Social knowledge: heritage challenges perspectives: proceedings: research committee 13: sociology of leisure

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COULD SPORT AND RECREATION OPPORTUNITIES BE THE ‘GLUE’ WHICH HOLDS RURAL COMMUNITIES TOGETHER?

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The context

Across most States of Australia, there is a very quiet downgrading of rural communities which is creating many social problems, and for which currently, there appears to be no answer.

There may be some high profile speakers (such as politicians) deploring the gradual death of small, and not so small, country towns, or the occasional anguished story from a few farmers and their families backed by additional angst from the local small businesses - but overall, the decline of rural communities is virtually unnoticed by the majority of Australians, especially those living in the metropolitan area.

The small towns and communities which are affected do not attract sufficient sympathy or assistance, and are not involved in specific, meaningful discussion to readily achieve a reversal in their fortunes. In a majority of instances, the dictates of 'accountability' and 'rationalisation' are applied without due regard for 'people', and are slowly ensuring a disastrous outcome for those who choose - or are chosen - to live in less urbanised areas.

In the not too distant past, the various 'governments of the day', along with 'developers', encouraged people to settle in the more remote and/or isolated parts of this land. The reasons were: to discourage foreign governments with an eye on settlement of this land; to extend the railway line for industrial activity as well as easy accessibility during times of national emergency; to hunt for precious metals (amongst other things) for trading purposes; and for the establishment of food supplies and space for the increasing numbers of immigrants. In those times, even areas which received little rainfall, suffered from extremes of climate and provided no on-going sustenance for large numbers of humans were considered worth exploiting.

Over the last decade or so, on the one hand the Australian government has been assiduously encouraging people to move out to the bigger regional towns from the cities through 'decentralisation' strategies, as space and infrastructure become a premium around our coastline. However, on the other, it has not been addressing those processes which are gradually destroying the chosen existence of many who live in, or near, the older established small towns and communities. It is also not assisting new, smaller communities which are struggling to provide a good quality of life for those who do not wish to reside in the larger cities and towns - or who are unable to because of their work commitments, which have often been promoted by government interests.
Recently however, government insistence has been on taking 'the widest view for the benefit of the people of Australia', and politicians and their economic advisers are gradually destroying the small components which have formed an overall picture of the Australian way of life since European settlement and which relate to the previous lifestyle of our indigenous people.

Causing major problems in rural areas are:

- the degradation of the land through past clearing and farming practices - most of which were considered acceptable at the time;
- a reluctance by government to assist farmers and station owners with special education and rehabilitation programmes, or to provide meaningful support for small rural businesses, small mining companies, aboriginal communities and country townspeople; plus
- an insistence on 'downsizing, performance indicators and benchmarking strategies' by government in the effort to be seen to be addressing a wide range of issues while still balancing the books.

These are leading to a lack of choices for rural populations - particularly in the aspects of leisure and sport and especially for children and teenagers - because of a tightening of finances overall and a lack of numbers to participate in a specific activity.

Because of current rationalisation practices, country people in established rural areas are gradually losing their grasp on a 'quality lifestyle'. They are forced to make choices between living with decreasing services i.e. transport, communication, finance and recreational options, or relocating to an area with ready access to such basics.

Factors which are driving them away from the country are:

- the decreasing viability of farms in some areas through poor seasons, drought, flood or low sales prices for goods;
- an increasingly advanced technology which means that fewer workers are required to carry out the same duties as machinery increases in size and capabilities over time;
- the perceived attraction of city life and its variety of entertainment for young people;
- the lack of employment prospects in the country as businesses, banks and government departments downgrade their services - mainly through a lack of clients - which is a direct result of the push for 'accountability' and increasing profits;
- the corresponding closure or downgrading of schools which also means that young families often relocate as children grow older and require secondary and tertiary education - sometimes even because primary schools are no longer available;
- the decline in medical services as a result of the above, which means that older people or families with young children are reluctant to remain, or to move into, rural areas which no longer provide regular care options.

The Discussion

My interest in this discussion is not concerned with the economics of a situation based on whether public transport systems are running at a loss or getting the most out of banking
services in rural areas, nor with the perceived cost of developing a workable and reliable infrastructure for a remote aboriginal community, nor on the ‘accountability’ of developing an indoor recreation centre in an isolated coastal community.

My concerns are for the wellbeing of the people who live in rural areas - either for work purposes or by choice - and the quality of life which they are able to maintain. If governments choose to open up land for development, whether for residential or business purposes, I believe that there should be some formal commitment given to the people who make up these communities. Otherwise, the social cost is enormous.

I would like to put forward the following discussion for consideration, on the basis that recreation and sport opportunities are a focal point for social interaction and the maintenance and reinforcement of ‘community spirit’. Also, that local authorities should be able to depend on ready assistance from State and Federal governments in the provision of good leisure facilities and services, and support for their communities, in order to halt the demise of their rate base.

What other common thread will hold communities together in a time of stress and change? What other process will help arrest the existing chain of events?

Having resided in country areas - many of them isolated - for years and worked closely with local government authorities throughout the State for the last six years on community needs surveys, I have a great deal of empathy for country people. While government sources pontificate about regionalisation, I have worked with small towns which were once the social centre of a wider farming district and small communities which are synonymous with industries based mainly around fishing or mining. I have worked with regional towns which were once the hub of business, finance and communications for an entire region but now must concentrate on finding new ‘reasons for being’ through tourism and heavy industry.

While recognising that there is a prime need for government economic accountability, I suggest that perhaps the taxpayers’ dollars could be put to a better use than throwing thousands of people out of work and relocating them to large regional centres where reasonable jobs, for many, are non-existent.

It is my belief that over the years since this country was settled by white Europeans, the will and the commitment by government to maintain a broad-based population has been eroded and ‘the economic rationalists’ have taken over. Instances which bolster this view are as stated below.

**Point 1**

School students in many country regions of Australia, as they grow older and require higher levels of education, must currently leave the family and board away from home, in either the nearest town large enough to cater for their needs or in the metropolitan area.
The other alternative is for the whole family to relocate, which also occurs in many instances. Whichever option is taken, it means that family life is disrupted and generally at least one member is unhappy with the new arrangement.

If away during school terms, students from small country communities find new friends, different interests and, generally, new sporting teams as those with which they have grown up are now always at the bottom of the grade through lack of members. Often also, in their home town there is no library with computer access, the local pool is degraded, there are no skateboarding or rollerblading facilities, no concerts or discos and very little reason for returning to their home town, even when on holiday. Therefore, when they leave school to seek employment, they do not return to a place which does not have any employment openings for them and provides no reasonable leisure opportunities, so they are lost to the town and its community life.

This is even more prevalent among girls than boys in farming and mining towns. Young males in a farming family will generally return home at some stage because the property may be their own one day or they will operate it on behalf of the whole family. In mining towns, boys will often return because they are used to the life and the financial gains which are to be made, especially if they do not like city living.

However girls, once they leave the farm or the mining town, rarely return except for holidays and family events. The opportunities for employment are limited, with banks and businesses either closed or operating with minimal staff, or they may have taken up a profession such as law or accountancy for which there are no vacancies in their former community. Again, many, once they have gravitated to the city are no longer attracted to country life on a long term basis, especially if they enjoy the entertainment and recreational options in a larger environment.

While being aware of the ‘lack of women’ in some rural districts - whether farming or mining - this aspect of the situation was highlighted for me while working in a farming area last year. In this particular area, many female schoolteachers who had been stationed in small communities over the years and married local farmers (as has been the situation for decades), are now retaining their jobs - in some instances because they wish to continue their career, in others because it is perceived as necessary to assist the viability of the farm. Therefore, one avenue for gaining prospective ‘marriageable’ females - replacing those who are leaving - has steadily decreased. Added to the decreasing population, the downgrading of businesses and services, and the resultant lack of employment opportunities, there is now a real concern by many residents - and not just the younger male population - that the lack of women seeking to live in the area makes the stability and viability of the communities even shakier.

Many of the older members of the community, having settled the area and farmed the land in the hope that their progeny would follow in their footsteps, now have grave misgivings as to whether this will occur because the younger generation is more likely to leave the district for social, marriage and employment opportunities. Most believe that if young women could be encouraged to stay, or to migrate into the region, the young males
will be more likely to seek their social life within it, to marry and produce families who have some affinity for the land and therefore, provide on-going stability for the region.

Young people now have the wherewithal to move further afield for congenial company in their leisure time and when the ‘city lights’ are only 3 hours away by motor vehicle, the local sporting teams - with a required commitment to training and weekend participation - become increasingly less attractive. Eventually, fewer teams in a regional sporting competition mean that it fades away and another avenue of community ‘togetherness’ is closed off, with sports players required to travel increasingly further afield.

A lack of potential resident families not only impacts on the ‘balance’ of the region, it also increases fears for the future of medical care, education, service groups, sporting teams, playgroups, heritage groups and finally, the very fabric of the community.

(As a side issue, who will look after the heritage-listed buildings, undertake and monitor the necessary maintenance work, write submissions and raise the required funding, or be the local historian if everyone who remains in the area is too busy trying to scrape a reasonable living to be involved in such matters?)

Point 2

During this latter period of my working life, I have been required to make recommendations which will assist relevant local authorities in their strategic planning for recreation and sport provision and management over the next ten to twenty years.

Such advice is usually requested by the local authority on issues which include:
• old, existing facilities - can/should they be adapted, modified, extended?;
• whether there is an identified need for an indoor sports hall or community centre;
• the requirement for recreational facilities and services in the future;
• strategies for assisting community groups to maintain their viability, including strategies for attracting and retaining volunteer works:
• whether there is a need to plan for tourists, and/or an increasing population because of new work prospects in the area i.e. through mining activities or a potential deep water port servicing numerous new ventures;
• management strategies for facilities; and
• whether the potential amalgamation of some local authorities in Western Australia requires a resultant different allocation of resources to that used in the past.

Once the report is finalised and accepted, then comes the task of finding the necessary resources to implement the provision of amenities, and it is often a very arduous and lengthy task, with many residents growing weary of the fight and/or eventually not even requiring the same facilities in the long term because their family circumstances have markedly altered or they have relocated.

I would like to state here that most communities hold a very realistic view of their needs, including that which will ‘bring the greatest good to the greatest number’. While
generally they will *dream* of some facility or facilities which are outside their capabilities to sustain, they usually have a clear idea of those which will be of benefit and are feasible - especially when given an opportunity to discuss it *en masse*.

Why then, do government departments make it so difficult for these communities to have easy access to reasonable recreational opportunities and basic sports facilities - which incidentally are generally considered to be almost a 'right' when residing in the metropolitan area?

**Point 3**

A recent report written for the Federal Government's Provision of Banking Services in Rural Australia Inquiry reinforced this personal view, which has become stronger over the last few years. A survey undertaken by the management consultancy firm, KPMG, and released in early February 1998, showed that populations in regional districts throughout Australia have declined an average of 12 per cent in the last 20 years (i.e. in 215 of the 456 local government areas). Some farming areas have lost almost 60 per cent of their residents, with young people always the first to leave.

Banking services, as well as government agencies and private businesses, have been removed from many communities and a local politician in western Victoria was quoted as saying that towns in the major farming areas had been hardest hit, with a huge impact on older people who were unable to drive. A possible solution to this trend was proposed by the WA Country Urban Councils Association president, who believes that a system used in the USA, based on performance assessments for banks with penalties attached if it is clearly identified that they are disadvantaging country areas, would go a long way towards providing equity in services to rural areas and be some recognition of the high costs which face country residents.

However, the Bankers’ Association chief executive officer queried whether government would also be penalised in a similar process as it withdraws resources from decreasing populations. He also stated that the Association had installed massive numbers of ATMs and EFTPOS services in the country, as well as 24-hour telephone banking, and had made a submission to the enquiry recording suggestions for getting the most out of banking services in rural areas. There were, however, no statements made as to whether the latter are ‘user-friendly’!

**Point 4**

A recent national TV programme highlighted the problems of small country towns in NSW, where a lack of recreation options is causing social anarchy amongst the local youth, including those as young as six years of age. A lack of ‘things to do’, a breakdown in family communication and a withdrawal of police services are considered by many to be the main reasons for an increase in house robbery and senseless vandalism (especially in the early hours of the morning) performed by uncontrollable children. There is a corresponding rise in fear for personal safety and property, and a decrease in the
attractiveness of the area to permanent residents and tourists. Members of both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population are working together in an endeavour to reverse the situation, but all admit that the problems are not easily tackled without the provision of some suitable options for the children’s leisure time, and the requisite resources are difficult to acquire. Perhaps the suggestion concerning the USA system for penalising banks which only operate in profitable areas is the first step in reversing a serious downward trend and could somehow be adapted for other organisations!

Point 5

In another instance, in a recent television news programme in Western Australia, it was stated that there were 500 jobs immediately available in country areas for people with the requisite skills, such as machinery operation, mechanical experience, environmental care, building and others. However, one of the major reasons for the continued lack of applicants, is the dearth of reasonable services and opportunities for other aspects of an individual’s and family’s lifestyle.

Components of the problem - and perhaps some possible solutions:

1. First, Australia is a land of vast spaces which are unimaginable to many people in smaller, more densely populated countries. It has isolated areas which are hundreds of kilometres distant from a good shopping centre, medical services, a reasonable public transport system or a variety of recreational opportunities and it is unforgiving in its harsh climatic variations and lack of drinkable water.

Under our existing system, land allocations are made for a variety of future community facilities and amenities in new developments, but community amenities lag very far behind the development of roads, residences and minimal shopping facilities. Generally, no initial resources are provided for the development of parks and playgrounds, community or recreation centres, schools or medical centres. Not until residents have actually moved into an area in sufficient numbers to ensure that a high level of agitation is reached and sufficient community pressure is brought to bear over a long period of time, does planning and construction formally proceed. In the meantime, the stresses of living with the problems outlined above mean that many people decide that rural living is not for them and move back to the larger regional centres and the metropolitan area, where there may be just as many problems but there are also more options available.

Young families may be attracted by low-priced blocks of land and the vision of a lifestyle which is free from many of the pressures of city living. However, they are deterred by the lack of good schooling and recreational opportunities for their children, a good public transport system to the nearest regional centre and a lack of employment for the adults.
Older people may wish to remain in a particular community or be attracted to a region by aspects such as a temperate climate, lack of crime, accessible recreational options e.g. fishing, relatively cheap housing and a ‘village’ atmosphere. However, they are also deterred by the difficulties in obtaining affordable shopping, adequate medical and pharmaceutical services, assistance for those who wish to remain in their own homes and future nursing home care within a reasonable distance.

As small communities and towns become less viable and the number of people in a region declines, with the consequential downgrading or phasing out of public transport systems, it becomes increasingly difficult for older people to travel to medical services, visit family and friends or to remain independent, unless they are able to drive their own motor vehicle. When they are no longer able to drive, there is often little choice other than relocation to a larger centre in which requisite facilities and amenities are available.

By losing those who are the guardians of regional history and the foundation of knowledge, skills and experience for the younger generations, the relevant community is ‘unbalanced’. Especially, as these older members of a community are generally the main providers of voluntary assistance and active support for many organisations and community services, because they have larger quantities of unallocated time available. Without them, a multitude of groups would not exist.

On community sites which are now being allocated for aboriginal people in Australia, a playground, sporting field and school facilities as well as running water, toilets, communal kitchens, a proper first aid post and a heavy duty generator should be the primary concerns of planners and builders, rather than expensive housing which does not meet the requirements of its inhabitants, or fencing - particularly in isolated areas hundreds of kilometres away from other communities!

It is not suggested that ‘they’ should provide every recreational facility and service for every new town and community, or each historical town which has now fallen on leaner times. Why though, is there no equitable system in place to enable the communities and the relevant local authorities to plan, develop, construct and maintain the amenities which will provide a reasonable living standard for all? Where are the education processes and the resources which will assist country people in the older areas to rehabilitate and maintain their chosen environment, as well as those living in isolated areas to cope with their unique problems? Where are the easily accessible range of resources which enable isolated communities to schedule art/craft sessions with qualified teachers on a regular basis, or to implement clinics for sport administrators and players so that they may develop requisite skills, or for qualified teachers to have regular scheduled commitments so that children and adults may become computer-literate? Well planned, basic facilities which could be extended as required, will
enable a variety of services to be established and maintained for the stability of the local population.

Strenuous efforts should be made to ensure that such amenities are developed as soon as public interest is shown in the opening of new areas of land - whether by attractive packages for buyers and business people, adding the cost of such facilities to the purchase price of the blocks in the initial stages, or through special government and private industry funding arrangements. Why is there no perception that parks, playgrounds, a community centre and a library are equally important for initiating a 'quality of life' for residents? Why do entrepreneurs believe that encircling a planned residential development with a massive wall or providing a grassed golf course is more important than providing a decent park and playground, or surfaced, level footpaths and a playgroup venue, or perhaps a boating ramp and beach shade shelters in coastal areas?

2. Currently, many rural and isolated country authorities are attempting to encourage regeneration of their towns and communities by offering low-priced blocks of land, cheap housing, low rates and attractive terms for businesses which may wish to become established in their vicinity. However, while some have achieved their objective reasonably well, others find that there are no takers.

During the years prior to European settlement of Australia, the Aboriginal people regularly participated in song, dance and story-telling occasions; in the early years of settlement concerts, parties, dances and sports events were major reasons for gathering and socialising; while establishing major mining enterprises in Australia in the 'outback', the big companies recognised the need to keep their workers occupied in their leisure time and provided libraries, gymnasiums, swimming pools and sports fields.

Why then, are 'they' not encouraging all local authorities (in particular), to assist residents and ratepayers to enjoy their chosen locality through the provision and maintenance of facilities which provide options for re-creation and sport with a local focus, so retaining stability in the local population and work force, and halting the drift to the larger towns and cities?

In a very good example of lateral thinking, on the outskirts of Perth in Western Australia a major satellite suburb has been developed from a plan which depicts the style and colour of street lights, parks, shops and houses - all of which have been constructed along set, parallel schedules. In another instance, a satellite town has been constructed on part of an old pine plantation with parks, shops, a community centre, tennis courts, playing fields, street lighting, paths and landscaping already established before any residential land is sold. Matching resources from the sale of each block of land and the relevant local government authority enable these communal areas to be properly developed. The development of the houses and the community amenities keep pace with each other. In localities with not a great deal to offer and which are considered to be on
the fringes of the metropolitan area, buyers are offered a 'quality lifestyle' which is attracting a multitude of takers, rather than a vacant block and no amenities. Why are not similar deals offered by government entities?

In older settled areas, a proper assessment of the community expectations and values, and existing facilities, needs to undertaken. Local authorities would then be able to draw up long term strategies which, with assistance from other relevant sources, will provide a stability and future for many communities which are currently slowly dying. It is suggested that genuine efforts should be made to allocate resources on a basis that maintains current and future recreation facilities as required - perhaps in a modified or amalgamated form - but without continual 'chain dragging'.

In new communities, resources should be allocated for the establishment of at least basic community facilities which are multi-purpose and flexible in use, with a capability for future expansion as required, to serve as the foundation for the nurturing of a community spirit and 'togetherness' which will survive most of the problems over the years.

Providing recreational amenities which meet most of the expectations and needs of their communities, ensures that:
- newcomers are encouraged to relocate,
- young people perceive that a specific region is a great place to stay for employment and social reasons,
- families are encouraged to remain because the options they have there are equally as good as anywhere else, and
- an incentive is provided for private business and government departments to grow.

3. Thirdly, there appears to be a community belief that community organisations which have existed in the past must remain, even though there were previously many more people to help cope with the administration and operations of each community service, recreational and sporting group. Therefore, even when the surrounding population has almost halved, the same number of groups still exist - requiring regular meetings, an executive group, quorums, agendas, minute taking, fundraising and people to monitor and participate in its activities. When multiplied by up to 10 - 15 groups, any community becomes frustrated, demoralised and increasingly divided, as the 'doers' are forced to spread their efforts thinner, over a wider scenario.

Residents struggle to cope with:
- a decreasing number of sponsors,
- people willing (and able) to undertake fundraising,
- less people to make donations,
• sporting teams which are always on the brink of collapse unless they are able to find new players (so beware any newcomers to town - especially if they have some necessary skills!),
• service groups which require support themselves, and
• playgroups and schools which suffer from a lack of parental time and inclination to be involved in their activities.

It is time to reinforce the message that 'united we stand' - that organisations and groups need to re-assess their aims and objectives, amalgamate, and work for the entire community benefit, rather than duplicate the activities of others. It is time for gentle pressure from both private business and government workers who advise these communities, that more is not better and that continued resources will not be provided for a variety of organisations with similar goals and objectives, operating in the one small community. This does not imply that other groups may not exist - rather that some cohesion and co-operation will be required from the community if access to government resources is required.

4. Currently, the playing seasons for seasonal sports are continually being extended and now overlap to a large degree, which provides problems for those who play both summer and winter sports i.e. a corresponding lack of 'free' time. Groundkeepers are also unable to 'rest' the sports surface or undertake major repairs at the best times. For families with young children who play sport (especially if the parents wish to maintain their own participation), the intrusion of one sport into another season is the stuff of which nightmares are made!

It is also not fully recognised by dollar-driven sports entrepreneurs, that many people now interact in more family-oriented leisure time than has been the model for some years. Therefore, while the provision of 'family entertainment' at a reasonable cost will be a draw card for both players and supporters in the short term, the cost of regular attendance at major sporting events is a drain on any family's leisure finances, and family interests change over a period of time. Sporting organisations and other recreational groups would gain a wider base of support and players would have a greater commitment to a particular sport, if the 'powers that be' could be encouraged/forced to:
• shorten the relevant playing seasons and provide interesting training programmes;
• schedule major competitions in conjunction with each other throughout the season in one set of facilities, instead of all over a wide area;
• make a commitment to less fundraising; and
• provide a variety of social events for the entertainment of people of all ages.

This would also ease the situation for many groups which currently complain that when major, regular (national) sporting events are played nearby or televised, their support and gate takings hit a huge 'trough' e.g. when State football or basketball sides play interstate matches.
In conclusion:

It has to be acknowledged that if business is bad, seasons are poor, and frustration appears to meet an individual’s best efforts at every turn, the support and friendship of neighbours and colleagues within a sense of community spirit provide a solid base from which to operate and survive. (Nonetheless, it also needs to be stated that people should recognise that a particular choice of lifestyle may mean that some options for recreation will always be limited.)

In a very simplistic way, it is my belief that the development and retention of good recreation and sporting opportunities should be given a higher place on the agenda for most local authorities, and for most land developments which take place within their boundaries. It should be recognised that re-creation provides a social focus and a sense of ‘togetherness’, therefore every effort should be made to ensure that the existing level of excellence continues from a solid base which also provides a foundation for the future of rural life in any country.

It may never be a primary reason why people would choose to live in a particular location, but it may be the crucial point which ensures that small communities and towns do not die.

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Consumption and Leisure Practices Between Homogenisation and Differentiation: Towards the Interlinks of Social Positions and Differences in Urban Consumption and Leisure Patterns

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Introduction

Consumer culture has become a popular topic in recent times. One reason for its growing popularity as an object of scientific investigation is the assumption that cultural practice has become increasingly autonomous from material conditions. Of course, one of the major controversies in sociology since Marx, if not earlier, has been the question of the relationship between the existential basis of human beings (in a material sense) and corresponding cultural phenomena located in the so-called superstructure. The list of prominent authors who have discussed the relationship between socio-economic and cultural structure includes nearly all the ‘big names’ affiliated with the rise of sociology.

We claim, however, that the end of the 20th century differs considerably from the end of the previous century with regard to the empirical basis of material welfare and its consequences for the way in which people organize their own lives in cultural terms. Contemporary discourse on the pluralization of life-styles suggests the fact that material well-being doesn’t necessarily correspond to patterns of cultural behaviour (as conventionally assumed). Factors like age, education, gender, and ethnicity have become sources of a new differentiation within society. What people ‘are’ and what people ‘do’ cannot be longer be conceptualized in a simple ‘one-to-one-fit’. To speak in terms of the sociology of knowledge, new social processes have led to new processes of cognition (Mannheim [1931] 1982: 218 f., Merton 1968, chapters XIV, XV), making for more manifold and subtler social differentiations.

The paper highlights some preliminary empirical findings of an empirical study investigating congruencies between social rank in terms of their position on a vertical occupational scale on the one hand, and corresponding social practises to manage leisure time on the other. The research question is to what extent an urban population has developed homogenous patterns of consumption and of leisure activity. The data set consists of a representative survey realized in the German city of Bremen in 1992-93. The essay tries to bring some new empirical answers to contemporary questions on consumer culture and to embed the discussion in a framework about social stratification, urban life and consumption and leisure patterns.

1 The authors are grateful to Ben Veghte for rendering the English language of the first draft smoother and -hopefully- more readable.
Work, Consumption and Leisure Activities

During the last 150 years the general environmental context of consumption has changed fundamentally. The enormous growth in productivity in European countries since the middle of the 19th century has produced changes in social and occupational structures. If more and more can be produced more and more quickly with less and less labour then the importance of transport and trade, and consumption and (individual) leisure inevitably rise. The growing role of circulation within the economy is one of the results. Due to rapid growth, on a historical scale, of social wealth, it is becoming sociologically ever more interesting to see how disposable time is filled and how corresponding practises relate to income.

In retrospect, we can see that the historical establishment of capitalism as a systemic framework for economy and society is to be located in the 20th century. However, this process has proven to be contradictory: inseparably axes of continuity and change can be exemplified on the basis of different aspects. On the one hand, one can observe the triumph of the 'payroll regime' which means that more and more labour in society has become wage dependent, but on the other hand, when one looks closer one sees that this labour is heterogeneous in terms of working time and income effects. All in all, a surface process of standardization and levelling can be observed, beneath which a subterranean countercurrent tending towards fragmentation and differentiation can be seen. Whereas in his famous essay on the Protestant ethic, even Max Weber ([1905/06] 1964: 383) acknowledged corresponding tendencies towards the homogenization of life-styles on the one hand, and the supposed 'capitalist interest' in 'standardization of production' (English formulation in German original!), on the other it is open to question whether under contemporary conditions this connection still pertains.

The relationship between ownership or possession of material resources and their utilization for specific cultural purposes was already discussed in the works of the classics. Authors like Marx, Weber, Simmel or Veblen are among the most prominent contributors of former times. In contemporary discussion, however, the work of Pierre Bourdieu seems to be the current 'state of the art'. Above all, Bourdieu's book 'Distinction' which first appeared in French in 1979, has had a lasting influence on the debate on life-styles and consumption patterns. His work can probably be described as a sociology of culture which is based on Georg Simmel and influenced by Max Weber. Continuing a line of investigation begun in the classics, Bourdieu inquires into the relationship between the rank of people in vertical stratification and the corresponding cultural practises located - in Bourdieu's terms - in the space of different life-styles (Bögenhold 1994, 1996). This perspective provides an excellent key to open the complex question of the interaction between occupational position and income, on the one hand, and cultural attitudes and behaviour on the other.

Bourdieu's analysis provides the background for our own empirical analysis. However, some significant German language contributions along the lines of Bourdieu's argumentation already exist, when they question the sociocultural dimensions of peoples.
time-allocation, life-styles and political attitudes (e.g. Schulze 1992, Vester et al. 1993, Lüdtke 1995). One can thus distinguish among at least three different explanatory accounts of consumer culture (Featherstone 1990). This paper explores the question of how patterns of consumption and leisure activities are determined by the social positions of actors, measured on a vertical stratification scale. The study is less concerned with the change in average consumer behavior over, than with the contemporaneous juxtaposition of choices, tastes and habits as concrete expressions of competing life-styles within societies. ‘Life-style’ is understood as the relatively stable pattern of organizing everyday life in the framework of given life-situations and available resources. Forms of organizing household work and employment, patterns of consumption, life-styles time-budgeting and planning for the future are all, on an empirical level, among the most important components of life-styles (Zapf et al. 1987: 14-16).

In contrast to these extensive studies, aim and scope of our empirical study is to follow explicitly the question of to what extent an urban population has developed homogenous patterns of consumption and leisure activity. Thus, the investigation is primarily placed at the intersection of urban sociology, sociology of social stratification and cultural sociology. Since we don’t seek answers at an individual level, we compare typical activities of members of different social strata. For reasons of comparability, the investigation followed the scheme of occupational ranking as it has been employed by John Goldthorpe and associates (1980, 1992).

Consumption, leisure activities, and social structure: preliminary empirical findings from a sample survey in the German city of Bremen

(3a) Methodological Remarks

The following data is taken from a representative survey (based on a random sample: 1,000 interviews) of the population of Bremen conducted in 1992/93 by GFM-GETAS GmbH (Hamburg) on behalf of the University of Bremen (for further details see: Borchers/Tempel 1997). The main themes of the survey questionnaire concern the use of services (mainly of a domestic or personal nature), leisure activities and consumption patterns in the realms of culture, entertainment, sports, household tasks and eating out.

In our choice of leisure activities, we concentrate in this paper on the findings of leisure activities in the fields of culture, sports, and the use of domestic services. To paint a clear picture, we have aggregated the individual activities in these fields. We will present some striking, exemplary findings suggesting a strong connection between these activities and social structure.

Normally the research on patterns of cultural consumption in cities is based on interviews with visitors of cultural events (Kirchberg 1992). In our research we asked city residents how often they go to the theatre, etc. Hence visitors from the surrounding countryside, the outer-suburbs or from other towns or foreign countries are not included, even though it is well-known that they make up a large proportion of the visitors (Taubmann & Behrens 1985) of many cultural institutions like operas, theaters and museums. In fact, in
Germany urban cultural policy focuses on non-local visitors (Häußermann & Siebel 1987; Luger 1994), because urban culture is seen more as a field in which the local economy competes with the region (and neighboring regions) than as a service for the local population. So our data should not be seen as the product of standard user-based research on patterns of urban cultural consumption and leisure activity, but as representative for consumption and leisure activities of a city population.

To test our research hypothesis we analysed our data in terms of social stratification measured by occupation. Further analysis (looking at the dimensions of gender, age, education level and household income) will touched upon briefly further below.

(3b) Social Stratification

In the survey, data on occupational classification were collected for all 1,000 respondents. 462 people in the survey had an occupation. Following Goldthorpe’s well-known classification model (Erikson & Goldthorpe 1993) we distributed the subjects according to occupation into seven different classes (see Table 1): higher service-class, lower service-class, employers, routine non-manual labour, manual formen and supervisors, skilled manual worker and semi-skilled/unskilled manual worker (for a detailed introduction see Goldthorpe 1997).

Table 1: Social Classification Scheme
Table 2: Visitation of ‘high cultural’ events by sex
Table 3: Visitation of ‘working class’ cultural events
Table 4: Visitation of ‘new’ cultural institutions by age
Table 5: Visitation of urban street festivals
Table 6: Participation in expensive sports
Besides these 462 employed persons, we could identify the following social groups:

unemployed (n= 50)

persons undergoing qualification (trainee/apprentice, pupil, student) (n= 104)

pensioner/retired persons (n= 171)

The main classes together with these three social groups added up to 787 persons, the remainder of the interviewees were nearly all housewives.

(3c) **Hypothesis**

Leisure patterns in the industrial city (culture, sports, recreation) revealed a marked divergence among the classes. High-cultural institutions like operas, theatres und galleries, though subsidized by public funds, were nearly exclusively utilized by the educated classes. The excluded workers created their own, highly-differented institutional network of sports clubs and cultural organizations. A third form of urban cultural infrastructure, without any social exclusion, consists in parks and (didactic) museums created by urban political reform movements.

The divergence in leisure patterns along class lines came to an end in Germany at the latest during the era of National Socialism with its suppression of the worker movement and the latter’s cultural infrastructure. After the war, the new democracy did not reestablish the old institutional framework. The new cultural policy insisted on the democratic, public character of all facilities. With the abolishment of social segregation and its implication of class struggle Germany’s cultural institutions and facilities thus became effectively bourgeois in that they were conceived for formally equal consumers. Nevertheless, despite the lack of formal exclusion, there remained clearly visible social differences in the structure of demand.

The development of the service society transformed Germany’s social structure with an ongoing social differentiation among the working classes. This new patterns of social stratification changed the structure of demand for leisure activities in a new way. In the development of post-industrial cities in Germany, new leisure patterns are driven by three elements of social change:

(i) **Educational expansion**

The educational reform in the seventies improved educational opportunities for all children, resulting in growth in the number of students in the high schools and universities, especially from the middle classes. This was the context out of which the new urban cultural facilities arose in the seventies and eighties (Göschel 1995). These new institutions of ‘alternative’ culture or ‘Sozio-Kultur’ called into question the old institutions of higher culture for being encrusted and elitist and targeted the well educated, younger population with a taste for socially-critical culture.
(ii) **Genderization of leisure patterns**

The growing economic activity of women in the development of the service society caused a distinct new female demand in the field of leisure that had no counterpart in the supply-structure of the older, male-dominated institutional offerings (Agricola & Wehr 1993). Therefore, some new urban cultural and recreational institutions were created.

(iii) **Development of a commercialized youth culture**

The growing prosperity in the middle-classes as well as many working-class families, the enactment of a program for federal aid for students in universities, vocational schools, and apprenticeships (Bafög) in the seventies and eighties caused a growing amount of money to trickle into the pockets of children and young adults. The emergence a sizeable group of young customers with money to spend facilitated the development of an industry catered to youth culture. This new industry has exercised great influence on leisure patterns, sports and culture, contributing to rapid change in these realms.

So it is true: in the post-industrial city there is a highly diverse structure of leisure facilities and activities. In the theory of postmodernity, the tendencies of individualization and the ongoing dispersion of the inherited social structure result in a progressive decoupling of the links between leisure patterns and social structure. The modern ‘leisure society’ thus superseded the classical differentiation of social structure as the leading explanatory variable for the activity patterns in leisure time and culture. In the research of urban culture the concepts of ‘lifestyle’ or ‘milieu’ are usually the state of the art.

We doubt the claimed contingency of life-style. On the contrary, we suspect that the development of new leisure patterns can be interpreted based on social structure. If one examines the new diversity of leisure patterns more closely, it becomes clear that (i.) new facilities and activities overlap with traditional leisure patterns; (ii) these new facilities and activities are linked to social stratification and (iii) the growing commercialization of leisure against a background of growing urban social inequality will cause to a break of trends and very short fashions (Klein 1996).

(3d) **Results**

(i) **Cultural activity patterns**

Even in the demand for the field ‘higher culture’ the survey shows very clearly the social differentiation between the higher and lower classes (see Table 4). We add together regular and occasional visits of diverse (eight) offerings in the fields of classical theatre/opera, concerts, art museums, galleries and lectures². This finding confirms the

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² In the German questionnaire: ‘Theater/Oper, Konzertveranstaltungen, Kunsthalle, Galerien und Vortragsveranstaltungen’
results of many others surveys (Luger 1994, Brauerhoch 1996). Even if we look at seasonal subscriptions for theatre or concert series, nearly none are to be found among the working class households. Urban higher culture remains a domain of the upper classes.

Table 2

visitation of "high cultural" events

by sex

Vortragsveranstaltungen
But we also found significant gender-based differences. The distinct stratification between higher and lower classes applied to the behaviour of men, but not to that of women (see Table 2). Women of the lower service class, female routine non-manual labourer, manual foremen and supervisors and skilled manual workers visit high-cultural events more frequently than their male counterparts within each social stratum. In the case of women, the activity pattern does not descend so clearly from the higher to lower classes. It seems that it is easier for women to surmount the social exclusion in the field of the higher culture.

A clear picture of stratification is also absent in the field of museum visits. Visits of different types of museums do real social stratification, but not of a significant nature. As we mentioned in our hypothesis, many institutions of German working-class culture disappeared in the era of the Nazi dictatorship and afterward. Yet we also found that the participation of the working classes in higher-cultural activities had been very low. Hence we looked for distinct leisure activities of the working classes. We found only a few, namely attendance of aggressive sporting events like soccer and wrestling.

Table 3
We also mentioned in our hypothesis the development of new urban cultural institutions hard-won by social movements dominated by a well educated youth. It is interesting to see who really attends the many new theatres, live music revues, cinemas, cultural and women clubs ten to twenty years after their creation. The services classes and routine non-manual labourer show a degree of participation in the new cultural institutions (see Table 4) higher than the other groups. Workers participate only minimally. In respect to gender, you can see the same pattern as in the field of the higher culture: a clear decending stratified participation of men, and a more diverse female picture. Among women, there is higher participation among the service classes and the manual foremen and supervisors* and lower participation among the working classes. Furthermore, among the service-classes and routine non-manual labourers there are clearly more younger (up to 35) than older participants; among men and women the working classes (and the employers) demonstrate the lowest degree of demand. These results can be interpreted to suggest that well-educated, typically the founders of these new cultural institutions, have created their own demand. This is especially true of women.

Table 4

| Visitation of "new" cultural institutions by age |

* but with few figures
In the seventies and eighties in Germany there emerged another new category of urban culture: street festivals, organized on a street, neighborhood or citywide level, sometimes organized by the dwellers of the streets, sometimes by social organizations, by city authorities or as a commercial celebration. The survey shows broad participation by all social classes with the lowest degree among the semi-skilled/unskilled manual workers on the one hand and the higher social class on the other. Particularly the middle classes, e.g. routine non-manual labourers and manual foremen and supervisors, prefer these leisure activities (see Table 5). All in all, street festivals are public events without any social exclusion.

Table 5
A certain similar picture can be seen in the field of youth culture, for example attendance of musical events and discos. If you look to the participation rates of younger participants (up to 35) there is a highly similar rate in all classes except employers. This may be attributable to the older age-structure of this social class.

(ii) Sporting activity

Active participation in sports is widespread across all social classes. 88 - 97% of the total survey population practices at least one sport occasionally or regularly. The survey nonetheless shows clear social differences. If you group sports like tennis, sailing, horse-riding and skiing, that in Germany are very exclusive due to expensive equipment and fees, you can see a descending participation pattern through the social classes similar to that which we saw in the case of the higher culture or purchased domestic services (see Table 6). The working classes have negligible rates of participation in these expensive sports.
To summarize the findings of the tables presented: (i.) the old social differentiation in certain leisure activities still exists; (ii.) there are differences between male and female activity patterns: men are more traditional, women transcend conventional social barriers; (iii.) there are new urban activities with 'democratic' participation patterns. The politics of urban culture and leisure has had to take into account these differences.

Conclusion

The first empirical findings as presented above are not much more than a brief glance through a small slit. Out of a variety of potential interpretations, the first question was to find out to what extent an urban population has developed homogeneous patterns of consumption and leisure activity. We decided to focus the interpretation on several indicators: Firstly, who does housework by his- or herself and who does it with wage labor? Secondly, who participates in which kinds of public amusement industry? Thirdly, who is engaged in which kinds of sports? Answers are not sought at an individual level but at an aggregate level which allows comparison of typical activities by members of different social strata.

Our data reveal patterns of social inclusion as well as exclusion in a very instructive way. By inclusion we mean participation patterns which prove to be the result of non-discriminating practises of cultural consumption. Exclusion means the opposite, namely differentiation and segmentation in consumption patterns resulting from social discrimination. Indeed, our findings indicate that some activities reveal a strict division between upper and lower classes, whereas others are characterized by gradually declining or increasing participation rates according to social status, and lastly, that some consumption patterns don't reveal clear social inclusion or exclusion. Although we regard our findings as an important contribution to recent debate on consumption and on the connection between 'social-vertical' and 'social-cultural' stratification, we are fully aware of the limits of the presentation, of which there are several.

Some of these limitations concern the performance of the data set and related problems of interpretation, other limitations pertain to the observation and discussion of our findings. The limitations suggest the necessity of further investigation from different perspectives. First of all, since we decided to use Goldthorpe's classification scheme, all people without employment (unemployed persons, househusbands/wives, pensioners and others) were not captured by in our framework of observation. The result of this was that we limited our data set considerably and that we handicaped the representativeness of our presentation by a smaller number of observation cases.

Secondly, where our findings indicate clear and persistent class fragmentations in terms of cultural attitudes and practises, a differentiation for further factors like gender and age will present new aspects and other colours. E.g. female activities seem often to be less class oriented than activities by men. Our presentation is less geared to the question to what extent some specific urban life-style activities are primarily the effects of age and/or gender dimensions rather than being related to specific income categories and to what
extent we may observe multiple effects overlapping each other. Also of interest is the aspect of the research subjects' level of formal education. To what extent does class status correlate with income and with educational level on the one hand, and with cultural habits on the other?

Our departure point was the congruencies between social rank (in terms of their position on a vertical occupational scale) and corresponding social practices of leisure time management. Our findings tried to bring some colour into the 'space of different life-styles' (Bourdieu). Since we discussed on an aggregate level, answers were not expected at an individual level. Further research is necessary to discuss our preliminary findings at any comparative level, either within Germany or internationally. Because our study is mostly concerned to observe purely effects in the sense of 'divisions of divisions', other research questions become especially important. First of all, what can we say regarding the social meaning of things (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1981, Slater 1997, eh. 5) which is underlying all individual choices and strategies? For example, doing sports in a particular way is guided by interests and motives which are themselves socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann 1966).

Our data represent the distribution of activities engaged in by members of different occupational groups. The mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion are based not only upon individuals' different material resources, but especially on social habits which are closely connected to social strategies. Our empirical observation may reflect the fact that people with different occupational backgrounds try to practice special patterns of cultural consumption in order to demonstrate their affinity to social groups by expressive characteristics and activities. Leisure and consumption practices can be read as a kind of language (McCracken 1990). Different life-styles are produced by different forms of habitus, as we find broadly explained by Bourdieu (1979). Herlyn et al. (1994) found in their study about the lifestyles of workers in two industrial cities in Germany some elements of new individualistic leisure behaviour; but these life-styles were different from leisure patterns of the middle classes due to social barriers and less economic resources.

Cultural mechanisms of differentiation are thus closely connected to different circles of communication. Analysing structures of communication, i.e. asking who is speaking with whom in which ways about what topics seems to be a necessary research perspective to bring some new light into social processes of collective distinction.
References:


SMOKING AS A FASHION ACCESSORY IN THE 90S: Conspicuous Consumption, Identity and Adolescent Women’s Leisure Choices.

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In the 1990s the greatest increase in smoking has been amongst adolescent women. For example, in Australia in the five years between the 1989-90 and 1997 in findings of the National Health Survey a greater proportion of young people smoked than older people (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1997: 29). While there are many factors which contribute to this choice of leisure behaviour by these young women, in this paper we focus on the relationship of smoking to conspicuous consumption, fashion and identity. In the postmodern age the representation of who we are relies significantly on the symbols associated with the goods we purchase, especially those which are in fashion at a particular time. For women at an age when the formation of an adult identity is in question, yet eagerly sought, we argue that smoking is one way of imagining the achievement of an autonomous adult status and at the same time acceding to peer group fashion.

Initially leisure theorists who have forged links between conspicuous consumption, leisure and identity are examined. Veblen, Goffman, Kelly, and Rojek have each presented conspicuous leisure and its props not only as a route to status in the eyes of others but also to one’s sense of self or subjectivity. We go on to explore leisure consumption such as smoking as a form of fashion accessory in the culture of the 1990s and the ephemeral nature of such fashionable items as a source of identity and self-worth. In contrast, the long term effects of this leisure pursuit can be fatal. The paper then examines alternative choices of leisure experiences for adolescent girls. Finally we argue that leisure in the 1990s offers both the possibility of stultifying stereotypes and of multiple enriching identities.

Conspicuous Consumption, Leisure and Identity

Veblen (1899) coined the term ‘conspicuous consumption’ to refer to the purchase of goods for display as a means of asserting prestige and status. In his view the leisure rich are committed to the constant purchase and display of material goods to assert both their positions of power and their leisured lifestyles. The objects purchased have little to do with utility, ease of movement or comfort. Veblen also discussed ‘pecuniary emulation’ whereby those who do not belong to the leisured class emulate the acquisition of such material goods in the belief that they make the individual intrinsically richer and of greater worth to society, as well as to themselves. Veblen also thought that this was an indication of society’s moral bankruptcy, placing the desire to own things at the centre of a very materialistic notion of self or identity. Seabrook’s adaptation of Veblen’s ideas asserts even more strongly that ‘we seek to express who we are through our purchases.... the buying of things (and indeed, services, experiences and sensations) has become inextricably bound up with the roots of human identity’ (1990, p.11).
Add to these writers, Rojek’s (1998) postmodern shift of Veblen’s ideas into the representational field of symbols, rather than the purely material or experiential, and we can understand a connection for adolescent girls between their smoking as ‘conspicuous consumption’ and ‘pecuniary emulation’, and the images of film stars, sports stars, pop stars, models and some sports stars. ‘These are the figures’ says Rojek, ‘that the advertising industry approaches to launch product campaigns’(1998, p.395). Although these days, due to advertising bans, such heroes are not always presented with cigarette in hand, there is a strong association of their leisured lifestyles with drinking, drug taking and smoking. Emulation of the sophistication, success, beauty, sexuality, popularity and ease of living of these heroes becomes attached to the symbolic artefact of the cigarette for many young girls. The conspicuous consumption and display of the cigarette makes an outward symbolic statement of their claim to sophistication, success and sexuality. Personal experience of the addictive and destructive side effects comes later.

Theorists in the interactionist tradition such as Goffman (1969) and Kelly (1983;1997) have also made strong links between leisure and personal identity. For Goffman, the props of leisure such as dress and equipment, are as aligned with how one presents oneself to others in the authentication of identity, as are the uniforms and accoutrements of the workplace. The prop of the cigarette in the presentation of self by adolescent girls, makes its own statement about who they wish to be. It suggests both defiance of authority, daring and some claim to autonomy. Kelly sees leisure as ‘social space in which there is openness for important new interactions and self definitions’ (1983, p.ix). Importantly, Kelly identifies a period in the teenage years in which there are intense identity seeking activities. During these years individuals investigate and try on new identities and roles, particularly through the less determined domain of life that constitutes leisure. Both the social self and the personal self, he sees as related to the cultural symbols of the time in a dynamic interaction where there are possibilities for future identities as well as some consistency from the past (1997,p.413). In adolescence then, girls using smoking behaviour as a leisure activity are trying on identities into which they may develop and which they may pursue throughout their adult lives. Kelly’s use of these ideas generally refers to the potentially positive outcomes for a sense of self through leisure. We suggest that, for the adolescent women with whom we are concerned, smoking as a leisure activity may have short term benefits in establishing status amongst peers and autonomy from parental figures and in providing a form of resistance to prissy, confining ‘good girl’ images. In the long term, however, it cannot provide a sound basis for identity development (Wearing, Wearing & Kelly 1994).

While not specifically concerned with leisure, poststructuralist feminist theorists such as Gross and Provin (1995) make strong links between women’s bodily representations and concepts of self or, in postmodern language subjectivities. Bodily positions as well as body shapes project images of the self to others and, in turn reflect back a sense of a sexual self. The use of the cigarette in bodily positions which project both confidence and assertive sexuality can be one form of leisure which a girl perceives as enhancing her sexual identity. For these writers the boundaries between self and other, is permeable, even in the form of images. For them the image of confidence and sexuality projected via the prop of the cigarette may, in fact, become part of the self. The ambiguity here is
the high price in terms of health that such a habit may incur. Feminist theory, then, as well as leisure and interactionist theory provide us with conceptual links between smoking as a commodified leisure activity and sexual identity at a formative stage of a woman’s life.

Leisure, Fashion and Identity

In his analysis of metropolitan life with its increase in the bombardment of the senses and the necessity to both protect one’s inner self and to find ways of expressing one’s individuality in the midst of mass consumption, Simmel (1978) makes links between leisure, fashion and identity. In the pursuit of fashion and style and its glamorous image, Simmel perceives the tension between differentiation and imitation, that is, the necessity to belong to one’s social group while also expressing one’s individuality. Yet he also sees the increasing rapidity of the turnover time of fashion and the consequent instability of any identity based on this leisure pursuit. He sees the dedicated followers of fashion as those individuals who are inwardly lacking in independence and needing support (Frisby, 1989). Here we can see that for adolescent girls, unsure of their identity, smoking can be a commodified and glamorous fashion accessory which has the illusion of the assertion of individuality, while receiving the support of the group. And, when there is a turnover of this fashion, its identity contribution will attenuate, although its addictive properties may not. When viewed from their perspective, there is much to gain for adolescent women from smoking, especially in the current climate of exaggeration of the importance of the body and fashion.

Fashion is used to envelope the body, today clothes fashion, dress adornment have become commodities in the market place which attract billions of dollars. Hibbins (1995, p.177) claims that there is an increasing interest in management, maintenance and appearance of the body, suggesting as Glassner (1989) does, that body shape has become a central sign of the self and the additions such as fashion and cosmetics only accentuate this importance. For adolescent women the body shape has become not only a source of anxiety (Kirk, 1994) but a means of selling the self. Through this the tobacco industry has found, in a covert way, a means to sell its product without being a part of mainstream advertising, from which it has been banned. How has this been done? While fashion becomes obsolescent (cf. Blumer, 1969; Faurschou, 1987, p.72) the desire for a body that meets with peer approval and societal status is becoming of increasing importance. What product can give a young adolescent woman that opportunity? Some turn to exercise which involves an increase in effort but is becoming an avenue more acceptable for adolescent women. Others find that smoking offers a way to stay thin and still achieve a figure that meets with that approval. Additionally smoking is both a fashion and fashionable. The image it creates is embedded in our culture, from the historical Audrey Hepburn innocence, through Elizabeth Taylor sophistication and ‘bad girl’ image, to the current round of super thin super models. These images are emulated by adolescent women.

Simmel (1950) argued that being fashionable is a means by which the individual can exaggerate him or herself and thereby make an identity which is audible above the
cacophony of life. The image projected by the very act of smoking exaggerates the body giving a sense of self that is both ambiguous in its sexuality while providing the basis for a plurality of opportunity. The adolescent woman appears to be in control as she confronts you with her youth, sexuality and innocence but bewilders you with her sophistication, brashness and rebelliousness. She feels she is in control because she presents an image that she imagines she constructs and chooses. What could be more appealing and why not, she asks, why throw away that image for the sake of a threat of probable health effects 30 years away?

Fashion and trends are important to adolescent women, clothes and style are key elements in young people’s expression and exploration of identity and in the making of an individual sense of self. The purchase of the ‘coolest’ style of make-up, or the ‘right brand’ of sneakers represents an association with a peer group. To be ostracised from the peer group, to feel different, inferior, unattractive or ultimately rejected can have critical effects on identity formation. This suggests that leisure choices during adolescence are not always intrinsically motivated but determined by the influence of others, peers and the marketeers of fashion. Fashion is often used to signal membership of a group through clothes, style, and personal belongings. It is an important component of one’s identity and influences the way one is perceived and accepted. Fashion is present through all the stages of adolescent experimentation during which young women are actively engaged in the construction of images of the self. Yet the social product which is the image of the self constructed according to the fashion of the moment is short lived. In spite of its usefulness for self esteem and group acceptance it is ephemeral, attached as it is to commodified fashion products (Finkelstein, 1996). Although the cigarette itself appears to be gaining, rather than attenuating as a fashion accessory for adolescent girls, unless the other fashion accoutrements of clothes and style provide a back up for the image, the image itself will lack authenticity. Adolescent women who aspire to the image of the sophisticated smoker must obtain the real life equivalents in terms of looks, clothes and leisure outlets to gain credibility. The marketeers of fashion, then, as well as the marketeers of the cigarettes themselves stand to gain from smoking as a commodified leisure and fashion accessory. While the image itself is tenuous and ephemeral, attached as it is to fashion, the market of which it is a product is tenacious and persistent in its attempts to draw in new adherents to the habit as well as to keep those already hooked.

It is in this context that the media has a part to play, both in promoting the images of women to which an adolescent girl aspires, that is the sophisticated, sexy and self-confident follower of fashion and in promoting the cigarette as an accessory to this way of life. By playing as the created image associated with a brand of cigarette, a girl ‘can establish the limits of acceptable behaviour for a young woman and explore the possibilities and consequences of exceeding those limits’ (O’Sickey, 1994, p.34). In some senses these images push the envelope beyond the passive, polite, ‘good girl’ images promoted by school and home and so expand the possibilities for women’s sense of self (Wearing, Wearing & Kelly, 1994). This fact is also being recognised and utilised by both media and marketeers. The brand Bad Girl is prominently printed on the shorts, swimwear, jeans and miniskirts proudly paraded by today’s adolescent girls. The media also, in its attempts to accommodate as well as project the currency of views concerning
women, incorporates 'bad girls' as well as the 'good' domesticated housewife/mother and a diverse range of other images of the feminine gender. As Lumby argues, 'our desires - and our very sense of self-are increasingly modelled on the logic of images' (1997,p.80). She makes strong links between the self, the images and our consumption of image related products:

Our culture of images, in fact, calls into question the very concept of a 'real self'. It's not only women who are placed on display - all of us are watching ourselves from a distance, uncertain of where the representation stops and self begins. No-one is exempt from the vast pop-culture image machine. Designer dykes, macho faggots, white trash intellectuals, new-age suburbanites, yuppie bikers, young fagies, celebrity academics - the labels are as diverse as the products they are designed to promote. All of us have learnt to consume ourselves. (Lumby, 1997, p.81)

As with many social phenomenon in the postmodern era, commodity consumption is interwoven with ambiguities and contradictions. The pursuit of purchasing fashionable items as a means to establishing personal identity is paradoxically both an outward statement of confidence and trendiness, being 'with it' and part of the 'now generation', but it is also the means by which an inner sense of an unique and worthwhile self, based on a different set of values, can be inhibited. The temporary sense of power and confidence has, in fact, neither a substantial nor an enduring basis. The artefacts and activities of the young are being used for corporate promotion. It is the large corporations who hold the power and the danger is that corporate values, as well as social and cultural values are already built into and shape modern toys. Writers such as Simmel (1978) and Glasser (1976) believe that contemporary society is becoming morally bankrupt, increasingly addicted to consumerism and commodified leisure, mere 'fillings in of time' which temporarily satisfy but are of no lasting worth to one's self or others. While we do not adhere to this overly pessimistic analysis, as will be seen later in the paper, as far as cigarettes are concerned, we are arguing for the long term deficits rather than the benefits of this form of commodified fashionable leisure for a sense of identity and self-worth for young women.

We have argued in this section that body image and sexuality are major concerns to adolescent women and that smoking provides a projected image of self-confidence and sexuality. In addition, smoking provides one answer to weight loss. It is used by many adolescent girls as a pleasurable substitute for food, thus assisting in the achievement of the slim and sexy image desired and emulated. Thus it is a means to address the pressures exerted by society on the public identity while also creating pleasure and escape for the private self. Smoking allows women to overcome some of the tension between private self and public identity and so it becomes centralised in identity construction. Cigarette in hand, with an occasional puff promotes an acceptable image of self to peers. It also denotes a public face of confidence and sexuality while the individual is negotiating identity. It is presented by the tobacco industry as being an exciting route to glamour and sophistication while also subtly providing adolescent women with a means of resistance to institutional authority.
Alternative Leisure For Adolescent Girls

Two obvious areas for alternative pleasurable leisure activities are sport and outdoor education, refocussed to take into consideration women's interest in less aggressive activities and activities with co-operative, sociable opportunities rather than individual competitiveness (Bella, 1986).

Mason-Cox and Fullagar (1992, p.22) point out the male orientation of sport evident in its history. The ancient Greek culture used competition to prepare men for war and feudal lords maintained wealth and power through sports like hunting. With industrialisation, sport became a safe outlet for working class male aggression and sport emerged as a physically powerful, aggressive, competitive, masculine domain. The natural exclusion of women from this unfeminine physical activity was challenged in the later nineteenth century as women took up bike riding and tennis. It was middle class women who first had time and money for sport. Working class women with children had few opportunities to take hours off for sport. Changes came with the introduction of physical education for girls in the school curriculum at the turn of the century, in the belief that this would 'raise the level of health, intellect and morality of students' (Hargreaves, 1994). However, specifically feminine sports emerged where codes of dress constrained women's participation to "appropriately feminine" activities like croquet, horse riding, gymnastics, tennis, bowls and later synchronised swimming, ice skating and netball. Women who entered the more aggressive male sports and excelled, were labelled unfeminine. The strength and power exerted in sport by the male body is used to reinforce stereotypes of 'real men' and 'proper women' (Mason-Cox and Fullagar, 1992,22).

In the light of such history, it is no wonder that at a time when girls are insecure about their femininity and anxious to develop socially acceptable gender identity, they with draw from sporting activities which may label them as 'masculine'. Nevertheless, women who do continue their sporting activities enjoy both the physical outlet and the social component (Hargreaves, 1994). More women may participate if these aspects were emphasised rather than extremely individualistic competition and aggression. Mason-Cox and Fullagar (1992, p.22) suggest:

The development of non-contact sports, non-competitive games, and alternative physical activities in schools, such as outdoor education, is a positive step towards creating opportunities for women and men to participate in more equitable ways.

Women who do participate in outdoor adventures such as rock climbing, canoeing, camping, bush walking, scuba diving, report emotional, physical and psychological benefits (Beale, 1988; Miranda and Yerks, 1985; Scherl, 1988; Mason-Cox 1991). The empowerment of the emotional element for women, for example, is spelt out by Burden and Kiewa (1992:30):
Outdoor adventure is high on emotion, but also on self control. The element of uncertainty, which often translates into an element of physical danger, means that fear is frequently a component of outdoor adventure. Other components include exhaustion, wild elation, and deep relaxation. Emotions are heightened to an extend not often experienced in the mediocrity of the workaday world. At the same time we learn to recognise our emotional mood, make allowances for it if possible and when necessary, but control dysfunctional emotions (such as paralytic fear or hopeless pessimism), through focussing and attention to task. This element of self control unlocks physical and mental barriers and extends our capabilities into previously unguessed realities. It is a process of empowerment.

Compared with this, smoking seems a tame and inadequate experience for "resistance" to feminine submissiveness and passivity! Admittedly, outdoor adventure could not be performed on an everyday basis, as is smoking. Nevertheless, as Simmel (1975 p.248) pointed out, the adventure is a dropping out of the turmoil of everyday existence to experience anew "something alien, untouchable, out of the ordinary", "an island of life which determines its beginning and end according to its own formative powers". The adventurer sets challenges, the achievement of which bring satisfaction and a sense of personal control. As such, he claimed the experience extends beyond the island of the adventure to everyday life through reflection.

There are many other leisure activities and experiences which are claiming the interest of some adolescent girls and which may enable them to form a more positive image of themselves at a crucial time for them for identity construction. These activities include dance, aerobics, theatre, surfing (both in the sea and on the net), as well as the many sports which are opening up to women. As Lumpy points out, young women to-day are not so much concerned with battling the monolithic face of patriarchal power which was the domain of battle for 1970s feminists; rather 'their refusal to identify as victims is bound up with their acceptance of the new independence and opportunities now available to them' (1997, p.160). It is up to leisure professionals to provide and promote such opportunities. The battle today is with a fractured patriarchy and leisure providers can open up the cracks to the advantage of young women and against the marketeers of commodities such as cigarettes.

Conclusion

We have argued in this paper that adolescence is a crucial time in women's lives for trying on and establishing gender identities. So that it is also a crucial time for resisting traditional passive, submissive, other-directed femininity. Women require strategies or alternative resources to fulfil their need for pleasure and to resist traditional limiting stereotypes. They have a right to choose their leisure experiences without damaging their health. They also have a right to choose rather than to be exploited and manipulated by one of the world's most profitable industries made up by some of the most powerful multi-national companies. In this case the manipulation is into a drug dependency at a young age that is likely to last for life. Studies of women's leisure have indicated that leisure can provide an
important arena for resistance to various forms of domination. Seen in this light, smoking can be a form of pleasurable leisure, adopted as a buffer to a sense of alienation from the dominant culture of both school and home. If this is the case then other forms of pleasurable and adventurous leisure which actively engage the person's physical, mental and emotional energy may be successful alternatives in the identity stakes for girls. Sport and outdoor adventure have been suggested as two such alternatives. If adolescence is a crucial time for establishment of identity, then the time for providing leisure experiences for women is during their adolescence, before such passive and physically detrimental activities as smoking become an entrenched part of that identity.

As we approach the millennium and consider the contribution that leisure can make to quality of life for women and men of all ages, it behoves us to examine all aspects of leisure activity, the destructive as well as the constructive. Leisure theory has tended to concentrate on the freedom of leisure choice and the utility of such freedom for an enlargement and enhancement of the self. In so doing it has turned a blind eye to some of its detrimental effects. Alternatively, leisure has been seen to be an ideology which obscures inequality of access to leisure facilities and opportunities and one more arena where dominant forces of power can inhibit and restrict one's sense of self by reinforcing legitimate stereotypes and 'docile bodies'. In this paper we have shown how one leisure activity, that is smoking, can impart a sense of self-confidence, sexuality and autonomy which defies authority and traditional images of femininity at a formative stage in the life-course. It may only be a temporary image which assists a sense of self at a vulnerable time in life, or it may infiltrate other aspects of subjectivity and assist an ongoing sense of self-confidence. However, this particular leisure activity has its darker side which is its addictive quality together with its long term detrimental effects on health.

In the current postmodern climate of ambiguity, controversy and complexity, leisure needs theories and practice which can address such complexities as have been revealed with regard to smoking. These are theories which allow both the constructive and destructive aspects of leisure to be examined. Poststructuralist theories have focussed our attention on cultural images and concomitant commodities as sources of identity. They have also sought to deconstruct such dichotomies as the public and private self and good/bad feminine stereotypes. With insights from these ideas, without throwing out some valuable ideas from the older theories, it is possible to see a leisure culture for the new millennium which allows us a more flexible approach. It allows us to see both the possibility of stultifying stereotypes and of multiple enriching identities in leisure, while not ignoring its detrimental as well as its constructive potential. While a dedicated follower of fashion in leisure activity and accoutrements may be entranced by 'conspicuous consumption', there is a need to look at the long term effects of such 'pecuniary emulation' on individual identity and self-worth. Activities such as smoking, especially when embraced from a young age, may have short term fashion benefits for immediate peer group status and identity, but the long term outcome is destructive to health and cannot provide a sound basis for identity construction.
References


VIEWS FROM THE ‘OTHER’: FROM MARGIN TO CENTRE IN WOMEN’S LEISURE

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In many senses viewing the ‘other’ has always been a part of the leisure activity of dominant cultures. The ‘other’ has been seen as a source of difference and excitement with possibilities for exotic pleasure. For example, writing of a recent exhibition on Orientalism at the Art Gallery of New South Wales the Art critic John McDonald had this to say:

It is generally agreed that Orientalism is not simply the study of the East, but of the many ways the West has viewed the East.... In a familiar set of stereotypes the West is seen as progressive and enlightened, the East as barbaric and superstitious; the West is active, the East passive and fatalistic. In almost all respects, the West has used the East as the definitive Other against which it has defined its own identity....There was a vicarious pleasure to be had in savouring the exotic prospect of the Near East, while feeling reassured about how far one had risen above these benighted neighbours. (McDonald, 1997, p.12)

The centrepiece of this exhibition was Edward Poynter’s, The Visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon (1890)(overhead). The painting well illustrates McDonald’s words. In it we see in exquisite detail the whole exotic theatre of the East as ‘other’ to the West. Here is pomp and splendour and sumptuous living, the relaxation of Western inhibitions, the music, food, drink, sexual women and powerful men (and even one powerful and exotic woman) waited on by slaves who are there for their pleasure and comfort. This is the antidote to Victorian puritanism, the ultimate in fantasised leisure experience, yet somehow constructed as barbaric and inferior to Western civilised leisure passtimes. It is the view of the privileged. One wonders what the picture would be like if seen through the eyes of the male or the female slave left front. Their position is inferior, they are juxtaposed with a monkey waving a fan.

While dominant cultures have been entranced by other cultures such as those of the East they have also reinforced their own sense of superiority through viewing the ‘other’. At the same time they have excluded the views of the ‘other’ from conceptual analyses. Postcolonial theorists are critical of this stance and argue for the voice of the ‘other’ to be heard, in social theory as well as in cultural practices. Postcolonial feminists such as hooks and Spivak have sought to incorporate the voices of women who have been marginalized through race, colour, ethnicity, class or disability into feminist theory. In this paper I ask that the voices of marginalized women be heard with regard to leisure experiences and leisure theory.

When marginalized people such Australian Aboriginal and African American women speak of leisure they tell of their own ways and means of making spaces for themselves and meaning for their lives in oppressive circumstances. The spaces they create enlarge
not merely individual selves, but the community in which they live, and in some instances result in political action. Leisure then moves beyond notions of individual freedom and singular self-enhancement to ways and means of disrupting dominant defining discourses and subjugation, ways of enlarging horizons, both personally and politically. There is then, the possibility through this notion of leisure, of challenging gendered, as well as cultural inferiorization. Ultimately I argue in this paper that views from the 'other' bring some enlightenment to Western notions of leisure and add a dimension to feminist theorizing about leisure.

Postcolonial Theory: Views From The 'Other'

Postcolonial theory arose as a critique of Western based material accounts of colonized countries such as India where the colonizer and the colonized were dichotomized and the view given was that of the Western colonizer. The Western view was assumed to be both universal and correct. Postcolonial theorists sought the fissures in Western accounts of history to construct alternate constructions, in which both Foucault’s and Derrida’s critiques of Western thought intersect with postcolonial criticism. Foucault is relevant because his views on power, discourse and subjectivity offer wider application than those of top down unrelenting, production based oppression. As well, Foucault’s ideas posit a powerful critique of the rule of modernity which the colonies experienced in a peculiar form. Derrida’s ideas expose how notions of difference and the binary oppositions of Western thought have enabled East/West, traditional/modern, primitive/civilized to be constructed as hierarchized opposites where the latter suppress and marginalize the former as ‘other’ and inferior (See Prakash, 1994, pp. 88–92, for a more detailed discussion of these issues).

The concept of ‘other’ which is basic in postcolonial theory was developed in this context by Bhabha (1983). Bhabha claims that colonial discourses propagated by the powerful colonizer produce stereotypes of the colonized as fixed, other to and inferior to the colonizer. Once this stereotype is in place, it becomes a regime of truth which is already known yet anxiously repeated in order to justify conquest, surveillance and control. Yet it is an ambivalent production, for the object of colonial discourse, he says, constitutes ‘that “otherness” which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity’ (1983, p.19). Due to this very ambivalence which contains both a derogated object and a subjective otherness, it is possible, from the space of that otherness, to identify and transgress the limits or boundaries of colonial discourse. The concept of ‘otherness’ thus enables postcolonial theorists to attribute subjectivity and a valid view of colonialization to the ‘other’, a view which has the potential to destabilize and transform dominant knowledges concerning ‘degenerate types on the basis of racial origin’ (1983, p. 23). This is no less the case for leisure theory than it is for other Western theoretical constructions of cultural and societal phenomena. I suggest in this paper that the conceptualization of leisure as free time, non-work time and individual self-enhancing experience are based on Western notions of time, work and individuality.

Spivak takes the term ‘other’, and the methods of examining history used by Subaltern Studies historians to seek to uncover women’s position in colonial India. She argues
that histories constructed by British colonial rulers and elite Indian nationalists have stifled the voices of the heterogeneous array of rural gentry, impoverished landlords, rich peasants and upper middle-class peasants who formed the subaltern classes. Due both to their heterogeneity and their position, in many instances, outside the capitalist mode of production, it was not possible for these subaltern classes to speak with a consciousness of their oppression. For similar reasons (that is, their heterogeneity and their position outside the dominant mode of production), she says, women in India cannot speak with a united voice of their exploitation and oppression. Patriarchal social relations compound this, so that Spivak contends that 'the subject of exploitation cannot know and speak the text of female exploitation, even if the absurdity of the non-representing intellectual making way for her to speak is achieved. The woman is doubly in shadow.' (1988, p. 288). More specifically Spivak critiques dominant international feminists who she claims continue to see their own perspective as universal and where difference is recognized it is yet constructed as other to and different from themselves. Spivak’s work, in the postcolonial mode, has had an enormous influence on feminist thinking. Her argument warns feminists to be very careful in their interpretation of the situation of subaltern women, who, she claims, in many cases cannot speak for themselves.

Bell hooks, a black American feminist who writes in the postcolonial mode, also critiques the imperialism of white middle-class, American intellectual feminism and urges feminists to listen to the voices of marginalized people such as poor white women and black women. The liberal feminism of the sixties in works such as Friedan’s (1963), she sees as wanting a better deal for the bored leisure class of middle and upper class housewives which has little relevance for the need for survival of oppressed working class and black women and men. Liberal feminism puts individualism and women’s quest to be equal with their male counterparts as centre. In her view it ignores the struggles and experiences of those on the margins. She argues for the voices of marginalized women to be heard and for the validity of their experiences of everyday life, oppression and resistance as a basis for programmes for liberation:

Frequently, white feminists act as if black women did not know sexist oppression existed until they voiced feminist sentiment. They believe they are providing black women with ‘the’ analysis and ‘the’ program for liberation. They do not understand, cannot even imagine, that black women, as well as other groups of women who live daily in oppressive situations, often acquire an awareness of patriarchal politics from their lived experience, just as they develop strategies of resistance (even though they may not resist on a sustained or organized basis) (hooks, 1989, p.10)

In this paper then, I am applying the principles of postcolonial theory to seek to understand the everyday leisure experiences of marginalized women, women who have been constructed as other to and different from the dominant modes of femininity previously represented in the discourses of colonial, imperialist, white middle-class intellectual feminists. In order to do this I want to present some views from the ‘other’.
Views From the ‘Other’: Leisure in the Lives of Pacific Island and Aboriginal Women

In the 1970s feminists asked, ‘Is leisure an appropriate concept for women with its male connotations of non-paid work time and freely chosen activity?’ (Anderson, 1975). In the 1990s feminists retain the concept ‘leisure’ but in poststructuralist fashion reserve also the right to resignify its meaning incorporating non-exclusionary women’s perspectives. These are those which are appropriate for women other than Eurocentric, white, middle-class educated or professional women as well as those that are. Postcolonial feminists insist that the voices of these women be heard in order to develop strategies for dealing with their oppression. Some severe critiques of feminist colonialist assumptions have been voiced by women of colour and women in developing countries. The following example has specific reference to leisure.

Women’s Liberation or women’s Lib is a European disease to be cured by Europeans. What we are aiming for is not just women’s liberation but a total liberation. A social, political and economic liberation. Our situation is very different to that of the European women. Look around you and see, especially in town. Hundreds of our women slave every day for white women. They cook, clean, sweep, and wash shit for crumbs from European women. European women thought up Women’s Liberation because they didn’t have enough to do, and they were bored out of their minds. They wanted to be liberated so they could go out and work like men. They were sick of being ornaments in the house. They hate their men for it. That’s not our position at all. Our women always have too much to do. Our women never have the leisure to be ornaments. Our societies are people oriented so we care for one another. Our situation also affects men (Mera Molisa, 1978, p. 6).

For this Vanuaaku woman, middle-class European women have too much leisure time and not enough to occupy them, her own people never have this luxury. Jolly, (1991, p. 57) comments that similar sentiments have been expressed by many Aboriginal spokeswomen in Australia and by some women holding high political or bureaucratic positions within other Pacific states, as well as by women of colour in America, Britain, and in international forums. The concept of leisure as free, non-work time cannot apply to the circumstances of these women.

Grace Mera Molisa, whose words are quoted above, has, in fact, over her lifetime written some evocative poetry to express the needs of her people and in particular the women of her country. For example, in her second volume of poetry Colonized People, she sees that although Vanuatu is now free of foreign colonial domination, her women are still colonized:

Vanuatu supports Liberation Movements for the Liberation of Colonized people

healthcare passively following orders instructions commands

Women
Clear articulations of support for freedom fights in East Timor West Papua French Polynesia and Kanaky Vanuatu Womenfolk half the population remain colonized by the Free men of Vanuatu

Womenfolk Cook, Sew, feed, clothe housekeep homemake childbear

are treated as if having no brain as if having no thought as if having no feeling as if incompetent and incapable Man's colonial domination of Woman is exemplified in the submissive subservient obedience to Man's rule and authority which takes Woman Vanuatu for granted as a beast of burden.

(Mera Molisa, 1987,p. 9, quoted in Jolly, 1991, p 63-4)

In this way she has made a private space for herself, to express her own thoughts and the experiences of the women of her country. Writing poetry for her is both a space for resistance to male domination and also a space for her own enlargement. Many other women throughout the world can identify with the sentiments of this poem. For women such as these the spaces that they make in their day for themselves, through activities such as reading, writing, poetry, art, music and dialoguing with other women are a matter of survival, as well as a chance to expand the self which is always related to others. One of the criticisms that women such as Molisa have made of European feminism is its preoccupation with individual autonomy and personal psychology, rather than values of community and kinship. I return to this issue later in the paper. My own writing on leisure in the past has had this focus.

In the Australian situation Aboriginal women in Australia are asking white Australians to listen to their voices, to let them represent themselves in feminist analyses (Huggins, 1994). What do they have to say then, when it comes to their everyday experiences of leisure? They do not use the term, yet it is woven into their everyday lives as a physical and metaphorical, personal and communal space which has a meaning for them that is different from that of their everyday duties. In other words it is a ‘heterotopia’ in the...
meaning given to this term by Foucault. Foucault (1986) uses the term 'heterotopia' to denote those spaces both physical and metaphorical, especially in urban society, which are alternative to the spaces we occupy in performing the duties of our everyday lives. In her autobiography, Ruby Langford (1988) tells of her life in a white society alternating between country towns and droving camps and inner city living. There is much pain and suffering here, but through it all she manages to carve out spaces for herself in her everyday life. Sometimes these spaces are debilitating escapes such as drink, at others they are times to think and at others they are supportive such as the inner city sewing and craft circle which saved for a group holiday to the Red Centre. Ultimately she achieves a space for herself to write her book.

In her own words:

I fished in the river for yellow belly perch, using mulligrubs (like a witchetty grub but smaller) or worms for bait.... The perch took the bait quietly and if I was lucky I’d catch two or three, about ten inches long and good eating. Early in the morning there were also plenty of ducks. I had. 22 rifle and when I shot some I waded into the cold water and swam out to get them. It was getting towards winter. Across the river and behind me were herds of piebald and skewbald horses. These were the times I had to myself—the men gone to work, the kids still asleep—and I sat on the bank fishing and thinking about my life (1988, p.83).

Every Tuesday I went to the sewing and craft classes in Redfern. I had finished the satin lining for my coat. I made pillowslips, mended and patched for the kids, and did machine sewing for the old girls who couldn’t see well. We talked about families and grandkids, crafts and politics. We cooked damper and scones and hot meals for the staff at AMS (Aboriginal Medical Service) and we held fetes to raise money. We were saving up for a holiday in the bush, and we’d decided to go to Ayre’s Rock (1988, p. 211–12).

At sewing class I’d heard about an Aboriginal hostel in Granville for people who’d raised their families and didn’t want to become live-in baby-sitters for the kids. It was the first of its kind. I moved in there on 11 August 1987. The place was called Allawah, meaning ‘sit awhile’. It was a huge house with rose gardens and stained glass windows and a hallway big enough to swing ten cats. I had a room of my own and a sunroom off that for a study. I unpacked my books and bought a typewriter (my other one had packed it in), a desk and a filing cabinet. Out side my window a hibiscus opened its buds and the noise now was not traffic but birds (1988, p. 267–8).

Other Aboriginal women writers, such as Edmund (1992) show both the community spirit amongst these women and the mixture of work and leisure in their daily lives, while working outside the dominant mode of production:

Collecting firewood was a part of the community life. It was a day of fellowship with each other, each family of women working side by side cutting wood up in the ridges, the huge scented gum trees with their clean smooth red trunks standing tall and beautiful. We used to take our lunches and boil up the billies for tea, and make the babies’ bottles, though most of the babies were breastfed and strong and healthy and fine little specimens. We didn’t have to cut down any trees, just cut the dead
limbs lying around the place. There would be a lot of laughter and storytelling about what had happened during the week. (Edmund, 1992, p. 36–7)

Edmund went on to make her sense of community with Aboriginal people public when she was appointed as one of five commissioners to the Federal Government’s Aboriginal Loans Commission to assist Aboriginal people to buy their own homes, and to set themselves up in business. Later still, after the death of her husband, she combined a sense of her own space through her art with a public presentation of the situation of Aboriginal women through her art. She studied art formally for two years and has held exhibitions throughout Australia:

Four years after Digger’s death I was still fretting for him... My doctor had a long talk with me, and he came to the conclusion that I was suffering from a broken heart. He said, ‘Go away from Rockhampton and do something you have always wanted to do.’...

My inspiration to paint came over me when I visited Alice Springs a couple of years after Digger had died. I was impressed by the beauty of the country and I was touched by the hard and tough way of life that the tribal Aboriginal people live.... When I came home the next week I bought myself some acrylics, brushes and boards and I released all those feelings that I had inside me by painting two big paintings. They looked OK to me, and so I have gone on painting. (Edmund, 1992, p. 93 & 97)

Another Aboriginal Australian has made space for herself and for her sisters through her poetry. Writing poetry is one of her leisure pursuits along with taking photographs and following her favourite teams in the Australian Football League. It also forms a severe critique of the colonizer’s white condescension, especially that of academic feminism:

Talk to me about the feminist movement
the gubba middle class
hetero sexual revolution
way back in the seventies...
Maybe I didn’t think, maybe I thought women in general meant Aboriginal women, the Koori women in Victoria
(Women’s Liberation, September, 1991)

Like Douwe Edberts
Freeze dry coffee
I stand motionless
But full of feelings
Gin, native, abo, coon
An inquisitive academic
Then asks ‘are you Aboriginal?’....

Eh Professor, big shot
Big Cheese, or whoever
You claim to be
You’ve really no idea
Love to chat sister,
But there’s faxes to send
And protest letters to write

46
I turn and walk away
Preserving my dignity
Without humiliating hers. *(Feelings, October 1992)* *(Bellear, 1996, pp. 6-7 & 13-14)*

It may seem a big leap from the voices of these Aboriginal women about the individual spaces that they make in their day for expanding their sense of self and their sense of community with their sisters to national concerns with rights to land, property, housing, health and education. Nevertheless I contend that the personal and community spaces that these women have made for themselves may be the beginning of communal action. Bellear, for example, has moved from writing poetry as a personal pastime in which to express feelings of loneliness, injustice and discrimination, to giving public readings throughout Australia so that her voice is heard and Aboriginal women are made visible.

From these writers I learn that it is possible to create leisure spaces which restore a sense of self-worth and autonomy in a world where women's subjectivities have been devalued and inferiorized as ‘other’ to dominant white and male culture. Their experiences show that it is possible, even under circumstances of extreme oppression, to make some personal space and communal space for expression of their own culture, values, dignity and integrity. And, in some instances, this space has been enlarged again to take on a political dimension, both as a venue for making marginalized people visible and their voices heard, and in solidarity or coalition movements with others.

From Margin to Centre in Women’s Leisure

In this paper I have considered the view from the ‘other’, that is, from the perspective of women who have been marginalized in some way. Postcolonial feminist theory is critical of Western white, middle-class, intellectual feminism which seeks a better deal for educated women and ignores the experiences of women who do not fit into this category. I argue rather from a poststructuralist perspective which accords the power of resistance and experience based subjectivity to a variety of those who are subordinated. They can speak of their everyday experiences and of the strategies they use to counter their subordination. They have been virtually invisible in theories of leisure which are predicated on dominant modes of production and paid work. They also have been excluded from most feminist theory and consequently from feminist leisure theory and research. They do not speak of leisure in the conventional sense of the term as non-work time, or individual self-enhancement. Rather, they speak of their own ways and means of making spaces for themselves and meaning for their lives in oppressive circumstances. In their everyday lives they create ‘heterotopias’, that is spaces which have a different meaning for them than spaces which are controlled by those with greater power. In many instances this space involves the community as well as the individual and the dividing line between self and community becomes diffused. Western feminists learn from Aboriginal women that their own excessive pre-occupation with an individual self, especially in the conceptualization of leisure as self-enhancement may have little meaning for them. The self that Westerners speak of seeks individualistic recognition and is very often in competition with others. As one Australian Aboriginal woman has pointed out *(Watson, 1988, Video)*, it is white language which projects ‘I’, ‘I’, ‘I’; ‘me’ ‘me’, ‘me’, ‘take’, ‘take’, ‘take’, Aboriginal people talk about ‘we’ and ‘sharing’, not
'owning' and 'giving', or even 'lending'. Any concept of leisure as space must also incorporate communal spaces for a communal sense of self which can go beyond derogatory racial stereotypes, as well as gendered stereotypes. Nor does this idea exclude the talents such as writing and art that individuals bring to the group. It is the interpretation of that contribution that is different, as Watson points out. She says, 'When we are singled out for a prize for our art or poetry or music we hang our heads and think, but it wasn’t just me, it was the whole community and our history that has made this thing' (Watson, 1988, Video).

Two important lessons can be taken from the voices of marginalized black women. First the boundary between the self and other becomes diffuse, especially where leisure space is concerned. Second, women as agents, albeit in relatively powerless and oppressive conditions are strong and with the help of other women can and do seek to resist domination and make spaces which 'enlarge 'the geographies of the possible' in which care of self is more than a personal endeavour, ‘it must be constituted somewhere between myself and hers: it must be able to reach beyond “me”, beyond who or what “I” am' (Probyn, 1993, p.4). These insights are aligned with poststructuralist and postcolonial theory in that there is a deliberate deconstruction of such binary oppositions as work/non-work, public/private, self/other where the former has been prioritized and valued over the latter in post-enlightenment male dominated theory. In many ways poststructuralist and postcolonial theories seek to attenuate the boundaries around women’s sense of their legitimate space and to encourage them to resist prior definitions of what it is to be female.

The concept of space which I am employing in this context is aligned with critiques by postmodern geographers and philosophers such as Soja, Massey and Grosz of masculinized theories which have hitherto emphasized time over space (Soja, 1993[1989]); aligned physical space with stasis, passivity and depoliticization (Massey, 1994); and, in urban sociology, designated spaces as bounded areas which function either to contain women or obliterate them (Grosz, 1995). Massey embarks on the project of making clear the relationship between space, social relationships and identity with all the implications of dynamism, multiplicity of meanings and power that this infers. Grosz argues that ‘chora’, Plato’s space between being and becoming contains many of the characteristics of space which masculinist theory has expelled. She says:

_Chora_ then is the space in which place is made possible....It is the space that engenders without possessing, that nurtures without requirements of its own, that receives without giving, and that gives without receiving, a space that evades all characterization including the disconcerting logic of identity, of hierarchy of being, the regulation of order...While _chora_ cannot be directly identified with the womb—to do so would be to pin it down naively to something specific—none the less it does seem to borrow many of the paradoxical attributes of pregnancy and maternity (Grosz, 1995, p.51).

By reappropriating the implied maternal dimensions of space Grosz suggests that we might reorient ways in which spatiality is conceived, lived and used and thus make way for women to reoccupy places from which they have been re/displaced or expelled and also expose men’s appropriation of the whole of space. Her articulation of space as ‘chora’ or ‘the horizon of becoming’ (1995, p.56) is a significant element in the concept
of leisure as space that I am developing here. The move from masculinized conceptualizations of space to a version having greater affinity with feminized ways of thinking is also a move from margin to centre. I have argued in this paper that this conceptualization of space allows a reconceptualization of leisure which takes into account experiences not only of white Western women, but of those from other cultures with different experiences. In this sense it is also a move from margin to centre.

I have taken as an example Australian Aboriginal women where the women began with very few material resources, lived on the edges of towns in cramped conditions with few facilities and were ostracized by the white community, yet managed to make spaces in their days which increased their sense of self worth and enjoyment of life. I have given examples where writing, art and poetry begun in this space became political tools to make the voices of Aboriginal women heard in the public arena and their needs heeded. In other contexts Aboriginal music, such as that by Christine Anu or the group Yothu Yindi has followed a similar path, as has Aboriginal dance.

The meaning of the space which I have termed 'leisure' for the women comes from its construction as a space over which the woman has some choice and control and in which she can do something that she enjoys. In it she refuses what she and her sisters have been told they are by the dominant culture and she reaches towards what she could be, and, in most cases, takes others with her.

There remains, however, the difficulty with my argument, that I may yet have imposed my own framework of leisure as an alternative and expanding space on to the experiences of these women. In some senses, wherever one writes about the experiences of others, some reinterpretation is bound to occur. The most I have been able to do in the limited space of this paper has been to present some of the experiences of marginalized women in their own words. I have then drawn on these experiences for an exploration of the appropriateness of the concept of leisure as a 'heterotopia', 'another space' to their lives as women and the possibilities that this construction has for the woman's own sense of self-worth and for communal action. The instances taken have, of necessity, been from the words of women who have been published in some way, so they are, in that sense selective. For these women, it has been possible to show that their actions which began as small and personal spaces expanded to become public representations of the voices of their people which enable communal action. So I would contend that it is possible for such spaces to be of benefit both to the individual and to the collective or the coalition.

In drawing on the voices of experience of marginalized women in Australia I have attempted to move from margin to centre in the application of their words to feminist theory concerning leisure. It is no longer sufficient for feminists in the 1990s to draw exclusively on the everyday lives and experiences of privileged white women for the conceptualization and study of women's leisure. In a more general context Patricia Collins (1990) in her thoughtful and thorough analysis of, Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment, makes central to her text the subjective experiences and ideas of African–American women who reach beyond surviving, fitting in and coping to a place where they feel ownership and accountability.
She discusses safe spaces for black women to find a voice and to resist 'objectification as the Other' and to construct independent self-definitions which 'reflect the dialectical nature of oppression and activism' (1990, p.95). Such spaces include institutional sites such as extended families, churches and African–American community organizations where Black women interact and are able to let their voices be heard in a safe context. They also include art, music and writing, which is both individual and interactive. For example, blues singers such as Bessie Smith, Bessie Jackson, Billie Holliday, Nina Simone, and Esther Phillips voiced expressions of a Black women's standpoint and helped Black women to own their past, present and future. 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, p.106). In this respect her attempt to move from margin to centre in feminist thinking reverberates with the poststructuralist feminist ideas concerning deconstruction of the dichotomies self/other, public/private, work/leisure, which have been embedded in male dominated theory.

**Conclusion**

By listening to the voices of women who previously have been excluded and/or marginalized in feminist theorizing and by redefining the concept of leisure as space over which one has some control to be or do what one enjoys as against the spaces of everyday life which are overly determined by powerful people, institutions or prevailing dominant discourses, I have attempted in this paper to move from the experiences and ideas of marginalized women to a fresh conceptualization of leisure. The voices of ‘other’ women have emphasized that, for many of them, ‘personal’ cannot mean the extreme individualism of Western thinking. The concept ‘I’ as a completely separate subjectivity has very little meaning. This is not, however, a negation of subjectivity and agency. Rather a dynamic is established between agency and structure, the personal and political aspects of personal space so that one flows into the other and back again. Along the way, my own thinking has been challenged and enlarged.

Leisure is a space for enlargement, but the self that is enlarged by the creation and use of ‘heterotopias’ or ‘chora’ is a self with permeable boundaries whose wholesomeness and growth depends as much on others as it does on an individualized, self-seeking notion of an ‘I’ which remains in competition with those around for a sense of achievement and self-worth. It is space which can include co-operation and caring and a larger vision of the boundaries set around everyday life. Leisure spaces are in this sense are ‘horizons of becoming’ (Grosz, 1995, p.56).

To return to the painting, *The Visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon* (overhead) we may ask: ‘How do the women in this representation construct this scene?’ Westerners have interpreted it, not only as a visit of State, but also as a scene of opulent leisure experience, one of freedom from the constraints of the Western morality of Victorian times, one of enjoyment and pleasure, filled with music, food, drink and entertainment. For the powerful Queen of Sheba some of these elements were certainly present. But what of the woman waving the fan? What is leisure for her? Does she have another space
for herself and her fellow women, where they can see ‘the geographies of the possible’ or expand their ‘horizons of becoming’? In its essence leisure encapsulates for the oppressed, as well as for the privileged, some sense of space, of pushing the spatial boundaries of definitions of the self and of those with whom one identifies.
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WOMEN AND THE NEW GAMBLING CULTURE IN AUSTRALIA

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Background

Recent changes to gambling laws and the introduction of electronic poker machines and casinos in Australia have tended to attract more female participants to gambling as a leisure practice. When these new forms of gambling were introduced into Australia the historically masculine character or predominance of males in gambling activities changed dramatically. Whereas women have traditionally liked buying lottery tickets and playing bingo games, now many women enjoy playing electronic gaming machines (EGMs) and casino table games. My earlier ethnographic research showed that that casino entertainment in Melbourne has provided an opportunity for women to initiate new forms of sociability and leisure. Not only did an urban casino provide opportunities for alluring entertainment, but some women appeared to be seriously considering becoming 'professional gamblers' (Hallebone, 1997).

Women as the new consumers of gambling services are targeted by Internet advertising. The World Wide Web promotes 'Blackjack for Women' and the 'Craps Advantage for Women,' to help the beginning player learn the basic rules (of casinotype table games). "With knowledge comes confidence ... after you have read our books you will have the confidence to enter any casino and play like a pro." and "At first Blackjack may seem difficult to learn because it has several charts to memorize. Once you start practising at home you'll find that most of the charts are quite logical and make sense. Blackjack can be exciting to play and well worth the time it takes to learn the basics... tips on how and when to double down, split, hit or stay "

Research conducted to date confirms that the gambling change with the most marked impact on women is the introduction of the suburban EGM outlet. Playing EGMs has become a normal part of the social lives of a significant number of women, and despite mass media pathologising of female patrons of EGMs, the popularity of the venues can be understood in the context of a lack of inexpensive, safe and socially acceptable forms of entertainment for women (Women's Health West, 1997: 3).

Other information suggests that, within a short timeframe of starting to explore the new forms of gambling, some women are being harmed by gambling. Whereas international information on problem gambling prevalence shows men having higher rates of problem gambling than women, in Victoria almost as many women as men seek assistance for their own gambling behaviour through the State's gambling counselling services. (Victorian Department of Human Services, 1997: 15). Other recent research in Victoria pointed to the likelihood of women gambling as a response to stress and the chance of having non-demanding social interaction (Loughnan et al., 1996).
To explore how women experience gambling as part of the modern experience of leisure, this paper briefly explores three areas:

- what is known from social scientific research literature about women, gambling and any harm associated with gambling;
- some theoretical literature about women and the formation of psychosocial identity and access to citizenship in advanced capitalist society conceptualised as a 'risk society'; and
- preliminary data about the experiences of women and gambling in some culturally diverse groups in the state of Victoria.

Women, gambling and harmful gambling: the social scientific research literature.

Annual expenditure figures are released on how much money is spent on gambling in Australia, but little is known about how or by whom it is spent. While aggregate statistics provide important insights into how much the average Australian spends on various forms of gambling each year, there has been no reliable information about which socio-demographic groups (including gender) generate the spending or their particular gambling patterns (McMillen, 1995). As well, gambling revenue provides a significant proportion of the State Government's revenue base, being third in magnitude to payroll tax and stamp duty (Wooton, 1995) and is central rather than peripheral to the state economy (McMillen, 1996).

Of those clients seeking help (mostly for their own gambling) from problem gambling services in Victoria, one quarter were born overseas and just under half of them were on low (and fixed) incomes (under $20,000 per annum). The males were twice as likely as female gamblers to have never married and twice as likely to be living alone than female gamblers. Almost half the total of nearly 2,000 people consulting the services in a twelve months period had an occupational status other than employed (Dept. of Human Services, 1997).

Those individuals seeking counselling during the first twelve months of service operation in Victoria showed an almost equal division of males and females. Males demonstrated higher levels of external problems such as legal, financial or employment issues and females showed higher levels of internal issues such as physical and psychological symptoms, intrapersonal and family issues. Clients - 12% - who were the partner of a person with a problem gambling behaviour were three times more likely to be female. It was concluded that people from non-English speaking backgrounds were not accessing funded problem gambling services and were not represented in the profile (Community Health Database Unit, 1996). Records from the second year of service operation showed similar results (Dept. of Human Services, 1997).

Little research has been conducted on gambling which looks at gender as a key concept. As Mark and Lesieur (1992: 549-565) pointed out in a feminist critique of problem
gambling research, the topic has typically been ‘pathological gambling’, not gambling. The majority of the literature addressing pathological gambling (and ‘problem gambling’) including studies of personality traits, psychiatric orientation of pathological gamblers, and consequences of the behaviour on the individuals and their families, has used male subjects. Gender of respondents has not been discussed, gender related findings have not been reported and mostly male-dominated gambling sites have been investigated. Also, some studies which have used exclusively or almost exclusively male subjects demonstrated the tendency to generalise their findings to pathological gamblers of both sexes.

While the actual concepts and definitions of pathological and problem gambling are controversial and outside the scope of this paper, it has been shown from 'prevalence' studies that males are much more likely to be represented in problematic gambling (e.g. Dickerson et al., 1996; Volberg, 1996a; Abbott & Volberg, 1996). For example, Abbott & Volberg (1996: 147-9), in New Zealand, found that while gambling was commonplace throughout the population, there were significant differences between sociodemographic groups with respect to gambling involvement and expenditure. Men, especially young men, were much more likely to gamble on a regular basis than women and relative to women, men showed strong preferences for track betting, gambling machines and cards. Males also spent more money per month than females, and females had a much higher involvement in Lotto betting. From the first national survey of problem gambling in Australia, Dickerson et al (1996) noted from data conservatively showing that 1.16% (+/-0.34%) of the population might have problems connected with gambling. It was also noted that women so represented preferred gaming machines for gambling. It was thus predicted that the introduction of electronic gaming machines in the states of Queensland and Victoria would differentially impact negatively on women (Dickerson et al, 1996: 177).

In the State of New South Wales, The Australian Institute for Gambling Research (1996: 9) in a community study found that men reported spending on average twice the amount that women do, but gambling was viewed as an important leisure activity by 56% of women and 44% of men. Slightly differently, the AIGR's (1995) study of the introduction of machine gaming in the State of Queensland showed a weak positive association between being male and playing frequently (AIGR, 1995: 18).

Rachel Volberg's ten-year replication survey on gambling and problem gambling in New York (1996) showed that men in New York estimated that they spent twice as much on gambling as women. Female problem gamblers were spending approximately two-thirds of the amount that male problem gamblers spent. Interestingly, problem gamblers, as defined by the DSM-IV, were more likely than problem gamblers as defined by the South Oaks Gambling Screen, to be male, non-Caucasian and unmarried. Using SOGS alone as a criterion, there was very little difference between males and females as current problem gamblers, with females slightly more numerous (Volberg 1996b: 52). Both males and females in this group were likely to have low education and income. Males, respondents under the age of 18 non-Caucasians and never married respondents reported starting to gamble at significantly earlier ages than other respondents. Male problem
gamblers were more likely than female problem gamblers to use alcohol on a weekly basis and to have used illicit drugs in the past year (ibid.: vii)

Sue Fisher, estimating the proportions of problem gamblers in casino clienteles in the United Kingdom, found important differences between those whose problem was centred on casino gambling and those centred upon another gambling form. The latter group of problem gamblers (non-regular casino patrons), similarly to Volberg's studies, showed the likelihood of being male, under 30, single and unemployed and with a higher proportion of ethnic minorities than in the general population (Fisher, 1996: 11).

Since the 1992 legislation of electronic gambling machines, McCann & Jenkins (1995) in Victoria noted a 'staggering increase' in the number of women gambling, with 64% female participation rate for EGMs. Women were valued as the new consumers and various EGM themes catered for women's 'traditional desires,' for example, 'engagement rings' and 'wedding bells.' Together with advertising depicting gambling as a glamorous and enjoyable activity, it was noted that together with the 'many complementary items offered including free food and drink, a warm and friendly environment and a chance to socialise, the temptation to succumb is very high' (McCann & Jenkins 1995: 23). They also noted that there was very limited worldwide data available.

Social isolation has been identified as a contributing factor to women's gambling, especially rural women from diverse cultures and women living in outer or newly established suburbs. EGMs are accessible, infiltrating communities at a rapid rate into shopping centres or local pubs and clubs. In fact, a woman who wanted to socialise was possibly restricted to a poker machine venue. Often being a symptom of other deeper issues, women's gambling was connected by the counsellors with the women's lack of coming to terms with loss, grief and boredom in their lives. Boredom was often an issue when women stop working or their children left home; they would be angry or frustrated in their relationships, with gambling a means of escape. Also hypothesized were the possibilities of gambling filling a void in the women's lives or the women were rebelling because they did not rebel earlier in life. Importantly, the counsellors agreed that once an underlying issue is identified the gambling became easier to control (ibid: 23).

Also in Australia Martina Quirke (1996) examined the difference between 'coping strategies' of women in Victoria who control gambling at electronic gaming venues and those who lose control. She found support for the hypothesis that those women who experienced impaired control of their gambling also used emotion-focussed coping strategies in relation to stressful life events. No relationship was found between significant life events and impaired control of gambling. Women who were married or in supportive relationships showed greater control over their gambling. Quirke concluded that women who rely on emotion-focussed coping strategies as a way to deal with stressors, may be vulnerable to losing control over their gambling (Quirke, 1996: 1).

A recent paradigm for understanding and addressing problems of individuals connected with gambling is the 'harm minimisation' model. The next section briefly explores some of the structural and individual foundations of risk and harm.
Women, psychosocial identity and the 'risk society':

Using a political conflict perspective to analyse the interplay of socio-economic status and lotteries, Brown et al (1992: 161) discussed voluntary play by low status groups possibly being explained by reference to feelings of alienation and economic frustration experienced by less privileged groups. This approach is also compatible with the social structural analysis of Anthony Giddens (1991) and Jurgen Habermas' (1987) work on modernity as an unfinished project. There is a tendency towards structural domination in late (or advanced) industrial society, and gambling practices reflect a structural emphasis on economic success. The modern world is seen as being characterised by risk and the need on the part of people to prevent risk and to protect themselves from it.

For Giddens, the identification of reflexivity as key dynamic characteristic of modern society also links with reflexivity as a fundamental basis of human existence. But in modernity it takes on a special meaning as 'social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character' (Giddens, 1990: 38). The fact that everything is open to reflection in the modern world, (including reflection itself), leaves us with a pervasive sense of uncertainty. People are increasingly aware of risks ... religion is increasingly less important as a way of believing that the risks can be transformed into certainties and expert systems are limited in their ability to deal with the risks Giddens sees the risks giving advanced modernity the 'feeling' of a runaway juggernaut. People are filled with ontological insecurity and a looming threat of personal meaninglessness.

In a reflexive modern world, the self becomes a reflexive project; it comes to be something reflected upon and perhaps altered, with the individual responsible for the recreation and maintenance of the self (Giddens, 1991: 32). Like Giddens, Ulrich Beck rejects the view (of many social theorists) that we have moved into a postmodern age, but he sees a change in modernity associated with the 'risk society'. The prior 'classical' stage of modernity was connected with industrial society. In a reflexive modernity, Beck, similarly to Giddens, saw agents becoming increasingly free of structural constraints and better able reflexively to create not only themselves, but also the societies in which they live. Instead of being determined by their class situations, people operate more or less on their own. The central issue in classical modernity was wealth and distribution, whereas in advanced modernity the central issue is risk and how it can be prevented, minimized, or channeled. Social class was central in industrial society and risk fundamental to the globalized world of advanced modernity, but Beck noted that risk and class are not unrelated. Risk distribution adheres to the class pattern, only inversely. Wealth accumulates at the top, risks at the bottom and risks strengthen rather than abolish class society. Poverty attracts an abundance of risks, whereas wealth of income, power or education can purchase safety and freedom from risk (Beck, 1992: 35).

Ethnographic studies of women gamblers conducted at the Melbourne Casino (Hallebone, 1996) revealed grounds and threads for exploration of Neumann & Eason's (1990) ideas on gamblers longing to belong to the world in a different way or be someone different and drawing boundaries around the self. Several traces were found of
women exploring identity and trying to initiate careers in a struggle for meaning in contexts not of their making (Neumann & Eason, 1990: 55).

Substantial research is needed on the positive leisure experiences of female gamblers and gaming preferences and conditions, including those aspects, processes and other aspects of life which may be involved in gambling becoming harmful. In this context it would be useful to explore some of Beck's and Giddens' structural notions of the risk society and psychosocial correlates.

**Women and gambling in Victoria, including culturally diverse settings:**

Focussed interviews were conducted with spokespersons in four culturally diverse settings in Victoria to explore their opinions about any impacts of the new forms of gambling on women. Four 'ethnic sub-cultures' were included: Indochinese, Chinese, Greek and Italian.

One of the major residential areas of the Indochinese populations in Victoria is in the south-eastern suburbs. In this area among the Indochinese population unemployment rates are as high as 50% for young people and 30% for adults. Leisure and entertainment activities for adults typically exclude sporting activities and focus around the indoor environment. Nguyen (1996) has explained the links between Indochinese family breakdown and the introduction of the Melbourne Casino. The effect has been devastating for many Vietnamese families, especially for women.

Language barriers prevent Indochinese adults from joining in the wide range of entertainments on offer and there is a lack of outdoors culture or appreciation of sports (which are different from sports in the home country, and seen as 'childish'). Chinese drama series movies have been for many adults in the last two decades the only form of entertainment. The only other alternative is a male custom: that of inviting male adult friends home for weekend drinking and chatting which creates the expectation of reciprocation and causes serious conflict between the men and the women and/or children (Nguyen, 1996: 2).

'Gambling addiction' had its most 'telling reasons' among those Indochinese people facing unemployment and lack of employment opportunity. First or second generation immigrants were often the last to be employed or first to be sacked or retrenched due to deficits in language, qualification recognition, skills and training. The casino and gambling offered these people almost the only hope of escaping poverty and a change of fortune.

Another factor involved was the underlying Buddhist tradition of belief in reincarnation, karma and destiny, with Indochinese gamblers tending to hope that their 'good fortune in this life would be revealed' if they tried and persevered with gambling. In their countries of origin there was no gambling culture and gambling usually only took place occasionally in the public arena: for example, at New Year celebrations. If people gambled outside this limited period they were labelled and targeted by family and
societal condemnation. Also family typically played an important role in monitoring, counselling, preventing and even rehabilitating compulsive gamblers in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. In Melbourne, most Indochinese gamblers used the casino exclusively as they felt safer than at clubs and pubs where they feared racist elements. Asian gamblers tended to play high stake table games not EGMs (Nguyen, 1996: 2-3) and sometimes to gain or avoid losing 'face.

An Indochinese welfare support association in the area had been running a family and domestic violence prevention program for seven years after being established for 14 years. It was reported that there had been two instances of family breakdown due to gambling problems for 1992-3 (related to the introduction of EGMs to the State) and nearly 200 since the casino opened in 1993. According to workers within the program, the main impact of the casino was on Vietnamese women:

Many have spent years behind a sewing machine and sacrificed all that they got into paying for the family first home and know of nothing as far as entertainment is concerned, only to discover that all of their hard work and savings have gone to the Casino, a place some of them do not even know where it is in the City. Many Vietnamese women, therefore, have no choice but to separate from their husbands and seeking Sole Parent Pension from the Department of Social Security in order to survive with their kids on food and other necessities. Most of these women said they had no choice but to separate from their husbands. Many are facing the prospect of permanent separation and possible divorce if their husbands cannot shake off the addiction. On average, each family breakdown case involved at least three to four people (husband, wife and two children). So far, 85% of separation cases involved the wives leaving their husbands, with the remaining 15% being husbands who left their addicted wives and are looking after their children through sole parent pension (Nguyen, 1996: 3).

In the Chinese community, (in the eastern suburban area of Melbourne), when compared with the Indochinese experiences, there were similarities and differences relative to the gender composition of gamblers and the breakdown of traditional cultural infrastructure. More Chinese than Indochinese women were actively involved in gambling, including having problems from their own gambling (as opposed to being a victim of the husband's gambling), but in both ethnically-diverse cultures, the community traditions and ties had loosened and lost their supportive and integrative nature.

In a transition between the traditional and new ways of life, the Chinese clan system (the major mechanism of social control) was breaking down, leaving individuals without support. Formerly, support had included the refusal by families and others in the community of providing credit for gamblers who could not afford it. Now there was no such support for gamblers who could gain credit elsewhere. Also, there were very few clan houses to provide traditional recreational centres. Similarly to the Indochinese gamblers, Chinese gamblers believed that problems were of external causation and beyond the individual's own control.
The Greek community in Melbourne saw female problem gambling as the fastest growing social concern. Social structural changes to the traditional industrial base of the city was seen as a principal cause. Recent retrenchments from the textile, clothing and footwear industries lost for women their sense of identity and any future chance of employment. These recently unemployed women also lacked recreational outlets; they were often in their late forties at a time when their children were growing up and leaving home. Again, religious beliefs of predestination were integral to good fortune. Leaders in the community estimated that for every one gamblers reporting overattachment to gambling, there were ten others not seeking help.

Greek women were attracted to a culture of gambling because traditionally they were largely excluded from those informal gambling pastimes (card games) which distracted men from family activities for long periods of time.

Gambling is very rarely open for women. Male gambling is more open, because card games take so long; a card game could be for 24 hours. Men were either away having affairs or gambling. It was very big at the start of settlement here, a lot of families started playing. It was at epidemic level. But with machine gambling, one can zip down to the local and lose $20 in half an hour.

The local is 'where you go,' which transcends the social, it's just where (as people often say) they 'have just got to go down there.' If it is to be an outing, then they go to the Casino. The feeling I get is that they feel they will miss out on a big chance if they don't go. It is like waiting for a bus to go. 'Fortune' or 'tihio' is an element of that. One never knows where it will strike. Pur tha pae?

How far to go before it comes to me? The idea of pre-destined (like whom, for example, one marries, the person anointed for you) ... Women stay in bad marriages because it is their luck predestined (Greek Welfare Society, 1997).

It was noted that gambling is 'easily done - someone else makes the effort ... it's a bit like owning and walking a dog - you talk to other dog owners; but the dog owner doesn't lose money.'

One of the points made within the Italian community was that older people were being criticised by their adult children for spending their extra money on gambling instead of their grandchildren. As well, retirees were spending far less time on social interaction and non-gambling outings with other community members, because of gambling activities. Many of them received pensions from Italy as well as Australia and it was a convention to use the Italian pension as a gambling 'budget.'

Conclusion:

In Victoria as many women as men are perceiving the need for help in the management of gambling, especially EGM gambling. However, as women are traditionally more
likely than men to seek help, this may not necessarily reflect a change in the traditionally masculine character of gambling.

Within the culturally diverse communities in Victoria the intersections of cultural practice and gambling opportunities appear to be leading to situations in which women are being oppressed by the activities of partners or perhaps using gambling outlets as a way of expressing sociability and confirming or establishing their own identities.

It appeared from limited data that the elements of those social theoretical ideas from Giddens, Habermas and Beck had relevance in understanding the structural background of gambling in the leisure experiences of culturally diverse women in Melbourne. While individuals were 'increasingly free of structural constraints,' and probably increasingly enabled to reflexively construct the self, the gambling risks were distributed unevenly and women, in particular, were at risk. For example, those women from culturally diverse community groups whose own or partner's gambling behaviour became problematic, were less protected from risk than in the 'traditional' or earlier form of social structure.

Indochinese women were exposed to risks associated with gambling of their male partners through the breakdown of the traditional structure and more inclusive forms of leisure. Chinese women who themselves became gamblers were at risk of the breakdown of the clan system. In the past it operated to provide a hedge against injudicious borrowing and had provided a clan house for communal leisure activities.

Greek women who had recently been retrenched as industrial workers and felt a loss of worth and identity were also attracted to the gambling culture because they had traditionally been excluded in Greek culture. An opportunity for reclaiming their personal worth or a greater sense of worth and perhaps citizenship was attached to playing EGMs.

Within the Italian community it was suggested that many older women (and men) who spent extensive time in gambling facilities were neglecting their families and grandparenting 'duties' which tended to loosen communal bonds and obligations.

This research project is continuing, using a biographical focus to understand the layers of individuals' meaning of risk, luck and personal identity which exist in women's experiences of gambling and its place in the recreational, material and social spheres of life.
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My presence in this company is unusual and requires a brief explanation. In real life I serve as the Professor of American Literature and Civilisation at the University of Geneva in Switzerland, a post I have occupied for nearly 30 years now. But also, until 30 January 1998, I was the husband of Karin Blair, who has been a familiar figure at such meetings for several years. Her death in January from cancer at the age of 57 was a shock to many, not least myself, but also a severe threat to the research project she initially organised with the support of a grant from UNESCO. I am grateful to the primary researchers representing India, China and the West for accepting me as a substitute organiser and editor in order that the results may be made public via the World Wide Web before the grant runs out at the end of 1998. I see this undertaking as a memorial to Karin’s originality and persistence in organising the project in the first place, with important help from Nicole Samuel of Paris and indeed others.

First I need to sketch out the initial premises on which this research is based, though I will have to draw on my own perspective, which inevitably will differ from the way in which Karin would have formulated the same basic ideas. The origins of the project lie in her progressive exposure over the years to the several culture worlds represented in the project and her overriding theory of civilisations. Her American origins and education included study of and interest in Europe, China and India, and in time her life caught up with those concerns as we moved to French-speaking Europe as of the late 1960s, then taught in Beijing in the late 1980s. Later she herself visited India, at a time when I was unable to accompany her.

The cumulative result is a theory of three civilisations, not a world-scale model, but one which could conceivably serve to make sense of the three large-scale culture worlds which for more than two millennia have encountered one another across the vast regions of Central Asia which, as of the 19th century, is often referred to as ‘the Silk Route.’ Let me make it clear that the history of Central Asia itself is involved in this study only peripherally. We do not concern ourselves with the theatrical traditions of Central Asia itself and indeed over the centuries of Muslim dominance in that region a theological uneasiness about issues of representation has meant that earlier theatrical traditions there have not been actively maintained. In the present context the Silk Route serves as a conceptual frame for defining which three civilisations are to be studied. It also conveniently delineated the bureaucratic subdivision of UNESCO in Paris which would ultimately support the research with a grant which is not nearing its term.

Through centuries this Silk Route area was the centre of world commerce, a region where three powerful centres of civilisation met, exchanged ideas and artefacts, in shifting patterns of growth and influence. This project has focused on theatre as a cultural domain of wide dissemination which can reveal the differing and evolving contributions of the
three civilisational centres in relation to each other. These three are, in contemporary terms, identifiable with India, China, and the Western world.

This internationally recognised project brings together individuals from three diverse culture worlds who are prominent for their professional concern for leisure studies, theatre studies, and/or comparative civilisation studies. The primary researchers approach theatre as a cultural phenomenon as professionals with a long-standing interest in leisure studies. They met initially as members of the International Committee on the Sociology of Leisure (RC 13), headed by Prof. Francis Lobo of Edith Cowan University in Western Australia. As a result, their primary research instrument has been a questionnaire, developed with culturally diverse publics in mind, which has been administered to theatre-goers in the several countries and regions involved. The researchers also carried out a limited number of interviews with individuals they felt typified the populations they were studying.

**Theatre and Leisure**

Predictably, large-scale differences between India, China and the West mean that leisure itself is not easy to conceptualise in a consistently applicable definition. In the industrialised world, leisure has commonly been taken to refer to the time left over after work, a starting point which all too conveniently reinforces a dichotomy between a "Modern us" and a "pre-Modern them". Even within a Western frame of reference, such a view is at odds with feminist leisure analysis (Samuel) as well as with views of leisure that emphasise play (Kelly).

In a project limited to the Western world one might easily start with leisure simply as not-work, and therefore situate theatre attendance among other leisure activities with differences between them studied as a function of personal choice. Many students of leisure now acknowledge, however, that such a Western-derived notion carries serious limitations, which become especially clear when one looks at theatre as an example. As far as we can tell, theatre has always been with us humans; performances are part of the process of creating and maintaining those social groupings in the world that assist in the fulfilment of basic needs. There is also a potential for deepening self-knowledge on a personal level. Such performances involve differentiation from the "ordinary". Theatre by definition articulates threads of meaning that a person (or a culture) sees as separate from the everyday.

Theatre, then, represents what we are not, what is not immediate ordinary reality, yet on the other hand its world is one we expect to be able to relate to in one way or another. Whether its "other world" seems better or worse, it plays an important cultural function in both cognitive and social dimensions. For example, three basic proto-theatrical activities have long drawn people together: entertainment, religion and verbal play. Many theatrical threads have their origins in fairground activities such as juggling and acrobatics, in the re-creation of religiously meaningful scenes, and in the verbal play that both is fun and may make fun of otherwise untouchable socio-political realities. Socially, attending theatrical performances helps to maintain human social interfaces, and,
cognitively, such performances may help us to examine our ordinary worlds as reflected in hypothetical representations of them.

Theatre deals explicitly but hypothetically with temporal, spatial and social orientation. Performers and participants alike share a contemporaneous chronological time even as the players portray a pretend time. Secondly, they share both a theatrical space and an agreed-upon representation of space, in which the hypothetical reality is evoked. Thirdly, they replay relevant social codes as well as re-presenting images and materials that seem worthy of preservation to at least the performers and, they hope, to the audience as well.

This tripartite framework lets us imagine theatre as leisure that is doing cultural work, that is, re-presenting images that perpetuate (or perhaps criticise) certain social values. In spatial terms, theatre, because it involves the simultaneous physical presence of living people in time and space and social organisation, aligns people harmoniously. In temporal terms, theatre attendance has always been associated with a special time, often one of festival or of celebrating the collective memory of events or images valued by the social group. In social terms, then, theatre is a phenomenon of long standing with a broad engagement with the social and conceptual configurations of its culture world.

Theatrical Differences Among the Three Civilisations

Since the theatre involves people who come together in two groups: spectators and performers, everyone involved has therefore accepted a positioning which distinguishes theatre attendance from other kinds of entertainment, particularly from those accessible in the home. Because people are simultaneously present and arranged to share a common orientation, facing the performance, they are participating in a three-dimensional framework.

A three-dimensional analysis of this positioning allows us to acknowledge major differences in the theatrical traditions of India, China and the West, each of whom institutionalises in its own way the spatial, temporal and social dimensions of theatre. Here in this introductory overview there is only time to mention a few of the most salient characteristics of these diverse traditions, but it will already be clear that this project must develop a comparative model capacious and supple enough to bring them into a fruitfully comparative frame despite these dramatic differences. That important step toward comparative civilisation studies will have to wait till the range of phenomena to be dealt with can be sketched out.

One caveat concerning the quick surveys of difference offered in the following pages: the emphasis here is to draw the contrasts as rapidly and broadly as the different theatre traditions allow. In recent time it is clear that Western-style theatrical practices have influenced what happens in Beijing and New Delhi to a considerable extent. Taking such phenomena into account must wait for our surveys of each theatrical tradition in its own terms.

Let me illustrate briefly the research instrument designed to explore these issues, a questionnaire developed in the middle 1990s by Karin Blair, Nicole Samuel and others. A
copy of the questionnaire is given herewith as an appendix so I will not comment on it in
detail here. Suffice it say that it asks frequent theatre-goers in the three culture worlds to
answer 21 multiple-choice questions, each of which offers three possible responses plus a
fourth possibility identified simply as ‘other’, thereby allowing a respondent to escape the
categories defined by the questionnaire. The three given categories were pre-coded by the
makers of the questionnaire in accordance with the theory, predicting that most
respondents from India would choose the response coded (i), most from China the
response (c) and most from Europe the response (w). Here is question 12 as a sample:

12. Do you prefer theatrical performances with:
   (w) a clear climax and dénouement
   (i) a happy ending for the main characters
   (c) a socially harmonious ending
   other

Respondents, needless to say, were not informed of the pre-coding but were simply
presented with the question and its four optional responses. The work of the primary
researchers in 1998 is the coordination and evaluation of the questionnaire results from
the three culture worlds. The results, if problematic, might imply a need to modify the
questionnaire or perhaps the theory itself, in short, a delicate exercise in professional self-
criticism.

The Theory of Three Civilizations
Karin Blair’s theoretical matrix is based on three-ness as a basis of distinctions. This
results from her profound distrust in binary conceptualisation, particularly as it has
tended to dominate Western thinking processes, as in such world-polarising pairs as
good/evil or black/white, up to and including the vast world-scale melodrama called the
Cold War, which divided the world into merely two camps, otherwise identifiable as
‘good guys’ versus ‘bad guys.’ The inherent limitation of binary conceptualisation is that
it always oversimplifies by reducing the categories to a single polarity.

Trivalent thinking, of course, will also oversimplify in relation to the complexity of the
worlds we might like to observe and analyse, but notably less so. As soon as there are
three entities to be arrayed in the conceptual matrix, the US versus THEM polarisation is
no longer credible. As soon as THEM must by the rules of the game fractured into two
quite distinct THEMES, we are on the way to recognising the multiple and largely
irreducible differences between culture worlds. Let me sum up with a metaphor: in
geometry it has been clear for a long time that triangulation offers the possibility of
perceiving and measuring in depth. The goal here is

The greatest danger in trivalent models is that the formulation of the three options will
not offer credible tripartite distinctions. Karin worked very hard to avoid such problems
and I believe that she has largely succeeded in the course of multiple restatements of her
theory. We will be in a better position to evaluate this fundamental matter on the basis of
the field results designed to test the applicability in Indian, in Chinese, and in Western
cultures.
In order to develop a conceptual model adequate to the task of comparing theatrical traditions that are so diverse, we need to acknowledge existing explorations of "civilisation" as a concept with some promise for making sense of large-scale cultural phenomena. If we can make sense of "civilisation" as a conceptual tool, we should be able to assess how theatrical practices function in these larger contexts.

The term "civilisation" raises basic issues. It is a vast term evoking beliefs, goods and practices that are active in a wide range of local circumstances. On the one hand, civilisations cannot be identified apart from their cultural manifestations; on the other, this concept does provide a framework for large-scale understanding of human development. If cultures are understood as ways of living, including thinking, feeling and acting, then civilisations might be understood as referring to larger-scale networks that function as diversified cultural-ecological systems. In fact, the Silk Route itself, so long a major cross-roads of intercultural encounter, makes the concept of 'civilisation' seem inevitable: how else would one characterise such vast entities as India, China and the West? What is the most useful definition of "civilisation" for our purposes?

China, India and the West serve as key points of reference for study of the Silk Route, but in addition, differentiating these three civilisations follows from a 20th-century intellectual consensus, exemplified by the composite survey reported by Matthew Melko in The Boundaries of Civilizations in Space and Time, [ed. Matthew Melko, & L. R. Scott, 1985, University Press of America, p. 23]. This survey of diverse scholars in various countries indicates that although none of them could definitively say what constituted a civilisation, they did agree on the distinctiveness of three civilisations in descending order of consensus: the Chinese, the Indic, and the Western.

If three-dimensional analyses offer clear advantages over binary approaches, it remains to specify the three dimensions in terms sufficiently inclusive and complementary to sustain the comparative work to come. In this model the three fundamental dimensions of human existence are defined as the spatial, the temporal and the social/valuable. As humans we have to deal in some way with positions in space, with passage through time and with social networks that serve as an interface between our basic needs and their satisfaction. Like animals we seek food and shelter in space and procreation through time. We share with them a transitive axis through time and a reciprocal one of exchange with an environment in space. Animals are born into the world with the same biological needs as we have for food, drink, shelter and sex, but they arrive hardwired, that is, they know instinctively how to fulfil these needs. Human beings enter the world with comparable drives, but through their social groupings they create the interfaces that will permit the satisfaction of basic needs. These interfaces can be likened to sets of cultural default mechanisms that function unthinkingly, even though they are human-made and therefore open to change over the long term in a way that animal habits are not.

The third human dimension, in broad terms, social reality, is specific to humans and hence of particular importance; it inflects conceptions of both time and space. Humans are born open-minded and learn to be closed creatures of habit, at least until they become more or less well enculturated to their surroundings. At some point, however, they may
self-awarely encounter difference. At that point they are invited to reflect on themselves and Others in a way animals, as far as we know, cannot. This act of self-reflection involves awareness of the degree of arbitrariness in the way our cultures have evolved. Imagining what else might have been involves us in contemplating what we are not.

On a cultural level it suffices that the social interface mechanisms function to permit individuals to survive in time and space. Civilisations cultivate co-ordinated responses to these basic needs of human existence, on the basis of which people from different origins can begin to understand each other and ultimately to co-operate with each other. For example, we all have to deal with time, space and social values and contexts, but we do not all have to know the details concerning the existence of the local mountains or deserts or oceans. A mindset that is articulated around something only locally relevant, such as a certain geography, can less easily reach out and speak meaningfully to people from widely different contexts. Civilisations by definition function on a large scale. Civilisations achieve a wider relevance than merely national or regional cultures with relatively local spheres of influence. Whereas local cultures must also deal with the three basic dimensions, these civilisations seem to have distinctive and unified orientations and therefore a stronger sense of identity with a wider sphere of applicability. This enlarged sphere of influence is reached, perhaps, by a distinctive way of addressing the parameters common to the human condition.

Each of the civilisations studied here has developed an all-inclusive vision of human existence as it makes sense within that world view. Each civilisation articulates and inculcates its own claims to importance, to longevity, to human significance, to meaning. Each necessarily articulates its own interconnected vision of each of the three fundamental dimensions. Although the temporal, the spatial and the social/valuable are human universals, they are not necessarily given the same conceptual weight or importance in every civilisation. In fact a distinguishing characteristic of the three civilisations dealt with here is the way in which one of the three dimensions seems to be particularly privileged in each case. The central importance of one dimension affects perceptions of the other two.

The emphasis on the temporal in China leads to distinctions that are interpenetrating and constantly changing, as in their basic interactive categories of yin and yang, whereas emphasis on the spatial in the West leads to compartmentalisation and modularization, as its conceptual world is polarised into dichotomies such as the subjective versus the objective. Privileging the social/valuable, as in the Indian perspective, emphasises symbolic values such as purity, which are unique, undivided, and hence linked to transcendence.

Further tripartite examples might serve to underline the differences in orientation. The Chinese have addressed the problem of human transience in time by emphasising longevity and perpetuity. The Indians have emphasised the values of a higher realm by relating transcendence to reincarnation, hence what the West might see as repeatability. The West has in recent centuries elevated its sense of importance by means of science as an institution devoted to the “universal laws of nature”. 69
One could imagine that the binding moment in Chinese culture is marriage and hence parenthood because these secure the individual in the long this-worldly chain of transmission from ancestors to the future. In India a factor of comparable moment is the simultaneous situating of a person at birth in karma, dharma and caste, binding each individual in the chain of rebirths according to timeless and transcendent values. In the West the comparable element concerns striving to establishing one's mastery over territory or people or ideas because control is value; the degree of control is a measure of an individual's achievement, hence his (or her) worth.

To identify the temporal dimension as particularly influential in China does not at all imply that Chinese civilisation does not know what to do with the spatial or the social/valuable dimensions. All civilisations structure their version of all the aspects of life. The point is that focusing on the temporal dimension, in the case of Chinese civilisation, gives us the most direct insight into the specificities of that way of life.

Temporal concerns such as longevity and continuity are essential Chinese values. In addition China's long history shows a remarkable cultural continuity wrought by its unusual capacity for assimilating outsiders. The fundamental conceptual basis for this civilisation can be found in the root Chinese concept of qi, the vital energy of everything that exists. Qi moves in two complementary modes known as yin and yang or, more properly, yinning and yanging, since they are always in process, moving in relation to each other, thereby maintaining continuity in change. Originally they referred to the north and sun-sloping river bank (yin) or its opposite riverbank (yang), but over the last four to five thousand years they have become the structural principles of a total civilisational encoding system. If these concepts had remained linked to the idiosyncrasies of rivers, they would presumably seem trivial or of merely local interest, but in Chinese civilisation these came to identify fundamental forces which provide the conceptual basis for understanding everything. As a result the Chinese tend to see individual entities in the context of equilibrium and free flow within larger energy patterns. The individual in China is a like a node in a network of relationships: the larger pattern is the locus of value. Unlike India, transcendence is not only unimportant but negative because a concern for it would distract from the main task of each generation, which is to maintain the longevity and continuity of the lineage, hence of the Chinese community. Life in this world is the major locus of value, perhaps the only one. An old Chinese saying: "there never was a good death or a bad life".

Western civilisational tendencies surface in an analytical mindset, fractionating every subject of attention into component parts without inherent limit to the process. In a world which proliferates distinctions endlessly, individual entities are themselves seen as relatable to multiple others in multiple contexts. Human beings are seen as involved in many relationships as well as many modes of relating. Individuals are largely responsible for forging their own sense of identity from many parts. Since the classical Greeks the typical cognitive style of the West has emphasised distinguishing between entities by dichotomous distinctions, the logical basis of which is Aristotle's insistence that something could not simultaneously belong to the categories of A and not-A.
Unlike the Chinese conceptual rhetoric, based in present participles and interpenetrating opposites (yinng and yangng), the West privileges the verb to be: ontology, stable states of being and belonging to unambiguous categories, are presumed as the basis of "reality". The driving impulse is a cognitive one, to dominate all that exists by defining to what (or to whom) it belongs. Hence, of the three dimensions highlighted by the cubal model, that whose treatment is most revealingly specific to the West is spatial, the terrain, presumed to be stable, on which belonging is performed (or perhaps fought over). In most social circumstances ownership itself, whether the standard be inherited land or the more modern and fungible standard (money) confers status.

India, of course, has its own temporal sense (open-ended and cyclical) and spatial sense (less important for its physicality than for symbolical significance), but its primary axis, in cubal terms, is the social/valuable. The traditional Indian perspective on human nature sees individual selves as part of the transcendent Higher Self. Within a social system highly structured by the concepts of caste and karma, there is only minimal possibility for change. Yoga provides a rare margin of possible movement for the individual who in search for transcendence can leave his place within the system even as he seeks deliverance from endless rebirths. In all regions of India, with all their social diversity, respect for the yogi is maintained, as is, of course, the quest for personal transcendence. (Speaking Tree). Though a certain phase of every lifetime may appropriately be devoted to acquiring worldly riches, the affairs of this world are substantially devalued compared to the timeless and transcendent realms to which spirits aspire. In such a mind-set temporal and spatial elements of our world will be more important for symbolic significance than for physical substance, just as Brahmins, who may well be poor, have higher status than wealthy businessmen.

Conceptualising these three civilisations has not proved easy, partly because so many students of comparative civilisations, particularly in the West, persist in trying to apply binary distinctions, as in the awkward and unstable division between the "Orient" and the "Occident". The goal in this project is not a general theory of civilisations but a targeted comparative study, focused on theatrical traditions, concentrating on these three particular civilisations.

A second type of problem that plagues conventional approaches to such definitions is the impulse to assign one or another adjective as identifying the crucial characteristic of one or another civilisation. For example, two scholars of the ISCSC (International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilisations), in trying to define the "East", concluded that India and China both have a pragmatic "material" turn of mind in contrast to a Western concern for the hypothetical and the syllogistic. Then they found a need to make a further distinction: the Indians were "pragmatic" about their salvation, the Chinese were "pragmatic" about socio-political concerns. But if "pragmatic" is promoted to definitive status in such contexts, the West seems also very "pragmatic", but with this energy focused on the uses to which its ideational bias toward the hypothetical is put. In short, analyses that proceed along such lines always prove unsatisfying because assertions about beliefs or tendencies on this level of generality are always open to contestation and
to an open-ended process of substituting still other adjectives into the assertion of distinctive character.

The cubal approach proceeds differently. This project from the outset distinguishes three civilisations not in general but in contradistinction to each other. These three are arrayed on a conceptually neutral model which is a cube, a Platonic solid constructed on three axes, here identified as temporal, spatial and social/valuable. For expository clarity in comparing and contrasting these three particular cases, each civilisation is understood as having privileged one of three axes in the process of constructing its characteristic mindset. In short, the common factor which permits comparisons on this level is the development and the transmission of civilisationally specific and coherent responses to the age-old human need for meaningfulness. In the process each civilisation has developed responses to all human questions, but here we emphasise triangulation of their differences.

Return to Theatre

The different dimensions of the Silk Road project broached in this introduction do not end in a consideration of civilisational structures, no matter how universal they may seem, but rather in a return to theatre. The walls in theatrical representations are virtual rather than 'real.' They give us respite from the brutalities of the 'real', even as they help us to reflect on and perhaps criticise the all-too-real. Theatre as a place and time and social/valuable world apart from the ordinary enhances the possibility of knowledge, of an analytical distance which can permit us to rise above the concerns of power preserves, even those of the academy or international organisations. In this study, where the vastness of the Silk Road has offered us a conceptual space large enough to incorporate so many dimensions and perspectives, the goal is clearly not commodity but knowledge.

APPENDIX: Questionnaire.doc  CODED (w = West, i = India, c = China): Please put in rank ordering the options in each of the following questions: IF YOU CHOOSE 'OTHER' PLEASE SPECIFY

1. Would you describe yourself as
   w a regular theatregoer
   c as one for whom theatre has been a significant thread throughout life
   i as one for whom theatre has marked highpoints associated with community events
   other

2. Does theatre find its coherence for you through
   w the script
   i religious texts or knowledge
   c characters and their socio-political contexts
   other

3. Is theatre for you
   w a social place
4. Does theatre offer the possibility of interaction with
   i the past of the universe
   c the past of the culture
   w the historical past
   other

5. Does theatre permit special interactions with
   w the others in the audience
   i with a transcendent dimension
   c with those on stage
   other

6. Does theatre create for you an aesthetic experience most importantly by means of
   w decor, staging plus script
   c skill of actor and costumes
   i rhythm and music
   other

7. Does the theatre create for you an emotional experience most importantly through
   c socio-political enthusiasm
   i religious exaltation
   w identification with the characters
   other

8. Does theatre for you permit an temporal experience most importantly through
   w time apart for oneself
   c heightened time interwoven with ordinary time
   i transcendent time
   other

9. Does theatre for you represent primarily
   w real time
   i condensed time
   c expanded time
   other

10. Is much of the 'specialness' of theatre for you due to
    c the interactions possible between performers and spectators
    w the possibility of exploring oneself
    o the opportunity to transcend oneself
    other
11. Is the quality of skill you appreciate in actors mainly
   c physical
   w technical
   i rhythmic/musical
   other

12. Do you prefer theatrical performances with
   w a clear climax and denouement
   i a happy ending for the main characters
   c a socially harmonious ending
   other

13. Which contrasts are most important for you
   c visible vs. invisible
   i possible vs. impossible
   w actual vs. fictional/hypothetical
   other

14. How do you prepare
   w reading of the text or reviews
   c discussion
   i personal activities such as meditation or relaxation
   other

15. What do you hope to get out of it
   i a renewed vision
   c social contacts and awareness
   w learning something new
   other

16. Have you ever imagined yourself
   c a performer
   w a writer or director
   i a character
   other

17. If so
   c during a particular social or historical context you experienced
   w during a particular time in your personal development
   i in a particular festival context
   other

18. During a performance do you think actors feel
   i carried away
   c in a state of enhanced alertness
   w focused on the task
19. What provides the dramatic tension
   i conflict between characters
   e contrast between actor as character and actor as performer
   c contrast between balance and imbalance
   i contrast between suffering and joy
   w difference between expectations and what happens
   w temporal contrasts in building to a crisis, the crisis and the denouement

20. What qualities do you think good audiences should have
   i be cultured/prepared
   i be respectful
   e be enthusiastic
   c be open to portrayal of social values
   w be critical
   w be orderly

21. What qualities do you think good performers should have
   w sensitivity
   w capacity to identify with others
   w capacity to communicate
   s strength
   e a resilient body
   c a good voice
   e personal evolution
   p purity
   i high social status
   o other
LEISURE ACTIVITIES AND CULTURAL TASTES AS LIFESTYLE INDICATORS:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GERMANY, SWEDEN, ITALY, ISRAEL, AND THE USA

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Introduction

Sociological literature that is located at the intersection of culture, leisure, and consumption increasingly emphasizes the importance of cultural consumption and tastes in shaping social forces in post-industrial post-modern society. Cultural preferences are associated with identity, social group patterns, social location, and social causality. Differentiation in lifestyles is considered one of the sources of new conflicts, new identities, and new social movements. Cultural 'tribes' that crystallize on the basis of lifestyles are studied as a new form of sociality. Post-modern society is characterized by a shift from contractual groups to affectual tribes (Maffesoli 1996), and from class organized arrangements to status conventional social arrangements (Pakulski and Waters 1996). Scholars emphasize the fragmentation of culture, the increased importance of symbol over substance in everyday life (Jameson 1984; Lyotard 1994), and the manner by which both individuals and groups objectify themselves and their values through their consumption acts (Miller 1995:54). Theoretical propositions in the fields of culture, leisure, and consumption currently emphasize the role of capitalist production, the creation of new markets, scientific management, post-Fordism, globalization, the filtering of culture through industry, and other economic and cultural aspects of contemporary consumer society.

Although there have been interesting theoretical developments in the discussion of these issues there is relatively little empirical examination of the components and different definitions of lifestyles and categories of cultural consumption. Furthermore, many of the theoretical claims that are aimed at formulating a new agenda for a sociology of consumption in contemporary society are not supported by empirical evidence. This hinders the possibility of integrating theoretical understandings in different fields: culture, consumption, lifestyle, and leisure. Scholarly endeavors into the common ground of consumption and culture sometimes oversee the diversity in the relationship of consumers to the market, state, and culture (Miller 1995:46). Consequently, national differences in consumption patterns, consumer movements, consumption-based institutions, and consumption-based politics are not acknowledged.

Theories of leisure, consumption, culture, and lifestyle share interests and concerns that are not clearly articulated or exchanged. In this paper I hope to contribute to the dialogue between the fields through a research design that emphasizes cross-national comparison and a combination of leisure activities and cultural tastes. The main objective of the paper is to explore an extensive set of cultural consumption indicators and compare the way in which they form into distinct clusters. I use survey data from Germany, Italy, Israel, Sweden, and the United States, and through the comparison I highlight several measurement and theory issues that are involved in studying cultural consumption patterns cross-nationally.
Measurement Issues

In cultural studies, we sometimes find a separation between theory and measurement, and theoretical dilemmas that remain opaque because of difficulties of operationalization (DiMaggio 1994). Therefore, before elaborating on the theoretical issues, several problems of measurement merit attention. The general question is: how can we measure lifestyles and cultural consumption in inclusive and representative ways, in a variety of alternative forms and styles that reflect different theoretical approaches (the same way, for example, that we have different measures for Weberian and Marxist classes). More specifically, this question involves the following aspects:

Types And Variety Of Indicators

Leisure activities are the most common indicators of lifestyle and cultural consumption. Other areas that are widely used relate to tastes: persons' tastes in reading (Adoni 1995), their musical preferences (Peterson and Kern 1996), clothing (Skeggs 1997), hobbies, and home decoration (Halle 1993). Prandy (1986:147) used levels of social interaction and friendship choices as indicating lifestyles. A variety of other realms can be open for research and interpretation, for instance social activities such as visiting, hosting, going to parties, and having conversations. Another area that is yet to be explored is gay and lesbian lifestyle. As research points to interesting developments such as the snob vs. omnivore consumer of culture (Peterson and Kern 1996), or life-cycle patterns of consumption, the incorporation of a wider range of measurement tools will enable a better understanding of these issues.

It is also important to pay more attention to cultural clusters other than highbrow. We may choose to term those middlebrow, lowbrow, popular, youth culture, and the like, but we need to come up with indicators that capture a larger spectrum of contemporary lifestyles. Another problem to consider is how to differentiate between indicators that depend mainly on financial means and others that reflect taste independently of one’s ability to spend money on cultural activities. Kelly (1991), for example, maintains that leisure is not as commodified as some might argue. Thus, we can emphasize a distinction between books one buys and those borrowed from a public library, and between music listened to on the radio and that consumed through purchasing an expensive concert ticket. Another complication can be introduced by considering the importance of integrating different aspects of consumption. Researchers usually focus on one type of indicator in a single analysis and do not look at the interaction between types of indicators, for instance, leisure and music preferences. Employing different indicators of cultural consumption in the same analysis can produce richer findings. We are in need of methods that will allow us to integrate different aspects of cultural consumption to provide a fuller picture of people’s lifestyles and cultural behavior.

Comparability Of Indicators

There is relatively little survey data on lifestyles and cultural consumption that enables cross-national or longitudinal analysis (for exceptions see De Graaf 1991; Howes 1996; Samuel 1996). New research possibilities will be available to us once we have access to longitudinal and cross-national lifestyle data. It can be in the form of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) which is a continuing, annual program of cross-national collaboration, the
American or German General Social Survey (GSS), Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA), or the Eurobarometer. Longitudinal data will enable us to trace changes over time in cultural consumption such as the transition from the cultural snob to the omnivore, patterns of gender differences over time, and the changing significance of structural factors such as occupational class in affecting cultural consumption. From a cross-national comparison we can establish whether our theorizing and understanding of the relationship between lifestyles, leisure, consumption, culture, and the social matrix is universal. Not much has been stated about differences in cultural consumption that stem from different economic regimes, different responses to globalization processes, varying power relations of the state vis-à-vis the market, and historical traditions. It is crucial that we explore the validity and reliability of our measurement tools. That is, the extent to which cultural indicators measure the same or different things in different countries in the West as well as in other parts of the world. The unity of the cultural order, as Sahlins argues (1979:206), is constituted by meaning. We need to know whether the cultural scheme produces similar meaning systems in the different cases we study.

**Lifestyle As Both Dependent And Independent:**

Cultural consumption is currently viewed mainly as a dependent variable, whose variation we seek to explain. However, several theories call for acknowledging cultural consumption as having a generative aspect. What kind of data do we need to look for in order to make sure that we can conceptualize lifestyle as both a dependent and independent variable, and understand and investigate its role in cultural stratification research? Research in this direction has looked at the effect of cultural capital on educational attainment, aspirations, and achievement (Ashcaffenburg and Maas 1997). The next step would be to look at the role of status group membership, lifestyle profile, or tastes in explaining political inclination and other attitudes and values.

**Theoretical issues**

A major concern of current research rests in producing data that would be appropriate for testing the claims of recent theories, especially ones that discuss the increasing importance of lifestyles in defining social structures, positions and relations. Campbell (1995), for example, argues that consumption theories generally do not have much by way of empirical support and consequently constitute a questionable basis for an emergent sociology of consumption. This paper addresses this concern by trying to overcome the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow cultures and between cultural activities and cultural tastes. By analyzing combinations of lifestyle indicators I hope to depict socio-cultural profiles more accurately. While the tendency in the literature is to locate the position of individuals on one-dimensional hierarchies of culture, individuals do not confine themselves to highbrow or lowbrow lifestyle necessarily, and cannot be characterized in such a simplistic way. Individuals hold a repertoire of cultural resources and interests (Swidler 1986) and present a different face in different situations, while attending different social groups, or on different public fronts.
Conceptualizing and measuring the variety of lifestyle aspects and their combinations or profiles is linked to a multidimensional understanding of individuals and their position in society in terms of identity and resources. Within the framework of Weber’s multidimensional analysis of the power structure in society, class has attracted much more attention than status. Status is much vaguer both in terms of its nominal and its operational definitions. Increasingly scholars argue that while class theories can illuminate many social patterns, they must be supplemented by considerations of non-class-based hierarchies. While class distinctions have become less rigid, other hierarchies, like those based on sex, race/ethnicity or leisure behavior, continue to polarize many countries of the world, differentiating them, for example, by residential location, educational opportunities, or class reproduction (Clark and Lipset 1993:313).

From another standpoint, claims for the growing importance of leisure and lifestyle emphasize a transition from a society based on production to one based on consumption. Nevertheless, a clear explanation of the meaning and consequences of this transition is not readily available. How should we understand the shift of power from production to consumption irrespective of the distribution of capital and the state? Is it really a shift or a new balance of coexistence? Does it mean that causal factors or mechanisms are no longer located in the production process?

Calls for sociology to shift from the old production-dominated paradigm in favor of a new consumption oriented one are not always accompanied by clear articulations of the alternative paradigm. Some suggest an emphasis on the fundamental conflict between producers and consumers as replacing in its importance conflicts between classes that are differentially related to the means of production (Saunders 1990). The focus here is on the pivotal change from an economy organized around production to one organized around consumption and leisure, and the assertion that leisure and consumption assume greater prominence in the organization of everyday life. Others draw attention to the impact of mass consumption on homogenization of lifestyles and changing mass orientations (Pakulski 1993:285). Here the focus is on tensions between the interests of people as consumers and the interests of people as producers, or the detachment of socio-economic location from consumption and lifestyles.

The most prevalent call for understanding the shift from production to consumption emphasizes the manner by which individuals and groups objectify themselves and their values through their consumption acts (Miller 1995:54). An example is the discussion on formation of ‘imagined communities’. Under the impact of the mass media, people start to regard themselves as members of communities with shared concerns (Greens), habits (non-smokers), and tastes (organic food). Such imagined communities provide identities and encourage a sense of solidarity, yet they do not reflect social proximity or shared economic or political position (Pakulski 1993). If indeed individuals increasingly tend to represent themselves through what they consume rather than what they produce, through their lifestyle rather than their occupation, it becomes paramount to perfect measures of ‘consumption classes’.
A Cross-National Comparison

In the past decade significant changes have been taking place in different parts of the world: changing social currents in the ethnic, religious, and civic realms, re-definition of group boundaries, and opposing trends of integration and cultural conflict. On the global scale the predominant processes have been the changing class structure and the distribution of sectors, and the globalization of economies and cultural products (Reich 1992). A comparative research framework may elucidate the way these processes shape configurations of lifestyles and the link between lifestyle and social location. The cross-national analysis offered here is the first part of a research project that looks at contemporary cultural bases of exclusion and identification. The cases selected for analysis include Italy, Sweden, Germany, Israel, and the USA. These cases represent different social ambiance in their economic and social orders and are characterized by different social cleavages. The United States and Sweden represent two ends of a spectrum in terms of economic policy, social indicators, welfare policy, and cultural policy. In between these two countries we can place Israel, Italy, and Germany. These countries are characterized by different social compositions and cleavages which shape patterns of consumption through the influence of race, religion, religiosity, regionalism, and other factors. In the second part of this research project, which is not reported here, I will examine the effects of these factors on patterns of cultural consumption.

This research has two specific goals. First, I explore a set of cultural consumption variables which integrates participation in various cultural activities and cultural tastes. I ask whether it is possible, in different national contexts, to identify a consolidation of cultural types that is based on cultural practices and preferences. Second, Through a comparison of the clusters in each country I highlight issues of measurement and theory that were discussed above.

Data

The analyses presented here are based on five separate data sets. Data for the USA are drawn from the 1993 culture module of the General Social Survey (GSS) and include 1606 respondents. The Israeli data were collected in 1992 as a proportionate stratified sample of 645 Israeli Jewish respondents. Data for Italy, which include a sample of 5016 Italians, is taken from the 1985 Italian social mobility study carried out by Barbagli, Capecchi, Cobalti, de Lillo, and Schizzerotto. Data for Germany on 2046 respondents are available from the Wohlfahrtssurvey 1993, and data for Sweden were taken from the SOM-survey 1993 and include 1762 respondents. All samples are nationally representative.

3 See Marsden and Swingle (1994) for a review of the development and content of the module.
4 I would like to thank the principal investigators of this research for allowing me to use these data. For more on the data see Cobalti and Schizzerotto 1994.
5 The data analysed in this paper has been made available to me by the Swedish Social Science Data Services (SSD). The data-set SOM (Samhälle, Opinion, Medier)-UNDERSÖKNINGEN 1993 (The SOM - society, opinion, media - survey 1993) was originally collected for a research project at the statsvetenskapliga institutionen, institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation and förvaltningshögskolan at the University of Gothenburg. The principal investigators are: Sören Holmberg, Lennart Nilsson and Lennart Weibull. Neither SSD nor the
Results

The data allow us to examine a rather unique combination of leisure behavior and tastes in music and in reading which offers new insights and a richer and more inclusive definition of dimensions of cultural consumption. The objective of the analysis is to model the organization of the activities and tastes separately for each country and then compare the cultural clusters that emerge. The modeling method is factor analysis which groups the cultural indicators according to their correlation. In other words, activities or tastes that load strongly on a specific index tend to be consumed together. Questions about leisure, music, and reading were available in the data sets from Germany, Italy, and Israel. The US data includes leisure and music variables, and the Swedish data includes only leisure questions.

The factors produced in the analysis were saved as variables. Each variable is an index of the items it is comprised of, weighted by their loadings on the factor. Table 1 presents a description of the indexes in each country. Leisuru indexes are listed first, the music factors, and lastly reading.

Table 1 (see page 87)

The variables that are grouped together are in strong correlation with one another, and the labels to the different indexes represent the content, common denominator, or the dominant variable in each one. Any attempt to bind the meaning of a lifestyle dimension within the constraints of one word or label is bound to be unsatisfactory and inaccurate. Nevertheless, to simplify the discussion we need some kind of labels that more than actually represent the meaning of a certain lifestyle, allow a common terminology.

Discussion

The first thing that is evident from Table 1 is the variety of indicators of leisure activities and tastes in reading and in music that are used in the different studies. A core of questions appears in most surveys, nonetheless there exists a significant variation. Differences in meaning and prevalence of leisure activities and tastes in different contexts are highly important and can become apparent through a comparative research. For example, tastes for certain kinds of music can reflect different patterns of cultural distinction in different countries due to variation in the degree of exposure to a genre, the history of a genre, and social meanings associated with a genre. Thus, jazz and blues are part of the highbrow dimension in Germany and go together with classical music, opera, and musicals, but they stand on their own in the USA. Culture-specific indicators are no less important than standardized universal indicators. Whereas identifying similarities in the organization of cultural fields and their audiences by using comparable measures (e.g., classical music) is
important, acknowledging the differences by looking at country-specific preferences (e.g., schlager music, rap) is equally valuable.

Given that highbrow and popular or middlebrow dimensions of culture are broadly studied in the social sciences, all five surveys include indicators that we usually conceptualize in those terms. Alongside these dimensions, we find other spheres which are captured by the various surveys. These include outdoor activities, sports activities, religious involvement, home-centered activities, social leisure, rural leisure, folk music, self help reading, and more. More standardization of those cultural indicators would allow for quality cross-national and longitudinal research. The variety of cultural ‘fields’ in the sense that Bourdieu proposes is central to the study of cultural consumption and is particularly relevant to questions of distinction and power. Employing a variety of cultural consumption indicators enables an investigation of the extent to which cultural realms are exclusive and distinct vs. inclusive and obscure both in terms of the cultural content they represent or embody and the social groups they are associated with. Furthermore, it enables us to redefine and reclassify everything that is not highbrow culture (and frequently referred to as popular or mass culture) as encompassing several subtypes.

One such subtype is the religious cultural cluster in Israel which draws attention to an interesting yet understudied area of cultural consumption. Although this dimension is not unique to Israel, it is usually not conceptualized and studied in the framework of leisure and lifestyle studies. Religion shapes and influences cultural preferences and outlooks. To varying degrees, religious aspects of lifestyles are present in many societies. In some countries (e.g., Israel and Italy) there is a most visible cultural distinction between religious and secular individuals (Katz-Gerro and Shavit 1998). Taking cognizance of this dimension of cultural differentiation would enrich our understanding of cultural aspects of the social life. We may find an interesting difference in cultural-religious behavior of men and women, differences among social strata etc. Another question is whether religious cultural tastes and preferences exclude other types of preferences. Thus we can ask, for example, whether a religious cultural elite exists which combines highbrow and religious cultural preferences, or whether a religious lifestyle excludes some of the other types of cultural consumption. The multiplicity of lifestyles may be interpreted as reflecting social pluralism, however, it is an open empirical question whether different cultural consumption profiles are of equal value in stratification processes.

An issue that was discussed in the section on methodological matters and is apparent in the results is the distinction between attending events and participating in events. This distinction is evident in the American survey. One can exercise or watch sports events, go to art exhibitions or make art, listen to music or perform music as an amateur etc. In future research it would be interesting to see how these differ, if at all, in terms of their organization in cultural fields, and in terms of the kind of people they are associated with.

When thinking about ‘lifestyle tribes’, consumption groups, or status groups we can follow a distinction between ‘generative/explanatory' concepts and ‘categorical/
descriptive’ concepts (see Pakulski’s application of these terms to class analysis, 1993:281). Descriptive concepts are useful for outlining patterns of inequalities, and for defining units that are expressed in power and prestige inequalities. However, they do not necessarily define categories that form bases of identification and conflict. The culture clusters discussed here are descriptive of the way leisure and tastes may be organized in the different countries. After articulating the initial differentiation, it is the way this differentiation is associated with power and identity that is really interesting. The measures of lifestyle differentiation used here are of an objectivist kind, they are based on reports on the activities and tastes of individuals. Two questions are entailed. First, whether there is a link between these measures and subjective identity of actors, and how this identity is maintained through symbolic means. Second, how these typologies are related to cultural aspects of social inequalities such as values and norms, in the context of reproduced socio-cultural hierarchies (Bourdieu 1984).

We can also articulate these two questions in a different way. The analysis serves to explicate the difference between what Giddens terms ‘distributive groupings’ -- namely the formation of groupings in consumption -- and the formation of types of social differentiation based upon non-economic value (Giddens 1981). Distributive groupings denote common patterns of consumption regardless of any conscious evaluation of their prestige. Groupings that have to do with social differentiation, or status groups, are sets of social relationships which derive their coherence from evaluations of prestige attached to distributive groupings. In applying these ideas to the issues that concern this paper we may think of the cultural indexes as either distributive groupings or status groups or at least elements of status groups. Insofar as cultural consumption patterns are socially structured there will tend to exist a common awareness and acceptance of similar attitudes and beliefs, linked to a common style of life. Status group consciousness, however, also involves a recognition that behavior and attitudes signify a particular group affiliation, and the recognition that other groups exist as well. Therefore, the first step is to find out the way in which leisure activities and cultural tastes are distributed and how they correlate. The second step is to see whether the groupings are associated with specific social categories in terms of gender, race/ethnicity, religiosity, religion, age, and class. And lastly, we can ask whether these groupings are expressed in identities, actions, and values.

As we see from the results, leisure and taste are contextual and complex, therefore looking at combinations of consumption fields is highly important. The broader question at hand is whether distinct cultural boundaries do exist. In other words, how strongly, in each society, the ‘lifestyle principle’ has become established as a mode of structuration. If lifestyles form social realities this must be manifest in the formation of common patterns of behavior and attitude.

The exploratory analysis presented in this paper is a first step in a research project that has the following objectives: (i) identify cultural consumption categories based on a variety of indicators which include leisure and tastes; (ii) estimate the possible combinations of these categories in order to (iii) construct cultural lifestyle profiles; (iv) explore the way lifestyle profiles are shaped by class position, race, gender, education, age, and other factors; and (v) study the association between lifestyle profiles and life outcomes and attitudes.
References


### Table 1. Cultural Consumption Indexes Produced by Factor Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Germany (west)</th>
<th>Italy</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Israel</th>
<th>USA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Highbrow Leisure</strong></td>
<td>visit museums</td>
<td>go to the theater</td>
<td>visit museums</td>
<td>visit art shows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go to the theater</td>
<td>visit art exhibitions</td>
<td>go movies</td>
<td>go to movies</td>
<td>go dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>books</td>
<td>attend cultural meetings</td>
<td>read books</td>
<td>attend concerts</td>
<td>go to music concerts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>music</td>
<td>buy books</td>
<td>discuss politics</td>
<td>Popular Leisure</td>
<td>play music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friends</td>
<td>attend public library</td>
<td>restaurant/pub</td>
<td>go to movies</td>
<td>perform art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restaurant</td>
<td><strong>Popular Leisure</strong></td>
<td>rent VCR</td>
<td>light entertainment</td>
<td>Popular Leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sport/Popular Leisure</strong></td>
<td>discotheques</td>
<td>record VCR</td>
<td>night clubs</td>
<td>attend sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active sport</td>
<td>sports events</td>
<td>movies</td>
<td>dining out</td>
<td>do sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sport</td>
<td><strong>Social/Familial</strong></td>
<td>going on vacation</td>
<td><strong>Outdoor</strong></td>
<td>go to the movies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pub</td>
<td>invite friends for meal</td>
<td><strong>Sport</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>use VCR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restaurant</td>
<td>invite relatives for meal</td>
<td>fitness club</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nature/Rural Leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Learn</strong></td>
<td>recreation</td>
<td>active sport</td>
<td>auto race</td>
<td><strong>Outdoor</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>artistic computer</strong></td>
<td>lake/forest</td>
<td>watching sport</td>
<td>camping</td>
<td>make art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>courses</td>
<td>exercise</td>
<td><strong>Political Religious</strong></td>
<td><strong>Highbrow Music</strong></td>
<td><strong>Garden</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>work in garden</td>
<td>prayers</td>
<td>western classical music</td>
<td><strong>Highbrow Music</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>build</td>
<td></td>
<td>political activities</td>
<td>Israeli mainstream music</td>
<td>musicals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family</td>
<td><strong>Highbrow Music</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>classical</td>
<td>classical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garden</td>
<td>classical music concert</td>
<td>Popular Music</td>
<td>folk</td>
<td>folk</td>
</tr>
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<td>kids</td>
<td></td>
<td>pop music concert</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Highbrow Music</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>opera</td>
<td>opera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>classical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jazz, blues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>big band</td>
<td>big band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musicals, opera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Popular Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Popular Music</strong></td>
<td>rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Popular Music</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>light pop</td>
<td>oldies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ethnic music</td>
<td><strong>Religious Reading</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Jazz</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punk, heavy metal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jazz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Folk Music</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>weeklies</td>
<td>blues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sports</td>
<td><strong>Youth</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>military march</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Religious Reading</td>
<td>new age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oldies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>religious literature</td>
<td>rap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German schlager</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>reggae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reading
biography
modern literature
classical
reference,
profess.
poetry

Popular Reading
detective, thriller
comics
sci-fi, fantasy

Light Reading
light novel
romance

Self Help
Reading
esoteric
biography
psychology
reference

N=2046  N=5016  N=1762  N=640  N=1606
INTEGRATION THROUGH LEISURE? LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES AND THE INTEGRATION OF TURKISH FAMILIES IN ARNHEM AND ENSCHEDE IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Summary
The position of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands is an important social and political issue. Little attention has been paid to the way they spend their leisure time or to whether these activities could be a useful vehicle in helping them integrate into Dutch society. This study investigates how Turkish families, living in the Dutch cities of Arnhem and Enschede, spend their free time and the use they make of the facilities available. It also explores the extent to which Turkish families adopt cultural elements of Dutch society in their leisure behaviour. Most of the Turkish families interviewed indicated that they seek integration into Dutch society at the local level. After three generations, however, they still appear to be heavily orientated towards their own cultural group. Leisure in Turkish families is strongly related to gender differences. Although respondents said they wanted more social contacts in the community, they found their Dutch neighbours rather inhospitable. It is remarkable to notice that the socio spatial differences between the two cities (Arnhem and Enschede) hardly differentiate the Turkish families' experiences. The availability of some leisure and recreational facilities (such as a park, a playground or a Turkish coffee house) make some difference indeed.

Introduction
In 1995 research was carried out into the way Turkish families in Arnhem spend their free time. The aim of the study was to assess whether the way leisure is spent can lead to securing a better integration into Dutch society for these families (Van Meel and Soeters 1995). In 1996, similar research was carried out in Enschede (Hamelink 1997). In both studies the following questions were raised:

1. How do Turkish families spend their free time?
2. What type of facilities do they use?
3. How can we characterise their experience of leisure and what role does their choice of free time activity play in their integration into Dutch society?

Recent research on leisure and ethnicity indicates the radical differences between ethnic minorities and the host culture with regard to aspects of leisure (Tirone 1997). Before discussing the research itself, two observations must be made. By free time or leisure we mean the time which the individual can dispose of without having to justify its use in terms of the moral values attached to their professional or domestic position (Beckers and Van der Poel 1990). In addition we note that both the ethnic and social position of the group being studied is important when leisure activities are being investigated. In most cases, Turkish families in Arnhem and Enschede belonged to the 'poorer', labourer class. Research has shown (see, for example, Rubin 1976) that poorer families generally spend their free time within the context of the family and extended family. In middle-class families, friends and acquaintances play an important role. In addition those who had to make ends meet on a minimum state benefit are very restricted in their choice of free time activities (Goossens et al. 1990). The budgets of allochton groups are also affected by expenditures which can be described as "ethnic expenditures"
Further, internal power relations within the family can have a restrictive effect on the behaviour of men and women (Komter 1990). These restrictions can be significant in the matter of leisure.

First, we shall sketch the problem area before attempting to formulate the question. We will then proceed to describe the way in which the research was conducted, to discuss its most important conclusions, and we examine the differences and similarities between the research carried out in Arnhem and that conducted in Enschede. In the final paragraph, we will examine how power is distributed between men and women in Turkish families from the perspective of the restrictions placed on men and women by Turkish traditions. In addition we provide the broader context in which the difference between Turkish and Dutch culture can be placed.

Social position and integration: examining the problem

The Netherlands has experienced a considerable growth in its immigrant population since the 1960s. This growth is the result of family reunions and immigrants seeking work (Voets 1989). The Turkish population has increased from 71 in 1960 (De Groot and Van de Koppel 1982) to 203,519 in 1991 (Tesser 1993). Turks form the largest allochtoone group in the Netherlands. Today, there are three generations of Dutch Turks. The first group consists of workers, and their wives and children - the latter have usually arrived somewhat later in the Netherlands. A second generation, born in the Netherlands, are the descendants of the first generation. The third generation are the children of second generation allochtoone. Further distinctions can also be made. The Dutch Turkish community can be divided into those who stay a short time and those who stay for a longer period. Those who stay for a short time usually live in the Netherlands for 3 to 4 years (first generation). Those who stay for a longer period have been in the country for nine or more years (first, second and third generation) (see for example Gadet and Wiggers 1992; VAROR 1993; WRR 1989; De Vries and Van Schelven 1987).

Government policy is orientated to integration but strives to preserve the group's own norms and values. This means that the government stimulates the adoption of elements from the surrounding culture (education, health etc) but at the same time ensures that elements from the group's own culture are retained (Robinson et al. 1992).

According to WRR (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid) (1989) integration can, in general, be defined along a cultural and structural dimension. The cultural dimension involves the adjustment of behaviour, norms, values and preferences amongst the members of the various ethnic groups. The structural dimension is the connections made between allochtoone and the receiving community. It is possible that integration proceeds satisfactorily along one dimension but not along the other in which case partial integration can be said to have occurred. In this article we will return to this and the consequences this has for leisure.

Leisure time activities in the Dutch Turkish community

From research into the ways in which allochtoone groups in the Netherlands spend their free time we can say briefly that during the week families spend their leisure hours either at home or around their home (neighbourhood park). In the weekend visits are made to larger recreational areas outside the neighbourhood or city. Free time is spent with family members, and visiting the family has an important role in leisure time activities. These visits do not only take place within the neighbourhood or city, but in many cases
visits are made to family members who live outside the city or in nearby countries (Germany and Belgium). When the family goes on holiday it usually goes to Turkey and the holiday is to a large extent made up of family visits. These days, visits are also made to tourist attractions in Turkey itself.

**Men, Women and children**

There is little information in the literature about how Turkish men, women and children spend their free time. It appears, however, that (married) Turkish men spend more of their free time outside their homes than women. The mosque and the café are the most popular. Turkish women seem to spend most of their free time at home. This pattern can be the result of cultural traditions and conventions which limit a woman's chance of going out. The leisure time pursuits of Turkish women consist mainly of handwork, watching television and talking with Turkish women neighbours.

At home children, both boys and girls, mostly watch television. Girls are more tied to the house than boys. Sport (football, power training and marshall sports) are important out of house activities for both boys and men.

For many Turkish children the street is an important playground. Children generally play close to their homes. As girls grow up many restrictions are imposed on them. After their first menstruation they have to stay at home. Young boys do not experience such restrictions. They are allowed to spend a great deal of their free time outside and as they grow older they pursue activities further and further afield.

**The research areas in Arnhem and Enschede**

In Dutch terms Arnhem and Enschede are middle-sized towns (150,000 inhabitants), situated in the east of the country. Arnhem is well known for the parks in the north of the town, whilst Enschede (originally a textile town) in this respect is less well endowed. Another difference is that Enschede has far fewer facilities such as Turkish cafes, for example, in the vicinity of the Turkish community than is the case in Arnhem.

In Arnhem this research was carried out in the neighbourhood known as Presikhaaf-West, in Enschede in the area known as Noord. In both neighbourhoods there are large communities of ethnic minorities, amongst which the Turkish group is the largest. In Noord, in Enschede, there are many Moroccans.

**Problem definition and research design**

**Defining the problem**

Research focused on finding out how Turkish families in Arnhem and Enschede spent their free time; assessing the extent of integration as far as leisure time was concerned and in finding out how Turkish families wanted to spend their free time.

The problem being examined was, therefore, formulated as follows:

- How do Turkish families in Arnhem and Enschede spend their free time and what is the significance of this to them?
- Which of the existing recreational facilities and activities do they use and what is the significance of the presence and use of these facilities and activities?
- To what extent do Turks adopt elements of Dutch society in spending their free time? Do they, in fact, retain their own cultural elements and is there any evidence of integration precipitated by free time activities?
What facilities and activities do Turkish families in Arnhem and Enschede need?

Research design
The research was limited to the families of those who had been in the Netherlands for a long time. A qualitative research method was used and the interviews were conducted with the help of a question list consisting of open questions. This gave the interview a structured character. There was no fixed order as to how the questions were asked. The order depended on how the interview itself was going. All except one of the interviews was recorded and later they were typed out word for word and analysed. In Arnhem, 22 interviews were made in 12 Turkish families (12 women and 10 men). In Enschede, 13 families were interviewed (13 women and 11 men). In all cases an attempt was made to collect as much information as possible from and about the children. Interviews were conducted in the Dutch language, and in a few cases support was given by older children who, in general, have a good mastery of the Dutch language. An attempt was made to conduct interviews separately. The problem here was that the interviews with men conformed to the demands of non-intervention as did those conducted with women when the man was not present. When men were present when the women being interviewed, this was generally not the case. However, we do not think that men being present had very much effect on the results of these interviews and, we feel that only a very few were affected in this way. Each interview was conducted by two interviewers. When a family member intervened during an interview - the interruption was usually made by the man - having a second interviewer present made it possible to divert the interruption. We believe that the atmosphere during the interviews was an open one. This was partly because we had been introduced to the family being interviewed by people well known to them.

All the parents in the families belonged to the first generation of Dutch Turks. All the children, with one exception, were born in the Netherlands and belonged to the second generation. The men were between 28 and 43 years old, and the women were between 24 and 36 years of age. Nearly all those children living at home were between 5 and 15 years.

In general, the women had only received primary education. None of them had a paid, permanent job although some women had an evening cleaning job. In many case the men had followed a short course after primary school.

Results
The results of the interviews are presented below and are illustrated by quotations. They have been organised according to the different aspects of the problem being investigated.

Leisure time, the way it is spent and its significance for the individual
In most of the Turkish families interviewed the way leisure time was spent depended very much on the man. Often activities were only undertaken if the man had the time and inclination for them. Turkish women are not particularly keen to go out with their children if their husbands are not with them.

If I want to go anywhere I have to go with the two children on the bus or with the bike, you know, but he is alone. I always say you are alone, you can go with the bike or walk but you have no time. I must be back on time. You do not have to cook, but if I had the car then quicker there quicker back, know what I mean?
As other research has confirmed (VAROR 1993) Turkish families often visit their extended family. There they eat, talk, drink, barbecue and now and again the families go out for the day together. About once in the two years the family will go on holiday to Turkey with the main aim of visiting family. If they do not go on holiday to Turkey, this does not mean they will take a holiday somewhere in the Netherlands. They will perhaps make day trips to an amusement park. For financial reasons these sorts of expeditions are not possible very often. When the weather is nice a great deal of time is spent in a neighbouring park or in a nearby meadow. Here recreation is mostly stationary involving, for example, sitting on the grass and picnicking. Barbecuing is a favourite activity but this is forbidden in most parks.

Turkish woman "Yes, if the weather is nice we barbecue together. If it is not nice weather we go and eat together. Look, if my brother comes here to drink tea then I ask him if he wants to eat as well, then his wife and children will come too and if I go to visit him I will stay and eat there as well".

A question was asked about the activities of the individual family members. Following other research (VAROR 1993; Gadet and Wiggers 1992; Brasse 1985) we can confirm that Turkish men have their own way of spending their free time: they go to the café or to the mosque.

Turkish woman "Yes, he works the whole week and Friday evening he goes to the café; Saturday evening he also goes to the café. Ha ha ha"

If the men spend their free time at home, they do not do very much. Mostly they watch television, sit around a bit and read the newspaper. A few men have a hobby such as collecting coins and messing about with cars. Women spend a lot of time on housework. For half the women free time means they can decide how to spend their time themselves. For the other half free time is the time that remains when the children are in bed and the housework is done.

"When the child goes to school I first clean the house, do the washing up and then I have free time. Then I watch television, do some handwork and a bit around the house. No, spending everyday at home is not nice".

In their free time Turkish women spend a lot of time visiting each other or they go together to the park. Most of their free time is spent in the company of other women.

"We always go together to the park. Sometimes with friends, sometimes with the children. Walk a bit, sit on the grass talk about the past. That is nice".

The way children spend their free time also confirms what has been reported in the literature (VAROR 1993; Gadet and Wiggers 1992; Brasse 1985). Playing outside, the football club and spending time with the family is the way most Turkish children spend their free time. In addition they watch television, read, write, colour, play inside and swim. They see their friends mostly on the street because it is not the custom to bring these playmates home.
Use of facilities and participation in activities
Most Turkish families are content living in Presikhaaf-West. They particularly appreciate the fact that many foreigners live there and that there are a particularly large number of Turks. The presence of Turkish family and friends in the neighbourhood contributes to the fact that they feel bound to the neighbourhood.

"But we do not want to leave Presikhaaf, I rented from the estate agent and I said "Presikhaaf, nothing else".

They are less positive about the living environment. Bad maintenance and the fact that the streets and the flats are not well cleaned, the neighbourhood looks drab. Play facilities for the children leave a lot to be desired: there are too few, they are poorly maintained and often too far away. One advantage is that the streets are not very busy, so that in the absence of other possibilities the children can play there. In Arnhem the problem with Presikhaaf Park is that dogs are exercised there and it is difficult to find a place free of dog shit. Meadows and parks are very important for Turkish people because they function as meeting places. They like to use the parks in the vicinity of Presikhaaf and those places where they can barbecue and where there is plenty for everyone to do are favourite.

Turkish men make a lot of use of the Turkish cafés. Men meet each other here. Turkish women make use of the neighbourhood centre. It offers them the opportunity of getting out of the house and is a place where they can meet other women.

"Yes, its nice. You make contact with other people. Its a bit boring if you're at home everyday, so I go if I can".

The reason why some parks are visited and others are not has to do with the dog problem mentioned earlier and the fact that one park allows barbecuing and the other does not.

"We always used to picnic in Oosterbeek but we are not allowed to anymore because you must not make a fire there. When we used to go there, we would cook on the barbecue. Because that is not allowed anymore we do not go there now".

Because both parks are equally far away, the park chosen is the one that offers the most possibilities. The neighbourhood centre is a facility that not everyone uses. Some women do not go there because of their domestic duties. Other women do not go because they find that the neighbourhood centre does not organise enough activities. They do not go to the coffee morning either, because they can chat with people elsewhere. This is in sharp contrast to the women who see drinking coffee in the neighbourhood centre as the main outing of the day.

Keeping Turkish culture, adopting elements of Dutch culture and integration
We have the impression that Turkish families would like to come into contact with Dutch families. In most cases this does not happen. One of the most frequent reasons given for this is the reserved reactions of the Dutch. The way Turks spend their free time in general involves contacts between family members, visits to the café or to the public parks. Dutch men rarely visit a Turkish café or a mosque, thus Turkish and Dutch men rarely meet in their free time. It can be said that Turkish men maintain their own culture
during their free time by their visits to their own meeting places. It is the more modern Turkish men who, by visiting Dutch cafés and through their social activities (football), have acquired Dutch friends. Turkish women also orientate to their own group. In nice weather they meet each other outside on the grass. Dutch women are not used to this way of meeting each other and will not quickly join these groups.

It would seem that the lives of the Dutch and the Turks run parallel to each other although it appears that Turkish residents try to involve the Dutch in their free time activities by inviting them for coffee. Often, however, this invitation is not greeted with much enthusiasm.

"I really would like to be friends with the Dutch, but it doesn't work. I do not know why not. I think that the Dutch people are not so active towards foreign people".

"If we are outside they call "Hello neighbour, everything OK?" that's all. It's the Dutch mentality. Just another mentality to ours. It's something you can't change; you can't change the neighbours".

According to the literature integration can be differentiated into two dimensions: the cultural and the structural. Integration can be full or partial. In the way they spend their free time, Turks retain a substantial amount of elements from their own culture and do not adopt many aspects of Dutch society. Turkish families make good use of the facilities provided by the Dutch government. This means that whilst integration in its cultural dimension does not proceed well, in the structural dimension it proceeds better. There appears to be partial integration. Full integration might be possible if more attention was paid to the cultural dimension by organising activities that had an integrating effect and by creating a park that would be valued by the different ethnic groups. This does not need to be a park which contains different cultural elements. Our thoughts turn to a well-maintained park without dog shit, with plenty of things for the children to play with and where there is enough grass for picnicking and barbecuing.

In Enschede the Turks complain about their Moroccan neighbours.

"A number of Turkish men and boys football just behind here in the field. There is only one field like this in the neighbourhood. If the Dutch come along we sometimes play together, sometimes we divide the field. But if the Moroccans come they start shouting that they were the first on the field and that we have to leave. No, we never football with Moroccans. It doesn't work".

If the results of both studies are compared, there appears to be considerable agreement between the leisure situation (how it is spent and its significance) of Turkish families in Arnhem and in Enschede. Differences have to do with the use made of parks and cafés. As we have seen Enschede is less well endowed with cafés than Arnhem. In other words the cultural and socio-economic background of Turkish families determine the similarities in the way free time is spent, whilst the difference in facilities seems to cause the difference in the experience and the way in which free time is spent (Hamelink 1997).
Facilities and activities needed by Turkish families

The wishes and needs of Turks in relation to the Netherlands has a lot to do with the cultural differences between the Netherlands and Turkey. Thus we will begin by discussing the differences between these two countries before considering wishes and needs. Turkish families on average visit their families in Turkey once every two years. Despite the strong relationship with Turkey, few wish to return to their fatherland for good. The main reason for this that the children would find themselves in a difficult position. All but a very few were born in the Netherlands and they have grown up here. They only know Turkey because they have been there on holiday and have heard the stories told by their parents. If the children had to return to Turkey they would find it difficult to adjust. Just as difficult perhaps as their parents found adjusting to the Netherlands when they first arrived.

"When I came here I was eighteen, no language, no profession, no future for us. If we go back to Turkey the children will have the same problem. They have grown up here, have gone to school here."

The biggest difference between the Netherlands and Turkey is the climate and the atmosphere amongst people. In Turkey it is warmer and does not rain so much, whilst in the Netherlands, because of the bad weather, Turks feel obliged to stay inside. The good atmosphere that prevails in the Turkish villages is manifest, according to the informants interviewed, in more friendly and open people, in a closer relationship amongst the people there, and in the fact that people feel they can reckon on each other. In the Netherlands the provisions made by government organisations are highly appreciated. Turkish families feel that, in the Netherlands, people receive good and prompt help when they need it and that those providing services are friendly.

They would like Turks and Dutch to have more intensive contact with each other, so that the atmosphere in the Dutch neighbourhood would be a little more like the atmosphere found in the Turkish village. As far as facilities and activities are concerned, they would like to see so-called "family parks". These are parks where there are facilities that the whole family can enjoy. One's thoughts turn here to plenty of things for the children to play with and a terrace with restaurant facilities.

"Yes, tea, ice cream, you could buy everything there, and you can always sit there with your family. You can watch video and they have playgrounds for the children, all in the park. The children can play in the playground and you just sit and enjoy a cup of tea".

They would also like to have cheaper Turkish restaurants in the neighbourhood, so that the family would have more opportunity to go out together. Finally, those interviewed would like to be able to behave as freely in the Dutch countryside as they can in Turkey.

Conclusion

If the results of this research amongst allochtone are compared with the results of other studies of family leisure time activities and behaviour, a number of conclusions can be drawn. Komter (1990) carried out research amongst autochthon into power relations within marriage. It appeared that unequal power relations were inevitably built into the marriage relationship. Power is the result of a uneven distribution of rights and duties between men and women. These, however, cannot make there appearance unless there is
the right sort of ideological bases for them. Men and women, through the culture, bring certain assumptions with them that imply a skewed power balance. In Turkish marriages asymmetry is clearly present. The relationship between married Turkish men and women is determined by a traditional power relationships. These seem to be more strongly prescribed in the norms, values and traditions of Turkish culture than they are Dutch culture. If, however, we look at Dutch marriages in the same socio-economic status groups as those of the Turks interviewed here, differences are less sharp.

Inequality of power can also be found in the way free time is spent. The idea that married women have the right to free time is not a strong one amongst Turkish women. Turkish men, however, feel they have the right to free time and they believe they have the right to be able to spend time on their hobbies at the weekend. Turkish women, on the other hand, feel obliged to tackle chores that still need to be done in the house and to keep the children busy.

This phenomena is also found amongst autochthon men and women from lower status groups. Rubin (1976), Van 't Eind et al. (1981). Drooglever Fortuin et al. (1987) and Karsten (1992) have carried out research into power relationships within these families. From this it appears that women from lower status groups have, by definition, heavier responsibilities for housework and for the care of children. Married women with (small) children seldom have a full-time job and if they work outside the home they usually work part-time. Married men with a low socio-economic status ensure that the family have an income and are not much involved in housework or the care of children. There is no question of choice for these housewives. Marriage means, per definition, becoming a housewife. These power relations influence the way leisure time is spent. Given that men and women have their own ideas about how free time should be spent, each fills in this time as they want. In general we can describe the way things are done in lower status groups as follows. Men want to stay at home, they want to rest or relax with friends and acquaintances, women want to get out of the house to meet new people. Within the lower status groups we see that these wishes are realised, but under certain restrictions. In their free time men and women take up activities with people of the same sex as themselves.

During the day the man works and the woman is at home. The amount of time she spends outside the home depends on the children. She leaves the house whenever the care of the children make this possible or when the children can go with her. As the children get older the woman has more free time for herself. Housewives spend a lot of time alone. In order not to become isolated they have to take the initiative themselves to follow courses, visit people, and regularly do the shopping. They fill their bits of free time with a visit to a friend or to family living nearby. Visiting the family is considered important because this is an intimate relationship. Help is regularly asked for and given from both sides. In her free time the woman often does not have a car, and as a result she travels either on foot or by bike. Because of this she spends most of her time in the neighbourhood of her home.

In the evening the man generally watches television or reads the paper. The woman, who usually also sits watching television, keeps herself busy with handwork. Social activities with the family take place mainly at the weekend or during the holidays. In addition the parents sometimes go out for the evening in the weekend. Usually they go out to dinner or to the cinema. These activities usually take place near home. During the weekend the
man spends time on his hobby. For women the distinction between hobby and obligations are very unclear. Tasks that they find nice to do are seen as free time activities even though they are tasks that have to be done.

Free time activities are chosen that are not expensive and, in the holidays, trips are rarely made to far away places. Usually day trips or short holidays are taken in the neighbourhood for a few days. We can call this type of leisure behaviour "traditional".

From our research it appears that the leisure behaviour of Turkish families studied here can be characterised as traditional. It does not seem to us to be incorrect to assume that socio-economic class plays a determinate role in the way free time is spent. Until the 1970s, in working class autochthon families, the domains of man and woman were also strictly separate. This division has been reduced in recent years, even though Komter appears to have been able to trace separate domains via power relationships. In the Turkish families interviewed, there is a clear division along sexual lines in the way leisure time is spent. The personal domain of men and women are also determined by sex. This indicates that the Turkish families interviewed are still a few decades behind Dutch families of similar social and economic backgrounds. It is precisely these circumstances that work against integration with Dutch families through the way free time is spent. However, there are indications that in Turkish families with higher socio-economic status, the distinction between the domains of men and women are becoming less strict. Women have relatively more say and can, to some extent, go their own way. In these families examples can be found of cultural integration, also through leisure, such as visits by Turkish men to Dutch cafés and having Dutch friends. In these families higher socio-economic status, cultural integration, a certain degree of modernity (relationship between man and woman; opinions about religion) seem to go together.
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BETWEEN FREEDOM AND COMMITMENT: THE POSTMODERN FAMILY DISCOVERED. A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF TYPOLOGIES OF FAMILY AND LEISURE DOMAINS IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Introduction

In many studies of recreation and leisure as a social phenomena, leisure is taken to be the antithesis of work, or as a compensation. Leisure has also been seen as complementing an individual's work as in the case of those in technical professions who enjoy do-it-yourself type hobbies. There are scholars, however, who seriously question the approach to leisure as the converse of work. According to Philipsen (1963), Roberts (1981), Kelly (1983) and Te Kloeze (1985; 1989), a family or household approach is a more fruitful way of gaining insight into recreation and leisure were the family or household becomes the research unit. Many leisure activities take place in a family context and their significance is closely related to the family group concerned. Few studies have made use of these suggestions, however, and the study reported below is an attempt to rectify this situation.

In our study, considerable importance has been attached to the possible influence that processes which lead to individualisation may have on the contemporary family. Until recently, the cultural undercurrent of these potential developments have been described as part of the ongoing process of individualisation. Hofstee (1980) formulated the idea (and fear of) "hyper-individualisation" and extreme egocentricity. Whilst this was no fanciful speculation, evidence of a more socially orientated type of individuation should not be ignored (Te Kloeze 1989). Association means that an individuals fulfilment is dialectically related to those around him or her and to other elements in the social and natural environment: one does not develop ones personality at the expense of others. However, individuals are not so dominated by those around them or the social situation that they allow their own fulfilment and consciousness to be suppressed. It can be suggested that a rising consciousness of self value is only "possible" if space is made for others and if one is involved in ones social group. "I will only be human being if I give others the space I need myself" (Te Kloeze 1996). The common factor of hyper-individuation and association is the feature of individuation: the growing consciousness of one's own personality. The difference is that hyper-individuation can be considered an extreme form of individuation, and association a more socially-directed variant or dimension. Hyper-individuation is a egocentric individuation; association is an individuation that involves other people and things. A similar line of thinking has recently been developed by Bauman (1993:13) who introduced the concept of moral responsibility "being for the Other before one can be with the other".

"Comprehensive studies" which focus on the relation between the family and leisure are not very common (see: Young & Willmott 1973; Hantrais 1983) and longitudinal studies are particularly scarce. The research presented below is, in this sense, unusual.

For nearly thirty years, in 1960, 1972 and 1986 (Douma 1961; Douma 1975; Te Kloeze and Van der Wouw 1989; Te Kloeze et al. 1996) the family has been studied in two villages located in the west of the Netherlands: Arkel and Kedichem. Both villages lie
close to the city of Rotterdam. This type of longitudinal research is very unusual in the Netherlands. During the first study, researchers tested the theories of Kooy, a family sociologist, on family change (Kooy 1957). The essence of Kooy's theory was that, under the influence of cultural and structural change such as socio-economic differentiation, declining church attendance, secularisation and mobility, the family as an institution was becoming more independent and less embedded in a patriarchally-inclined working environment. Kooy referred to this more individualised family as a modern western type (Kooy 1967). It is a closed type with formal democratic relationships and is mainly concerned with satisfying the emotional and affective needs of its members. In 1961, Douma confirmed the major thrust of Kooy's theory and sketched (Douma 1961) the contours of the modern western family. In 1972, he repeated his research. In this second study, precisely the same information as in the 1960 study was collected. On the bases of his second study, Douma described a new type of family: the plastic (Douma 1975; comparable with Young & Willmott's symmetrical family). The primary characteristics of this family type were equality between men and women, and equality between parents and children. Functionally, this family type was much concerned with the development of personality and self expression. In 1972, the family seemed to have developed from patriarchal, via a modern western type to the plastic type identified by Douma. The most important aspect of this development was the steady growth in the redistribution of power amongst all family members.

Those who carried out the third study in 1986 kept the longitudinal character of the research, but made substantial changes in the question asked. Many of the earlier questions were considered to be out of date. The objective of the third study was twofold: first to provide a general picture of family values and to go on to describe these values in relation to free time spent in the family context. This third study produced some surprising results. It had been expected that one family type would prove dominant; this was not the case. Research showed that there were three types of families: the modern western family, the transitional and the post modern (plastic).

Below we will discuss the most important findings of the third study (Te Kloese et al. 1996). In Section 2 of this article the problems addressed in study and the structure of the study itself will be discussed and in the third section the most important results are analyzed. After a brief summary, we will go on to examine the results of the study against the background of differentiation in the process of individualisation.

The research issue and research design 1986

The third study carried out in Arkel and Kedichem (1986) was concerned with developing insights into the family but also with examining the way in which families deal with free time. These objectives were formulated as follows:

"To what extent can families be classified in terms of factors relevant to behaviour, attitude, norms and values specifically relevant to family life? What relationship is there between the general family typology and family leisure typology on the one hand, and variables of social structure and social culture including socio-economic status, socio-religious environment and family phase on the other?"
The following concepts were used in the study in order to define a general family typology: gender-specific division of tasks within the household; the authority of the woman; independence in the marriage relationship, the degree of self-determination evident amongst the children, and the attitude towards marriage and motherhood. In the final definition of the family typology, the concept of authority played no role. The most important reason being that it was impossible to divide the items into either modern western or postmodern.

The family leisure typology to be developed should contain seven concepts: the division of tasks in relation to leisure activities; the definition of leisure, the degree of togetherness, the degree of freedom given to the partner, the extent to which children are brought up with a gender-specific approach to leisure, the use and significance of modern mass media, and the degree of autonomy permitted in the context of leisure. In the ultimate definition of a typology of family leisure, the concepts of "mass media" and "autonomy" were not used, because their relationship with the other factors mentioned above was limited.

In addition, an index was constructed for the socio-economic status of the family. Amongst other things, this index was based on the professional and educational status of the men and women concerned. The religious status of the family was determined by an index of 11 items which were used to classify its socio-religious environment. The third index was based on family phase.

The research population consisted of married women with at least one child between 0 and 18 years of age that still lived at home. In the research area 547 women met these requirements and eventually 331 satisfactory structured interviews were carried out in the urbanised rural council areas of Arkel and Kedichem. The population of these two villages can be seen as representative of the urbanised countryside also found elsewhere in the Netherlands. The average family in the population studied can be characterised as follows. The woman is 37 years of age and her husband is 40 years old. They were married in 1970 and by 1986 they had had two children together, the oldest being 12 years. The man and/or the woman have a non-manual profession and they have had primary or secondary education. Neither are very active church-goers. The following scores were recorded for socio-economic status: manual work, primary education 18%; one of the partners manual work, primary education 20%; non-manual work primary or secondary education 27%; non-manual work secondary or technical education 18%; and non-manual labour further education 17%. The frequency distribution along the continuum socio-religious environment from non-religious to religious resulted in the following percentages: 52% non-religious; 25%, 12%, 11% (religious). Families were in the following phases: Families with babies 8%, with pre-school children 12%, with school children 32%, with teenagers 34% and families whose size was decreasing (children leaving home) (14%).

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7 We use the term postmodern in this research. By postmodern we do not, by definition, mean the contradictions that some see as characteristic of contemporary behaviour. We simply wish to indicate the phase that follows the "modern western" period. Contradictions between and within behaviours and between the behaviour and attitudes of men and women can occur, but for the way we use the term postmodern, this does not have to be the case.
Significant results in terms of a general family typology and the family leisure typology

The results as far as a general typology of family is concerned can be summarised as follows. The division of tasks within the family is strongly traditional. Nearly all the women are responsible for housework and three-quarters of the women find that this is how it should be. The way jobs related to child care are divided are somewhat less traditional. Three-quarters of the women take full responsibility for this and half the women think this is the way it should be. Socio-economic status influences the division of labour within the family. If the family has a higher social status, the man does more in the house. An examination of family phase shows that the man does less housework as the children get older.

The majority of women believe that having one's own activities is a positive thing, but financial independence and one's own friends is seen as having a negative effect on the marriage relationship. Women from a religious background judge financial independence more negatively than women from a non-church-going tradition.

Respondents found that it was more important for a child to show signs of self-determination (being able to take responsibility, for example) than conformity (for example, obedience). Conformism was found least important by families with a high economic status.

In addition to marriage, it is accepted that young people live together. Many women find that young people should live together first before they marry, but they also believe that marriage remain common practice in the future. The freedom to follow one's own pursuits within a marriage relationship was considered less important than the endurance of the relationship (getting old together). Women from a religious environment find the freedom to do one's own things the least important but women from families with a high socio-economic status believe that freedom is more important than the sustainability of the relationship. A study of family phase shows that in the later phases of the family, more importance is attached to endurability.

The perspective of motherhood is a dominant one. This is expressed, for example, in the agreement found for the statement "just the feeling that children need you make it worthwhile having children". Women with a higher socio-economic status are less in agreement with this statement, however, than women with a lower socio-economic status.

In building up a general typology of family, each concepts was considered separately. Using a principal component analysis, factor weightings were calculated and a frequency distribution developed. This is shown below in Table 1 (Te Kloze et al. 1996).

Table 1 General typology of family considered in terms of a number of concepts (in percent)

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<th>Concepts</th>
<th>modern western</th>
<th>transitional</th>
<th>postmodern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Task division</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

104
It is striking that families are the most traditional (modern western) in their opinion of motherhood and the most progressive (postmodern) when it comes to the question of child self-determination. After the individual concepts had been considered, correlations were calculated for the five main concepts. These correlations appeared to be high and a principal component analysis indicated that there was only one dimension present in the measurement. Subsequently all the families were classified\(^8\). The results are reported in Table 2.

**Table 2 General typology of the family, in percent**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>modern western</th>
<th>transitional</th>
<th>postmodern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See Table 1

From Table 2 it appears that 21% of the respondents think in a traditional (modern western) way about family matters. These respondents believe that the woman should organise housework and child care with or without the help of her husband. They also have a more or less negative opinion about financial independence and personal friends and activities. As lifestyles, marriage and living together were seen as quite distinct. Motherhood is a dominant perspective.

Fifteen percent of respondents have a postmodern vision of family life. They believe that men and women should take joint responsibility for housework and the care of the children. Elements that reflect the child self-determination are considered very important. Marriage and living together are not clearly distinguished. Motherhood as social identity is rejected.

We are dealing here with two pure types. Respondents who have an opinion about one subject that corresponds to the modern western type and an opinion about another subject that corresponds to the postmodern type are classified as transitional.

---

\(^8\) Analogous to the definition of what modern western, transitional and postmodern was in the answers to the original items, the factor scores were examined for similar categorisation using the method of looking for the so-called cutting-point, above which and under which responds as such can be identified (Te Kloeze 1998).
The results as far as a typology of family leisure are concerned are as follows. Leisure time activities such as organising birthday parties, reading to the children, and serving coffee are tasks for the woman whilst playing with the children and serving drinks are done by the man. The ideal distribution of tasks between couples is more equal than actually reported. Playing with the children and reading to them are generally seen as tasks for both partners.

Domains such as going out alone or with a friend are regarded as "real free time" and having a cup of coffee after the housework has been done or taking part in family activities or doing things with the children is not regarded as "real free time."

The significance of togetherness as a family value in free time activities varied from the traditional "This is how it should be. You're part of a family after all" to the post modern "Everyone should be able to lead his or her own life". The traditional position scored the lowest, followed by the (hyper)-individualistic, whilst the more moderate statements scored the highest (in your free time you should be able to chose for each other). Aspects which fall under the heading "freedom permitted to partner", are particularly sensitive. If husband or wife go on holiday alone, this is regarded by at least half the respondents as undesirable, whilst going out alone is seen as bad for the marriage by a third of those who responded.

Encouraging children in gender-specific ways of spending free time (for example, knitting is for girls and rugby is for boys) is seen by 50% of respondents as correct.

As was the case with the general family typology, first the scales for the individual concepts were subjected to a reliability test (Cronbach's alpha). The method referred to earlier for determining the classification modern western, transitional and postmodern was applied again. The results are recorded in Table 3.
Table 3 Family leisure typology considered by concept (in percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concepts</th>
<th>modern western</th>
<th>transitional</th>
<th>postmodern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Task division in free time</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of free time</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togetherness</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedoms</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender-specific upbringing during leisure time</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See Table 1

Women respondents were the most modern western (traditional) in their response to the freedom permitted to partners and gender-specific upbringing in relation to free time activities. The definition of free time and the degree of togetherness was seen more in postmodern terms and here, in fact, the transitionals formed the majority. Opinion about how free time tasks should be divided is more balanced.

Here too an attempt was made to arrive at a typology, see Table 4.

Table 4 Family leisure typology for the total respondent population (in percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>modern western</th>
<th>transitional</th>
<th>postmodern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See Table 1

When compared to the general family typology, those questioned in relation to the family leisure typology were more reticent (54% modern western versus 21%; postmodern 12% versus 15%). Subsequently the relationship between the two typologies was studied more closely. Expressed in Kendall's tau this was 0.43, and thus high. With the help of a cross table (Table 5), it is possible to see how respondents react to both typologies.
Table 5 The relationship between the general family typology and the family leisure typology (in percent) Kendall's tau=0.43; p<0.01

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family leisure typology</th>
<th>modern western</th>
<th>transitional</th>
<th>postmodern</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modern western</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitional</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postmodern</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See Table 1

From Table 5 it would appear that 48% of the respondents fall into the same category of the general family typology and the family leisure typology. As far as general family values are concerned 43% can be considered more "postmodern" than is valid for the family leisure values, whilst for 9% the opposite is true.

When the general family typology is differentiated according to socio-economic status it appears that women with a low socio-economic status more often fall into the category Modern western than women of a higher socio-economic status (25% and 4% respectively). As socio-economic status rises the respondents become more postmodern. A Kendall's tau of 0.23 indicates a relatively strong relationship.

The socio-economic environment is also reflected in a further differentiation: 12% of the women from a non-religious environment belong to the modem western category against 64% of women from a religious environment. None of the respondents with a strong religious background fell into the postmodern category. This relationship, with Kendall's tau at -0.28, is also relatively strong.

Kendall's tau is less strong when family phase is examined (-0.13). However, where the children were older or one of more of them had left home, the postmodern category was less large. In these reduced families, 40% were modern western and 9% were postmodern.
Table 6 The relationship between general family typology and family leisure typology and overall typology on the one hand and some social-structural variables on the other, expressed in Kendall's tau

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>General family typology</th>
<th>Family leisure typology</th>
<th>'Overall' typology (combination of general family typology and family leisure typology)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social economic status</td>
<td>tau = 0.23</td>
<td>tau = 0.14</td>
<td>tau = 0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p &lt; 0.01</td>
<td>p &lt; 0.05</td>
<td>p &lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social religious status</td>
<td>tau = -0.28</td>
<td>tau = -0.13</td>
<td>tau = -0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p &lt; 0.01</td>
<td>p &lt; 0.05</td>
<td>p &lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family life cycle</td>
<td>tau = -0.13</td>
<td>tau = -0.06</td>
<td>tau = -0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p &lt; 0.05</td>
<td>p &lt; 0.05</td>
<td>p &lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See Table 1

The relationship between the family leisure typology and the three explanatory variables run, it is true, in the same direction as was the case with the general family typology, but they are significantly more limited. The relationship with the "overall" typology (the integration of the general family and family leisure typology) is the strongest. The later means that the integration of both typologies strengthens this direction. The weaker relationship between the social structure variable with the family leisure typology than with the general family typology indicates that variation in the free time values in the family is more diffuse than the general family values whose post modern expression is primarily found in the higher social and less religious environments.

Summary

In modern western families marriage, confirmative values, motherhood, a reluctance to accept independence within marriage and gender-specific task sharing are strongly supported. The reverse is true of postmodern families. Transitional families fall somewhere in between. Gender-specific upbringing reflected in free time activities, gender-specific division of tasks, limitations on the freedom accorded to the husband or wife, emphasis on togetherness and a social definition of leisure characterise modern western family values. Postmodern families display distinctly opposite characteristics and a middle position is also possible. When both typologies are compared, the authors concluded that the average family leisure typology was more traditional. This is remarkable and unexpected. Leisure ought to provide people with a feeling of freedom. The study, however, showed that certain aspects of leisure, such as the husband or wife going on holiday alone were seen as threatening.
Conclusions

From the above it can be suggested that variations in the process of individualisation have influenced the process of family development in western society. We suggest that there are three varieties of family. Both the hyper-individualisation identified earlier, and association can be seen as cultural currents in development of the postmodern family. In the social variant of individualisation "association" central was involvement with the other and others, and concern for the social and natural environment, in short forms of responsibility. Yankelovich (1982) demonstrated the shifts that had taken place in value patterns in the United States since the second World War. He writes in terms of "ethics". There is a close resemblance here with our idea of "hyper-individualisation" and "association". First, there is the "ethic of self sacrifice". Americans were inclined - irrespective of their own desires - to get down to work in order to rebuild their society after the Second World War; marriage, work and the community symbolised important values. This sacrifice lead to prosperity, but no more than that. In the 1970s, there was a desire for a less materialistic approach: creativity, leisure, autonomy, pleasure the "ethic of self development". America went in search of this without choosing between what a highly technological society produced and the quality of life: they wanted both. Dutch sociologists also highlighted this phenomena (Van de Akker and Mandemaker 1991; Van den Akker et al. 1992). Within the family, it is precisely the contemporary need for security combined with the desire for self development that makes the concept individualisation difficult to deal with: this is why we have used the term association. However, whilst economically speaking, there is a high level of prosperity, this is not unlimited. It is becoming clear that gradually the contours of a new social ethic is emerging: the ethic of association. The integration of old and new values is taking place: greater autonomy for men and women; more freedom to chose one's own life style; free time; creativity and a greater concern for the social and natural surroundings. We can regard the integrative in this ethic as a typically postmodern characteristic.

Giddens (1994) argued in the same way "In the context of family life, active trust involves commitment to another or others, that commitment implying also the recognition of obligations to them stretching across time" (ibid.:14). Individualisation has not only made people less dependent on particular institutions, but at the same time has made them more dependent on (anonymous) others. The social security system, for example, is no longer seen as a favour but as a right, and creates at the same time new dependencies. It is possible, however, that there is a tendency towards a greater sense of responsibility towards others, the society and to oneself. According to Weeda (1992) individualisation (the process where the individual becomes more responsible for his or her own choices) and becoming more solidary (the process whereby the individual takes more responsibility for another's, expresses itself in new relationships) are social processes, that are based on developments in gender paradigms. "(...)autonomy is not the same as egoism and moreover implies reciprocity and independence. The issue of reconstructing social solidarities should, therefore, not be seen as one of protecting social cohesion around the edges of an egoistic market place. It should be understood as one of reconciling autonomy and independence" (Giddens 1994:13). In parent-child relationships a "democratic dialogue" develops depending on the extent to which such relationships were regulated by dialogue rather by power relationships which had become rusted and immobile: democracy of emotions depends on the degree of integration between autonomy and solidarity (Giddens 1994). Here we refer to François
Bourricaud who said that one way of defining modernity was to define it in the same way as we define solidarity (in Alexander 1995). This does not mean that there is a decline in solidarity. Van der Avort (1987) pointed out, for example, that amongst those couples who live together there is a large degree of investment from both sides in these "modern" relationships.

Most families look for a path that runs between autonomy and control (the transitional family) and some try to integrate autonomy and solidarity (Giddens 1994). These are the "associative" families amongst the postmoderns, who give an integrated form to the individual and the social (Te Kloese 1989) and where an asymmetric woman-man relationship and parental authority is likely to have given way to intimacy (Giddens 1992). In these families too there is more effort made towards parallelism and an exchange of roles between partners, and more openness between parents and children.
References


The concept of leisure is assuming great importance around the globe. Leisure has gained greater importance in developed countries, whereas in underdeveloped countries it has gained less importance, particularly in India. Leisure is an ongoing process. It is an activity that activates the members of the society. The members of the society who understand the concept of leisure in the real sense of the term and make use of it in a proper way, bring name and fame to the country. The post-graduate students are considered as the resource of the country, and are the custodians of the future society. They are termed as physically grown up, mentally matured, feeling the sense of responsibility, able to devise plans and have great zeal to work. In the process of socialisation, if the post-graduate students are made to understand the concept of leisure in the real sense of the term, they can work for the development of one's own personality and betterment of the society. The concept of leisure and its use in a proper way differs from society to society due to its structural and functional aspects. Sociologists are of the opinion that, better utilisation of leisure time brings goal-oriented desired social changes in the society.

Leisure Concept

The concept of leisure has created a great controversy among sociologists. That is WFF the universal concept of leisure appears to be difficult. The concept of leisure differs from agrarian society to industrial traditional society to modern and underdeveloped society to developed. Hence, leisure has different connotations. "Leisure is generally considered as free time, time spent doing something for utilitarian purposes such as working, leisure simply refers to the ways people spend their free time, when they are not working". 'Leisure is an activity that is freely chosen and intrinsically rewarding, often characterised as a state of relaxation or inactivity'. 'Leisure must be thought of as empty time, time not required to be devoted to do something, time which can be spent doing what one wants;"Leisure can be used to refer to quality of life or to refer to some contributions of time, activity and experience", 'time free from work and other necessary activities such as eating, sleeping'. True leisure precludes the use of physical artistic, intellectual and social activity. Prophet said 'wisdom cometh by opportunity of leisure'. Alistotle 'leisure is the condition for the attainment of wisdom, the satisfaction of disinterested interest which is the highest human goal'. Joseph Pieper said 'leisure is a mental and spiritual attitude ... a condition of the soul'.

Use of Leisure Concept

The respondents are the students pursuing post-graduation course at different branches. Keeping this in mind I have ventured to define leisure as a time available within and after routine and regular class work and preparation of class work.
Profile of the universe

Universities are institutions of higher learning, engaged in the process of advancement of knowledge through teaching, training (and they confer graduate, post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. degrees. In 1857, for the first time in India three universities were established at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Since then, there has been phenomenal growth in India's university system and much diversification has taken place in the disciplines taught and research conducted. The govt. of India and state govt.s established universities in every nook and corner of India with an intention to provide facilities of higher learning to all the ruralites and urbanites. At present India has 218 Universities of which 151 are traditional Universities and others are the centres of higher education and research.

Gulbarga is divisional headquarter comprising of four districts viz., Bellary, Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur. It is on the South Central Broadgauge railway line running from Bombay to Madras. Gulbarga is declared as a backward region by the government of Karnataka. Gulbarga University is situated to the east at a distance of 8 KM. from the city. Gulbarga University is one of the 10 (ten) universities of Karnataka state, established in 1980 with 14 departments. The university has made tremendous development within the short span of 17 years by establishing 35 post-graduate departments and 160 affiliated colleges. The total strength of post-graduate students of Gulbarga University, is 1413 spread over four post-graduate centres, viz., Sandur, Bellary, Raichur and Bidar. The universe of my respondents are post-graduate students of Gulbarga University. The data is based on the random samples of 20 percent of the total strength of post-graduate students of Gulbarga University which constitutes 200 respondents of which 100 are males and 100 are females.

Analysis of Data

The data presented in Table-1 depicts the details of the composition of respondents with rural and urban background. The total number of respondents are 200 of which 100 are males and 100 are females. 67.5 percent are from rural background and 32.5 percent are from urban background. Table-2 reveals the fact that, 23 percent are from General Category, 5.5 percent are from category A, 11.5 percent are from category II (A), 7 percent are from category II(b) and E(a), 23.5 percent are from category E(b), 17 percent are from scheduled castes and 5.5 percent are from scheduled tribes. Table-3 reveals the educational background of the parents of the respondents. 46.5 percent are qualified upto SSSLC, 17.5 percent are graduates of which 5 percent are parents of males and 12.5 percent are parents of females. 12 percent have qualifications of professional courses, of which the very important notable aspect is only 1 percent are parents of males and 11 percent are parents of females. This indicates that the parents of female respondents are more qualified than the males. Whereas 24 percent are illiterate. Data presented in Table-4 indicates the medium of instructions of post-graduate students. 38 percent are from Kannada medium of which 27 percent are males and 11 percent are females. Whereas 62 percent are from English medium of which 23 percent are males and 39 percent are females. To ascertain the time consciousness, the respondents have been asked, daily at what time their day starts?, the data has been tabulated in Table-5. It reveals that, 15.5 percent between 4-5 am; 48.5 percent between 5-6 am, 18 percent between 6-7 am, and 5.5 percent between
7-8 am whereas 12.5 percent has given negative response. Table -6 gives clear information about respondents specific time-table to work. 57 percent has given positive response and 43 percent has given negative response. A question is asked how respondents make use of leisure for various activities the responses are tabulated in Table-7. It reveals that, 27.5 percent devote daily 2-4 hours for study, and 29.5 percent devotes study for 4-6 hours daily, 41 percent devote 1/2 an hour daily for exercise and 16 percent devote 1 hour daily for exercise, 38 percent read newspapers dail->s 1 hour and 19 percent read newspapers daily 2 hours, 26.5 percent 1 hour and 30.5 percent 2 hours for sport activity, 18.5 percent for 4 hours, 43 percent have given negative response. It seems that they are not conscious of leisure time activities.

Table-8 reveals how frequently respondents make use of library. 20 percent use library daily, 15 percent use library on alternate days, 16 percentse libraryweekly, 21 percentuselibraryoccaisonly and 28 percent responded negatively. This also indicates less consciousness of leisure time. Table-9 reveals the talents developed by the students during their leisure time. It reveals that 66.5 percent read novels, 33.5 percent responded negatively, 73 percent make use of leisure time for reading articles. Whereas 27 percent give negative response, 32 percent write short stories and 68 percent given negative response, this indicates that, the respondents are not conscious of making use of leisure time. 30 percent write poems during leisure time, whereas 70 percent are not conscious of not leisure time of activity. 69 percent sing song during leisure time of which 23.5 percent sing song written by themselves and 45.5 percent sing songSwritten by others. Whereas 31 percent are not conscious of leisure time. Table- 10 reveals the hobbies developed by the respondents. 26.5 percentphotography, 29.5 percent developedpainting, 35.5 percent drawing, 46 percent music, 25.5 percent dance, 15 percent write articles, 39.5 percent sports and games, 5 percent write novels, 40 percent read articles, 6.5 percent collect coins, stamps and shooting. Table- 11 reveals the information regarding social service activities and participation in political activities. It depicts that 58.5 percent take active part in social service activities of which 35 percent are males and 23 percent are females. Whereas 41.5 percent fail to make use of leisure time and responded negatively. 15 percent take active part in political parties. Whereas 85 percent has given negative response. Table- 12 reveals the membership of social organisation, 3 percent are the member of SFI, 3 percent of males are the members of AIDSO, 8 percent are the member of ABVP, 12.5 percent males are member of DSS, 5 percent femals are the members of MSS and 1 percent members of RSS.

CONCLUSION

It appears from the analysis of the above table that, the leisure is a new concept to the post-graduate students of the Gulbarga University. The respondents have responded without having a clear idea to make distinction between time, leisure time and work. All the respondents who have given positive response invariably repeated that they make use of leisure time more usefully for various activities. This is due to lack of consciousness, training and knowledge. There is an urgent need device plans and programmes to make use of leisure time more usefully for disinterested interest.

i) The Government of India and State government have given top priority in introducing the courses on leisure studies in all the Indian universities by alloting more funds.
ii) The university students need to be given adequate understanding of the concept of leisure time by introducing them to leisure courses in the university curricula of all the discipline.

iii) Orientation programmes may be organised by experts to train the students to learn the tactics of making use of leisure more usefully.

iv) In the university premises recreation facilities may be provided.

This helps in bringing the desired changes in the society.
References


5. Encyclopedia of Britannica, Vol-22,


8. Gulbarga University, Gulbarga- A Profile 1998, Published by Gulbarga University, Gulbarga, p.3.
**Table 1: Rural – Urban Composition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>83 (41.5)</td>
<td>17 (8.5)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52 (26)</td>
<td>48 (24)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Categorywise Composition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>GM</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>II(a)</th>
<th>II(b)</th>
<th>III(a)</th>
<th>III(b)</th>
<th>SC</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(23.0) (5.5) (11.5) (7.0) (7.0) (23.5) (17.0) (5.5)

**Table 3: Educational Background of Parents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SSLC</td>
<td>51(25.5)</td>
<td>42(21.1)</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>10(0.5)</td>
<td>25(12.5)</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional courses</td>
<td>02(01)</td>
<td>22(11.0)</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4: Medium of Instruction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Kannada</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>54(27)</td>
<td>46(23)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22(11)</td>
<td>78(39)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>76(38)</td>
<td>124(62)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5: Ascertation of Day Starts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>4-5am</th>
<th>5-6am</th>
<th>6-7am</th>
<th>7-8am</th>
<th>No. Res</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(25.5)</td>
<td>(48.5)</td>
<td>(18.0)</td>
<td>(5.5)</td>
<td>(12.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6: Specific Time Table for Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
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### Table 7: Use of Leisure for Various Activities

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Table 8: Use of Library Frequently

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Table 9: Talent of Respondents

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Table 10: Hobbies of the Respondents

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<th>Sports games</th>
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Table 11: Social Service and Political Participation

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This paper deals with the effects of unemployment on the leisure of young people in urban environments in Western Australia. Young people have a high profile in leisure and unemployment research for several reasons. Many are often highly active and are targets of consumerism. Being young, also means ‘youth’ carry the hopes of their countries’ future. Many young people are also vulnerable and at risk. They are often ‘easy pickings’ for the media and there is a strong general perception that they are hounded by authority figures.

The role of leisure activity in the lives of young people is a global issue currently being addressed in many countries. A variety of claims are made on the effect of leisure within specific political and social contexts. In India, for instance, Modi (1996) reports that young people react to commercialised and consumer trends in leisure with a resurgence of parochialism. In a fast developing economy, many Chinese youth are active and vigorous in tourism and recreation activities (Wei-Shu, 1996). Many young people in Armenia, adjusting to market changes and democratic reform, are unable to participate in sport and hobbies because of the lack of money and breakdown of essential services (Adibekan, 1996). Likewise, financial deprivation constrains participation of youth in Georgia, but interest in passive activities has continued (Tarkhnishvili, 1996). In Latin America de Miranda (1996) claims that recreation programmes may be used to rehabilitate youth who have broken the law. In Germany’s strong economy Tokarski (1996) argues that recreation programmes can control racism, xenophobia and violence among young people. Indeed, leisure affects young people in different ways. Leisure itself is influenced by the political, social and economic conditions which raise questions I address in the paper relating to: the effect of unemployment on the leisure of young people in and out of the home. Leisure is examined on a before and after unemployment basis and is categorised as being in the home, out-of-home for fitness, sociability, entertainment and in clubs and associations. These data are preceded by sections on recent theories on unemployment and their relationship to leisure, and the methodology employed in the study.

Unemployment and Leisure

A vast literature exists on the impact of unemployment. Fryer (1995a) sums up by stating that the psychological consequences of unemployment are not homogenous. There is considerable variation from person to person amongst those affected in the severity of the psychological impact of unemployment. Some people’s mental health is affected very badly, some people’s moderately, and some people’s hardly at all. For a minority psychological health appears to actually improve when they become unemployed. Two major but contrasting theories dominate unemployment theory. They are the deprivation and the personal agency approaches.

With the deprivation approach Jahoda (1979, 1984, 1986, 1992) argues that employment promotes well-being by providing people with a time structure, social
contacts, a collective purpose, a sense of identity, and regular activity. These five categories of experience, as she terms them, are important adjuncts to the manifest consequence of earning a living. When people are unemployed they are deprived of access to these categories of experience and the manifest function of earning a living in the social institution of employment.

Fryer and Payne (1984) undertook a study of a small group of unemployed people who were experiencing material but not psychological deprivation by adopting a proactive stance towards unemployment. Ideas and concepts of their personal agency theory (1986) were further developed by Fryer (1995b) who summarised its assumptions on two grounds. Firstly, that people are socially embedded agents actively striving for purposeful self-determination, attempting to make sense of, initiate, influence and cope with events in line with personal values, goals and expectations of the future in a context of cultural norms, traditions and past experience. Secondly that, whilst personal agency is sometimes empowered in interaction with labour market social settings and systems, agency is frequently undermined, restricted and frustrated by formal and informal social forces. Commenting on the deprivation and personal agency approaches, Haworth (1997) concludes that Jahoda and Fryer both stress the importance for well-being of the psychological categories of experience. Jahoda stresses the importance of social institutions in facilitating access to these categories of experience, whilst Fryer points to the inhibitory influence which poverty, social arrangements and cultural practices can have on personal agency, thereby restricting access to positive categories of experience.

The role of leisure and its effect on unemployment, are mixed. On the one hand, leisure is regarded as a vital contributor to quality of life and on the other, leisure does not function as an alternative for work. Schemes for the unemployed have stimulated new participation and recruited back into sport a number of lapsed participants, but failed for most to sustain participation (Glyptis, 1994). For committed unemployed users, sports' leadership schemes did counteract many of the problems of unemployment (Kay, 1994). Studies of young unemployed adults by Evans and Haworth (1991), and Haworth and Ducker (1991) show that engagement in activity is associated with enhanced well-being, but it is less than that for a matched sample of employed people. However, not all types of leisure are able to provide access to the categories of experience.

The other view that leisure does not fulfil functional alternatives for work is espoused by a number of researchers. Jahoda (1981) comments that leisure activities, from TV to sports and self-improvements are fine in themselves as complements to work, but they lack the compelling manifest function of earning a living. Guérin (1984) who conducted research on a sample of young unemployed persons (19-25) with little or no qualifications concluded that unemployment led her respondents to social isolation and made them unable to invest in any kind of personal project, including leisure activities. Roberts (1992) states that leisure may add to the quality of life for people in employment, but it seems fundamentally incapable as an alternative for people without jobs. Leisure may help preserve the psychic well-being during unemployment, but is not a long-term substitute for employment (Roberts, Brodie and Dench, 1987).
The issue of whether the leisure of young people is impoverished as a result of unemployment, is examined by Roberts (1997), who maintains that the range of activities is not reduced, but the frequency of participation decreases because of the lesser income. As a consequence activities in pubs and clubs are less frequented and often done at lower cost. Research into effects of female unemployment on leisure has received little attention, but studies by Brenner and Leui (1987) show that women’s sex role may be more tolerant of job loss and long term unemployment than men’s. Hammarstrom’s (1994) work with Swedish young adults show that girls are more likely to use periods of unemployment positively than boys and Rapoport (1982) notes that women have greater experience in structuring non-work time. Kay (1997) argues that the gendered change in the labour market makes female unemployment an area ripe for investigation.

Studies of the effect of job loss on leisure have been investigated within the domain of leisure as a whole. Seldom has leisure been viewed analytically and functionally. This study examines the effect of unemployment on the lives of young people from the perspective of the functions it performs and therefore, the following questions are raised:

- How does unemployment affect activities in the home?
- How does unemployment affect fitness activities out of home?
- How does unemployment affect social activities out of home?
- How does unemployment affect entertainment out of home?
- How does unemployment affect activities in clubs and associations?

**Methodology**

Sixty young adults attending labour market training programmes, between the ages of 18 and 30 years volunteered to be interviewed. They consisted of 30 males and 30 females. Of the males, 20 were between the ages of 18 and 24 and 10 between 25 and 30 years. Among the females, 22 were between 18 and 24 and 8 between 25 and 30 years. The educational levels were: lower secondary - 27; upper secondary - 20; and tertiary - 13. On a self-perceived financial scale, 16 rated themselves as very poor, 28 as poor, and 16 as comfortable.

Questions were asked on: previous employment history; impact of job loss; job search efforts; relationships with the family; the effect on leisure in and out of home; personal goals; personal resources; and external resources. This paper focuses on the effect of unemployment in leisure in and out of the home.

Responses were audio-taped and then transcribed. Data were categorised into previous employment history, recreation activities in the home, for fitness, sociability, entertainment, and in clubs and associations. Before and after employment comparisons were made in relation to the selected leisure categories.

**Results**

*Previous Employment*

All participants were unemployed for over three months. Their employment history was characterised by intermittent work, which was short-term, casual, and except for
a few, unskilled. A typical response to the question, “What was your previous employment? was:

F & B Manager, 6 months, pay too little; storeman, 2 weeks, one-off; electrical apprentice, 6 months, didn’t enjoy job; landscaping, still involved, casual job.

Ben, aged 19

The above data highlight the problems of gaining reemployment if one is unqualified and unskilled. It is also indicative of a trend by young people to opt for intermittent paid work out of choice, particularly if an individual does not enjoy a job or the remuneration is too small.

Home-Based Recreation

A wide range of home-based activities was stated and the frequencies of responses included: Television viewing (51 responses); gardening (17); videos (13); reading (10); listening to music (6); household chores; board & card games; car maintenance (5); electronic games (4); swimming (home pool) (3); cooking; writing; home repairs; playing pool (2); weights; correspondence studies; writing music; talking on the phone; playing musical instrument; crafts; singing (1). The foregoing list shows that much home-based recreation was centred around television viewing, gardening, watching videos, reading and listening to music. To a lesser extent, informal board, card and electronic games, and car maintenance occupied the time many. Except for television viewing, there was no indication whether these activities were intensely and regularly or occasionally pursued.

Each response on participation in home-based recreation was categorised on a before and after basis. Responses which indicated a substantial amount of time spent on recreation activities in the home were categorised as high. Those who indicated they did very little in the home were categorised as low. The frequency of before and after unemployment participation in home-based recreation activities is as follows: high-high (37); high-low (9); low-low (7); low-low (5).

Responses of before and after basis reveal that recreation activities in the home continued to be high. The main reason for the high participation rate was to keep busy and occupied and to fill unobligated time. Gary, aged 30 who had a young family had this to say:

Before: Watching TV. Plus I own my home. If I didn’t own the house, I would be bored. Everything I have put into it is for my benefit. I can maintain it. I did gardening, but not as much, because driving trucks did not give me enough time.

After: I did a lot of things at home. I have a lot of friends. They came to my home and dug my fish pond and things like that. My mate brought a trailer, they do all the hard work instead of me doing it.

Gary, aged 30
Those who changed from high to low did so for the following reasons: lack of motivation; boredom; and doing the same pre-unemployment activities but with different meaning. Rosemary, aged 25, was bored and spent a lot of time sleeping, watching television and sitting around:

**Before:** Watching TV, enjoyed playing scrabble, listening to music and generally chatting to my family, writing letters to friends.

**After:** I spent a lot more time at home, sleeping and watching more TV, may be just going for a walk in the park so that I could get out of the house. I spent a lot of time just sitting around.

Rosemary, aged 25

Ruth, aged 21, did not watch television or engage in gardening because she lacked the motivation:

**Before:** A little bit of gardening but that’s because I don’t like it. Some TV mostly because I live in an old house fixing it. I enjoy that. Reading, I like reading, science fiction mostly.

**After:** No more TV or gardening, maybe I read a few more books, few more repairs to the house.

Ruth, aged 21

Steve, aged 26, was bored with enforced time on his hands. He continued with activities he did before unemployment for recreation, but after job loss they were done to fill time and because he could afford to go out:

**Before:** Mechanical work, that’s my activities. I worked in the shed, repairing the car, panel beating. It was my recreation. I watched some TV.

**After:** I watch TV, just go out to do some work in the shed, the garden. Now I am here on this stupid course. When I am not, I just sit there and watch TV. Sometimes I can’t afford to go out. Have to wait till next dole day.

Steve, aged 26

Summary: The data on home-based recreation activity show that unemployment affects participation in various ways. Generally, people who spend a lot of their time on home-based activity before employment will increase their involvement in the house. For those who felt severely affected by job loss, unobligated time was spent doing nothing and “sitting around” because of the lack of motivation. For others, who continued with pre-unemployment activities, felt that the activities were no longer satisfying, but only pursued to fill time.

**Out-of-home Recreation for Fitness**

Respondents were asked to state out of home activities they had pursued for fitness when employed. These activities included: organised team sports (42); walking (16);
gym work out (14); surfing/skiing (9); swimming (6); aerobics (4); martial arts; jogging; golf; tennis (3); horse riding; fishing (2); ten pin bowling; abseiling; camping; volleyball; softball; badminton; ice skating (1). Organised sport team sport included basketball (9); netball (9); cricket (7); Australian rules football (6); soccer (5); rugby (3); and hockey (3). The data show that young people in employment participate in a wide range of activities for fitness. Large numbers are involved in organised team sports, walking, gym work, surfing and swimming.

Activities for fitness during employment and after job loss were categorised on a before and after basis. Those who participated regularly were classified as active. Those who gave a “no” response or said they did nothing were classified as passive. Before and after comparisons included the following frequencies: active/active (30); active/passive (25); passive/passive (4).

The results reveal that out of the 55 respondents who pursued activities for fitness before, 30 continued to be active and 25 were passive. The major reasons for continuing to be active were previous commitment towards a chosen fitness activity and having the time to be involved. Those who chose to be passive, felt depressed and lacked motivation to be involved in pre-unemployment activities. One respondent commented that employment encourages a person to get fit and unemployment and the ensuing efforts to secure a job, uses substantial amount of time, which mitigates against activities for fitness.

Abel, aged 18 years, found that he had a lot more time in unemployment to go surfing, an activity he engaged in regularly in employment:

**Before:** Surfing every weekend 6.00am to 5.00pm. If the surf was not good, went bike riding. During the week played indoor cricket with the work team.

**After:** Surfing much more, all day everyday if possible. My motor bike blew up, so I couldn’t use it. Cricket ceased, but I have just started water polo in the last two weeks.

Abel, aged 18

Depression after losing a job, effected Arthur, aged 28 years, so much that he stopping playing sport, didn’t mix with his friends and broke up with his girl friend:

**Before:** I played football with my mates at the local oval daily. I also went swimming with my girlfriend two or three times a week.

**After:** I stopped playing footy. I was depressed and felt a lesser person than my mates. So I didn’t join them. I also broke up with my girl friend, so I didn’t go swimming.

Arthur, aged 28

Kathy, aged 24, found that the routine of employment encouraged a person to be involved activities for fitness. The absence of routine in unemployment restricted participation:
Before: Touch rugby, tennis, swimming, hockey surf life saving.

After: Fitness goes hand in hand with employment, because once you have a routine in employment you go out and join clubs. When you’re unemployed you are sitting around and hunting for jobs. So while I am travelling and looking for a job, tennis and the other things I would be doing is reduced. I am less active, but money has a restriction on the things I can and cannot do.

Kathy, aged 24

Summary: The responses reveal that most young people who pursue fitness activities during employment, continue to be involved after job loss. Committed participants will even increase the amount of time for participation if the activity is low or no cost. Those who are psychologically adversely affected by job loss, may find it difficult to motivate themselves to participate in fitness activities and as a result will lead increasingly passive lives during unemployment. Yet another reason for non-participation in fitness activities, is the lack of externally imposed structured time in unemployment, which creates difficulties for people who are not self-motivated and less proactive in managing their time.

Out-of-home Recreation for Sociability

When asked to state out-of-home recreation for sociability, responses included: visiting friends & relatives (34); pub, parties & dinners (24); picnics, barbecues & camping (7); fishing; hanging around (3); driving; volunteer activity (2).

Before and after unemployment comparisons on sociability were made on the basis of being involved and uninvolved. Those who visited friends and relatives regularly were categorised as involved. Those who let their friends drop off or who didn’t mix with others, were categorised as uninvolved. Before and after responses resulted in the following frequencies: involved-involved (24); involved-uninvolved (28); uninvolved-uninvolved (4); uninvolved-involved (2).

Forty per cent of the participants (24 responses) visited friends and relatives before and after unemployment, while just about half of them (28) withdrew from pre-unemployment social relationships. The reasons for social withdrawal were: losing the contact with fellow workers; inability to reciprocate the hospitality of friends; lack of money to join others at the pub; and feeling uncomfortable in the company of employed friends. There were two respondents who were uninvolved before unemployment, but were involved after. One reason for greater social contact during unemployment, was because the person had the time to keep in touch with friends and relatives, while in paid employment meeting others was difficult because of the lack of time. The other person worked in a the country and returned when he lost his job to the city, where his friends were.

Jane, aged 27, mixed with friends at work, but after job loss, she didn’t mix with others and chose to stay at home:

Before: I had friends and generally they were connected to people at work and friends of people I worked with. We would go out to a club in
the weekends, sometimes maybe camping, a movie maybe, things that cost money.

After: I didn’t mix with others. I just wanted to stay home and didn’t want to mix others at all.

Jane, aged 27

Ken, aged 21, could not reciprocate his friends’ hospitality, so social contact was lessened, but was not stopped altogether:

**Before:** When I was working I used to have a few cans of beer with my mates and grab a steak and have whatever is around with not a care in the world. I went camping, fishing, motor bike riding, working on cars, went to the pub, with a few friends.

**After:** After a while I did not go out to the pub with my friends, many of them tradesmen. They used to say “don’t worry about cash, come on” but I couldn’t do that everyday without giving a shout. Certainly, being social slowed down a lot. Instead of going two or three times a week, I went once a week.

Ken, aged 21

Peter, aged 29, still frequented the pub, but he could not afford the same number of drinks as he could when in employment:

**Before:** I did a bit of fishing, mixed with my friends, went to the pub.

**After:** I still go to the pub once a week, but I have fewer drinks.

Peter, aged 29

For Thelma, aged 19, being in the company of her employed friends made her feel uncomfortable:

**Before:** I went for social outings. I used to go out for drinks. Then I’d go to the movies, to the theatre or something.

**After:** I was a bit offish with my friends, because they got a job and I haven’t. You feel really uncomfortable because they have the money and your sitting back without a job. I was more comfortable with my unemployed friends, because they share things with you, they don’t fob you off sort of thing.

Thelma, aged 19

Summary: Recreation for sociability centred around visiting friends and relatives, as well as, visiting pubs, going to parties and dinners. After unemployment young people withdrew from social contact because: some lost contact with friends at work; others found it difficult to reciprocate their friends’ hospitality; for some lack of money meant having “fewer drinks” at the pub; and a few were uncomfortable in the
company of employed friends. It was noted that most young people did not entirely withdraw from social activities, but reduced the number of times they made social contact, especially at the pub because they had to cope with reduced income.

**Out-of-home Recreation for Entertainment**

When asked to state the type of entertainment young people participated in during employment going to cinema and movies (34 responses) was the most popular, followed by night clubs and discos (21), computer and pool arcades (8), and bands and concerts (6).

Before and after comparisons were made on a frequent and infrequent basis. Those who stated they attended some form of entertainment regularly or once a month were categorised as frequent. Those who stated word like “rarely” or “occasionally” or “not at all” were categorised as infrequent. The before and after frequencies were as follows: frequent-frequent (11); frequent-infrequent (34); infrequent-infrequent (8); and infrequent-frequent (3).

Several reasons were given for reducing entertainment after unemployment. The major reason was that the individual could not afford it. Despite this, young people found ways of continuing with pre-unemployment entertainment by substituting cheaper forms and doing less with less. However, in a few cases there was total social withdrawal.

Ailsa, aged 22 years, substituted going to discos with cheaper forms of recreation:

- **Before:** I went quite a bit to discos, driving, dinner quite a lot once or twice a week.

- **After:** Yes, that suffered going to discos and that. It made me grow mentally to take more responsibility of the money side. I couldn’t afford it. We did it cheaply, more picnics, more barbecues, go for a bike ride with my brothers, sightseeing, display homes.

Ailsa, aged 22

Brian, aged 19 years, could not afford to play computer games at the arcade, but went to his friends’ house instead to satisfy his interest:

- **Before:** Went to the computer arcade, night clubs every weekend, movies once a week and computer games, pool parlours, pot black..

- **After:** I went to my friends home for computer games but not the arcade. I went out less because money was tight..

Brian, aged 19

Since Tess, aged 27 years, could not afford going to the movies, she stopped going altogether:

- **Before:** Movies, I used to go out and see a band.
After: I don’t go to the movies any more, I don’t go out socially, because I can’t afford it. I last went to a movie about five months ago because a friend took me and paid for it.

Tess, aged 27

Summary: Entertainment was seriously affected because of the lack of money. However, young people were able to substitute pre-unemployment entertainment with cheaper forms of recreation and being involved in customary activities less frequently. In a few cases not being able to afford entertainment meant withdrawing from a pre-job loss activity altogether.

Membership in Clubs and Associations

Thirty-one respondents belonged to a club or association of the following types before job loss: organised sporting clubs (20); health club (6); tennis (3); pot black; surf (2); sea rescue; St John Ambulance; horticulture; gymnastics; bull terrier; church (1). The foregoing responses which indicated membership were examined to determine whether the association with the organisation was retained or discontinued after unemployment. The results were as follows: retained-retained (16); retained-discontinued (15).

The results show that just more than half of those who had memberships before unemployment retained them after job loss. This was mainly due to the fact that memberships were low or no cost. Participating in sporting activity with local groups was low cost and enabled some participants to continue despite having less income. In at least two cases, the parents of young persons paid for sporting club membership. In cases where memberships were discontinued, the costs of retaining membership were unaffordable as the Cameron, aged 19, explains:

Before: Lakes Recreation Centre, pool, basketball, gym twice a week.

After: Gym membership lapsed as I had no money.

Cameron, aged 19

Summary: Membership in clubs and associations was adversely affected by unemployment. Lack of money was the major cause. Continuation of membership was due to low or no cost of participation and in some cases young people were assisted financially by their parents. A small minority withdrew from club membership because they felt socially uncomfortable in the company of employed friends.
Conclusion

This study raised four questions: (1) How does unemployment affect activities in the home? (2) How does unemployment affect fitness activities out of home? (3) How does unemployment affect social activities out of home? (4) How does unemployment affect entertainment out of home? (5) How does unemployment affect activities in clubs and associations? The conclusions on each of the questions are now stated.

Home-based recreation: The data on home-based recreation activity revealed that unemployment affects participation in the home in various ways. Generally, people who spent a great deal of their time on home-based activity before unemployment will increase their involvement in the house. For those who felt severely affected by job loss, unobligated time was spent doing nothing and “sitting around” because of the lack of motivation. For others, who continued with pre-unemployment activities, the meaning of activities had changed. Activities which were pursued as recreation before job loss, were engaged in just to fill or occupy unobligated time.

Out-of-home for fitness: The responses revealed that most young people who pursue fitness activities during employment, continue to be involved after job loss. Committed participants would even increase the amount of time for participation if the activity is low or no cost. Those who are psychologically adversely affected by job loss, found it difficult to motivate themselves to participate in fitness activities and as a result led increasingly passive lives during unemployment. Another reason for non-participation in fitness activities, was the lack of externally imposed structured time in unemployment, which created difficulties for people who were not self-motivated and proactive in managing their time.

Out-of-home for sociability: After unemployment young people withdrew from social contact because: some lost contact with friends at work; others found it difficult to reciprocate their friends’ hospitality; for some lack of money meant having “fewer drinks” at the pub; and a few were uncomfortable in the company of employed friends. It was noted that most young people did not entirely withdraw from social activities, but reduced the number of times they made social contact, especially at the pub because they had to cope with reduced income.

Out-of-home for entertainment: Entertainment was seriously affected because of the lack money. However, young people were able to substitute pre-unemployment entertainment with cheaper forms of recreation. A number of young people involved in customary activities did not withdraw completely, but participated less frequently. In a few cases not being able to afford entertainment meant withdrawing from a pre-job loss activity altogether.

Membership in clubs and associations: Membership in clubs and associations was adversely affected by unemployment. Lack of money caused the discontinuation of membership. Those who continued did so because of low or no cost of participation. In some cases young people were assisted financially by their parents. A small minority withdrew from club membership because they felt socially uncomfortable in the company of employed friends.

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This study on the unemployment of young people and its effect on leisure reveals that participation in leisure activities is affected by material deprivation. The lack of income affects participation in fitness, social, and entertainment activities and membership in clubs and associations. Lack of money seemed to be the primary cause of withdrawal from costly activities. Some young people who were adversely psychologically affected as a result of job loss felt unmotivated to participate in activities they would have normally pursued had they been employed. In general more time is spent in the home and activities tend to be of a passive nature.

References:

THE EFFECTS OF COMMERCIALISATION ON LEISURE: EVIDENCE FROM THE NEW EAST

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Introduction

It is only recently that consumption and consumerism have become bases for specialist scholars and journals, but the beginnings of modern consumer cultures have been traced to the late-nineteenth century and even earlier (see Chaney, 1996; Lancaster, 1996). In Western countries commercial leisure has developed incrementally, surreptitiously, which can make it difficult to identify exactly what difference commercial provision makes. Debates on the significance of consumer cultures have therefore been dominated by theories desperately seeking evidence (see Baudrillard, 1998; Featherstone, 1991; Lury, 1996; Tomlinson, 1990). In the new East, the former communist countries, the recent changes have been so comprehensive and rapid as to throw both the processes and effects of commercialisation into unusually sharp relief.

All these countries now have market economies. At any rate, they have more or less free, open markets in most consumer products. Jobs have been transferred from the public to the private sectors. Some of the normal consequences of labour markets - unemployment and wide income inequalities for example - have spread rapidly. And there have been equally if not more radical changes in consumption behaviour. Leisure goods and services formerly provided for collective consumption by the state and Party have, for the most part, simply disappeared. Private consumers can now purchase leisure goods and services according to their own preferences and resources.

Citizens' political rights have been strengthened in so far as they can now vote for the parties and candidates of their choice, but in other respects the reforms in the so-called transition countries have diluted citizenship. Civil liberties have not been strengthened in most of the countries. Crime rates have risen everywhere and corruption remains endemic in state apparatuses. As under communism, government departments and officials are generally seen as threatening rather than protecting ordinary citizens. Social rights have been diluted everywhere. Housing is rapidly being privatised. State welfare payments have declined in real value. Funding for state health services and education has also declined in real terms. But the most dramatic cutbacks of all have probably been in leisure services. Theatres and opera houses have closed or have become dilapidated. The same has happened to swimming pools and other sports facilities. The Komsomol, the Communist Party youth organisation which arranged holidays, and cultural and sporting, as well as political activities for young people, simply disappeared in the earliest stages of the reforms. Under communism young people were offered a wide range of free or low cost leisure opportunities by the state and Party. Needless to say, some declined to use these opportunities. Some young people preferred their own scenes and, for example, entertained themselves with Western music. Nevertheless, most young people did make some use of publicly provided leisure. By the mid-1990s the most obvious replacement in many places was a visit to MacDonald's.
Methods

In the ex-communist countries the changes in the 1990s have been so rapid and extreme as to create quasi-experimental situations, and here we assess the impact of commercialisation with evidence from interviews during 1997 with a total of 900 young people, aged 20-26, in three countries of the former Soviet Union - Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine. In Ukraine the young people were from Donetsk and Lviv, cities in the east and west of the country respectively. In Georgia all the fieldwork was in the capital city, Tbilisi. In Armenia a third of the sample was from the capital, Yerevan, another third was from provincial towns, and the remainder were from rural villages. The samples were selected from elementary and secondary school registers of several years previously (1998-1991) and the respondents were traced via their last known addresses. The schools were selected so as to ensure that males and females, from all the main kinds of secondary schools and family backgrounds, would be adequately represented. The purpose of the research was to discover how the various socio-demographic groups of young people were being affected by all the macro-changes that were in process in their countries, but here we focus on their leisure opportunities and activities, the ways in which these were being affected by commercialisation, and the outcomes.

Some of the questions on these topics that were used in Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine were identical to those included in earlier and parallel enquiries in other countries: among 22-24 year olds in three regions of Poland in 1993; among samples of the young unemployed and the young self-employed in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia in 1997; and among 18-19 year olds in Britain (Liverpool) in 1988. The age groups covered, and the characters of the samples in the different countries, do not correspond exactly, but the findings from elsewhere are useful as benchmarks in examining the everyday lives of young people in Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine in 1997.

Four consequences of the switch from public to commercial leisure provision were vividly portrayed in these young people's lives: globalisation, privatism, 'quality holidays' and eating and drinking becoming dominant forms of out-of-home leisure, and wide inequalities.

Globalisation

The USA and Britain are probably the countries where people have the least cause to be conscious of, and concerned about the impact of globalisation on their everyday lives and environments. Americans may worry about the volume of manufactured imports but most of the music that they listen to, the sport that they watch, and their films and television programmes, are made in America. Britain experienced a mild panic between the 1930s and the 1950s when Hollywood, then US forces based in Britain, then Bill Haley, Elvis and Co, and American television shows were experienced as a mini-invasion. However, Britain benefits from English having become more and more the international language. So Britain has 'natural' advantages as a cultural producer and exporter, especially of music, but of television programmes and films also.

In the rest of the world globalisation is a more visible threat to local cultural production. The French worry about this. So does virtually everyone else. Governments usually insist that the greater part of local TV output should be locally produced. But the countries with the greatest cause for concern include those which are ex-communist.
Under communism they had closed, almost totalitarian systems. Western products seeped in, but only through and into crevices. Then at the end of the 1980s the floodgates opened, and the new private sector economies have been quicker to develop systems of distribution (especially of imported products) than the means of production (see Council of Europe, 1996; Jung and Moleda-Zdziech, 1998).

Television became a standard item of domestic equipment under communism. By the 1980s, as in the West, ownership of a television set had ceased to discriminate between advantaged and disadvantaged households. Subsequently, also as in the West, under post-communism ownership of video-recorders/players, and the technology to receive programmes via cable or satellite, have spread rapidly. As soon as markets began to operate the equipment became available to anyone who could pay, and ownership has soared. Video and audio recordings have also become plentiful, bringing the whole world of entertainment into the local shops if not immediately into all people's homes.

The spread of ownership of home entertainment equipment has not necessarily indicated a spread of prosperity. In most ex-communist countries most people have been worse off in the 1990s than they were in the 1980s. Nevertheless, more and more families have been able and willing to invest in video players and satellite dishes. Turning cash and bank deposits into tangible goods has often seemed sensible when the local currencies have been at risk of serious devaluation. Otherwise the purchases have usually been financed by lucrative (second economy) business deals, money earned during trips abroad, or cash gifts from relatives in other countries.

In the countries in this study between 40% and 61% of the young people in Lviv, Tbilisi and Armenia (and in Poland in 1993) lived in homes with video-recorders (see Table I). In Donetsk ownership was rarer (23%) but everywhere the trend was upward. By 1997 in East-Central Europe most young people's homes had satellite or cable connections. In Tbilisi 38% did so where this technology was less common in Ukraine and Armenia (6% to 9%) but, once again, everywhere the trend was upward.

**Table I**

**LEISURE EQUIPMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentages with the use of:</th>
<th>Lviv</th>
<th>Donetsk</th>
<th>Tbilisi</th>
<th>Armenia</th>
<th>Poland</th>
<th>E-C EUROPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87 52 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>NA NA 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satellite/Cable</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>72 53 NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Virtually all the satellite programmes being transmitted into these countries, and likewise the video-recordings that were on sale in the local shops, were of foreign origin. There was virtually no local production for these media. There was a great deal of reproduction - making pirate copies from original videos and from satellite programmes. This was sometimes done informally, for personal use or distribution among friends and relatives, as happens throughout the world. In other instances the pirate reproduction was real business.
Ownership of the equipment required to receive satellite television and to play videorecordings has spread rapidly in all the ex-communist countries. In some instances the levels now exceed those in some Western countries despite the relative poverty of the populations in the East. The East's enthusiasm for the technology is due to the immense difference that it makes to the range and quality of the entertainment that becomes available in people's homes. Domestic terrestrial television channels have been carrying wider ranges of programmes in the 1990s - more films and game shows, and less domination by politics. But video players and satellite connections open the entire world of quality entertainment. In a similar way, satellite connections bring the world of quality sport into people's homes. In the ex-communist countries in this study television was far and away the leading medium whereby young people watched sport. No more than 5% of the samples were actually going out to watch live sport regularly (at least once a week).

An outcome in all the countries had been a decline in domestic cultural production. So the young people who had been trained for careers in (state) theatres, orchestras and so on had found these career routes crumbling before they could enter. State funding had been cut back savagely or had been eliminated altogether. So the young people could either abandon their original professions, try to go abroad to practise, or test the commercial market places in their own countries. Testing the local market usually meant performing in the streets or in bars or restaurants. Pop music was no longer underground and some pop concerts were being organised by local cultural entrepreneurs, but it was difficult for such ventures to succeed given the poverty of the local populations. Local people who had the cash had the option of gaining access to world quality output by investing in domestic reception and playing equipment.

Globalisation has not led to worldwide homogenisation. Everywhere there is a distinctive blend of the global and the local. It is these blends, and the preservation of (at least apparently) authentic local culture that makes places attractive to tourists. However, many of the films and sports matches that are watched, the music that is heard, the clothing fashions, and the fast and other food businesses, are exactly the same all over the world. And in most countries by far the greater part of the global products have foreign origins. In countries with weak economies leaving leisure to the free play of market forces normally means replacing local with imported entertainment and related products.

Privatism

Alongside the spread of home entertainment equipment post-communism has shifted leisure from public into private, domestic life (see Jung, 1996). Communism was not very good at providing people with consumer goods but it performed rather well in offering public entertainment and other spectacles that were free or low cost to the audiences. Theatres, concerts, galleries and museums were heavily subsidised. Admission charges at opera and sports events were often nominal. Market economies perform rather poorly against this yardstick. They are much better at producing the hardware and software with which people can then amuse themselves, usually in their own homes. Whereas leisure under communism tended to draw people together in public places, in market economies leisure tends to keep people apart, consuming as separate individuals and households.
In the ex-Soviet countries in this research no more than 6% of the samples were going regularly (at least once a week) to cinemas, theatres, concerts and other places of out-of-home entertainment (see Table II). Participation rates in this kind of leisure are just as low in the West (4% among the young people in Liverpool for example). The places where young people are most likely to listen to music and watch films are their homes.

There are other ways in which market economies tend to private leisure. Communism provided low cost (to the travellers) public transport. Market economies tend to promote private vehicle ownership, and the shift soon becomes a landslide as the use of public transport declines and when, as a result, fares are raised and services are withdrawn. By the mid-1990s most young people in most of the former communist East-Central European countries had the use of private motor cars (usually old, Soviet or East European rather than new Western models). In the ex-Soviet countries in our research the use of private motor cars was most common (33%) in Armenia, the poorest of the countries, but the one where public transport services had deteriorated most drastically (see Table I). And like video-recorders and satellite dishes, car ownership was spreading everywhere. The private motor car enables individuals and families to go out without the risk of interacting with neighbours or strangers.

Holidays are also rather different in market economies. Under communism they were organised by schools, colleges, the Komsomol, employers and trade unions. Young (and older) people who were educated or who worked together often went on holiday together. In market economies holiday making tends to be privatised. Holiday packages...
are sold to separate individuals and families. Indeed, these ‘units of consumption’ sometimes organise their own itineraries.

There were other indications of the extent to which leisure in the ex-communist countries had been privatised. Under communism most young people had joined the Komsomol. There were other incentives for membership for the politically unmotivated. In 1997 no more than 18% (in Lviv) belonged to a recreation-based club. Needless, to say, in the West the ‘clubs’ that young people are most likely to be associated with are night clubs. The proportions of the samples in Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine who belonged to political parties were negligible. In Ukraine around a half of the young people belonged to trade unions compared with less than 10% in Georgia and Armenia. In the latter countries the trade unions had ‘evaporated’ as the state sector economies were run down. In Ukraine the old structures had been more resilient though they had been de-energised by chronic cash shortages. There were supposed to be religious revivals in the ex-Soviet countries but the proportions attending church regularly, between 7% and 13%, were in fact lower than in Liverpool (14%). Post-communism had drained public life rather than created vigorous civil societies.

**Out-of-home priorities**

There were in fact just two uses of leisure that were drawing young people in the ex-Soviet countries together in their free time on a regular basis. One was sport. Spectating had been largely transferred into the home whereas, although market economies can supply fitness equipment, there is really no domestic substitute for playing in a team, in a sports hall, on an outdoor pitch, or swimming in a pool. Sports facilities were often closed or run-down in the ex-communist countries, and there was less organised sport than when the Komsomol had been active, but young people with the inclination (mainly males) were continuing to play, often informally in parks and other open spaces. The regular (at least once a week) sport participation rate was highest in Lviv (44%) - virtually identical with the 45% recorded by 18-19 year olds in Liverpool in 1988. Elsewhere the sport participation rates were distinctly lower (22% to 27%) but still far from negligible (see Table II).

The other type of out-of-home leisure in which most young people were involved to some extent was drinking. The private sector economies had been slow to re-open factories, but they had been quick to open bars, cafes and restaurants in all the cities. And as this had happened, instead of congregating informally in the streets or parks as alternatives to meeting in each other’s homes, young people had begun to socialise in places where drink (and sometimes food) were on sale. Market economies rent space for informal sociability mainly by raising revenue through the sale of food and drink. In all the ex-communist countries regular (at least once a week) consumption of alcohol, and visits to bars and suchlike, were much lower than in Liverpool in 1988. The most likely reason is simply that the young people in Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine (and Poland) could not afford to ‘go out’ as regularly and, in any case, this use of leisure time had not been customary in their countries. In fact the main out-of-home use of leisure in which British youth led their Eastern counterparts was alcohol consumption. This lead was established between the 1950s and 1980s when alcohol consumption rose steadily among increasingly affluent Western youth, and a similar rise is likely if and when the economies recover in the former communist countries.
It is supposed to be the ex-Soviet states that have the chronic alcohol problem, and this view is correct in so far as 'the problem' is extremely heavy drinking. In Ukraine, Georgia and Armenia many young people associated drinking alcohol with getting drunk. Alcohol had often been used, when it was consumed, with this explicit purpose. So many of the young people explained that they did not drink except on special occasions. In Western consumer cultures a rather different kind of drinking has been promoted. People are encouraged to drink (through advertising and other forms of marketing) but not to get drunk. Young people (and adults) typically drink slowly, and in moderation, meaning that they always intend to stop, and usually do stop before they lose control. This Western type of drinking was in fact spreading rapidly among the better-educated young people in the ex-Soviet countries. They were the young people who were most likely to be visiting bars and restaurants regularly. They were likely to be acting as role models for others in their age group. In the early 1990s young consumers in Moscow and elsewhere were fascinated by the appearance of MacDonald's and similar establishments. Their more sophisticated successors are likely to find other kinds of nightlife even more appealing. By the mid-1990s drinking regularly was being 're-imaged' as a status activity rather than disreputable. And as levels of alcohol consumption rise among young people in East, it is likely that the use of Western youth's recreational drugs will also rise towards Western levels.

**Inequalities**

Another outcome of post-communism has been the break-up of the former common ways of life based on the consumption of publicly provided goods and services. Yes, the elites did have advantages. They usually had superior city centre flats and privileged access to goods which were scarce. They made the most use of the concerts and theatres that were (actually, not just nominally) accessible by all. However, their lifestyles were not as advantaged, vis-a-vis those of workers, as the lifestyles of the high earners in market economies. Under communism professionals and managers were not always well-paid. Some manual occupations, coal-mining for example, were usually better-rewarded financially. Professionals' rewards were in status, certain fringe benefits and lifestyle rather than material living standards. Everyone experienced the same ups and downs in national economic fortunes. If a country prospered so did most of its citizens. If an economy slumped, as happened in most communist countries in the 1980s, then virtually everyone felt the pain.

The 1990s have been different. Income inequalities have widened dramatically. Publicly provided services have been thinned-out. More consumption is now by private individuals and households, and what they earn, and therefore that they can spend on their leisure, varies considerably.

The young people in our 1997 surveys who held regular jobs in the three ex-Soviet countries were usually earning between $30 and $100 a month. Those who were not in employment were sometimes receiving similar sums from their families. How much the young people were able to spend on themselves depended more on their families' circumstances than their personal earnings. Levels of personal spending varied widely, across roughly the same range as earnings, from under $30 to over $100 a month. Generally it was the best educated young people, who tended to be from the best placed families, plus the successfully self-employed, who were the highest spenders.
Some differences in the young people's uses of leisure were unrelated to their financial means. This applied to the main differences between the males' and the females' spending and activity patterns. Whether the young people played and watched sport, went to church, to cinemas and other places of entertainment, and whether or not they smoked, did not depend on their spending power. But other things did. There were often wide differences in the participation rates and possessions of the highest and lowest spending groups. The highest spenders were by far the most likely to have cars, videos and satellite or cable connections. They were the most likely to take holidays away from home, and to have been to all kinds of overseas destinations for all types of reasons (see Table III). The highest spenders also had the highest levels of alcohol consumption and were making the most frequent visits to bars and restaurants.

Table III

Spending and Leisure

Personal spending per month

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Has use of</th>
<th>&lt;$30</th>
<th>$30-$50</th>
<th>$50-$100</th>
<th>&gt;$100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satellite/Cable</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participate at least weekly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bars, restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of recreation club</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Holidays last year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Been abroad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visit relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR (former)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our cross-sectional evidence offers pointers to the most likely changes over time if and when the populations in the ex-communist countries become more prosperous. It would appear, from our evidence, that private prosperity per se will not boost sport playing or spectating, visits to cinemas and other places of entertainment, church going or smoking. Extra cash is most likely to be spent on home entertainment equipment, cars, quality holidays, and visits to bars and restaurants - the main kinds of leisure activity that commercialisation tends to promote.

**Lessons from and for the West**

Western experience of late-twentieth century commercialisation has been different. These countries have voluntary associations and public sector leisure provisions which developed when living standards were much lower, when people were less mobile, before late-modern individualisation began, and before most of the home entertainment equipment that is now standard had been invented. In the West commercialisation has not swept other provisions aside. There have been adjustments at the margins. Public providers and voluntary associations have adopted some commercial methods. But commerce has been as much channelled into the remaining space as the dominant force. The voluntary sectors have not contracted and public leisure provisions have not been scaled-down drastically.

It has been different in the East. Commercial forces have been unleashed in societies which need to develop voluntary sectors from scratch, in competition with the full range of in-home and out-of-home attractions that late-twentieth century commercial markets offer. The third sectors need to develop in societies where the processes that are currently privatising leisure and widening inequalities are in full flow. Commercial leisure has flooded into the Eastern countries in a period when the public sectors are being scaled-down heavily. Public provision has been de-legitimised, temporarily if not permanently. All the governments are chronically short of cash. In some countries the salaries of police and military personnel have lagged months in arrears. Everywhere public sector salaries have declined in relative value, and sometimes in absolute value also. Hospitals have run short of cash for essential medical supplies. Schools have been unable to pay heating and lighting charges let alone purchase new books and PCs. This is the context in which the prospects of public sector leisure services have become extremely bleak.

In more favourable circumstances voluntary associations are able to harness voluntary effort to develop and sustain leisure opportunities about which the activists are sufficiently enthusiastic. Once the associations are up and running, sustaining them can become almost an end in itself for some activists. Western experience shows that the third sectors can sustain members' commitment in the face of the full flood and force of commercial processes. But initially generating the commitment and associations can be a rather different matter.

Likewise support can be maintained, via political processes, for public sector leisure provisions which sustain local cultural production and thereby jobs and trade balances, and tourist attractions. Market systems enable private consumers to express certain demands. Political processes allow citizens to express equally authentic demands - for the development and maintenance of facilities in which they will partake in a collective pride and satisfaction even if they do not expect to derive personal benefits. People may
quite rationally wish to maintain opportunities for all to play sport, to protect the heritage, however defined, and to pursue national cultural and sporting excellence, even if they themselves have no intention of attending any of the events, concerts, galleries or whatever.

The commercial, public and voluntary sectors are not so much alternative ways of providing the same leisure goods and services as vehicles for expressing different kinds of demand, each as valid as the others. When the voluntary and public systems are in good working order, as in most Western countries, the development of commercial leisure can widen people's choices and promote all-round efficiency. When provision is left entirely commerce the outcome is a caricature of late-twentieth century Western ways of life. The recent experience of the new East sharpens appreciation of the distinctive roles of public and voluntary sector leisure provision. The Eastern experience, or experiment, illustrates vividly what is gained and also what is lost when virtually everything is left to the market.
References


