from five countries (Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, New Zealand and the United States) to rank components important for an effective outdoor leader. The top three attributes identified as critical to outdoor leaders included judgement based on experience, awareness and empathy for others, and a flexible leadership style. This study suggested that it was important for outdoor leaders to have technical activity and safety skills, but that technical skills were not considered as an important factor in assessing suitable trainees to enter the industry. Behaviour, philosophy and self concept were deemed to be more important at a novice level.

There is increasing concern that many outdoor instructors enter the field with a strong background in recreational experience and technical skills in activities such as rockclimbing, canoeing and bushwalking, but with little training in interpersonal and instructional skills. A good technician is not always a good teacher. If the basic skills are not well taught, participants’ experiences may be negative and contrary to the expectation that participation in adventure recreation will be enjoyable and will promote self discovery and enhance self esteem (Luckner, 1994).

Despite conventional and traditional notions that men are better outdoor leaders because of their strength and assumed leadership skills, findings in leadership effectiveness research show that women are performing well and in some cases, better than men (Neill, 1997; Phipps & Claxton, 1997). The study by Phipps and Claxton did not set out to measure gender difference, but their findings showed that female instructors were ranked significantly higher than their male counterparts when scored by trained observers and activity participants. Notably, their study placed a high value on the interpersonal and group leadership skills required for instructor effectiveness. It placed less emphasis on the technical skills that have historically been the measure of instructor effectiveness within the adventure recreation industry.
Overall, the skills for outdoor leaders are being re-evaluated. There is recognition that soft skills are crucial to effective outdoor leadership and are not just the domain of feminine or "girly" outdoor instructors.

There is sufficient research, especially in areas such as therapeutic adventure recreation (Gass, 1993) to confirm the benefits of utilising interpersonal or soft skills in outdoor programming. However, there is still a need to recognise the value of developing interpersonal skills in conjunction with technical skills, rather than valuing one set of skills more than the other. In some sectors of the industry it is no longer appropriate for employment and promotion opportunities to be based on technical skill standards alone. If this more balanced direction continues, there is an expectation that opportunities for women will open up and women will take on more significant roles within the industry.

Women working in Western Australian Adventure Recreation Industry

The data presented in this section of the paper comes from the preliminary analysis of interviews conducted with eight women working in the Western Australian adventure recreation industry. The study was initiated due to the recognition that the experiences of women in employment in the Australian adventure industry were rarely discussed, let alone recorded. Several themes have emerged. These themes support the view that the industry is changing and women are able to take positive steps within adventure recreation. However, there are still significant problems for women in Western Australia to access industry training and find sustainable employment (Carter, 1998).

Australia was somewhat slower than the United Kingdom and North America to introduce formalised and accredited training in adventure recreation leadership. For many years, Australian commercial operators and industry sector organisations, such as the Scout Association, have offered aspects of adventure recreation training. Overall, the Australian adventure industry was somewhat fragmented in its approach. It is only over the last few years, since the early 1990s, that government funded initiatives such as the National Outdoor Recreation Leadership Development Scheme (NORLD), now registered as the Outdoor Recreation Council of Australia (ORCA), have made substantial attempts to consolidate training from a national perspective under the guidelines of one national training body.

Undergraduate or post graduate courses in outdoor pursuits or outdoor education are available in universities in most states. In Western Australia, there are currently no undergraduate courses specific to adventure recreation, though Leisure Sciences and Physical Education courses offer some elements of training in this field. The research currently being conducted suggests that training in physical education and human movement is the major starting point for women who wish to enter the adventure recreation field in Western Australia. Several of the women interviewed had also sought industry specific training interstate and overseas.

A graduate course in outdoor pursuits has been offered by Edith Cowan University in Western Australia since 1986. Overall, of the more than 110 graduates of this course, only 25 were women. The drop out rate of women is high. (David. Byers, personal communication, March 8, 1998). The course is very hard skill orientated, with only
one unit out of eight dealing directly with the philosophical issues of the industry. Completion of the course requires participation in several multi day expeditions and a strong commitment to spending as much time as possible in the field. Many of the women who have graduated demonstrated a high degree of technical and academic competence, with women taking out prizes for the highest course average in four of the past six years (Byers, 1998).

The diversity of skills needed to work effectively in adventure recreation was a major point of discussion in many of the interviews conducted. One particular point was the availability of training to gain technical skills and the lack of training available to gain interpersonal skills. Technical skills were seen as imperative for employment but the need for employees to actively possess interpersonal skills was often dismissed. Several of the women felt they were more empathetic towards the feelings of their participants and therefore more effective as outdoor leaders, but their competence in this area was often unrecognised and unrewarded. One woman related the story of being involved in a training program for new staff. When demonstrating techniques that she found useful in initiating participant discussion, her input was abruptly dismissed by a male colleague and described as "that touchy, feely, girly stuff" (sic).

Even with a high level of technical skill, it is difficult for women to enter and maintain a position within the adventure recreation industry. Several of the women interviewed expressed the belief it was only the combination of determination and persistence in obtaining technical skills, the luck of being in the right place at the right time, and a genuine love and enthusiasm for their job that had enabled them to hold their current positions. Several felt they were simply lucky that some sectors of the industry had identified the need for more female instructors at the same time as they were seeking employment. Part of this need was the requirement by the Education Department for female staff to be present on co-educational outdoor programs. The fact that were so few other women working in the field increased their employment options to some degree.

Other women, most notably those outside the education system, created their positions either within their own commercial enterprise or they worked as a freelance instructor with several different adventure recreation employers. One woman, in particular, stated that she had taken as much freelance work as she could and deliberately cultivated networks within the industry all through her university course. She felt that should a position become available she would have a better chance of securing employment if she was known within the industry. Through creating her own network, she now holds a key position with an established adventure recreation provider and has made a commitment to employing as many women as possible within that organisation.

For most of the women interviewed, the decision to stay involved in the adventure recreation industry, is a lifestyle choice more than a financial one. The freelance instructors reported that they enjoyed the freedom of being able to choose when and how they would work. However, they referred to the difficulty of maintaining full time employment, or anything approaching a full time salary, as the industry was so seasonal. Several hold, or have held, part time jobs in industry related areas, such as equipment and clothing retail. None of the women felt that the industry was particularly well paid, but they did not view money as their primary motivation for
staying in the industry. Several also stated that the high cost of continual training and equipment maintenance meant that much of their earnings were reinvested in their own education and career development.

Apart from the lack of financial stability, one of the greatest problem identified by the women interviewed was the difficulty in maintaining personal relationships. Several stated that many of their friendships were with people within the adventure recreation field as so few others understood the demands of their job or the time they spent away from home. In terms of personal relationships, all of the women stated that these were extremely difficult because of the time spent away. The most successful relationships were seen to be those with another person who worked with them in the industry, most often within the same commercial operation. This situation is not without its difficulties. One woman felt that both she and her partner being employed in the adventure industry made their relationship more difficult as seasonal demands meant they would sometimes spend several months apart. Only two of the women interviewed had children living with them and in both cases, their partners, whom they had met while they were working together, worked in the industry with them.

One younger woman interviewed was recently married. She felt that it would be impossible for her to continue working in adventure recreation when she has children. Her husband has a demanding professional career and was not in a position where he could assist with childminding if she was to continue working away from home. One other young woman identified her perfect relationship as one with someone working in the industry where they could work together from one outdoor centre or campsite. She felt such an arrangement would make it possible for her have children and remain within the adventure recreation industry.

Sexism and the role of women within the adventure industry were issues for several of the women. Ironically, one of the freelance instructors felt that at times she was given employment purely because of her gender. She described herself as “the token female”. She observed that she was rarely asked to demonstrate her skills and felt her presence was more to benefit the image of the company so it could appear to be “doing the right thing”. The perception of women’s roles within the adventure industry is a problem. One woman related the story of being introduced to a group of high school boys at the beginning of a wilderness expedition. One of the boys asked if she was there because she was the cook. She stated that it had actually given her great pleasure to reply that she was, in fact, one of their senior instructors. Almost all of the woman related similar stories where their first introduction to a group was greeted with some degree of disbelief or scorn. In most cases, the negative comments related to the women’s assumed lack of strength, physical stature or skill.

There were numerous incidents of sexual harassment and discrimination discussed by the women. One woman, who had spent her first working year in a boy's school, stated that she had learned “not to bite” or respond to sexist criticism or teasing. She was verbally harassed by one of the male staff and only persevered in her position because of the support she received from other male co-workers. One other woman reported that she had lost considerable income through infighting between her male employers. Several of the partners wanted to offer her a financial stake in the business, but were consistently thwarted by the managing partner as it appeared he did not want a woman to hold a key position. She became unsure if she was really
wanted as a capable employee or if the company simply wanted to appear, as before, to be “doing the right thing” in having a woman in a management role. The end result was that she left a successful business for which she had generated a large client list and considerable revenue. One redeeming feature of the industry was that the majority of women recognise that as more women are entering the field, the problems of misogyny and patriarchal attitudes are decreasing. The women no longer felt as isolated or alone with other women within the industry able to support them.

Even with all of the difficulties identified by the women, none of them wanted to leave their jobs. The most common thread that ran through all the stories told by the women interviewed was their love of the outdoors. It was this thread that bound them to an industry that they knew was more difficult and frustrating for women than for men. All of the women interviewed enjoyed the variety and challenge their jobs offered. When asked what they felt was the most important thing to them about working in adventure recreation, the most common reply was the pleasure they experienced in sharing their love of the outdoors with others and in passing on skills and knowledge. They saw working in the adventure recreation industry as an opportunity to open people’s eyes to the beauty of nature and the personal strengths that were within each one of them. The women wanted others to experience achievement for themselves and perhaps understand what it was that continued to draw them to the outdoors. By showing that they were capable and that being in the outdoors could be comfortable, the women felt that many of society’s fears about the outdoors could be alleviated. It was possible for the adventure recreation industry to provide accessible and enjoyable experiences for everybody.

Not only could women in the outdoors help to shatter the negative perception of the outdoor experience, they could also reshape society’s perception of women. It was extremely important that people saw that women could live and work outdoors and that many were willing to make that choice. Most of the women discussed how they saw themselves as a role model for other women and particularly for young women. Employment in the adventure industry is a viable choice for women who have the commitment and are comfortable in the outdoors. The presence of women employed in the outdoors provides adventure recreation options that meet the needs, not only of women, but many others in our communities, and presents a much needed and long ignored alternative to the traditional male face of adventure.

Conclusion

This paper discussed the emergence of women working in adventure recreation. The adventure recreation industry has a tradition of male dominance in its attitude and practice. Despite this, increasing numbers of women are choosing adventure recreation as their career path and there is growing awareness of the skills and contributions of women. However, it is not likely that until the traditional stereotypes of adventure being masculine are shattered, that skilled women will hold prominent positions of responsibility within the adventure recreation industry.

Women employed in the Western Australian adventure recreation industry were interviewed about their working experiences. Working in the adventure recreation industry is as much a personal as a professional journey for these women. The choice to work in the industry was regarded by many as one of life style, as the financial
rewards are limited and the personal sacrifices great. The women interviewed choose to remain in the adventure recreation industry because of their passion for adventure and an appreciation of the challenges it offers, not just to themselves but also to those who participate with them.

These women can see the mountains they still need to climb and know, that in many ways, the journey for women working in adventure recreation has just begun. However, like all true adventurers, they know that their mountains will remain unclimbed and that nothing will ever be achieved, unless they take the first step and begin the journey for themselves.
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The future of leisure can take four broad forms, based on four types of human understanding and social interaction. We can stay more or less as we are, we can go back to an earlier state of affairs, we can change a little or we can change a lot. This, of course, is very much to over-simplify the choices, and we need to ask some additional questions. Is there a real difference between staying more or less as we are and changing a little? When is a change a small one or a large one? Are we talking of the near future (say, the next five years), the medium term (25 years?) or the long term (a century or more?)?

At the outset a warning note should be sounded about why people try to predict the future. As Dubin (1990) points out, governments and businesses pay handsomely for prognostications which attempt to provide information on which they can make decisions. They are, in effect, attempting to determine the future as much as to predict it. Predictions create expectations, and people tend to act on those expectations. Academics who write about the future, even if they only select the writings of others to report dispassionately, are not exempt from this motivation, although their concerns may be seen generally as less influenced by special pleading than those of government or business (except where such academics are working for the government or business).

It may help, for the purposes of discussion, to put labels on the four types of possible futures, as long as we recognize that these are only labels of convenience, not of precise or adequate definition. Using ‘isms’, they are conseratism, reactionism, reformism and revolutionism (the last isn't in my dictionary but its meaning is reasonably clear). Let us look at each of these possible futures in turn, first in terms of leisure, then of the relationship between leisure and work. Work isn’t the only other sphere of life and society with which leisure has relations, but the two are more intimately connected than most other pairings involving leisure.

Conservatism

If the future is going to be more or less the same as today, then we are looking at a continuation or perhaps slowing down of recent trends. Not a reversal (that would be reactionism), not a speeding up (reformism), and not something qualitatively new (revolutionism). The conservative concern about the future is that it should be as much like the present as possible; but positively, it should be in safe pairs of hands or, more negatively, it is the devil we know rather than the devil we don't.

The conservative view of leisure is that it is first and foremost an industry. With the decline of manufacturing industries in the economically advanced countries, services of various kinds have grown, including those connected with leisure: tourism, entertainment, hotel and catering, gambling, spectator sport, electronic games, and so on. Leisure is said mostly to need some kind of market provider, if not profit-seeking enterprises then local councils or the government. Non-market leisure - what we
make or do for ourselves, collectively or individually – is recognised as existing, but it doesn’t play a central role in the conservative view of leisure.

The exponents of the conservative view of leisure are usually optimistic but sometimes pessimistic about the future. Abrams and Bernstein (1990:29) are optimistic. Looking ahead to the 21st century, they see leisure almost entirely in technological terms. What we have today we will have tomorrow in a more developed form. Their chapter on Leisure 2001 ranges over predictions for larger-than-life TV, video-on-the-go, a virtual world, night golf, the sweet-spot tennis racquet, swimming propulsion device and uphill skiing. All of these ‘advances’ are based on late 20th century technology. A few have already been marketed; the rest exist in prototype form, waiting to be marketed. They may all be seen as giving us possibilities of making our leisure lives better, but only if we have low expectations and are the kind of people who applaud a promotional movie.

Then there are those who see the leisure future as much like today, but don’t like the prospect. Murdock (1994) forecasts a massive expansion of home entertainment systems. The emerging cultural industries are based on the convergence of computing, telecommunications and screen-based industries. Social experience is being privatized and customized. A few people now, and more in the future, may walk around famous buildings or favourite streets from the comfort of a reclining chair, suitably equipped with a virtual reality system that allows you to step into the image of a social situation and even manipulate your experience of it. But at what cost in terms of community? Murdock thinks the cost will be too high, too much of society’s real value will be lost:

In these circumstances the public sphere, thought of as an arena for debate, discussion and negotiation, based on common access to share information and cultural goods, will disappear, leaving only a plurality of niche markets in its wake. This will further erode the possibility of developing a shared sense of the common good, or working out what binds and what separates us, how to address alterable inequalities, and how to live with cultural difference (p.246).

The work-leisure relationship today can take three main forms. We can let work (what we do for a living) extend into our leisure time, we can see the one as the opposite of the other, or we can have the work and leisure parts of our lives in two different worlds (Parker, 1983). The ‘extension’ pattern is experienced most often by people, like artists or social workers, who are very involved in their work. The ‘opposition’ pattern, typical of miners and oil rig workers, is that of a minority who often have to recuperate from the rigours of their work before they can enjoy leisure. Many, perhaps most, of us have employment that is neither particularly creative nor damaging, so we tend to keep work and leisure more or less separate.

Martin and Mason (1982) posit four alternative works and leisure scenarios up to 2001, one of which they call ‘frustration’. The two variables they consider are the level of economic growth, and stability or change in social attitudes. The ‘frustration’ scenario combines low economic growth with no change in prevailing attitudes to work and leisure and is essentially conservative. The other three scenarios amount to reforms of different kinds in the present system of employment and leisure provision (to be considered below).
Reactionism

Reactionist views of leisure are based on the perception of a past golden age to which it is thought desirable to return. One such reactionist view was expressed by De Grazia (1962), in a book that has been much discussed among leisure scholars in the last three decades or so. That approach looks back to ancient Greece for the leisure ideal, as expressed by Aristotle and quoted by De Grazia: ‘Leisure is a state of being in which activity is performed for its own sake or as its own end.’ Sometimes the desire to return to an allegedly better past is accompanied by a feeling that we have in the present lost something of value.

Some commentators combine a reactionist wish to return to a better past with an optimistic view of what economic abundance may make possible in the future, a sort of ancient Greece without the slaves. Thus Dare (1991:89): ‘the future holds the chance to actually engage in classical leisure, as economic abundance replaces scarcity and essence can emerge from our preoccupation with existence.’ He believes that to study leisure is to open the door to questions about human nature, ethics, our species’ potential, and ultimately the quality of life on the planet.

The reactionist view of the work-leisure relationship is that we have lost the earlier integration of the two spheres and so we should seek to restore the seemingly more harmonious conditions of the past. There was no dividing line between work and leisure in primitive communism, but many would argue that to give up the conveniences and comforts of civilization is too high a price to pay for work-leisure ‘integration’. Even today the work parties still common in many parts of tribal Africa which feature a blurring of work and leisure may be said to point only to the principle of integration, a principle that will require a different set of practices if it is to spread to the rest of the world in the future.

Reformism

The reformist approach to the future of leisure has received a great deal of attention, not always with that label. In many ways reforms, that is, small changes to improve the basic status quo, help to stave off thoughts about and demands for larger changes, that is, revolutionary action. More time for leisure is a popular demand, and the quality of leisure is a subject for debate. The demand and the debate often centre around the leisure needs of particular groups in the community, who are seen to have special problems or to be exceptionally deprived, for example, young people, the elderly, women and ethnic groups.

After a period of mainly public investment in new sports and leisure centres in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s (notably as a means of reducing juvenile delinquency) such investment has tailed off in the 1980s and 1990s. It has been replaced by commercial enterprises offering facilities usually not affordable by low income groups. Measures to improve the leisure lives of the elderly are greatly needed, but have low priority in relation to more basic needs such as for health services, housing and nutrition. As Abrams (1980) shows, opportunities for leisure outside the home are severely restricted for the elderly, especially the elderly with mobility problems, and most indoor ‘leisure’ is confined to watching television.
Some progress has been made in reducing the gap between women’s leisure opportunities and those of men, and more is proposed. Green et al (1990) note that the commercial sector is the major provider of adult leisure and that ‘many women will simply not be able to buy into ever more commodified leisure’. They don’t view the future prospects as encouraging, but they do point to what some women have been able to do to claim time for themselves and make ‘real inroads into the male bastions of leisure’ and they look forward to building on those achievements.

In a multi-racial society such as Britain, the aim of community recreational strategies is to provide for cultural differences (Haywood et al, 1995). But there is plenty of evidence of inequality in leisure activity related to ethnic identity. Reforms to improve ethnic leisure opportunities consequently take two directions: to encourage participation in indigenous cultural forms (music, dance, films, sport, etc) and to remove obstacles to all forms of leisure participation regardless of ethnic identity.

Taking a more ambitious view of how leisure can or should be reformed in the future, we may turn to the use of Delphi predictions, the nature of which consists of several rounds of questioning experts about what they think has at least a 50-50 chance of happening in the future. Veal (1987) quotes from the results of one such exercise carried out in the US in 1975. By 2000 it was predicted that small recreational submarines would be common, the average age of retirement would be 50, and weekends’ would be distributed throughout the week. As Veal drily remarks, experts may or may not be gifted with Delphic vision.

Forecasts made by individuals often have a better track record than those made by groups, who may spur each other on to see fanciful, or at least premature, futures. Asimov (1984:29) believes that we have been witnessing the steady increase in leisure for a long time and goes on: ‘This means that more and more “work” will involve the filling of this leisure time. Show business and sports will grow steadily more important... Hobbies of all sorts will grow steadily more important, and so will those industries catering to hobbies.’ Few would disagree about show business and sports, although the evidence for the growth of hobbies is more patchy. Some hobbies, particularly those involving electronics, have increased in recent years and are likely to go on increasing, at least in the short term.

Travel in person or vicariously is another popular theme among reformers. This Attali (1991:105): ‘Entertainment and leisure will be devoted to the ideal travel; television already allows us to come and go all over the world, in space and in time, in reality and in fiction. Moreover, it allows us to travel without ever stirring from our comfortable armchairs at home... Living life through electronic images, we travel and experience the world vicariously and safely.’

Arthur C Clarke, the science fiction guru, also puts his faith in technology: In 2019 technology will not only give us more leisure time, but also ways to spend it more creatively and constructively’(1986:137). However, for me he spoils the picture by predicting that ‘love stories, science fiction, teenage comedies, war films, sweeping adventures and rugged Westerns will be among the most successful moves on 2019’ (p.142).
The work-leisure relationship may be reformed as a result of changes in work, in leisure or in both. If it is only work that will be changed, while leisure remains more or less as it is, then consequences for the relationship will depend on what kind of changes in work take place. If work expands its role in our lives, for example by embracing serious leisure as well as employment and domestic activities, then we may expect a narrowing of the gap between the two spheres. But if work 'collapses' or is much reduced, then presumably leisure will be the main beneficiary. Machines will do all or nearly all the work. The question of what relationship there will be between this emasculated work sphere and the virtually all-embracing leisure sphere will be answered by declaring the latter the winner. Neulinger (1990) has argued for such a leisure society, but Stormann (189) has maintained that, though employment may cease to exist in the future, work will not because it is a natural activity of human beings.

It is possible that substantial changes will be made in the leisure sphere while work (meaning the present combination of employment and non-employment work) will remain substantially the same. What kind of changes in leisure? Of market-provided leisure continues to oust non-market leisure, that is to say, if we all become dominated by mostly passive, consumerist, spectator leisure, then opposition, or at least neutrality, between the spheres will remain and such integration as there remains will be still further weakened. But again this seems extremely unlikely. Market forces may still have further to go in conquering the world, but that part of leisure which is not for sale will surely not disappear entirely, encircled by the cash nexus though it may be.

More or less simultaneous and perhaps complementary changes in both work and leisure may be expected to lead to a change in the relationship between the two. Martin and Mason (1982) outline four scenarios depending on polarised values of economic growth and changes in social attitudes. Above we noted that what they call the 'frustration' scenario (low economic growth and no change in attitudes to work and leisure) is essentially conservative. The8ir other three scenarios are best seen as reformist – not revolutionary because they envisage the continuation of capitalist employment. The first is 'conventional success': an affluent world, work hard, play hard, a losing minority left out. The second is self-restraint: low economic growth, more informal work, a blurring of work and leisure. The third is 'transformed growth': full use of new technologies, redistribution of work, leisure and incomes, greater flexibility in time use.

Martin and Mason clearly favour this last scenario and most of us would probably regard it as the best of the bunch. They put their faith in 'a general acceptance that work and leisure should be more fairly shared.' But they admit that 'where we are now' is largely frustration, with some conventional success, but very little transformed growth.

Three scenarios for work and leisure are discussed by Reid (1995). One is what he calls a return to a Liberal-Democratic Welfare State. The second is to continue to move towards a Corporate-Economic future. The third is a reform bordering on a revolution: to 'adopt a Post-Materialist form of social organization and governance' (p.98). This would involve divorcing income form production, implementing a
guaranteed annual income and drastically reduced working hours, giving all citizens 'the free time in which to participate in their own social organization.'

**Revolutionism**

The line between a far-reaching reform and a somewhat hesitant and certainly bloodless revolution is not easy to draw. I propose to call 'revolutionary' any change to leisure or the work-leisure relationship that is post-capitalist, or at least seriously tending in the direction of a system of post-capitalism. Such a system may be called socialism (in the original Marxist sense, indistinguishable from communism, communism, anarchism, or even utopianism (except that this last term is commonly used by opponents of revolutionary change to assert its impossibility).

In *The Future of Work and Leisure* (1972) I looked forward to a time when work and leisure would become more integrated and when we should all have 'opportunities for rewarding work and for the various kinds of leisure that complement rewarding work' (p.143). Ivar Berg, in a foreword to the American edition of that book, correctly perceived that my proposals for 'fusion of leisure and work are related to revolutionary changes in society'. A quarter of a century later, during which time capitalism has strengthened its hold on the world economy and on received wisdom, the revolutionary changes look farther away than ever. But there are some grounds for hope.

Macpherson (1979) rejects the idea that democracy cannot exist without the market system and he proposes a revolutionary alternative. He argues that 'the ethical principle, or, if you prefer, the appetite for individual freedom, has outgrown its capitalist market envelope and can not live as well or better without it, just as man’s productive powers, which grew so enormously with competitive capitalism, are not list when capitalism abandons free competition or is replaced by some form of socialism.' In 1989 capitalism without competition – state – or centrally-controlled capitalism – suffered a sever setback in parts of Europe, but revolutionary socialism has yet to be tried anywhere.

A moral imperative is at the heart of Fain's (1991) view of the future and his definition of leisure: 'Leisure is the freedom to chose how one “ought to live”' (p.30). He elaborates in terms which he refers to as radical, but which could also be described as revolutionary:

> If there are to be solutions [to global problems] they will not come from the politicians, business leaders, or other invested in the necessity of daily living. The ideas, if they come at all, will be from those who know leisure as both personal freedom and responsibility. And it is likely that these “inventions” will take the form of radical new styles of work and leisure, forms that are less consumptive, more cooperative, and embraced by large numbers of citizens or a growing world culture – a world culture that will embrace the best ideas, inventions, and leisure values of diverse people who together inhabit the planet (p.26).

Another critic of the status quo, Stormann (1989), believes that 'industrial society is full of meaningless work and purposeless leisure.' T9 claim that leisure is
'purposeless' is surely to misunderstand its value in its own right, as a part of life that doesn’t need a purpose because it is itself an end, not a means to something else. Stormann does indeed call for a revolution in work: ‘Labour must be seen as the avenue by which people discover their true identity, and not as a means of earning the money that allows them to search for this identity in all the wrong places’. But he sees work as in effect subsuming leisure; he answers the question in his article title ‘Work: trued leisure’s home?’ in the affirmative. I would argue that there is just as much to be said to leisure being true work’s home, though this does require a revolution in our ways of thinking and acting.

Although many writers have speculated about the direction leisure may take in the future, very few have put forward ideas that deserve the appellation ‘revolutionary’. Veal’s (1987) book is entirely devoted to leisure and the future. It is fascinating to read about the forecasts that have been made in the past and to realize how few of them have come anything like true. As if to avoid the fate of those forecasters, Veal restricts himself to modest forecasts of the ‘if then’ variety. If economic policies ‘eventually bring about an end to recession and a return to full employment... leisure time would increase.’ If unemployment continues high ‘then the argument in favour of policies to share paid work equitably is surely unassailable’, including a consequent better sharing of leisure opportunities and a better distribution of leisure time during the lifespan of individuals through ‘flexible life scheduling’.

Haywood and his colleagues (1995) devote a chapter to ‘leisure futures’. They discuss leisure fictions’, both of the utopian or socialist variety and the dystopian or authoritarian variety. They look at what three traditions in theories of society and of social changes have to offer on the future of leisure. And they are even-handed when it comes to choosing optimistic, realistic or pessimistic futures, the choice of which ‘depends on a variety of factors including one’s personal biography and not lease one’s understanding of leisure and the nature of society’.

Optimistic views or a revolutionary future are easier to hold if you operate at the level of generalities, preferably with more overtones, Murphy (1982:192) is a good example:

As we move into an era of pseudo-abundance... our needs will change from lower to higher-level ones. When everyone’s needs for food, clothing and shelter can more easily be met, we will concentrate our energies more on the goal of self-actualization through cultural activities, conceived as play on a higher level, and a host of experiences which provide stimulation and relief from the daily routine of being confronted every day by a finite world existence.

To be effective, the call to revolutionary thought (let alone action) usually has to be preceded by a damning indictment of the present situation. Lenk (1994:88) quotes Bergmann on value changes in what he calls the achieving society. Our leisure contact with the world is being reduced to pure consumption, the uninhibited ‘ingestion’ of commodities that require no preparation, provide no orientation, and leave no trace:

It becomes increasingly obvious in growing leisure society that man’s longed-for paradise cannot be passive, hedonistic, or vicarious. Rather, it
should be the opportunity for action, the chance to engage personally in communicative and co-operative activities in any creative realm that fosters an active life with others (p.89).

It is left to Kelly (1990) to envisage leisure futures which he believes are revolutionary (he uses the term three times, and the associated adjective ‘revolutionary’ four times, in his chapter on leisure and the future). Kelly outlines what he takes to be the directional path of change in the revolutionary model:

Condition of internal conflict recognized → Organisation of the powerless → Revolutionary struggle → Replacement of old power structure → Reorganization of social institutions.

Although Kelly allows that the revolutionary model of social change is ‘always a possibility’, he thinks that ‘such change would be so radical and pervasive that predicting the consequences for leisure roles and resources would be an exercise in imaginative construction – intriguing but imprecise’. So he regales with tales of consumerist leisure in a ‘technological tomorrow’: wall-sized telesensing, satellite vertical-lift stations connecting the major long-distance terminals, ‘the home a leisure centre and every community a full service resort’. Technological revolution it may be, but social revolution it most certainly is not. Kelly does however make one rather wistful comment on what even the most sophisticated machine won’t do for us: ‘only satisfying relationships with other people will be outside the call of the electronic consoles n every “recreation room”.

Conclusion

We have considered a variety of leisure and work-leisure relationship futures according to whether they may be seen as extensions of the present, returns to the past, involve small, surface changes or large, fundamental changes. There is no clear line of demarcation between these approaches: they simply enable us to see where the emphases lie and to help us decide what kind of leisure and work futures we would like for ourselves, for others and for the shape of the society and world in which we live and hope to have a future.

Table 1 summarises the four approaches to the future that I have discussed in this paper.

Table 1 Approaches to the future of leisure and the work-leisure relationship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Reactionary</th>
<th>Reformist</th>
<th>Revolutionary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>Mostly consumerist</td>
<td>Simple Pleasures</td>
<td>More choice, more provision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-leisure</td>
<td>Mostly in different worlds¹</td>
<td>No strong dividing line²</td>
<td>Mostly in different worlds¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Reformists tend to be more imaginative than conservatives about the future of the two worlds
Reactionaries look back to a supposed golden age, revolutionaries look forward to a new age

The conservative, or stay-more-or-less-as-we-are future is the most likely in the short term. It may include some straight-line extrapolations of existing trends: more cars, more service jobs, more consumerist leisure, more privatization, a growing gap between rich and poor individuals and nations. But some of these trends cannot continue indefinitely, at least not on a world scale: we would come up against resource and environmental limits and morally repulsive consequences. So we may go either backwards or forwards. If back, how far back and how selectively? If forwards, in which direction and at what pace – slowly and hesitantly, as befits reformers, or rapidly and decisively, like revolutionaries?

In 1976 I wrote that there is a widely-held belief that a ‘society of leisure’ is coming. Two decades later there is little evidence of that happening. There is clearly scope for change in the way we experience leisure, but most of the projected changes are in the details rather than the fundamentals, the surface rather that the substance. The predictions are mostly for more leisure time, more and more sophisticated leisure goods and services – what might be called the expanding market/technological scenario.

Although there are voices in support of workless future, they are generally not taken seriously, neither should they be. Only by defining leisure in terms of a vital ingredient in life and a society in which effort and enjoyment, means and ends, contributions given and received, are balanced in a harmonious whole can we rescue leisure from the category of second-class concern. To paraphrase Seabrook (1988), we should no worry if we miss an episode the latest ‘soap’ when millions in the world are starving.

Those last remarks should not be taken as dismissive of the relative importance of leisure. Along with work itself, leisure and the work-leisure relationship should be at the centre of our concerns. In the short to medium term we need to insist that leisure is no the means to any work or other end, but that each sphere interpenetrates the other. Furthermore, both play their part, hopefully a positive one, in other spheres of life such as education and the family. The long-term challenge is that the best kind of work should meet and merge with the best kind of leisure.
References


Note: this is an amended version of a paper with the same title presented at the Leisure Studies Association Conference in London in 1997.