



Leisure Studies Association

Newsletter

No. 98

July 2014

Leisure Studies Association Newsletter No. 98 July 2014

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Chair's Comments

Once again in the LSA Newsletter we are able to deliver an excellent special theme section thanks to the work of a guest editor, on this occasion Gabby Riches at Leeds Metropolitan University. Could I urge others to volunteer to act as guest editor: All you need is an interesting and timely theme in leisure studies and a few contributions from colleagues who share your interest.

The LSA 2014 conference at the University of the West of Scotland is almost upon us and I hope as many members as possible will be able to attend both the conference and the Association's AGM which takes place at 5.00 p.m. on 7th July. Full details of the conference are available at <http://www.uws.ac.uk/lisa2014/>

On 4th June I attended a one-day conference on Volunteering as Leisure: Leisure as Volunteering, jointly organised by the Leisure Studies Association, the Voluntary Sector Studies Network and the Voluntary History Action Society. (I should declare an additional interest here - I am a Committee member of the last-named organization). The event was co-ordinated on behalf of the Association by Geoff Nichols, and hosted at the University of Sheffield. Clearly these three associations share a great deal of common interest and the day produced some very interesting papers and excellent opportunities for networking. The aim of the conference was to draw together academic perspectives and promote a research agenda and I hope there will be possibilities for further joint activities in the future.

Although there was no submission for the LSA Undergraduate Dissertation prize this year, there were two excellent submissions for the Postgraduate Dissertation prize. The judges found them of equal merit and therefore the joint winners of this prize are Georgia McGrath for her dissertation on 'The Role of an Alternative Curriculum in the Creation of Sustainable Community Connections: A Case Study of 'Youth Action', and Azhar Kola for a dissertation on 'Going Hunting: Exploring the Identities and Experiences of Indian Muslim Men in South Africa'.

Bob Snape
July 2014

New Members — LSA is pleased to welcome 14 new members to date (June) in 2014, all of whom will be among the participants of LSA Conference 2014:

Ms. Susan Barnett, Indiana University, USA
 Mr. John Peter Barrer, Univerzita Komenskeho v Bratislave, Slovakia
 Mr. Orian Brook, University of St Andrews, UK
 Dr. Andrea Bundon, Loughborough University, UK
 Dr. Alison Doherty, University of Western Ontario, Canada
 Mr. Tom Forsell, Victoria University, Australia
 Ms. Joy Fraser, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada
 Ms Laura Graham, University of the West of Scotland, UK
 Mr. Tom Griffin, Ryerson University, Ontario, Canada
 Dr. Nigel Jamieson, Technical and Further Education South Australia, Adelaide, Australia
 Mr. Paul Kitchin, Ulster Sports Academy, Jordanstown, UK
 Dr. Brian Krohn, Purdue University Indianapolis, USA
 Mr. Kyle Rich, Western University, London, Ontario, Canada
 Dr. Stuart Whigham, St. Mary's University, London, UK

Nominations and elections for 2014–2015 Executive Committee

In May 2014 LSA members were invited to submit nominations to fill upcoming vacant positions on the LSA Executive Committee: officer posts Treasurer and Membership Secretary, and several Ordinary Members. No responses were received, so no ballot was circulated in June. Therefore nominations will be taken and the election conducted from the floor at the Annual General Meeting, 5pm on July 7, 2014, in Paisley, Scotland (LSA 2014 conference at University of the West of Scotland). Members are entitled to attend the AGM without registering for the conference. For location details see the conference website : <http://www.uws.ac.uk/lisa2014/>

Dissertation Prizes 2013

The Executive Committee is pleased to announce two Post-Graduate Dissertation Prizes for work completed in 2013. Both prize-winners have received a £100 award.

Sue Glyptis Memorial Award joint winners for Post-Graduate Dissertation of the Year (2013):

Georgia McGrath, Monash University, Australia, supervised and nominated by Dr. Ruth Jeanes, for 'The Role of an Alternative Curriculum in the Creation of Sustainable Community Connections: A Case Study of 'Youth Action'.

Azhar Kola, Leeds Metropolitan University, UK, supervised and nominated by Dr. Brett Lashua, for 'Going Hunting: Exploring the Identities and Experiences of Indian Muslim Men in South Africa'

Complete information about LSA Dissertation Prizes can be viewed at <http://www.leisurestudies.org/dissertation-prizes>

Special Theme Guest Editor Newsletter 98

Please contact R.Snape@bolton.ac.uk ASAP if you would like to put together a collection of special theme articles for Newsletter 98 on your chosen leisure studies subject. Copy deadline is October 1, 2014 for circulation November 1, 2014



Sport, Festivity and Digital Cultures

<http://www.uws.ac.uk/lisa2014/>

7–9 July 2014, Hosted by University of the West of Scotland, Paisley Campus

Committee Chair Prof. Gayle McPherson

LSA 2014, Sport, Festivity and Digital Cultures brings together comparative and contrasting perspectives on both the digital age in leisure and digital practices as leisure — as prevalent in cultural forms such as sport or festivity and other leisure pursuits. The conference takes place in a particularly important year for both Scotland and the global sporting and cultural communities. Scotland plays host to the XXth Commonwealth Games in Glasgow and the Ryder Cup in 2014 at Gleneagles. Culturally, 2014 also marks the second “Year of Homecoming”, encouraging the successors of the global Scottish diaspora to return home for a year of cultural “extravaganza and festivity”.

LSA 2014 CONFERENCE THEMES

- Digital cultures (festivals, events and digital cultures; sport and digital cultures; digital leisure communities)
- Sport (sport tourism; sport and the outdoors; sport and festivity; sport and community engagement)
- Emerging researchers. The conference will host a PhD Strand with Panel Q&A session and early career workshops led by LSA members. Papers across (and beyond) the main conference themes are encouraged.
- Festivity (festivals, events and identity politics; festivals, events and the common good; assessing the cultural value of festivals and events)

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UWS

LSA
2014

Greetings from the Chair of the LSA 2014 Organising Committee

I am delighted that the University of the West of Scotland is hosting the annual Leisure Studies Association Conference this year and in a momentous year for Glasgow and look forward to welcoming you to our Paisley campus this summer. This is an exciting year to attend the LSA's international conference because two weeks after the conference Glasgow will play host to the XX Commonwealth Games and, as part of our social programme, we have made arrangements for delegates to experience some of the transformations happening in the city through the medium of a walking tour. We have also managed to secure a civic reception at Glasgow City Chambers hosted by the Lord Provost of Glasgow and a member of Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games Ltd. We will then go on to have our Gala Dinner and hopefully a Ceilidh later in the evening.

The conference has three main themes — Sport, Festivity and Digital Culture — and to date (February 20, 2014) we have accepted over 90 abstracts for the conference, surpassing all expectations at this stage. We are delighted the conference will have a very international feel with delegates coming from all over the world and we look forward to welcoming you to some good Scottish hospitality and culture.

We have a range of fantastic keynote speakers confirmed for the conference and have included their details in this update.

Our partners at Glasgow 2014 Ltd are supporting our conference and contributing to the social programme, including speaking at the Opening Address. We are also delighted to be continuing the Leisure Studies Association tradition of hosting a Gala Dinner which will hopefully enable you all to relax and get to know each other better outside of the conference room!

Best wishes and I look forward to meeting with you in July 2014

Committee Chair:
Professor Gayle McPherson, UWS

Local Organising Committee Members:

Professor David McGillivray, UWS; Dr Sandro Carnicelli, UWS; Siobhan Drummond, UWS; Margaret Scott, UWS; Jennifer Jones, (PhD student), UWS; Sarah Scott (PhD student), UWS; Jenny Flinn, Glasgow Caledonian University; David Jarman, Edinburgh Napier University; Paul Zealey, Glasgow 2014 Ltd; Dr Jane Ali- Knight, Edinburgh Institute: Festivals, Events& Tourism; Laura Graham, UWS





Conference Sub-themes

1. Sport

Sport tourism. With a continued growth in tourism around sporting events, cities frequently pitch to be selected to deliver large scale sporting events as part of a neo-liberal approach to securing infrastructure growth and place identity. City policy makers are responding with sports and events tourism strategies designed to increase their global profile and attract international visitors for longer.

Sport and festivity. This sub-theme will focus on the relationship between sport and festivity, including the festive elements of major sporting events, the ancillary festivals that are now planned into sporting events (e.g. Live Site and Fan Parks) and the physical environments where ‘fandom’ is performed and linked to place and space (e.g. sporting venues).

Sport and community engagement. In this sub-theme, contributions are expected on the way that sport is used as a tool of community engagement and other social externalities. This could include sport volunteering, sport’s contribution to crime reduction and health gain.

2. Culture, festivals and events

Festivals, events and identity politics. This sub-theme will cover issues of space and place identity as they relate to the history and culture of a community or nation, curating cultural identity and community identities e.g. diaspora, celtic cultures, nation states etc. This theme will problematise such concepts in a year that Scotland sees a Homecoming and a referendum on the future of its own identity.

Festivals, events and the common good. This session will receive contributions from scholars interested in the role of festivals and events in generating positive policy outcomes for a range of beneficiaries. Papers could consider the social impact of festivals and events, as well as mechanisms for evaluating the social outcomes of festivals and events.

Cultural value or valuing culture. Contributions will be sought from those writing on the role of culture in society and the value of culture in the public domain. Papers may consider the value accorded to festivals and showcase events and explore the challenges faced in measuring their impacts.

3. Digital cultures

Festivals, events and digital culture. This sub-theme invites contributions from scholars interested in the impact of digital cultures on the production, consumption and regulation of events and festivals.

Sport and digital cultures. In this sub-theme attention will be paid to the emergence of distinctive digital identities around sport. Contributions could include a focus on digital fandom (messageboards, social media, blogging), issues around the use of social media by sporting figures, the role of social media in the experience of sport.

Culture hackdays. Contributions are envisaged from the growing population of artists and academics who are using social media to stage cultural projects through web space, blogging and digital timeline stories, or photojournalism, music, etc.

4. Emerging researchers

The conference will host a PhD strand with panel question and answer session and early career workshops led by LSA members. Papers across (and beyond) the main conference themes are encouraged.

5. Open stream

In addition to papers addressing one of the main conference themes, novel research outside those thematic foci is also welcome. The open stream of the conference is designed to encourage / enable conference participation for Members and others for whom the current year’s theme is not within their particular area of interest, but have a contribution to make to leisure studies theory, methodology, policy and pedagogy.

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



▶ **PROF. JAMES HIGHAM** is Professor of Tourism at the University of Otago (New Zealand). His research interests in the field of sport and tourism have addressed sport and spatial travel flows, sport and tourism seasonality, sport and authentic experiences, and globalization, sport and place. Working in collaboration with Professor Tom Hinch (University of Alberta, Canada) since 1998, their major contributions to the field include: Higham, J.E.S. & Hinch, T.D. (2009) *Sport and tourism: Globalization, mobility and identity*. Oxford: Elsevier and Hinch, T.D. & Higham, J.E.S. (2011) *Sport Tourism Development* (Edition 2). Bristol: Channel View Publications. James has served as Associated Editor of *The Journal of Sport & Tourism* (Taylor and Francis) since 2005, and is the editor of *Sport Tourism Destinations: Issues, opportunities and analysis* (2005, Oxford: Elsevier).



▶ **DR DAVE O'BRIEN** is a Lecturer in Cultural and Creative Industries at City University London. He currently works on issues in public administration as well as cultural policy. His first book 'Cultural Policy Management, Value & Modernity in the Creative Industries' is published by Routledge in October 2013 and he has written extensively on European Capital of Culture and Urban Cultural Policy. He is currently part of several ongoing research projects including 2 major studies, one on arts and dementia the other on the creative economy, both funded by AHRC's Connected Communities. Dr O'Brien is a member of the editorial board of the journal *Cultural Trends* and is part of the advisory board for the AHRC's cultural value project.



▶ **PROF. GARRY CRAWFORD** is a Professor of Sociology at the University of Salford. His research and teaching focuses primarily upon audiences, consumers, technology, fans, sport and gamers. He is the author of the books *Video Gamers* (2012) and *Consuming Sport* (2004), and the co-author of *Introducing Cultural Studies* (2nd ed. 2008), *The Sage Dictionary of Leisure Studies* (2009), and co-editor of *Online Gaming in Context* (2011). Garry is Director of the University of Salford Digital Cluster, a Director of the British Sociological Association, and review editor for the journal *Cultural Sociology*.



▶ **PROF. KATH WOODWARD** is Professor of Sociology at the Open University where she works on feminist, critical theories and psychosocial approaches to embodiment and affect, mostly within the field of sport. Recent books include *Sex, Power and the Games* (2012) on the explanatory reach of sex, gender and the concept of enfolded selves, *Sporting Times* (2012) on temporalities in sport using the 'real time' of the 2012 Olympics. *Sporting Times* is informing Kath's work with the Olympic Museum in Lausanne on its new exhibition *Time and Sport* for which she is acting as consultant and writing the catalogue. Her approach to feminisms has been developed in the cross generational feminist conversation, *Why Feminism Matters* (2009) with Sophie Woodward. She has worked extensively on boxing, *Boxing, Masculinity and Identity: the 'I' of the Tiger* (2006) and *Globalizing Boxing* (2014). She has taught sociology and women's studies at undergraduate and postgraduate levels and first year introductory interdisciplinary social sciences. *Social Sciences: the Big Issues* is in its third edition (2013). She is an editor of the BSA journal *Sociology* and is currently principal investigator on the AHRC funded project on the psychosocial dimensions of 'being in the zone' in music, sport and cultural work.



▶ **PROF. DAVID MCGILLIVRAY** holds a Chair in Event and Digital Cultures at UWS. His research interests focus on the contemporary significance of events and festivals (sporting and cultural) as markers of identity and mechanisms for the achievements of wider economic, social and cultural externalities. His current research focuses on the value of digital media in enabling alternative readings of major sport events to find currency within the saturated media landscape and he is leading a large Big Lottery Fund project, Digital Common-wealth which addresses this topic. He is co-author of *Event Policy: From Theory to Strategy* (2011) and co-editor of *Research Themes for Events* (2013) and sits on the Executive Committee of the Leisure Studies Association.

SCHEDULE

	Monday 7 July	Tuesday 8 July	Wednesday 9 July
8 00	08:00am—12:00pm Registration		
8 30			
9 00			
9 30			
10 00		09:30am—11:00am Parallel Session 3	09:30am—11:00am Parallel Session 6
10 30	10:30am—11:00am Opening Address		
11 00	11:00am—12:30pm Keynotes: Prof. James Higham and Prof. Kath Woodward	11:00am—11:30am <i>Coffee Break</i>	11:00am—11:20am <i>Coffee Break</i>
11 30		11:30am—1:00pm Keynotes (sponsored by Creative Futures) Prof. David McGillivray and Prof. Garry Crawford	11:20am—12:00pm Keynote: Dr. Dave O'Brien
12 00			12:00pm—1:00pm Panel — Leveraging Events: Prof. Gayle McPherson; Paul Zealey
12 30	12:30pm—1:30pm <i>Lunch</i>		
13 00		1:00pm—2:00pm <i>Lunch</i>	1:00pm—2:00pm <i>Lunch</i>
13 30	1:30pm—3:00pm Parallel Session 1		1:30pm—3:00pm PhD Students Meeting with Experts: Prof Malcolm Foley; Prof. Chris Ryan; Prof. Ken Roberts
14 00			
14 30		2:00pm—3:30pm Parallel Session 4	
15 00	3:00pm—3:30pm <i>Coffee Break</i>		
15 30		3:30pm—4:00pm <i>Coffee Break</i>	
16 00	3:30pm—5:00pm Parallel Session 2		
16 30		4:00pm—5:30pm Parallel Session 5	
17 00	5:00pm—6:00pm LSA AGM		
17 30	5:30pm—6:30pm Drinks Reception (Sponsored by Taylor & Francis)		
18 00		(free time)	
18 30	6:30pm Walking Tour (Sponsored by VisitScotland)		
19 00			
20 00		7:00pm—10:00pm Civic Reception (Sponsored by Glasgow City Marketing Bureau) Gala Dinner	
21 00			End of conference

PARALLEL SESSIONS (draft)

MONDAY JULY 7 2014 1.00pm PARALLEL SESSION 1			
ROOM 1 (SPORT 1) Chair: Laura Graham	ROOM 2 (SPORT 2) Chair: Robert Kiely	ROOM 3 (COMMUNITY 1) Chair: Robert Burton ROOM	4 (FESTIVITY 1) — Chair: David Jarman
Inspiring generations? How London 2012 influenced young people in the context of family practices. Liz Such, University of Edinburgh	Football, fandom and festivity': A comparative analysis of the use, impact and experience of fan parks at international football tournaments between 2002 and 2012 — Joel Rookwood, Liverpool University	The Fitness Intervention Task-force (FIT): Encouraging physical activities, engaging communities — Julie Orr, University of the West of Scotland	The role of events and festivals in modern society — Sjanett De Geus and Suzanne Wetzels, Tilberg University
Trailblazing pioneers in the roped arena: Women boxers as embodiment of gender equality agendas for the London 2012 Olympic Games — Rebecca Finkel, Queen Margaret University	Does playing football widen or narrow the goalposts of masculinity? The affective and emotional responses of men who play competitive country football in Bega, New South Wales, Australia — Gordon Waitt, University of Wollongong	Evidence-based practice v. Practice-based evidence: Improving dissemination in community-based physical activity interventions — Angela Beggan, University of the West of Scotland	The ties that bind: connecting family, community and place through the Gathering 2013 — Theresa Ryan, Dublin Institute of Technology
Woman's sport and exercise experiences: A path towards empowering embodiment — Joanne Mayoh & Ian Jones, Bournemouth University	Sports Stadia Tourism: from sleeping giant to active edutainment — Richard Wright, Auckland University of Technology	A preliminary framework for understanding the role of sport and recreation in rural Canadian communities — Kyle Rich, Western University	A case study of the application of the service scape model to folk festival design and experiences — Nathalie Ormrod & Carriane Wallace, Manchester Metropolitan University
Women 'coming out' in sport: Ambivalence, Acceptance and Silence in the Australian Sports Media — Chelsea Litchfield, Charles Sturt University	After the Arab Spring and towards the African Nations Cup: Libya's Tourism Prospects — George Lafferty, University of Sydney	Youth sport participation's association with adult leisure-time physical activity — Michael Edwards, North Carolina State University	U2's 360 Tour: The spectacularization of a rock music event — Michael Williams, University of Brighton

MONDAY JULY 7 2014 3.30pm PARALLEL SESSION 2			
ROOM 1 (SPORT TOURISM) Chair: Chris Ryan	ROOM 2 (SPORT 3) Chair: Laura Graham	ROOM 3 (CULTURE) Chair: Jenny Flinn	ROOM 4 (DIGITAL 1) Chair David McGillivray
A case study review of golf tourism and its conjunction with destination — Brian Krohn, Indiana University	The nature of social capital in local level sport and recreation clubs — Tom Forsell, Victoria University	The city brand and the role of culture: The missing links — Mihalis Kavaratzis, University of Leicester	"Unless you're online, you're on your own": Blogs and bridging social capital in para-sport — Andrea Bundon, Loughborough University
The relationship between the golfer, golfing behaviours and destination selection — Claire Humphreys, University of Westminster	An evaluation of the domestic pre-event social representations of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games — James Kenyon, Loughborough University	Connecting cultural planning to cultural participation: whom do cultural venues benefit? — Orian Brook, St Andrews University	The role of travel-blogs in the production of destination images — Masood Khodadadi, University of the West of Scotland
Sport tourism for building social capital and community engagement — Nigel Jamieson, TAFESA	Are high performance athletes human beings? Rights, responsibilities and social justice — Andrew Adams & Emma Kavanagh, Bournemouth University	"Staging the museum" — community engagement and strategies of performance in cultural heritage sites — Pamela Barnes, University of the West of Scotland	Digital representation of subjective and phenomenological heritage meanings at Towneley Park, Burnley — Alex McDonagh, University of Salford
		What the critics say about subtitled Nordic drama — Rachael Stark, University of the West of Scotland	Originality. Tradition. Spectacle. Discourses of home and community in Padstow's May Day — Malcolm Foley, University of the West of Scotland

PARALLEL SESSIONS (draft)

TUESDAY JULY 8, 2014 9.30am PARALLEL SESSION 3			
ROOM 1 (ADVENTURE SPORT) Chair: Daniel Turner	ROOM 2 (FESTIVITY 2) Chair: Jane Ali-Knight	ROOM 3 (DIGITAL 2) Chair: Masood Khodadadi	ROOM 4 (LEISURE) Chair: Chris Ryan
Determining the potential of outdoor sports of Devrekani watercourse basin using R'WOT analysis Visitors' perceptions of lake van water sports festival Panel: Alaeddinoglu et al, Yuzuncu Yil University	The Olympics as festival: party, circus, or urban good? — Harry Hiller, University of Calgary The Glasgow 2014 XX Commonwealth Games and Scottish independence: "political truce" or political truth(s)? — Stuart Whigham, St Mary's University College	FestIM — The development of a low cost impact evaluation service for cultural events using data from online social networks — Debbie Sadd, Bournemouth University Being alone, together: the mediation of leisure — Susan Barnett, Indiana University	Displacements between illicit and licit leisure in south american borders — Alexandre Paulo Loro, Federal University of Southern Frontier Illuminating community, leisure, and identity with LGBTQ women in the American South — Lisbeth Berbary, University of Waterloo
Public policies for outdoor leisure in Brazil: between sport and tourism — Marilia Bandeira, Universidade Estadual de Campinas	Sochi 2014: A soft power vehicle for a new Russian identity — Daniel Wolfe, European University St. Petersburg	Event-led digital participation: utilising Glasgow 2014 to empower communities to produce citizen-focused responses to major events — Jennifer Jones, University of the West of Scotland	Identity expression in sexual minority-focused sport attenuates internalized homophobia and sexual minority identity concealment over time — Steven Mock, University of Waterloo
An exploration of the effects of a nountain bike sport event — Martin Robertson et al.		The integration of social media in music festival experience: the case of BBK Live 2013 — Ana Viñals Blanco, University of Deusto	Emic, etic, and in-between: differing roles in building tourism understanding and value — Shawn Daly, Niagara University

TUESDAY JULY 8, 2014 2.00pm PARALLEL SESSION 4			
ROOM 1 (SPORT 4) Chair: Stefan Lawrence	ROOM 2 (SPORT EDUCATION) Chair: Richard Wright	ROOM 3 (LEISURE IN LA) Chair: Sandro Carnicelli	ROOM 4 (LEISURE) Chair: Ken Roberts
The social legacies of mega events in Brazil — Silvia Amaral, FEF Unicamp	Internationalising the Curriculum in Sport and Events: a case study from Germany — Jenny Flinn & Robert Kielty, Glasgow Caledonian University	Leisure in Latin America — Alcyane Marinho, State University of Santa Catarina	Meaningful leisure experiences: conceptualizing the core of leisure studies Panel: Mat Duerden et al, Brigham Young University
Reproduction and transformation in the management of disability cricket: A Bourdieusian critical and relational analysis — Paul Kitchin, University of Ulster	Engaging young people involved in a weight management support group to develop their programme through CBPR — Pamela Scott, University of the West of Scotland	Immigrants' aesthetic enjoyment: Consumption and production of Brazilianness — Karine Dalsin, Dublin City University	
'We're just trying not to screw it up': Community constraints for leveraging small parasport events' Leveraging Parasport Events: the impact on sports policy Panel: Laura Misener et al	No prize for second place? The relative importance of competitive success in the philosophies of novice sport coaches — Laura Graham UWS A study to assess the EduMove curriculum intervention to determine the efficacy of the processes and mechanisms of utilising movement games as a method to teach core subjects in Primary Schools — Henry Dorling, Southampton Solent University	Leisure in the social recreational clubs in Brazil Leisure, Tourism and Culture. Panel: Marcos Silva et al, Universidade Estadual de Maringá	Family leisure and transitioning into parenting — David Lamb, Edith Cowan University Practice and place versus positivism? Co-producing research with community arts and media organisations in Remaking Society, an AHRC Connected Communities 'pilot demonstrator' project 2012—2014 — Graham Jeffery, University of the West of Scotland

PARALLEL SESSIONS *(draft)*

TUESDAY JULY 8, 2014 4.00pm		PARALLEL SESSION 5		
ROOM 1 (SPORT 5) Chair: Robert KIELTY	ROOM 2 (SPORT VOLUNTEERING) Chair: Geoff NICHOLS	ROOM 3 (FESTIVITY 3) Chair: Daniel TURNER	ROOM 4 (OPEN 3) Chair: Ken ROBERTS	ROOM 5 (DIGITAL 4) Chair: Matt FREW
The Sport-for-Development Pulse: Combining sport programs with highlight events in the Pacific Islands — Nico Schulkorf, NSW, Australia	Inside the ropes: access, social capital, and the golf event volunteer experience — Aaron McIntosh, Robert Gordon University	“Old Scotia’s favourite dish”: Public Celebrations of Scottishness and the Emergence of Haggis as a National Symbol — Joy Fraser, George Mason University	Hunt support clubs — Carrienne Wallace, Manchester Metropolitan University	E-tourism and sustainable marketing for silk route image formation: an approach towards cultural digitisation — Parikshat Singh, Manhas University of Jammu
Sport-for-Development: A fleeting fancy or a confidence catalyst? Individual stories from sports leadership training — David Scott, The Open University	Mega event volunteer programmes: evidence of a volunteering legacy for sports and events — Karen Smith, Victoria University of Wellington	The strength of festival ties: a social network analysis of the Edinburgh International Science Festival — Jane Ali-Knight/David Jarman	The evolving nature of hosting friends and relatives for immigrants — Tom Griffin, Ryerson University	“...a bunch of snow-loving interweb weirdos” (Tetongravity 2014): an analysis of ski and snowboard cultures displayed through online forums — Robert Burton, Southampton Solent Univ.
Audiences development strategies at the Quiksilver/Roxy Pro — Joanne MacKellar, Griffith University	Volunteer social capital in community sport — Alison Doherty, Western University	Australian Folk Festivals and their Community Engagement Strategies — Rob Harris, University of Technology, Sydney	A case study of the Livery Yard: at one with Leisure — Carrienne Wallace, Manchester Metropolitan University	Becoming white and (un)learning colour-blindness in sport and leisure: Stefan’s story — Stefan Lawrence, Southampton Solent University
Pedaling through the past: sport heritage, tourism development and the tour of Flanders — Gregory Ramshaw and Tom Bottelberghe, Clemson University	Volunteering and the Olympic Games: an emotional matter — Sandro Carnicelli, University of the West of Scotland	Ghosts in the machine; analysing power in community festivals and events — Allan Jepson, University of Hertfordshire	“We are Slovan!” Celebrating local and national identity in Slovakia through sport — Peter Barrer, Comenius University in Bratislava	Channelling festival communications: the role of sounds, sights and social media — Linda Wilks, Open University

WEDNESDAY JULY 9, 2014 9.30am		PARALLEL SESSION 6	
ROOM 1 (SPORT 6) Chair: Jenny FLINN	ROOM 2 (FESTIVITY 4) Chair: Jane Ali-Knight	ROOM 3 (DIGITAL 3) Chair: Stefan LAWRENCE	ROOM 4 (SPORT 7) Chair: Sandro CARNICELLI
Sport, youth culture and public space: parkour parks as an ‘everyday utopia’ — Paul Gilchrist, University of Brighton	Failure to launch: Aberdeen’s Bid for UK City of Culture 2017 — Daniel Turner, Robert Gordon University	Disruptive desire: digital dreaming in the fantasy of festivity — Matthew Frew, Bournemouth University	Managing expectations: Organisers’ perspectives of participation-based sport events — Millicent Kennelly, Griffith University
Sport internship legacies from a professional football club following administration — Robert KIELTY, Glasgow Caledonian University	The challenges of engaging audiences in ‘green’ behaviour at music festivals — Anna Borley, University of Northampton	Naked running v the quantified self: The rise of running bodies as an assemblage of physical and digital cultures — Simone Fullagar, University of Bath	Variations in motivation and identity in active sport event tourism — Brian Krohn, Indiana University
Did you see that... picture? The role of Instagram in the professional Golf Fan Experience — Patti Millar, Western University	An ethnographic research project on the Earagail Arts Festival in Co. Donegal, Ireland — Pearl Morrison, Bournemouth University	“It’s just MegaBantz innit? LOL” Justifying Virtual Maltreatment in Sport — Ian Jones & Emma Kavanagh, Bournemouth University	The ephemeral and the everyday: An outsider perspective on cycle event experiences — Katherine King, Bournemouth University
Informal Ping Pong: New narratives of resistance and a cultural politics of recreational play spaces — Louise Platt, Liverpool John Moore University	Alternative leisure: a case study of Burning Man festival and its cultural impacts on participants and beyond — Yating Liang, Missouri State University	Recreation-related venues’ social media practices: use patterns, engaging practices, and building relationships — Patti Freeman, Brigham Young University	Local Olympic Ambassador Programmes in 2012: promoting the visitor experience — Geoff Nichols, University of Sheffield

ABSTRACTS

On the following pages — another selection of the Abstracts submitted as of Feb 20, 2014 (see first selection in LSA Newsletter No. 97)

Failure to launch: Aberdeen's bid for UK City of Culture 2017

Dr Daniel Turner, Robert Gordon University

In 2012, Aberdeen announced its intention to bid for the title of "2017 UK City of Culture". Whilst Hull succeeded in winning the final award, and a bid from fellow Scottish city, Dundee, received plaudits whilst reaching the final shortlist, Aberdeen's bid was rejected at the first stage of the application process in summer 2013. In the period following this rejection, the bid and bid team received considerable criticism within the city and in the formal feedback which indicated that the bid failed to "deliver a compelling case in terms of vision or deliverability". This paper examines the Aberdeen bid in detail in order to ascertain the reasons underpinning its failure. Building on the bid documentation and official feedback, this paper draws upon additional testimony in the form of interviews with the bid team and a range of stakeholders across the city's cultural sector to examine the faults and failings of Aberdeen's campaign and the lessons which can be learned by the city from the process.

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The integration of social media in music festival experience: the case of BBK Live 2013

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The worldwide spread of information and communication technology (ICT), combined with the boost in the Internet infrastructure and democratization of social media, has led to the transformation of most areas of human activity. In fact, the net is already an essential part of daily routines and we are involved in a digital culture (Gere, 2002; Uzelac, 2010) where the main character is the person and their experiences.

One of the areas that has been most influenced by this digital era is leisure (Nimrod & Adoni, 2012). The characteristic features of the Internet like interactivity, synchronicity, anonymity, ubiquity and participation in virtual reality are changing our ways of socializing and as a consequence, the way of experiencing our free

time activities. Social networks like Facebook, Twitter or Instagram and digital platforms like Spotify, Deezer or Youtube have transformed the way we listen to music or the way we go to live concerts. These changes along with the greater interest in experiences and creativity of users (Richards, 2007) have impacted many industries including music festivals (Goldblatt, 2005; Getz, 2007; Richards & Palmer 2010). Hence, these types of events are trying to sell memorable experiences (Pine & Gilmore, 1999) rather than information or just services. However, in what way are music festival managers taking advantage of the potential of social media to enhance the experience? Is the social media really integrated in music festivals? And how does the audience use social media before, during and after the festivals?

In order to answer these questions, this paper is going to analyse the different uses the audience makes of social media in the case of BBK Live music festival. Through online questionnaires aimed at the BBK Live 2013 festival goers, the goal is to observe the level of integration of 2.0 web tools in the event. Thus, observe if the audience uses social media in an instrumental and occasional way or instead, as an integrated part of the festival so as to heighten their leisure experience. These findings can be useful for festival managers to know how to design the event and integrate social media in their festival philosophy in a more valuable way.

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entitled: "The e-leisure of youth (16-18 years) of Biscay: Identification, Influences and Guidelines for Educational Performance" (Granted by the Basque Government). Her research areas of interest are: young people and digital leisure, leisure education, digital literacy, ICT and school, youth leisure policies and digital culture. Her recent publications are: "Las redes sociales virtuales como espacios de ocio digital" (Fonseca, *Journal of Communication*, 2013); "El ocio digital como recurso para el aprendizaje, la socialización y la generación de capital social" (junto a Aguilar, E, y Rubio, I. en *Revista de la Asociación de Sociología de la Educación*, 2013); "Promoting digital competences for the enjoyment of culture: new literacy challenges" (4th Annual ENCATC Research Session, 2013).

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Digital representation of subjective and phenomenological heritage meanings at Towneley Park, Burnley

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Studies have highlighted the subjectivity of heritage and the natural environment, pointing to the oversight of subjective landscape meanings through scientific research (Harvey 2001; Harvey and Riley 2005). While natural environments have been studied in terms of access, democratisation and self-determinism (Gough 2007; Gobster 2007), there has been limited study exploring the effects of expressing 'natural' or outdoor heritage meanings in a digital context. This paper discusses the author's current PhD research which combines phenomenological archaeology (Bender et al 2007) and constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 2000) to explore the expression of outdoor heritage and leisure meanings through digital media. Focusing on Towneley Park, this research aims to gather subjective interview data along with phenomenological data from participants. This data will be used to collaboratively develop a digital representation of Towneley Park from the participants' point of view.

The aim of this paper is to use interview data gathered so far in order to discuss the difficulties in translating subjective meanings into digital data. It will also explore the effects of digital representation on our perception of heritage and leisure spaces in terms of simulated phenomena (Baudrillard 2010; Bandura 2001; Gosden 2008; Gordon 1986). Firstly the paper will cover the heritage and leisure roles of the park and highlight the varied nature of those who engage with it. This will be followed by an outline of the project's methodology, justifying qualitative approaches to explore the park's multiple heritage and leisure narratives. The participant interview data gathered so far will then be briefly analysed and discussed in terms of planning a digital representation of Towneley Park's heritage and leisure meanings. The paper will conclude by looking forwards to the next stage of the research which will necessitate tackling the problem of translating subjective and phenomenological meanings into digital media.

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Connecting cultural planning to cultural participation: whom do cultural venues benefit?

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Urban planners lack guidance on provision of cultural facilities, unlike the quantitative standards for leisure amenities such as recreation fields and libraries. Reasons for this include: an emphasis on the creative industries as providing economic growth rather than local amenity; the miscellany of cultural providers; the lack of a defined “need” for or benefit of cultural participation; and an emphasis in the literature on social stratification explaining levels of engagement, which has failed to consider the effect of access to cultural facilities.

This paper uses the Scottish Household Survey to explore attendance to museums and galleries, analysing the relationship between social stratification and access to facilities in determining participation. Accessibility indices for museums and galleries are created and fitted, alongside demographic and socio-economic characteristics, in a logistic regression model estimating attendance. The results find that access to museums is strongly predictive of attendance. This effect is not linear and is mediated by education: while exceptionally good access has a more positive effect on attendance for those with a degree, poor access has a more significantly negative effect on those with no or few qualifications. Given recent research finding improved self-reported health and life satisfaction for those that engage with culture, independent of their social status, these findings make a case both for an increased consideration of access to culture within the participation literature, but also for greater emphasis in urban planning on the benefits of cultural facilities for residents.

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ticipation, and how neighbourhoods operate as opportunity structures for cultural engagement. She is on the editorial board of the journal *Cultural Trends*.

The ties that bind: connecting family, community and place through the Gathering 2013

Dr Ziene Mottiar, Dr Theresa Ryan and Dr Bernadette Quinn, Dublin Institute of Technology

In 2013, Ireland launched a tourism initiative called ‘The Gathering’. Styled on earlier UK versions including Scotland’s ‘Homecoming’, the initiative was intended to appeal to the country’s extensive diaspora, increase international inbound tourist flows and contribute to tourism revenue.

Emerging data suggest that the initiative achieved all of the above (Fáilte Ireland 2013). Informed by data drawn from a study that engaged with key informants (33), event organisers (79) and community members (250) in two Irish counties (Kerry and Westmeath), the research reported here seeks to tease out some of the impacts generated by the Gathering at the community level. In line with the extensive literature on the social and community impacts of events, the study identifies what are already known to be important outcomes in terms of, for example, pride in place, building place attachment, increased awareness of heritage and local traditions, community bonding, increased opportunities for social and cultural engagement and increased networking opportunities (De Bres and Davies 2001, Finkel 2010, Quinn and Wilks 2013). The main contribution of the study, however, lies in two main areas. Firstly, it offers fresh insights into the role that events can play in re-connecting and enhancing ties within the extended family unit, both for family units that are separated in terms of geographical distance and in terms of age-time. In so doing, the study investigates how events can stimulate the recall of memories and the appreciation and dissemination of inheritance in ways that are profoundly important for the formation of personal, family and place identities. Secondly, because it examines two counties where the importance of tourism varies very significantly, the study is able to comment on the role that the presence or absence of a strong tourism culture plays in informing the identity format on practices under investigation.

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Variations in motivation and identity in active sport event tourism

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Large sport participation events rely heavily on tourism in order to fill registration and provide the local area with significant positive impact (Daniels, Norman, & Henry, 2004). Previous research has investigated overall motivations to participate in sport tourism events (Daniels & Norman, 2005; Holden, 1999; Kurtzman & Zauhar, 2005), including developing consumer profiles of sport tourists (Hallmann & Wicker, 2012; Zorba, Micoogullari, & Zorba, 2004). Hallmann & Wicker (2012) developed profiles of marathon runners and determined there were

three basic categories, holidayers, socializers and marathoners. However, these profiles looked at trip and event characteristics without considering the impact of the participants sport behavior. It may seem natural that participants in multiple events would have the same levels of motivation and identity as those that participate in specific events. The purpose of this paper is to explore the connections between motivation and feelings of identity within sport and repeat participation at a specific sport tourism event.

To investigate this research question, surveys that included motivation and sport identity scales were collected via the online survey tool Qualtrics from participant following their registration for a large half-marathon located in the USA. Emails were sent to the 38,576 participants with an internet link to the survey resulting in 35,375 successfully delivered emails. At the end of the 6 week open period, 5,428 complete and usable surveys were collected. Analysis included ANOVAs examining differences in responses on both scales by categories of previous participation the same event (none, low/moderate, high), and participation in any running event during the previous 5 years (low, moderate, high). Results suggest that levels of motivation and sport identity differ between participants based on the number of events in which they have participated. Differences were also found when examining participants in multiple events versus repeat participation in a single event. Analysis of motivations against event participation frequency revealed significant positive and negative differences that could be used by event hosts to better understand repeat consumption behavior and develop profiles that aid in attracting ideal participants. Sample profiles and detailed results will be presented.

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began his professional career in the golf industry fulfilling the roles of golf professional and general manager. His research is focused on consumer behavior in the contexts of sport tourism, especially golf tourism, and includes the areas of motivation, satisfaction and decision-making. Dr. Krohn has also published articles involving statistical analysis in the areas of leisure, sport and athletic administration. His research has been presented and published through various outlets including consumer psychology, marketing, tourism, recreation, education, leisure, and sport management.

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The social role of events and festivals in modern society

Sjanett de Geus and Suzanne Wetzels, Tilburg University, the Netherlands

In contemporary society an outburst of eventfulness and festivity is evident. Events are increasingly valuable, as in the modern 'network society' events can help to bring the networked individuals together (Castells, 2010). One of the explanations for the growing significance of events and festivals is their changing social function, such as the support of social cohesion (Richards, 2013).

In general, researchers have noted that events and festivals take on new social, as well as cultural, economic and political roles in contemporary society (Richards & de Brito, 2013; Ekman, 1999; Gursoy, Kim & Uysal, 2004). For the current research the changing social role is of interest, and especially the meaning of the social role for the visitors, since this perspective has not adequately been addressed in the literature so far (Richards & de Brito, 2013; Quinn, 2006).

In April 2014, at the beginning of the Dutch festival season, qualitative research will be conducted among Dutch festival and event visitors, to gain an in-depth understanding of the social function as experienced by their visitors, and how this may have changed over time. Since the growth of events and festivals has encouraged a rise in the professionalism of its management, including a rising awareness of the social role and function associated (Gursoy, Kim & Uysal, 2004), current findings will also be valuable for all other stakeholders involved. Besides an academic interest, event and festival managers and policy makers can implement these new

insights regarding the changed social function as experienced by their visitors, to successfully design events and festivals that attract and retain audiences.

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Managing expectations: Organisers' perspectives of participation-based sport events

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This research examines the management and community impacts of participation-based sport events (PSEs) from the perspectives of their organisers. PSEs are community events "where the primary focus is on promoting participation and engagement rather than the significance of the sporting outcome" (Coleman & Ramchandani, 2010, p. 25). Examples of PSEs include amateur running, cycling, and swimming events, triathlons and adventure races that are open to individuals of many ages and levels of ability and fitness. Such events have experienced a surge in popularity (Bauman, Murphy, & Lane, 2005).

A review of the growing literature considering PSEs indicates researchers have predominantly examined: (1) demand-side perspectives, particularly participant motivations and experiences (Fullagar & Pavlidis, 2012; Shipway & Jones, 2008), (2) host destination perspectives, specifically related to economic outcomes and tourism generated by PSEs (Coleman & Ramchandani, 2010), and (3) health-related perspectives, especially the potential

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role of PSEs in fulfilling public health objectives, such as the prevention of lifestyle diseases (Bauman, Murphy, & Lane, 2005). Within this literature, the viewpoints, experiences, and goals of PSE organisers have largely been overlooked. Considering the diverse outcomes PSEs are anticipated to deliver for communities, and the community stakeholders these outcomes may impact, this appears a significant oversight.

This paper will share preliminary results of a qualitative study examining the perspectives of PSE organisers from the United Kingdom and Australia. Through semi-structured interviews, event organisers shared their experiences of organising and staging community events, and discussed the outcomes they seek to achieve. The research critically examines whether PSE organisers have an interest in delivering, as well as the capacity to deliver the range of community social, economic, and health outcomes identified in previous literature on PSEs. Implications for the future management of PSEs and their role in communities will be discussed.

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'Becoming white' and (un)learning colour-blindness in sport and leisure: Stefan's story

Dr. Stefan Lawrence, Southampton Solent University

In recent times, the methodological value of narrative and storytelling has been recognised by a number of leisure studies scholars. Those who have foregrounded the

usefulness of these techniques have illustrated that all ways of 'knowing' about the world are deeply embodied and culturally situated and as such (auto)biographical stories offer rich, detailed, personal insights, highlighting a plurality of perspectives on the human condition. Moreover, narrative has not simply emerged merely as a niche epistemological strategy in sociology: the rise and popularity of 'blogging', which is often written in a narrative style, which in turn signals the unique and complex intersections between leisure, politics, and digital culture, has become an increasingly popular feature of social media. Thus, narrative and storytelling in both popular and academic realms has sought to reposition debates about knowing, bodies, subjectivities and identities in a manner increasingly reflective of late modern society. Critical Race Theory is one such theoretical framework to have recognised the usefulness of storytelling, especially its potential to counter mainstream, dominant media and political discourse on racism, which often operate within narrow paradigms, unreceptive to debates about lived racialised experience. Hylton (2012: 25), for instance, asserts storytelling is a particularly useful strategy which understands marginalised voices "as holders of legitimate sources of knowledge where Eurocentric epistemologies consistently fail". Or, put more simply, "stories can name a type of discrimination; once named it can be combatted" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001: 43). In this paper I explore the usefulness of narrative from my perceived social position as a 'white man'. I present a brief critical, autobiographical account of whiteness and masculinity and the ways in which liberal colour-blind ideologies fail to capture the stories of other bodies; how this affected my social interactions with others, during my leisure time and theirs; and why becoming increasingly conscious of 'race' (read: social construction of 'race') paradoxically, may be a more effective political strategy for lessening the effects of racism and white privilege in sport and leisure and society more broadly.

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Women's sport and exercise experiences: A path towards empowering embodiment Dr Joanne Mayoh and Dr Ian Jones, Bournemouth University

It is widely recognised that our gender plays an important part in how we experience our bodies (Young 1990; Whitson, Birrell et al. 1994; Fredrickson and Roberts 1997; Fredrickson, Roberts et al. 1998; Theberge 2003; Liimakka 2011; Velija, Mierzwinski et al. 2012). Specifically, feminist scholars have highlighted that women receive mixed messages with regards to how they are meant to feel in their bodies (Yarnal, Hutchinson et al. 2006) and are more likely than men to develop a detached and self-conscious relationship with their physical selves, and engage in the negative practice of self-objectification (Young 1990; Liimakka 2011). It has been suggested that by refocusing women's attention on more hidden capabilities, namely 'what the body does' rather than aesthetics or 'how it looks' one can provide more positive bodily experiences for women (Fredrickson, Roberts et al. 1998) which can lead to increased feelings of empowerment and overall wellbeing and limit the negative effects of more oppressive practices. This theoretical paper contributes to the small yet emerging body of literature that provides an embodied analysis of sport in order to propose how sporting activity may provide existential possibilities for empowerment wellbeing for women. In doing so we draw upon phenomenological theory (Todres and Galvin 2010; Galvin and Todres 2011, Mayoh and Jones, 2014) in order to explore examples of how sport provides these opportunities for wellbeing through the experiential life world dimensions of embodiment and identity.

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Dr Ian Jones is the Associate Dean for Sport at Bournemouth University. His areas of interest are sporting identities, sport fan behaviour, the phenomenology of wellbeing, and research methods for sport. He is co-author of Research Methods for Sport Studies which has been translated into several languages, and Qualitative Research in Sport and Physical Activity

What the critics say about subtitled Nordic drama

Rachael Stark, Lecturer in Film & Television Theory, UWS (Ayr campus)

"Who on earth wanted out-of-control Danish cops and politicians drowning in blood and subtitles? Well, we did" (Preston, 2011). If we accept Himmelstein's opinion that the role of the critic "helps us fine-tune our sensibilities so that we may better recognize what makes one work of art special" (1981: xii) then television reviewers can play an important function in signposting texts worth examination and features worth especial attention. Preston's response to *The Killing* (BBC4, 2011) conveys the general surprise of television critics, to the popularity of the recent influx of subtitled Danish drama. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to examine the critical response of television reviewers to a selection of Northern European dramas and specifically, their commentary on the public's acceptance of imported drama that is subtitled.

In particular, this study will focus on the reviewers' reactions to *The Killing*, *The Killing II* (BBC4, 2011), *Borgen* (BBC4, 2012) and *The Bridge* (BBC4, 2012). These texts were selected as not only are they representative of

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this recent phenomenon (the importation of Nordic dramas) but they were all broadcast in the UK on BBC4. All have received critical acclaim and represent what Firth (2000) describes as 'valuable television' in that they attract quality audiences, help to brand the broadcasting channel (in this case BBC4) and are strong examples of commercial successes in the international market.

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Engaging young people involved in a weight management support group to develop their programme through CBPR

Pamela Scott, Moira Lewitt and Dr Beth Cross, University of the West of Scotland

Community based participatory research (CBPR) is an approach promoting co-learning and empowerment through mutual collaboration and the sharing of knowledge between community members and researchers (Banks, 2012). CBPR is utilised in this study to allow the children and young people involved in a weight management support group to evaluate and develop their current programme. The support group allows children and young people to participate in exercise-based activities and games within a community environment where weight management support is given and positive healthy behaviours are promoted. The children and young people who attend the group are evaluating and developing their current programme through participatory research methods, such as by developing board games to model the process of research and the different routes of the research, and to understand impact of the programme on their wellbeing. This will allow us to understand how using the board game will enrich the evaluation of the support group. The children and young people are involved in all stages of the research process, in order to have an active role in evaluating and developing their current support groups' programme. The support group is based in an area of deprivation within Ayrshire, Scotland.

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Pamela Scott is a PhD student within the School of Health, Nursing and Midwifery, University of the West of Scotland,

Paisley Campus. Her thesis is concerned with the evaluation and development of multi-component childhood obesity intervention programmes. She is currently using community-based approaches, such as visual and active methodologies, to involve children and families to active participate in the development of their own programmes.

Moira Lewitt is based within the School of Health, Nursing and Midwifery, University of the West of Scotland, Paisley Campus. Her research interests are focussed on the role of insulin-like growth factors on growth and metabolism, in health and disease. She is also interested in the scholarship of learning and teaching, research-teaching linkages and interprofessional learning.

Beth Cross is based within the School of Education, University of the West of Scotland, Hamilton Campus. Her research is based in the areas of citizenship, service user participation in policy making, and identity using ethnographic and creative methodologies. She has also taught social policy and children's services in England and Scotland, and has been involved with a number of interdisciplinary projects exploring issues over the life course using visual and dramatic arts in order to expand opportunities for participation.

Morally high: Is Twitter being used as an online space to challenge dominant socio-political discourse around drug use?

Kieran Hamilton and Jennifer M. Jones, University of the West of Scotland

Current socio-political discourse around drug use delineates illegal drugs as "malevolent forces", which "pathological" individuals succumb to as a result of moral or mental weakness (Tupper 2012). Drug users are designated as "outsiders" (Cohen 1956) with the result being that drug users are stigmatised as "disgusting" and "dirty" individuals (Tupper 2012) who pose a threat to the dominant normative values of society (Taylor 2008). Although there is current debate around the "normalisation" of drug use within society, where it is argued that drug use has become an accepted leisure activity for "ordinary" people (Blackman 2004), the utilisation of simplistic and sensationalist portrayals of drug users by the news media elite has acted to reinforce negative stereotypes of drug users (Cricher 2003), contributing to issues of stigmatisation and consequently social exclusion and health-related problems (Taylor 2008, Butt, Paterson & McGuinness 2008). Emerging participatory transformations in digital communications, such as the ability to self publish through social media, blogs and virtual communities developed through online discussion forums, provide potential for the public to challenge existing socio-political discourse (Hands 2011), particularly around drug use and drug policy (Wax 2002). The purpose of this study is to assess the extent to which Twitter users utilised Twitter as an online space

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to either challenge or reproduce dominant socio-political discourse in response to the channel 4 documentary “Legally High”, which featured several individuals who use novel “legal” substances, as well as illegal substances. An algorithm was used to capture tweets which were published in response to the documentary “Legally High”, identified through the use of the hashtag “#LegallyHigh”. Discourse analysis will then performed on these tweets to assess the extent to which dominant discourse around drug use and users is either reproduced or challenged.

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Kieran Hamilton, PhD Researcher. University of the West of Scotland. Based in the Centre for Alcohol and Drug Studies within the School of Social Sciences, Kieran’s research interests include novel psychoactive substances (NPS), the role of the Internet and digital communities on contemporary drug using practices including patterns of drug use and harm reduction behaviour, the impact of current drug policy on drug using behaviour, and the influence of popular media on discourse relating to drug use and users, social attitudes and stigma and the impacts which this has on both recreational and problem drug users.

Jennifer M Jones, Digital Commonwealth Project Coordinator & PhD Researcher. University of the West of Scotland. Jennifer is currently the project coordinator for the Big Lottery Funded Glasgow 2014 Legacy project “Digital Commonwealth” and is based at the University of the west of Scotland. She is a part-time researcher, completing a PhD on major events and social media with a focus on citizen journalism as a community engagement tool and how digital tools are used in an events and cultural context. She is a digital media practitioner who has delivered digital materials, training and resource support for a number of third sector and cultural organisations including the

Big Lottery Fund, British Council, Carnegie Trust, CILIPS, Robert Burns World Federation, Renfrewshire Council and a number of Universities around the UK.



Sochi 2014: A soft power vehicle for a new Russian identity

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With an estimated cost of over 50 billion USD, Russia has broken all previous spending records in its preparations for the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi; it is the most expensive Olympics in history (Grove, 2013). This paper investigates the motivations behind Russia’s unprecedented investment in Sochi, starting from an upgraded definition of mega-events based on the work of Roche (2002) and Müller (2013). It examines the historical and cultural contexts of hosting the world’s most prestigious mega-event, based on a constructivist interpretation of Russian identity (e.g. Wendt 1992), with work from Russian experts (e.g. Mankoff 2009, Trenin 2009, Lilja Shevtsova 2011) to help explain the Russian experience. This paper then elucidates several critical aspects of the process of transformation in Sochi and its environs, based on my own field research, ethnographic interviews, and participant observation. My work has explored the effects of these changes on the local people in two small villages located in the center of the storm of construction, directly between the two clusters of Olympic venues. Using Joseph Nye’s concept of political soft power, I argue that the Olympic project in Sochi is part of an effort to mark the end of the post-Soviet transition period while simultaneously introducing a new, upgraded Russian identity to the domestic population and the world. While opinions on the ground of course are not uniform, the enormous difficulties endured by Sochi locals during the course of Olympic preparations have soured many residents on the value of hosting the games; indeed, a majority of people I interviewed believed that the Olympics were “not for us”. It is contended that this represents a failure to graft the local population with this new, Olympic identity, despite years of effort and opportunity. It is concluded that, at the micro level, the difficulties experienced by individual residents on the ground in Sochi outweigh the perceived benefits from Olympic development. Nevertheless, after the conclusion of the games a number of positive outcomes are possible — not just in the region itself, but in Russia’s relationship with the outside world — and these are discussed in turn.

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Sven Daniel Wolfe is a master's student in Russian and Eurasian Studies at the European University at St. Petersburg, Russia. He is interested in the political, personal, and environmental impacts of mega-events, particularly focusing on the dramatic transformations of human communities and the land. His most recent publication was entitled "Life On The Ground: A Comparative Analysis of Two Villages in Sochi During Olympic Transformation," Euxeinós — Online Journal of the Center for Governance and Culture in Europe, 12/2013. He is currently writing his master's dissertation on the Sochi Olympics and will begin work on a PhD in summer 2014. Email dwolfe@eu.spb.ru.

Sport tourism for building social capital and community engagement

Dr. Nigel Jamieson, Recreation, Sport & Tourism, TAFESA, Adelaide, South Australia

Sport and tourism can play a major role in the bringing together of communities. The social cohesion that emanates from this interaction can make an important contribution to life in general, but rural life in particular in South Australia. Some towns have been struggling in recent times with high out-migration, bad seasons, loss of services and general low morale. A sport tourism event could well be seen as a fillip for the community and this study looks at seven towns and the role a particular sport tourism event, the Tour Down Under (TDU),

plays in building the social capital of the community involved.

Many studies concentrate on the economic impact of sport tourism events but fail to contemplate the social impacts which can be just as important and meaningful for those involved. This research investigated the role, if any, that sport tourism events have in building social capital in those towns with a start and or finish of the TDU and while there seems to be a dearth of research and relevant articles to draw upon there is a trend towards increased interest in this concept in more recent times. While some research has centred its attention on sport and the building of social capital, and now more recently festivals and the role they play, specifically, sport tourism or events have not been a focus. This research also concentrated on those in the community willing to assist in the event and contribute to community building of well-being and trust. It consisted of 28 in-depth interviews with key stakeholders in the communities that had the TDU go through their towns and concentrated on how it helped build social capital and raised community engagement.

Events are the socio-cultural glue which binds our communities and ultimately our nation together. They are occasions to share our traditions, to connect with one another and to express our cultural heritage. They offer opportunities to celebrate, to remember and to showcase the very best of our cultural and creative endeavours. In short, events are important. Governments have been quick to seize on this aspect of events and have directed their energy and money toward building a portfolio of them in recent years. Certain "givens" however, need to be enacted to maximise the chance for community building. Specific recommendations and further research will be discussed in the presentation but recommendations specific to the context of the event include a need for greater community engagement by event organisers, a holistic Government-wide focus utilising all the specialists, and not just the event managers, and greater effort at leveraging off events in the future. The need to appease the local community with events focused on them as well as providing for the tourists became a strong theme in the findings.

Nigel Jamieson has vast knowledge and experience in events in both Australia and overseas. His practical experience has been gained in a series of positions held in a variety of organisations including the Australian Council of Health, Physical Education and Recreation (ACHPER), Lacrosse SA, SA Rugby Union and a number of private businesses he has founded and conducted for a number of years. These have included Pheidippides Fitness Consultancy, Movers & Shakers, Adelaide Corporate Challenge (the longest running continuous corporate sports program in Australia) and the SA Fitness Leaders Training Programme. More recently these businesses have included In the ZONE Sport Management and Event Management 101. Dr. Jamieson has a DBA and MBA (Sports Administration) from Southern Cross University, Masters in Leisure Studies

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and Services from the University of Oregon and a B.A. and Diploma in Education from the University of Adelaide. Recently he completed a Diploma in Training and Assessment and a Diploma in Sustainability to augment his Graduate Diploma in Outdoor Education and Graduate Diploma in Recreation. In addition to his experience in the Higher Education sector both in Australia (TAFESA Bachelor of Business, University of SA School of Education) and the USA (Daniel Webster College) he has taught in the VET sector in both South Australia and Victoria since 1995. He has presented at conferences in the USA, Australia, Hong Kong, Thailand and Malaysia in a career in education that started in 1978. He loves travel, sport and playing the harmonica as well as sampling scotch (usually associated together!).



Leisure In Latin America

Alcyane Marinho, PhD, Santa Catarina State University (UDESC) Brazil; Arianne C. Reis, PhD, Southern Cross University, Australia; Priscila Mari Dos Santos, Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), Brazil; Miráira Noal Manfroi, University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), Brazil; Cecília Bertuol, State University of Santa Catarina (UDESC), Brazil; Juliana De Paula Figueiredo, State University of Santa Catarina (UDESC), Brazil

Latin American countries have common characteristics that distinguish them from other countries around the world; however, they also possess very unique cultural, historical, economic, social, political, ethnic and environmental issues and features that differentiate them from each other. The term “Latin America” originated in the nineteenth century under the political influence of France and the United States, and has endured as nations achieved independence from their colonizers. Indeed, the term is now well-established and adopted by national and international institutions across the globe, despite its cultural, social and even geographic inaccuracy. It is against this backdrop that we present an overview of leisure matters in Latin America. The analysis presented is based on a thorough review of the literature included in the electronic academic database Latin American and Caribbean Health Sciences Literature (LILACS). A search was performed for full text articles published between 2008 and 2012 using the keywords “leisure,” “recreation” and “free time” in Portuguese and Spanish. In total, 109 articles were included in the final list and five main themes were identified from their analysis: Health, Public Policy, Sports, Environment, and Physical Education. Although contributions emanating from Brazilian scholars were by far the most predominant in the search performed, researchers from Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Peru were also represented. Specifically, Peruvian and Argentinean scholars showed a more pronounced interest for issues related to leisure in physical education

classes, while Chile was better represented under the leisure and health theme. In regards to the general content of these studies, much of the discussions and also, more importantly, the everyday practices described still seem to reduce leisure to a space in time, often ignoring its importance as a social right, a possibility for cultural production, community involvement and social transformation, and the benefits acknowledged by and sometimes advocated for among Latin American leisure theorists. It is necessary to understand the meanings that have historically been built around of leisure. This is particularly relevant because they are all commonly, and often interchangeably, used in society and academic literature, but also because each term hides and reveals identities and forms of visibility.

Alcyane Marinho, PhD, is a lecturer in the Physical Education Department at Santa Catarina State University (UDESC) in Brazil and leader of the Leisure and Physical Activity Research Laboratory in this institution. She completed her Bachelor's degree in physical education at São Paulo State University (Unesp) in 1995, her Master's degree in 2001 and her PhD in 2006 at Campinas State University (Unicamp) in Brazil. She is also a lecturer in the physical education postgraduate program at the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), focusing on “Pedagogical Theory and Practice in Physical Education”.

Arianne C. Reis, PhD, is a research fellow with the School of Tourism and Hospitality Management at Southern Cross University, Australia. Dr Reis is originally from Brazil, where she completed her undergraduate and Master's studies in physical education. Before doing her PhD at the University of Otago, New Zealand, she worked for several years for public and private institutions in Brazil in the fields of nature-based recreation and sports management. Her research interests developed from these professional experiences, focusing on outdoor recreation and the sustainability issues of sport events.

Priscila Mari Dos Santos is a physical education postgraduate student at the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), in Brazil, working in the research field “Pedagogical Theory and Practice in Physical Education”. She has a scholarship from the National Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq) Ministry in Brazil and is also a member of the Leisure and Physical Activity Research Laboratory (LAPLAF) at the State University of Santa Catarina (UDESC). She completed her Bachelor's degree in physical education in this institution in 2012.

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Cecília Bertuol completed her Bachelor's degree in physical education at the State University of Santa Catarina (UDESC),

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Juliana De Paula Figueiredo is a lecturer in the Physical Education Department at Santa Catarina State University (UNESC), Brazil, and a member of the Leisure and Physical Activity Research Laboratory in this institution. She completed her Bachelor's and Teaching degree in physical education at the Catholic University of Campinas (PUC-CAMPINAS) in 2009, and her Master's degree in 2012 at São Paulo State University (Unesp).

Factors affecting leisure lifestyle choices of professional women in Sofia (Bulgaria): The dialectics of women's leisure

Ms Stefani Kaldaramova, BSc, MSc, PhD Candidate, University of Bedfordshire

The ongoing research inquiry attempts to draw attention to the overlooked problems of women's experience of leisure. The growing prominence of gender issues within leisure studies gives rise to the main problem of the current investigation — factors that influence professional women's leisure lifestyle choices in Sofia (Bulgaria). The study focuses on women in full-time paid employment as they struggle to maintain a balance between work and leisure lifestyle, under the pressure of a highly patriarchal society and a set of constraining social roles. Past research deals with woman's leisure and related matters of the social and cultural structures and ideologies that shape woman's oppression (Stanley 1980, Deem 1986, 1988). These include issues of race (Green et al. 1981), class (McIntosh et al. 1981), and the conventional approaches to paid work and leisure (Green et al. 1987). More recently, the focus shifted from a functionalist to more critical, pluralistic modes of exploration (Aitchison 2003; Veal 1998). Consequently, this study aims to probe into professional women's leisure lifestyle by utilising transdisciplinary and postdisciplinary feminist approaches and by foregrounding John Kelly's 'dialectical spiral of leisure theory' (Kelly 1987: 14) as a backbone of the interpretation. Qualitative approach has been identified as the appropriate one for gathering empirical data. The research participants will be interviewed, in order for the detailed accounts of women's own leisure experiences to be produced. As a study of professional women in Sofia has not yet been completed the project has the opportunity to contribute to academic development in relatively uncharted territory. It seeks to explore the relationship between leisure lifestyle, work, gender and identity that come from a historical perspective, but is also set in contemporary, emergent sphere of social life. This is important, because leisure and recreation are strongly

influenced by cultural, political, demographic, and socio-economic conditions and changes in a specific location (Kelly 1996).

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Stefani Kaldaramova — field of study: Leisure Studies, Feminist Studies. Main research interests include women's experience of leisure; gender roles and their manifestation within women's leisure lifestyle choices; gender inequalities in leisure; the work-leisure dichotomy; the conceptualisation of leisure and its implications for women; Feminist studies along transdisciplinary and postdisciplinary trajectories.

From continuity and change to reproduction and transformation: A Bourdieusian analysis of mainstreaming in disability cricket

Paul Kitchin, University of Ulster and David P. Howe, Loughborough University

Previous investigations on the what, how and why of change in organized sport have grappled with how power and agency affect the process. This paper draws on an alternative, critical approach for an examination of

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change in disability sport. We deployed Bourdieu's practice theory to examine the relationships between institutional, organizational and individual levels of analysis. We demonstrate that while agents can alter their practice, these alterations do not impact on the existing institutional doxa, which produces field effects to limit the possibility of the transformation of dominant values.

To develop a more nuanced understanding of how reproduction and/or transformation occurred within disability cricket, an ethnography was performed between 2008 and 2012. The lead researcher drew on Adler and Adler's (1987) active-member approach to participant observation. Data were collected from document analysis, formal and informal interviews, field notes and reflective diaries. This data was managed through a framework outlined by Coffey and Atkinson (1996) whereby the initial codes were established and axial codes were used to identify the dimensions of a phenomenon, its consequences, and its relationships with other phenomena.

The impetus to implement mainstreaming came from outside the institutional field of cricket. An interpretation of this policy by the governing body resulted in a range of activities as means to ends to incorporate all aspects of the sport under one auspices. Resources were distributed throughout the field to facilitate the means. As a result, a number of field organizations launched a variety of initiatives to create more opportunities for people with disabilities to play the game. Despite these programmes the majority of opportunities were for playing opportunities and these specifically were for individuals with certain types of disability and impairment. There was little consideration taken to address the potentially exclusive practices that existed within the sport before mainstreaming was adopted. Even at grassroots levels the competitive doxa of cricket went unchallenged, instilling many of the new initiatives and programmes merely reproductions of the able-bodied game.

This paper can provide insights into understanding how policy initiatives impact on sport organizations and how managers respond to such pressures. From this study we provide useful data that can demonstrate how transformation cannot occur unless certain taken-for-granted values of sport practice are realized. This paper provides a useful contribution to the relational implementation of Bourdieu's practice theory, particularly as a tool to critically examine continuity and change in organizations.

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Paul J. Kitchin was appointed to a lectureship in Sport Management at the Ulster Sports Academy within the University of Ulster, Northern Ireland. He is the author and editor of numerous publications concerning the business of sport and has worked on a number of academic titles. He is a graduate of University of Tasmania and Deakin University in Australia and is awaiting his viva for his PhD at Loughborough University on research investigating institutional pressures on the practice of disability cricket within England. Paul's research interests lie in the application of social theory to the management of change in sport organisations.

David P. Howe is Senior Lecturer in Anthropology of Sport. He graduated from Trent University (Canada) with an BSc honours in general anthropology in 1989. In 1991 David was awarded a MA in social/cultural anthropology at the University of Toronto. After moving to the UK to undertake a PhD in medical anthropology at UCL he was awarded this degree in 1997 for work examining the social implications of the professionalisation of sports medicine. He joined the staff of Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education (subsequently the University of Gloucestershire) in 1997 in the School of Sport and Leisure as Lecturer then Senior Lecturer in the Anthropology of Sport. Before arriving at Loughborough in January 2006 David spent two years as Senior Lecturer in Sport and Leisure Cultures at the Chelsea School, University of Brighton. David's research interests are broadly focused on culture and policy as they relate to sport and leisure. The main aim of David's research is to use ethnographic methods to 'get under the skin' of sport and leisure cultures and disseminate knowledge to community members and the public in hope that an increase in understanding of the environments in which we engage in such practices will ultimately enhance people's quality of life.



Queer narratives: illuminating community, leisure, and identity with LGBTQ women in the American South

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Voices of Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender, Queer and Questioning individuals and allies are being heard more than ever before in the United States as reflected in increased visibility of nationally organized campaigns, the passing of new inclusive policies, increased legality of gay marriage, and the prevalence of protective laws regarding sexual orientation and gender identity in public spaces (de Vogue, 2012; Markoe, 2012; Bumiller, 2011). The inclusion of our voices have helped to provide an influx of counter-narratives that are slowly but surely opening up the heteronormative meta-narrative of sexuality that has traditionally existed within the US. In particular, as our country attempts to come together to fight against discriminations across our vast geographies we find an increased relevance of hearing the stories of individuals residing in more conservative parts of the US where there is greater potential and likelihood of a

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silencing of LGBTQ voices due to evangelical ideologies. Specifically, narratives of hope, love, frustration, isolation, transformation, and community that develop within more conservative spaces in the Southern Bible Belt (the nickname given to the area of the US most strongly influenced by conservative, evangelical Christianity) are of interest because they provide stories situated within the unique intersections of geographic particulars such as a history of conservatism, powerful Christian ideologies, highly prescribed gender norms, and painful legacies of converting gay individuals back to heterosexuality through Jesus Christ (Berbary, 2012; Shaw, 2008; Restoration Path; Woodward, 2011).

Recognizing the uniqueness and significance of illuminating the counter-narratives of LGBTQ individuals in the Southern Bible Belt, this presentation draws from a larger Queer Narrative Inquiry that utilized life story interviews to collect stories regarding leisure, identity, and community from LGBTQ identified women living in Memphis, TN, a metropolitan city situated in the Bible Belt of the Southern US. Using creative analytic queer narratives, I will present stories specifically focused on the intersections among leisure spaces/places, identity, and formation of inclusive community in order to expose, contextualize, and raise awareness of the lives, struggles, and community experiences of those LGBTQ identified women that reside in the more conservative spaces of the American South.

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After the Arab Spring and towards the African Nations Cup: Libya's tourism prospects

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Before the Arab Spring, international tourism to Libya had been increasing gradually for two decades. Tourism growth provided a potential avenue towards reduced reliance on oil revenues and greater integration within the global economy. However, in the wake of civil war and continuing unrest, international tourism arrivals have inevitably plummeted. The current government has reasserted Libya's commitment to tourism growth, with a particular focus on planning for the African Nations Cup, to be held in Libya in 2017. This paper assesses the prospects for international leisure tourism recovery during the period leading up to the African Nations Cup. The paper argues that a major factor inhibiting Libya's tourism growth (particularly in comparison to neighbours such as Tunisia) has been the poor quality of service in Libyan hotels. Drawing on the concept of organisational climate, through document analysis, a questionnaire survey and a series of interviews (for example, with hotel managers and government ministers), the paper examines how improved organisational climate in 4- and 5-star Libyan hotels might contribute to higher quality of service and to a resurgence in leisure tourist activity.

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Comparison of leisure time anti-social behaviors between individual and group sports

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The main goal of this study was to compare the anti-social behaviors in professional athletes of individual and group sports. Studying the anti-social behavior in young athletes is vital for managing them and directing their potential in a more sustainable manner. Using the results of such studies, coaches can organize some activities to prevent athlete going far from team goals. Managers and team owners also can consider the outcomes of such researches in managing their organizations. The population, according to statistics of National Olympic Committee of Iran included 23 sports and 340 athletes all around the country. The instrument was a self-developed questionnaire based on literature and indices of Iranian police for anti-social behaviors.

After determining validity and reliability of the questionnaire, it distributed among subjects. Descriptive (mean, variance, standard deviation, minimum, maximum, frequencies and percentages) and analytical (Kolmogorov — Smirnov, ANOVA, Levin, Bonferroni, Fisher's and t-test) were used. We determined anti-social behaviors based on literature and indices of Police office in which these behaviors categorized according to legal concerns.

Results didn't show any significant relationship between anti-social behaviors in individual athletes. However there was a significant relationship between group sports and occurrence of anti-social behavior. Among group sports, soccer was the most susceptible for anti-social behaviors. According to results, there was no significant difference between male and female athletes in performing anti-social behaviors.

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Volunteer social capital in community sport

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Community sport organizations (CSOs) or clubs are non-profit grassroots membership associations that rely almost exclusively on the leisure time efforts of volunteers to organize and deliver many sport and physical recreation opportunities for children, youth and adults. They are also expected to be a major player in the achievement of social policy objectives associated with increased participation. Yet, these small, volunteer-run organizations struggle in many ways to meet their own goals and objectives. The social capital generated among volunteers working together may be an important resource for CSOs to draw on for the effective delivery of community sport programs. However, there has been little research to date on volunteer social capital in and for grassroots membership associations, and its nature, mechanisms and impact are not well-understood in this context. This paper presents a theoretical framework that weaves together social capital and organizational capacity from a critical theory perspective to guide the investigation of the nature and impact of volunteer connections in CSOs. The framework is founded on the conceptualization of social capital as a resource that is produced (and reproduced) in a social connection(s), and which individuals or groups may draw on for further benefit (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Payne et al., 2011). Both cognitive (e.g., mutual understanding, shared information) and relational (e.g., trust, reciprocity, solidarity) resources can accrue over time in a social connection (Nahapiet &

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Ghoshal, 1998), depending on the frequency and intensity of the engagement (Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998), and the human capital (e.g., knowledge, experience) individuals bring to the connection (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Closed and potentially exclusionary “bonding” connections among similar individuals, and more open “bridging” connections among individuals who differ, are also expected to influence the social capital generated among CSO volunteers (Coffe & Geys, 2007; Putnam, 2000). The cognitive and relational resources that characterize social capital are expected to shape individual attitudes and behavior (e.g., satisfaction, commitment, effort; Payne et al., 2011) and group performance (e.g., problem solving, innovation; Fredette & Bradshaw, 2012; Oh et al., 2004, 2006; Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998), and ultimately impact the capacity of the organization to achieve its goals (cf. Hall et al., 2003).

The framework provides a holistic explanation of the nature and development of social capital among volunteers in CSOs, and the relationship between social capital and organizational capacity as indicated by individual, group and organizational performance in that context.

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Conceptualizing experiences: A multidisciplinary synthesis

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Over the last 20 years the concept of experiences has received increasing attention across a variety of fields. Concepts such as customer experience management (Meyer & Schwager, 2007), experience management (Morgan, 2010; Schmitt & Rogers, 2008), the experience economy (Pine & Gilmore, 2011), experiential marketing (Schmitt, 1999), and the tourist experience (Ritchie & Hudson, 2009) have become commonly accepted within relevant professional and academic circles. As Rossman and Ellis (2012) note:

It seems everyone wants to provide experiences these days including retail businesses, tourism agencies, event planners, sport managers, leisure providers, marketers, arts managers, and museum curators. These seemingly diverse organizations share a common goal, an intention to provide experiences, preferably memorable experiences, and sometimes experiences that serve to transform people's lives. (p. 1)

Although consensus exists across these industries

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regarding the importance of providing quality experiences, little to no interdisciplinary conversations have occurred defining and conceptualizing what is the essence of experiences (Rossman & Ellis, 2012). It would seem that establishing a common conceptual understanding of structured leisure experiences is a necessary step in order for experiences to serve as a unifying and interdisciplinary concept. Therefore the purpose of this paper was twofold: (1) to review literature related to experiences across the fields of leisure studies, tourism, and marketing in order to identify differences and commonalities regarding the conceptualization of experiences; and (2) based upon these comparisons propose a synthesized concept of experiences applicable across multiple fields. It is our hope that such an effort will facilitate experience related research that has applicability for both academics and professionals across fields interested in the provision of meaningful leisure experiences.

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Country-centred communities on Reddit.com: representations of Europe

Alexander Ronzhyn, University of Deusto

Reddit.com is one of the most popular social network / content-sharing website. With 11 million of users it is already one of the most-visited websites in the world. One of the prominent features of Reddit is the possibility to create interest-based communities, "subreddits". There are plenty of different kinds, but the country-based ones are in the focus of the present paper. It is interesting to see how users organize themselves in a de-territorialized space, creating or rather re-creating territorial boundaries by building national communities (Mills). Some of the country-centred communities are very popular, others are less so: reflecting the desire of some country members to organize, popularity of a country and the volume of the country's active members. Such communities can be a powerful and effective way to spread information about the country and promote country brand (McWilliam). The paper attempts to compare communities of European countries and analyse the factors that contribute to the activity of these communities.

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Practice models within the experience industry: staging experiences and guiding transformations

Neil Lundberg & Brian Hill, Brigham Young University, Utah

The concept of providing experiences is not new (Meyer & Schwager, 2007; Morgan, 2010; Pine & Gilmore, 2011; Schmitt, 1999; Schmitt & Rogers, 2008) but has only recently been modeled within the parks, recreation, and tourism field of study (Rossman & Ellis, 2012). Developing systematic models of practice is a key component in the implementation of superior-quality services, the delineation of appropriate outcomes, and the advancement of professional preparation curriculum (Voelkl, Carruthers, & Hawkins, 1997). The current practice model for experience-staging within leisure related industries focuses on how experiences can be enhanced and made more memorable through the use of essential concepts such as theming, harmonizing cues, engaging the senses, providing memorabilia, and customizing (Pine & Gilmore, 2011). While the model is extensive, and provides significant insights into additional artistic and technical offerings intended to enhance the experience (Rossman & Ellis, 2012), it does not address the last and most customized stage of economic progression, guiding transformations. This is particularly relevant in that many leisure services are oriented towards providing a transformational experience at both the individual and community levels.

The purpose of this paper is to further elucidate the concepts relevant for guiding transformation by incorporating suggestions provided by Pine and Gilmore (2011), but also drawing on a body of literature illustrating the processes of behavior change (Norcross, 2012). The paper concludes by providing an extension of Rossman and Ellis's model which includes concepts such as individualized customization, provisions based on wisdom, trust and caring, value prioritization, identifying aspiration and eliciting motivation, and behavior techniques for sustainable change (Pine & Gilmore, 2011).

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The Fitness Intervention Taskforce (FIT): Encouraging physical activities, engaging communities

Julie Orr, Sue McGrouther, Marie McCaig, University of the West of Scotland; and Chris Topping, Dumfries & Galloway Health and Wellbeing

The FIT project involves nursing students from all three years, encouraging adult and mental health students to engage collaboratively with peers and communities to plan physical activity and health promoting interventions. During this process students are engaged in project delivery groups, building creative ideas and delivering these to peers and local communities. This has benefits for all involved, allowing students the opportunity to build on theoretical learning and apply it in a real and meaningful way whilst engaging local groups in health promotion activities and opportunities. Examples so far have included dance classes, movement to music (drumming) and kinaesthetic learning approaches.

The aim of the project is to provide research evidence to support the integration of physical activity within an undergraduate curriculum. An action research approach is utilised, encouraging reflection and participation. Data collection methods include emotional touch points and photo elicitation. Results will be available from late 2014.

The project will support integration of physical activity into the curriculum. Physical inactivity is the fourth leading risk factor for mortality globally (WHO, 2012). Encouraging students to engage with communities and promote physical activity using a strength based approach across the life course has longer term benefits for society. Physical, emotional and social benefits include improved retention, concentration levels, success rates, production at work and less absenteeism (Nike, Inc. Ng, S.W. and Popkin, 2012).

Defining the experience industry — practitioner's perspectives

Brian Hill & Patti Freeman

Although the use of experience focused language has been increasing for two decades by academics (Meyer & Schwager, 2007; Morgan, 2010; Pine & Gilmore, 2011; Rossman & Ellis, 2012; Schmitt, 1999; and Schmitt & Rogers, 2008), the popular press (e.g., Michelli, 2012), and professional digital media (e.g., Hensel, 2013) a common definition and understanding of experience by those enterprises engaged in leisure experience delivery has not been developed. Twenty-six professionals and academics attended the 2013 Experience Industry Management (EIM) Conference in Provo, Utah from March 21-

22, 2013. Professionals came from diverse orientations including outdoor recreation outfitting, hotel management, corporate event planning, performing arts venues, sports management, youth sports, public recreation, convention centers, therapeutic recreation, and national parks. Nominal group techniques were utilized to: 1) build common ground across diverse fields around the concept of experience management, 2) identify the experience, skills, and training needed for undergraduate students to embark on successful EIM careers, and 3) discuss and prioritize an EIM research agenda applicable across both academics and practitioners. Participants universally agreed they were part of the experience industry. The group determined the common attribute needed for all who work in the experience industries was "advanced soft skills." Research needs most commonly identified by the EIM professionals were 1) understanding meaningful experiences, 2) the role of technology in providing experiences, 3) experience engineering, and 4) evaluating experiences. The conference will be held again in March 2014 and additional related data will be added to these findings. The purpose of this paper is to detail the findings of these practitioner gatherings and discuss their implications.

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The ephemeral and the everyday: An outsider perspective on cycle event experiences

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There is growing recognition of the role cycling can play in achieving policy objectives related to the environment, public health and sport. Such recognition has been accompanied by a recent focus within academic research on exploring the cycling experience, most notably within the contexts of sport tourism and events management. Much of the current literature on the cycling experience, however, adopts an insider perspective by researchers who are known to, or have legitimacy within the sporting community (e.g. Coghlan 2012; Fullaver and Pavlidis 2012; Lamont and McKay 2012; Spinney 2006). This paper presents findings from an exploratory qualitative study into amateur cycle experiences at a professional cycle event in Australia through the lens of an "outsider" to community, country and culture of the field of research. The paper will explore issues relating to identity formation and expression, mobilities and space, and the inter

relations between those who identify as local or as tourist, to consider the way in which the ephemeral and leisure of the everyday interplay within established leisure communities. Through such an outsider approach the paper will offer new insights into the relationship between events and leisure of the everyday, and a consideration of the way in which the culture and community of established sporting communities may affect the integration of "outsiders" as result of policy emphases on generating new engagement in sport.

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ABSTRACTS

A study of the leisure public policies from Brotas/SP Management 2009-2012

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Historically, leisure public policies in Brazil were characterized mostly by being exclusive, fragmented and functionalist. (Marcellino 2008; Amaral 2011; Menicucci 2002, 2006) This study assumes that leisure is a multidisciplinary area, both at the studies field, as in the intervention, therefore, must be planned and implemented jointly by several sectors within the municipality. The objectives of this study were to verify how have been planned and implemented the leisure public policies at Brotas, Sao Paulo's interior municipality, the period 2009-2012. Where raised which maintained relations between the various departments related at the sphere of leisure, such as Sport, Recreation and Culture, Tourism, Environment and Social Action. From intersectoriality, were verified how the city departments formulate and implement leisure policies and if this is used as a guiding principle of public actions. From the methodological point of view, were performed documentary research and observations of the secretaries meetings of tourism and sport (on the boards of sport and culture) and of the Tourism City Council and the Environment City Council. Although were conducted interviews semi-structured with one of the ex-former managers (ex-former mayor), servers and managers of departments cited. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and analyzed. The data showed that there are several actions and events where there is integration between the departments. The tourism department presented as a catalyst in the leisure and Brotas arises where most intersectoral actions and events in the city.

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1930s Estoril, a playground for Britain's leisured classes: The example of golf

Cristina Carvalho, Estoril Higher Institute for Tourism and Hotel Studies (ESHTE)

When in 1914 the entrepreneur Fausto Figueiredo presented the government a project to transform a pine-wood c.25km west of Lisbon into Portugal's 1st international tourist resort, a Golf course was inserted as a key feature for the comfort of the main tourists visiting the capital's surroundings in the wintertime: British clients.

Inaugurated in 1929, newspapers praised its value as a commodity for the leisure of Europe's elites, but also for the economy of Cascais' municipality; even fashion stores seized the opportunity to advertise on proper clothing available for the event. Quickly enjoyed by visitors like the future Edward VIII, the war hero Admiral Jellicoe and America's Minister of Foreign Affairs Coronel Stimson, the 9-holed green would be vital for the 1934 stay of Lloyd George at Estoril. Engaged on writing his *Mémoires*, Britain's former Prime-Minister only left his desk for an invigorating break dedicated to playing Golf.

The course's success soon led its managers to realise the need for improvements. Designed by Mackenzie Ross and fulfilled under the supervision of Mr. Chapman (foreman of the Reading firm Sutton & Sons), the now 18-holed green (international category) opened to the public in May 1937. Besides a new club house for golfers and a classroom meant for young caddies off duty, the views stunned everyone. Placed amidst Sintra's mountain, the Estoril resort at the foothill and the Atlantic nearby, British visitors were also seduced by the floral polychromy and the climate.

This paper aims at recovering one of Britain's favourite European resorts and sports back in the 1930s, being inspired on the research its author conducted for her Ph.D. thesis on the History of Tourism. Being a theoretical study, the text will respect the chronology of the decade, and present the impacts the course had on the success of the resort. The significance of this document is to conduct a trip down memory lane on the connection between Golf & Tourism in a specific timeline.

Cristina Carvalho has a graduate degree in Tourism Information, a masters in English Studies, and a Ph.D. in History. Her thesis is entitled Tourism in the Estoril-Cascais Coastal Axis (1929-1939): Equipments, Events, and Destination Promotion, and the paper proposed will be based on the research included on the thesis she defended in May 2013. Having worked for several years as a Tour Guide, she has been teaching English to future tourism professionals for over a decade as an Assistant Professor at Estoril Higher Institute for Tourism and Hotel Studies (ESHTE), besides participating in national and international conferences with published papers focusing on Portuguese and English tourist, historic, cultural, artistic and literary matters. Main Research Interests — History of Tourism

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The evolving nature of hosting friends and relatives for immigrants

Tom Griffin, Ryerson University

Increasing global mobility means the experiences of immigrants have become increasingly important for communities who receive them (Williams & Hall, 2000). The impact on touristic travel is noteworthy, both with diaspora returning home, and (of interest for this paper) with friends and family visiting the immigrant. Hosting as a form of leisure has implications for integration (e.g. Doherty & Taylor, 2007), however, the additional context of co-presence with friends and family holds additional significance (Larsen, 2008). Despite the volume of such travel, the experience of immigrant hosts has been disregarded by practice and academe (Backer, 2011). Therefore, the focus of this study considers the evolution of the hosting experience for immigrants. This study draws on interviews with nine immigrants from various cultures and length of time since settlement in the Toronto, Ontario region. Epistemological considerations are important (Griffin, 2013), and a constructionist narrative analysis

was adopted. Storytelling is considered as a way of co-constructing knowledge, selectively revealing what is of interest, articulating values and attitudes (Glover, 2003). Participants' experiences with settlement and hosting friends and relatives were explored. All interviews were individual, and video recorded. Edited excerpts of the first interviews were used in the second meetings as an elicitation tool. Early hosting provides comfort, reassurance, and an emotional boost, stimulating exploration of new environments, generating meaning and attachment to foreign surroundings. Sharing these experiences in a leisure context with friends and family helps in positive interpretation. As time passes the nature of hosting can evolve into family obligation, caring for new children, and spending time with elderly parents, and demonstrating the value of friendship by continued visits.

This paper has methodological implications for its use of narrative analysis and video, suggestions for practitioners involved with settlement and destination marketers in communities with high immigrant populations.

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Experience as Knowledge: Its Place in Leisure



Robert A. Stebbins

Professor Robert A. Stebbins, with 40 years in leisure studies, has pioneered the ideas of 'serious leisure', 'casual leisure', 'project-based leisure' and 'optimal leisure'. He is currently Faculty Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Calgary. Author of 47 books and monographs in several areas of social science, his most recent works bearing on these ideas include: *Between Work and Leisure* (Transaction, 2004); *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms and Concepts* (Indiana University Press, 2006, with D.H. Smith and M. Dover); *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time* (Transaction, 2007); *Personal Decisions in the Public Square: Beyond Problem Solving into a Positive Sociology* (Transaction, 2009); *Leisure and Consumption* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); *Serious Leisure and Nature: Sustainable Consumption in the Outdoors* (Palgrave Macmillan 2011, with Lee Davidson); *The Idea of Leisure: First Principles* (Transaction, 2012); and *Work and Leisure in the Middle East* (Transaction, 2013). He was elected Fellow of the Academy of Leisure Sciences in 1996, Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1999, and Senior Fellow of the World Leisure Academy in 2010. He has been a member of LSA since 1995.

Stebbins's main leisure interests lie in amateur music, where he is a jazz and classical double bassist, and in various outdoor hobbyist pursuits, notably cross-country skiing, snowshoeing, and hiking and mountain scrambling (hiking to mountain tops). He is also an active volunteer in the Calgary French community, most recently as President of the Centre d'accueil pour les nouveaux arrivants francophones (an organization that helps French-speaking immigrants settle in Calgary). And, to be sure, casual leisure counts as well. For Stebbins it consists mainly of evening conversations with friends and family and dining out in Calgary's restaurants.

Website (personal): <http://www.ucalgary.ca/~stebbins>

Website (perspective): <http://www.seriousleisure.net>

Experience is a key concept in leisure studies. Its nature and centrality in the field are well described in Kleiber, Walker and Mannell (2011, chap. 4). The leisure experience is a state of mind, a feeling about what is happening to oneself during un-coerced agreeable activity pursued in free, or non-obligated, time. The phenomenological basis of leisure is nowhere better set out than in the research and theory on this subject. Moreover, I use it as one of two angles from which to define in detail the very idea of leisure (Stebbins, 2012, pp. 10-12).

Nevertheless, the goal of this article is not to discuss the leisure experience, but rather to clarify for leisure studies a related concept, namely, that of experience as knowledge, or *experiential knowledge*, as Thomasina Borkman referred to it over 35 years ago. She defined experiential knowledge as 'truth learned from personal experience with a phenomenon rather than truth acquired by discursive reasoning, observation, or reflection on information provided by others' (Borkman, 1976, p. 446). She identified 'the two most important elements of experiential knowledge'. One is the type of information on which it is based. That type consists of wisdom and know-how gained from personal participation in a phenomenon instead of isolated, unorganized bits of facts and feelings on which a person has not reflected. This wisdom and know-how tend to be concrete, specific, and commonsensical, since they are based on the individual's actual experience, which is unique, limited, yet more or less representative of the experience of others participating in the same activity.

The second element is one's attitude toward that information. In other words, what level of 'certitude' does the participant have toward the experiential knowledge that he or she has acquired. The idea of experiential knowledge 'denotes a high degree of conviction that the insights learned from direct participation in a situation are truth, because the individual has faith in the validity and authority of the knowledge obtained by being a part of a phenomenon' (Borkman, 1976, p. 447). She adds that experiential knowledge is different from information provided by others. The second refers to being acquainted with or able to recognize facts, whereas the first has to do with understanding or having a complete mental grasp of the nature and significance of something.

Experiential Knowledge in Leisure

Borkman's research on experiential knowledge centred on that gained while serving in self-help groups, participation in which for some members may be conceived of as career (serious leisure) volunteering (not a term she used). My interest in this article, however, is much broader. It revolves around the role that experiential knowledge plays in all leisure experience. In what ways are a participant's experiences in a leisure activity influenced by that person's acquired wisdom and know-how and the certitude with which these two are held? Experiential knowledge can be an important part of both the serious and the casual leisure experience (for definitions of serious, casual and project-based leisure and related terms, see www.seriousleisure.net).

[net/concepts](#)). Still, such knowledge appears to play little or no role in project-based leisure, primarily because the projects commonly have no relevant experience-generating precursors.

Serious Leisure

Wisdom and know-how in the serious leisure activities are highly specialized for each activity. That is, each serious leisure activity has its own distinctive body of experiential knowledge. The following exemplify this distinctiveness:

1. Skiing alternatively in shady and sunny areas in well-above freezing temperatures, I learn to anticipate abrupt changes in 'glide' (rate of speed).
2. Presenting my stand-up comedy routine, I learn how long I should wait while the audience laughs at the end of the present 'joke' before introducing the next one (Stebbins, 1990, p. 52).
3. Raising outdoor plants I learn which species thrive best in which parts of my garden according to the amount of wind, rain and sun they receive there.
4. Playing poker (as an amateur or a professional), I learn which bluffing tactics work best against which kinds of players.
5. Collecting antique furniture, I learn how to bargain for the best price for each piece I am interested in buying.
6. Practising their trade, amateur and professional emergency medical workers develop a sense of patient behaviour according to the injury or illness at hand.

Wisdom is illustrated in numbers 1-3 and 6. Numbers 4 and 5 seem better qualified as examples of know-how or knack, including the tricks of the trade. Wisdom is factual, whereas know-how/knack is an acquired often subtle sense of what to do or what is appropriate in certain circumstances. There are probably factual elements in 4 and 5 as there are in the other examples. Furthermore, specific, concrete facts generated from experience can be discussed with fellow participants as parts of a shared, activity-related common sense, as parts of that activity's social world.

Not so with know-how; it is generally too subtle to verbalize clearly. Puddephatt (2003) discusses know-how in chess: 'thus, as players develop meanings for certain pieces, moves, and overall approaches to the game, these preferences become routinized and influence the way they perceive, judge, and make decisions in play'. (p. 268)

Know-how is developed through the senses. In the case of physical activities, the use of muscles for balance and lifting, for example, is partly a matter of learning. Optimal positioning in space sometimes as it relates to gravity is another (e.g., ski jumping, auto racing, animal photography). Meanwhile, experienced cooks and gourmet diners develop an educated and discriminating taste for *haute cuisine* (de Solier, 2013, pp. 78-79). An accomplished musician learns to hear when the ensemble is playing well (and when it is not). Amateur and professional interior decorators develop an eye for balance and color in a room. To be sure, there is a genetic basis for some of this, but some of it is also learned through constant participation in the core activity.

Certitude, the other element in experiential knowledge, is even more difficult to express than know-how. Practically speaking, it is the participant's faith that his or her wisdom and know-how have met their test many times over. This person knows from long experience that the first is valid and the second works. Certitude begets confidence, a solid self-assurance founded on experienced reality. Veteran professionals told me in the study of Canadian football (Stebbins, 1993) that, although they have less energy, stamina and speed than their younger teammates, experience (experiential knowledge) makes up substantially for these deficiencies. It was said of Peyton Manning, aging quarterback of the Denver Broncos (American) football team: 'Flashiness doesn't automatically win the day. Neither does fleetness. But smarts, patience, plotting? These are paramount, and they're less pronounced in youth than in the rickety, wobbly expanse beyond it' (Bruni, 2014).

A large and useful stock of experiential knowledge is a source of pride in the serious pursuits (i.e., serious leisure and devotee work, Stebbins, 2012, pp. 69-85). Put otherwise, it is a main ingredient in the self-fulfillment realized through the pursuit's core activity¹. Experienced participants can find immense satisfaction in their core activities, partly because of their considerable accumulated experiential knowledge.

Casual Leisure

Can we learn experiential truth from participating in casual leisure? Can we gain wisdom and know-how from such activity and eventually come to regard both with certitude? Is this possible in what is basically hedonism? Let us examine these possibilities in three types of casual leisure: play, casual volunteering and sociable conversation.

Play — one of eight types of casual leisure — bears a special relationship to a number of serious pursuits (i.e., serious leisure and devotee work, Stebbins, 2012), for it generates some vital experiential knowledge that facilitates their execution and enhances the participant's sense of fulfillment. During play, wherein participants consciously or semi-consciously produce, identify, and weigh ideas and choices, they are absorbed in imaginative, creative activity. Such highly rewarding sessions may result in for instance, a wonderfully written passage of poetry, brilliantly performed set of athletic manoeuvres in basketball or exquisitely flavored sauce in cooking. These are serious pursuits, yet they get a significant part of their impetus from casual leisure of the type called play (Stebbins, 2013).

Play activities of this sort are often spur-of-the-moment, as seen in manoeuvres in sport, interpretations in music, choices of words in creative writing, implications of exploratory data in science, artistic renderings of raw craft material, among many other possibilities in the serious pursuits. These playful possibilities are enriched with experience, such that later in the leisure/work career an accumulated body of very specific knowledge may be brought to bear on any given moment of play in the activity. In play the knowledge applied is that of know-how. Wisdom is mighty important, too, but by contrast

its application is conscious, intentional and therefore decidedly not play-like.

Casual volunteering requires no skill- or knowledge-based background, though there are typically some on-the-spot instructions about what the volunteer is to do while 'on the job'. Casual volunteering includes distributing leaflets, collecting money on street corners, taking tickets at school concerts, serving meals at community kitchens, and stuffing envelopes. It is possible to gain some experiential knowledge in some of these activities. Those who collect money on street corners could, over time, learn which passersby are most likely to contribute to the can and where to position themselves geographically to stimulate their largesse. Experiential knowledge among the servers of community meals might include accumulated wisdom about the dietary preferences of regular consumers as well as their conversational preferences.

According to Simmel (1949), the essence of sociable conversation lies in its playfulness, a quality enjoyed for its intrinsic value. Sociable conversation guarantees the participants maximization of such values as joy, relief and vivacity; it is democratic activity in that the pleasure of one person is dependent on that of the other people in the exchange. Because it is a non-instrumental exchange between persons, sociable conversation is destroyed when someone introduces a wholly personal interest or goal and maintained when all participants exhibit amiability, cordiality, attractiveness, and proper breeding.

Sociable conversations can spring up in a wide variety of settings at any time during a person's waking hours. They often develop in such public conveyances as buses, taxis and airplanes. Waiting rooms (e.g., emergency rooms, dentists' offices) and waiting areas (e.g., queues, bus stops) may beget sociable conversations among those with no choice but to be there. Still, possibly the most obvious as well as the most common occasion for sociable conversation springs not from adventitious events, such as those just described, but from planned ones such as receptions, private parties and after-hours gatherings. Of course, to the extent that these get-togethers become instrumental, or problem-centred, as they can when work or some other obligation insinuates itself, their leisure character fades in proportion.

Experiential knowledge can grow from such leisure; it revolves around how to ensure that the activity is democratic and enjoyable for all participants. Such wisdom, accumulated over the years, might include allowing others to speak (refrain from 'monopolizing' the conversation), avoiding subjects of little interest to them and presenting oneself in an agreeable manner (e.g., be modest not conceited). Admittedly, many a conversationalist fails to respect these principles. In their situation experiential knowledge in conversations is dramatically different. These people have learned how to monopolize a conversation, strut conceitedly their accomplishments and perhaps even embarrass or enrage others with indiscrete observations and questions. It takes some experiential knowledge — probably much of it of the know-how variety — to be a complete boor, if that is one's wont.

**Forthcoming in LSA Newsletter No. 99
(July 2014): Robert Stebbins's *Leisure Reflections* No. 37 on 'Emotions in Leisure:
The Positive and the Negative'**

Conclusion

Experiential knowledge the importance of which should now be evident is only rarely discussed in leisure studies. Yet, it is a central part of many leisure experiences, especially for most if not all of the serious pursuits. So, when we speak of the leisure experience, we must also remember that, in some casual leisure activities and possibly all the serious pursuits, experiential knowledge is an important component. Fulfillment there depends significantly on this acquisition, as it grows across the leisure career.

Endnote

¹ The concept of the general activity in leisure (e.g., cooking, playing trumpet, collecting stamps) gets further amplified in the concept of *core activity*. A core activity is a distinctive set of interrelated actions or steps that must be followed to achieve the fulfilling outcome or product that the participant seeks. As with general activities core activities are pursued in life's three domains: work, leisure and non-work obligation (Stebbins, 2012, p. 7).

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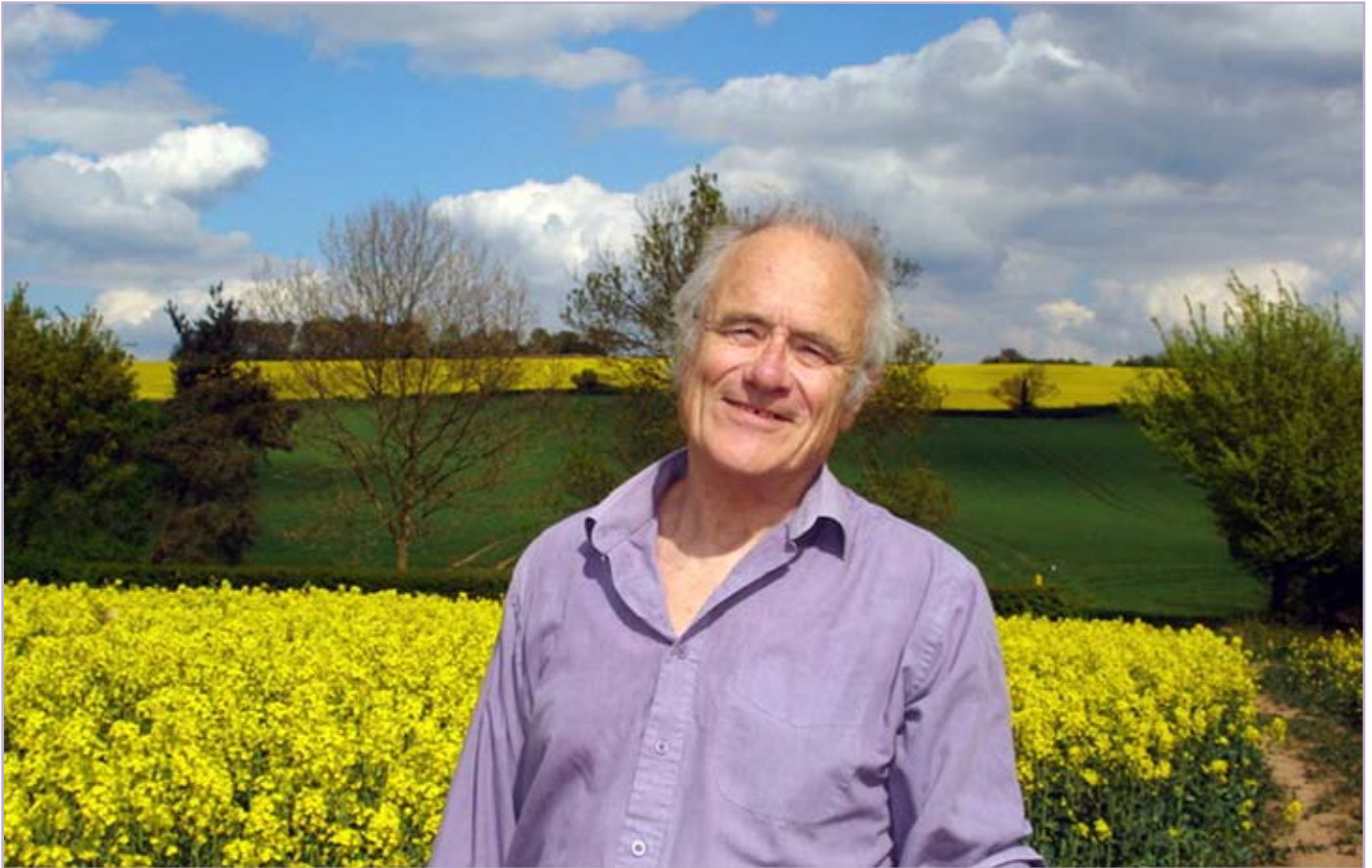
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And now for a few words from . . . David Crouch



The Country and the City?

Forty years ago last year Raymond Williams' book *The Country and the City* was published. It is still very much in print. Its appeal persists. His deeply-felt insights into the swirl of meanings, often contradictory in diverse ways, of these two key words in western culture stir attitudes and values in nuanced as well as very direct ways. The country as backward, the city as progressive; country as pure, city degraded emerge amongst many others: series of opposites. These he tracked in particular through the historical, social and cultural context of the times in which particular distinctive literatures were produced: Wordsworth, John Clare and many along the way. In ways a very British, rather English collection and critique. In other ways, much more than that. Colonialism, slavery and their varieties play amongst what life was like in cities, hamlets and more lonely areas.

Still today 'country' and 'city' form everyday 'obvious' ways of making distinctions — of class, status — and of types of leisure and lifestyle. The one, 'outdoors', (seemingly more) healthy, relaxed (or challenging, risky). The other, stifling, anxious, often dirty. [Williams

expresses these as deeply-ingrained virtues and vices, as often contradictory lived lives ironic in the face of stereotypes, representations in some literatures — but brutally felt in such as Bronte, John Clare.] These distinctions and categories mean many different things and work in different ways amongst different contemporary cultures and subcultures, as well as across and between locations around the world.

Tourism's business branding often follows long-outdated country or city realities and falls into the old imagery; still often stretches particular western distinctions to other cultures in other countries (nations), often voraciously conflicting with more local cultural feelings. Yet clearly these meanings are multiple and diverse. They are not simply or crudely shared, nor are they repeated in the same clutches of diversity in different countries, even less across the world. Even for those who spend their everyday lives in the UK it is likely that many of the respective labels of 'country' and 'city' are unfelt.

Why can't we feel that, rather than 'city or 'country', it is 'here' or 'there' that matters; *heres* or *theres*. Sites where



“Abstracted Garden”,
gouache, 2012 (51x34cm)



David Crouch “Walking”,
gouache 22x25cm, 2013



David Crouch [cover] *Flirting with Space:
Journeys and Creativity* (Ashgate 2010)

we do things, this or that, feel a particular way, encounter and engage distinctive atmospheres of smell, colour, human relations and relations with other-than-human life and features, close by where we live or the other side of the world? Different areas or locations where different kinds of things occur, feel differently in their shared characters of great diversity.

For some, the importance of some *heres* and *theres* having distinctive character, perhaps in terms of ecological diversity, renders them protected, and that does not need the city-country split. Anywhere can be protected or under threat otherwise. In cities in the UK biological diversity is frequently greater than in large areas of country[side]. Does country apply in most countries of the world?. Yes, but in diverse forms and meanings. Similarly the city. Ways of life are, generally speaking, not distinctive between city and country; nor levels of delight or deprivation. Such diverse character is dispersed without regard or reference to the mythical distinction of country and city, nurtured in those outdated notions of superiority and distancing, accompanied by whole languages of out-of-touch arrogance: the country seat; the city civilised: the country ignorant and the city corrupt. Contemporary efforts to recycle conferred status.

I recall volumes of geography compendia even until the end of the last century having chapters on ‘countryside’ leisure. Always set in terms of national parks, wonderful habitats, quiet enjoyment, with increasingly added bits of protected areas. Country[side], wile, natural; city otherwise. Invited to do the same kind of chapter for a 2000 text I veered also to theme parks and much more of the diversity that is leisure in the ‘rural’. This is not to erase the value of other sites and atmospheres associated with, or, rather, extant in the country[side]. Ethical regard, handling and generosity may lead to challenges of ‘what is’.

Rather than the old, surviving crudity of yet another intellectual hangover duality, there are instead *atmospheres*, as the American anthropologist Kathleen Stewart refers to worlds in which people live. Not just ‘networks’ but felt experiences amongst other people, surroundings, life beyond human beings and so on. Similar life pressures of isolation are felt in city streets, small towns and huddles of small houses surrounded by farmland. Individuals suffer and delight anywhere. ‘Urban’ (another contestable term in much the same ways) and rural (ditto) life merges, shares more than distances. Like the relations leisure/work, work/non-work. Identity can be nurtured or lost in ‘each’ of these. Reality is *that/these* — another duality where, more realistically, merging exists. Work can be freedom; leisure tedium.

Rejecting these overburdened terms might even offer a worthy challenge to easy thinking. Raymond Williams was a critical thinker, touched by Marxism around the time of the second world war. Yet he went beyond its mid-century crudities of simplistic thought. He developed insight into complexities before and without any distracting postmodernist abstraction of life. Rejecting dualities, Stewart does the same. Not looking for a simplistic slickness in critique that often hides behind mere complexity of writing, Katy works the textures and scratches of being alive, often through close-up and in-depth ethnographic work on the ground. Listening to other people and the atmospheres of their worlds to understand rather than to web and net a theory, she realises the complexity and works at it with generosity.

Williams worked at the life-face, more through literary modes and narrated intimacies, as in his marvellous book *The Fight for Manod*, expressing the voices (often political at a more 'lived' scale) of individuals and families who just happened to live in similar atmospheres. Their fight was over land — the land they relied on in starkly different ways, worked through the familiar contest of mining and farming. Now we might easily deploy the Fight in terms of different leisures. He explored different values and their relationship through not only land but human lives. Sure, we are affected by things around us, inevitable components in the atmospheres of our living.

NOTE — Later this year Ashgate publishes *Affective Landscapes*, an edited collection from across the globe gathered from a conference at my university two years ago. Kathleen Stewart writes the Foreword, with an Afterword contributed by myself. The book is edited by Christine Berberich (Portsmouth University), Neil Campbell, Robert Hudson (both Derby University). Kathleen Stewart's *Ordinary Lives* was published by her university, Duke University Press, as was her earlier book *By the Side of the Road*. Entering the lives of the people living 'by the side of the road' allows us, as enquirers, to peer at their leisure doings not through detached categories, but through understanding the atmospheres of their lives, that of course includes in the swirl their leisure.

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PROFESSOR DAVID CROUCH is a member of very long standing of the Leisure Studies Association. He has served on the Executive Committee, has performed as keynote speaker at LSA conferences, and has contributed as author and editor to LSA Publications volumes. David's research and writing crosses a number of fields of cultural geography, social anthropology, cultural and visual studies, art theory. These are connected through an attention to life and space that includes landscape, everyday life and its tourism, community involvement and the work of artists. This work includes an interest in gentle politics, belonging, disorientation and cultural identity, and human poetic expression in diverse forms of creativity.

David's wide range of experience includes BBC film work, including film production and programme consultancy; writing for and being interviewed by national broadsheets and specialist press; national, regional and international television and radio, reflecting range of research and writing expertise. Most recently, BBC Radio 4 Questions, Questions; BBC online. He was editorial board member of *Leisure Studies* (1999–2007), and now serves on *International Journal of Heritage Studies* and *Tourism Geographies, Tourist Studies*. David's recent publications include *Flirting with space: journeys and creativity*, Ashgate 2010; *The Media and the Tourist Imagination*, Routledge 2005. Also 'An expressivity of feeling and knowledge: art practice and a clash of energies', *Cultural Geographies* 2012; 'Gardens and gardening', in N. Thrift and R. Kitchin eds. *Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*, Elsevier 2009; 'The perpetual performance and emergence of heritage' in E. Waterton et al. eds *Heritage and Visual Representation*, Ashgate 2010; 'Flirting with space: thinking landscape relationally', *Cultural Geographies* 2010; 'Creativity, space and performance: Community Gardens' in T. Edensor et al. eds *Spaces of Vernacular Creativity* Routledge 2009; 'The diverse dynamics of cultural studies and tourism' in T. Jamal and M. Robinson eds. *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies* Sage, 2009; 'Constructing feelings of wellness in Tourist Performance', in R. Bushell and P. Sheldon eds, *Wellness Tourism; Nurturing Mind, Body, Spirit and Place* Routledge 2009; 'Revisiting the street and everyday geographical knowledge, in: A. García ed. *Espacio público, ciudad y conjuntos históricos*'. IAPH, Andalucía (translated in Spanish with new Introduction and Afterword) 2009 (first published 1998).

David is also an exhibiting artist. Recent art shows —

Solo — University of Derby March 2010; Bull Yard Gallery, Southwell Fall, 2010;

Southwell Minster, late 2010; The George Gallery, Newnham-on-Severn, Gloucestershire March-May 2009;

Southwell Minster, 2012; Tarpey Gallery, Castle Donnington, 2012

Mixed shows — Angel Row Gallery, Nottingham July, 2009; Gallerie, Newark, Fall, 2010

Invited work for mixed show, Richard Attenborough Gallery, University of Leicester, Spring 2011



FROM IRON MAIDEN TO KHAT CHEWING: REFLECTIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF SUBCULTURE WITHIN A LEISURE CONTEXT

Guest Editor Gabby Riches

Gabby Riches is a PhD student in the Research Institute for Sport, Physical Activity and Leisure at Leeds Metropolitan University, UK. Her doctoral research explores the role and significance of moshpit practices in the lives of female heavy metal fans in Leeds' extreme metal music scene. Her research interests include the socio-spatial constructions of underground music spaces, subcultural gender performativities, non-representational theory, marginal leisures and embodiment. Her research on gender, spaces and heavy metal music has been published in the *Journal for Cultural Research, Musicultures*, and *International Association for the Studies of Popular Music* (IASPM).

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From the late 1960s through the late 1990s, the concept of subculture dominated studies on patterns of youth leisure, culture, and style. Appropriating 'subculture' from the Chicago School, where it had been used to formulate a sociological explanation of youth deviance, the Birmingham Centre for the Study of Contemporary Culture (CCCS) used the concept to illustrate how working-class youth subcultures represented pockets of resistance to mainstream society such as punks and mods. However, the forms of leisure that featured in these subcultural semiotic analyses were limited by stylistic and class-based interpretations (Cohen 1972; Hebdige 1979). These subcultural works did not account for the broader patterns of subcultural production consumption and there was an obvious absence of personal accounts from their subcultural participants. Furthermore, the majority of these CCCS accounts celebrated masculine expressions of resistance which was supported by mostly male theorists. These types of male-centred subcultural research, according to McRobbie and Garber (1993), prompted feminist critiques because they reduced young females to sexual objects and *passive* consumers within subcultures. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, there was a shift away from rigid, class-based, semiotic 'subcultural' explanations of youth culture. A new cohort of youth cultural researchers challenged the structural determinist approaches of subcultural theory

and explored, through ethnographic engagements, the *everyday* cultural practices of young people (Bennett 2013). Known as the ‘post-subcultural turn’, this new era in youth research drew on a variety of existing concepts — scene, lifestyle, neotribe — as a means of transcending class-based explanations to examine the wide range of meanings and significance leisure plays in the lives of young people. The majority of post-subcultural scholarship has focused on the importance of music scenes (Hodkinson 2002; Kahn-Harris 2007; Spracklen 2010; Stahl 2004) as sites of fluid identities and feelings of community, while others have turned their attention to the sensual pleasures of subcultural experiences such as drug-use at rave events (Malbon 1999), non-mainstream sports (Beal 1995; Bordon 2000; Wheaton 2007) and counter-cultural tourism (Bennett 2004; Hetherington 1996).

While ‘post-subcultural’ youth researchers are still concerned about concepts such as resistance, subculture, and consumption there has been development in the direction of new methodological approaches and theoretical frameworks used to examine the complex relationship between people and spaces, and embodiment of subcultural identities, both of which I argue have become germane conceptual frames in contemporary leisure analyses. For Driver (2011), the CCCS research overlooked the lived experience of individuals “in favour of macro-perspectives that positioned subculturalists as a homogenous whole” (p. 978). He argues that bodies are important to youth and leisure research because concentration on this particular aspect enables understanding of how subcultural membership is maintained and acknowledged through embodied knowledges and understandings. Driver’s research on an Australian hardcore music scene and its practices focuses on how subcultures *feel* rather than being pre-occupied by their symbolic meanings. Additionally, Glass’s (2012) ethnographic research on punk critiques existing subcultural and youth ethnographic research, claiming that there has been little focus on the micro-processes of the spatial construction of ‘scene’. His study on punks in a Midwestern U.S. college town examines how punks are continually engaged in the reciprocal process of creating and constructing their identities through transforming particular places into meaningful scene spaces. In contrast to the male-centred research that still dominates subcultural research today, feminist leisure and music scholars have turned their attention to women’s experiences in subcultural practices such as roller derby (Pavlidis 2012), metal music

(Hill 2014; Overell 2014; Riches, Lashua and Spracklen 2014) and skateboarding (Young and Dallaire 2008) in order to destabilise the standard equation of subcultural participation with masculinity, while also emphasising the pleasure-giving and empowering aspects that male-dominated leisure practices can offer women. The papers presented in this LSA newsletter special theme section contribute to emerging research which continues to challenge leisure academics to think differently about subculture.

The papers in this feature section also speak to the methodological ‘edge’ within leisure and subcultural research. Incorporating personal reflections and using an auto-ethnographic approach, **Andy Brown** reflects upon his attendance at an Iron Maiden concert in order to illustrate current debates about subcultures, working-class identities and resistance. He argues that there has been a recent shift by academics to reclaim, defend and ‘bring back’ subcultural theory, and he maintains that class *still* matters when examining heavy metal music as a leisure practice and its fan as consumers. **Dave Snell** considers the ways in which subcultural theories have influenced the ways Bogans (a derogatory term used to describe working-class heavy metal fans in New Zealand) have previously been positioned in public discourse and how existing subcultural theories could inadvertently be detrimental to future attempts to analyse this subcultural group. He suggests that conceptualising Bogans as a community highlights how people express and embody social identities, as opposed to a subcultural in which practices are typically viewed as expressions of resistance. Using biographical methods, **Ronnie Richards** reveals the importance of style, lifestyle, media and class demarcations in defining Acid House culture. He maintains that being part of a subculture provides people with the understanding of who they are and their position in society. Through his unique form of storytelling he illustrates the importance of stylistic embodiment as a demonstration of identity and markers of belonging and community. In her paper on women’s experiences in hard rock and heavy metal, **Rosemary Hill** departs from subcultural theory and focuses instead on the listening experiences and musical pleasures associated with the music. Hill argues that subcultural theory’s lack of interest in the experiences of listening to the music makes the theory an inadequate framework for studying music fans, as fans. She focuses on what makes music important for people as a leisure practice and pursuit. Furthermore, she moves beyond resistance

— the key concept of subcultural theory — and looks to the multidimensional elements involved in people’s engagements with metal and hard rock which challenge everyday assumptions, particularly assumptions about metal’s masculinist delineations. **Spencer Swain’s** paper on khat chewing as a (sub)cultural form of resistance is positioned as site where race, class, and gender relations intersect. Swain points to the fact that khat chewing, as a form of dark leisure, could be understood as a subcultural practice that challenges certain social, cultural and religious orthodoxies. Swain’s research harkens back to earlier CCCS work that viewed particular subcultural groups and practices as “pockets of resistance to the ruling hegemonic order” (Bennett, 2013, p. 572).

Despite its contested theoretical terrain, subculture remains an important concept when theorising about leisure practices and styles that are academically and socially marginalised. These papers echo Bennett’s (2002) concern about the experiential and reflexive gap within existing youth and popular music research. Through the use of in-depth ethnographic approaches, each paper remains attentive to the everyday workings of subcultural life that makes it meaningful and pleasurable for its participants and also for the academics that research it. Additionally, the collection of papers featured in this issue addresses Hodkinson’s (2012) assertion that the study of common and ordinary dimensions of youth cultures centred on styles, practices, and pleasures *are* actually spectacular, distinctive and worthy of academic attention. With original and creative contributions to existing youth studies and leisure scholarship, all the authors stress the importance of leisure *within* subcultures (Frith 1983), and are attentive to the spaces, discourses, and practices that shape subcultures and the participants that embody them.

I would also like to thank all the authors for creating and sharing their work in this issue, thus contributing to a body of research that seeks to test the boundaries of leisure and popular music scholarship.

Lastly, I would like to thank the Leisure Studies Association for providing me the opportunity to put together this collection around subcultures and leisure, and for making the work of these authors available to members of the leisure studies community around the world.

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IRON MAIDEN

AT TWICKENHAM STADIUM, JULY 2008: AN ETHNOGRAPHER'S DIARY



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On the way up we played the "Best of the Beast" compilation; for Chris¹ to hear it and me to remember. Iron Maiden, of course, have a number of memorable songs — with strong, melodic choruses — like 'Run to the Hills', 'Fear of the Dark', 'Aces High' and '2 Minutes to Midnight' — quite unusual for a metal band. But to Maiden fans there really isn't anyone else like them. They are unique, an institution, a band you can rely on — except for a bit of a wobble when lead singer, Bruce Dickinson, left for a time in the 90s — who never forget their fans and never take them for granted. The announcement of the *Somewhere Back in Time World Tour* epitomised that sentiment: a tour "for the fans" where Maiden would work through their back catalogue, selecting some songs that they had not played for twenty years, polishing them up like precious gems. It was no surprise then that such a tour — where fans would get to hear songs that they had not heard for years 'live' but also some would be hearing for the first time — sold out in no time at all.

The Maiden tribe around the globe really does number in the millions. The venue — the 82,000-capacity Twickenham Rugby Stadium — was not a surprise as a choice because of the volume of tickets that would be sold, especially as this was to be the only concert that the band would play in the UK that year. Because of the concert layout, with the stage at one end, the capacity was "sold out" at 60,000. The concert programme was to be the Lauren Harris band, Dutch symphonic metal outfit, Within Temptation, and then US noise-rockers Avenged Sevenfold (big Maiden fans themselves, we heard). The advance publicity, quoting bassist and founder Maiden, Steve Harris, said the band and their sound engineers had worked really hard to make sure the sound in the stands (where the majority of the audience would be) would be just as good as in front of the stage or pitch-side.

Our tickets were for the stands, quite high up in fact, so we hoped they were right about that (as it turned out they weren't — but I'll get to that later). Either way it didn't matter because although we wanted to enjoy the concert our primary reason for being there was to mix with the fans and to explore what it was like to be a member of the Maiden tribe on a very special day.

But the choice of Twickenham stadium or 'Twickers' the "home of Rugby Union" was also interesting in lots of coincidental ways. First, not least because of the social and cultural history of class identity and class politics that inform the sport, from the bitter division between amateur and gentlemen players to its professionalization, the North/South divide, and the cultural politics that still informs that geography, so that it is middle-class in the South and very much working-class in the North. But also because of the classed-cultural politics of heavy metal itself and its association (excuse the pun there) not with rugby but football, or rather the football 'crowd' and football 'fandom'. Not only did lead singer Bruce Dickinson kick a rugby ball into the crowd at the beginning of the set, but he also made a point of commenting on the venue and its location in "lovely" leafy, Richmond-Upon-Thames, then referring to the band's "bass player" as hailing from "the other side of town", to much laughter. Exploring these interconnections takes us into debates about subcultures, working-class identity and resistance to social and cultural hegemony. But it also takes us into debates that challenge such 'readings', offering alternative scenarios of neo-tribes, post-subcultural identities, fandom and leisure cultures (or even 'subcultures of consumption'). Indeed, it seems that it cannot be entirely coincidental that Iron Maiden — because of their history, their formation and their



Photo by Chris Griffin



Photo by Andy Brown

fandom, and, most importantly their success and longevity — in choosing to play Twickenham and inviting their fans there in considerable numbers, concatenate into themselves all the elements and all the contradictions that bedevil debates about subculture, class and leisure, most probably because — they do *actually* embody them!

At this point I want to take a necessary detour into academic debates about heavy metal and subcultural theory as I have personally experienced them, both as a sociologist and as what Henry Jenkins calls an 'aca-fan'. It might be useful to view this as a kind of mental reverie of the passenger and co-pilot, as we head from the South West towards London, adrift in the mythical cartography of the road-map that lies abandoned in my lap. My defence for the deployment of this metaphor is the overwhelming sense I have that, while the landscape that constitutes 'subcultural theory' is clearly signposted by a number of classic texts, Hall and Jefferson's (Eds) *Resistance Through Rituals* (1976), Mungham and Pearson's (Eds) *Working Class Youth Cultures* (1976) Paul Willis' *Profane Culture* (1978) and Hebdige's *Subculture: The meaning of style* (1979), the impact of these texts — both within and beyond the academy — and the intellectual project identified with the (now sadly closed) Birmingham CCCS school — a thrillingly intellectual synthesis of Gramsci, Marxism and structural linguistics, which attempted to 'read' a series of 'spectacular' youth style-formations, such as the Teds, Mods, Skins, and Punks, as forms of 'coded' resistance to class hegemony in post-war Britain — has taken on mythological dimensions, not just for me but in the minds of many others. Witness, for example, how many academic spats there have been over it, how even quite recent academic articles seek to reclaim, defend or 'bring back' subcultural theory. One of the reasons for this has to be that this radical, neo-marxist sociological project achieved the status of an intellectual orthodoxy within its own lifetime, finding its way into hundreds of academic textbooks, high and middle-brow commentary and hip-music-journalism.

And yet, despite my admiration, I am one of the 'heretics' who mounted an intellectual challenge to this radical orthodoxy, in the name of post-Birmingham, post-subcultural or post-modernist theory. Looking back at that intellectual 'moment' and the texts that populated it, from Redhead's *End of the Century Party* (1990), Sarah Thornton's *Clubculture* (1995), Muggleton's (2000) *Inside Subculture: The post-modern meaning of style*; and the many edited volumes, including *The Clubcultures Reader* (1997), *The Post-Subcultures Reader* (2003), *After Subculture* (2004) and *Youth Cultures: Scenes, Subcultures and Tribes* (2007), it seems a contradictory formation at best, in seeking to combine post-modern theory — that youth identities were fluid, constructed and mediated 'neo-tribal', 'life style' choices — with an urgent demand for 'new ethnographies' of such

groups. Yet, in a manner strikingly similar to the CCCS project, the theoretical 'superstructure' far outweighed the ethnographic 'base'. Despite this, there was a strong and exciting sense in this work that it was attempting to respond to developments in popular music post-CCCS, suggesting that youth cultures were now either music-driven or combined music, life-style and leisure choices in entirely new ways, as in Redhead's breathless description of his research focus: "from post-punk to indie through soccer terrace 'folk' songs to house/post house dance music" (1997: p. x); a contemporary history that:

dates from the post-punk era of the late 1970s through the hidden origins of the summer of love back in the late 1980s to the internationalization — or globalization of sport — and music-influenced youth and dance club culture in the 1990s, involving a waning — in the UK at least — of 'rock-ist' culture and the rise of the DJ/producer. (ibid)

My earliest work on heavy metal, to the extent that it made a contribution to this newly emergent academic field, was not stimulated by a commitment to post-modernism or neo-tribal theory — both of which it seemed to me abandoned any notion of class-identity — but borne out of a sense of frustration that the 'classic' CCCS work either ignored or excluded heavy metal from the history of postwar working class subcultures, rendering it virtually 'invisible'; and the sense that it did so in ways that were entirely consistent with its theoretical project. This led me to try to unearth the 'hidden history' of heavy metal that the classic texts concealed (2003a; 2003b) and to develop a critique of the theoretical model that justified this erasure or absence (2007). I now recognise, in hindsight, that in so doing I may have 'bent the stick' too far away from subcultural theory towards a post-subcultural argument that is far from satisfactory, not least because notions of 'resistance' are almost entirely absent from it. It is also worth pointing out that, despite the focus on music-driven subcultures to be found in post-subcultural theory, its 'post-rock-ist' orientation meant that it too largely failed to note the many metal-genre-styles that emerged in the post-punk period and after, or the complex interrelation such sub-genre styles had with other youth musics (but see Kahn-Harris 2007).

So, what then, is this hidden history and, indeed, what does it have to do with Iron Maiden or Maiden fans attending Twickenham stadium, in 2008? The answer to this question is that, although heavy metal music and its distinctive fan culture — for



Photo by Chris Griffin

many an identity indelibly 'forged' in the city within which the CCCS postgraduate research centre was located — was entirely absent in Hall and Jefferson (1976), Mungham and Pearson (1976) and Willis (1978), it does make a belated appearance in Hebdige (1979) as a single footnote! The significance of this footnote is that it is employed by the author to describe a youth style that is actually making a return to visibility, similar to the 'return of the teddy boy' then highly visible in 'punk vs. Ted skirmishes' in the late 70s, which is his main focus.

Heavy metal is, as the name suggests, a heavily amplified, basic form of rock which relies on the constant repetition of standard guitar riffs. Aficionados can be distinguished by their long hair,

denim and 'idiot' dancing (again, the name says it all). Heavy metal has fans amongst the student population, but it also has a large working class following. It seems to represent a curious blend of hippy aesthetics and football terrace machismo. (p.155)

The reason Hebdige mentions these 'heavy metal rockers' (p. 84), along with Northern soul, football fans and mainstream pop fans, is in order to illustrate the deeply conservative character of these youth cultural options, in comparison to punk.

What Hebdige is actually describing here, in late 1978, is the resurgence of heavy metal in the 'street visible' fandom of the New Wave of British Heavy Metal. We know this because their appearance — in

exactly the same context — is noted by Cashmore (1984) who describes them as “a mass following of youth, their denim clothes covered in studs and appliqué, their hair long and wild so as to swing freely when they shook their heads in time with the music — what they called ‘head-banging’” (p. 37).

Working my way outwards from the CCCS literature to other related texts on youth cultures, gender and popular music, I was profoundly struck by the way heavy metal fans, when they were identified, were described by employing metaphors and analogies to football crowds and collective expressions of a ‘hetero-sexist’ working class-masculinity. The earliest example of which is Frith and McRobbie’s (orig. 1978) account of hard rock/heavy metal shows as “reminiscent of football matches and other occasions of male camaraderie” (1990: p. 375). Or Chambers’s description of the heavy metal ‘life-style’ as “closely tied to the immediate emotions of loud music, beer and communal maleness” (1985: p. 123):

At the Reading Festival, Knebworth and other sites, contingents of longhaired, denimed males could be seen consuming large quantities of beer and playing imaginary guitar runs in sycophant homage to their alter egos performing on the stage. The heavy metal audience was (and is) composed of a popular alliance of scruffy students and working-class followers; it appears to represent an unexpected marriage of hippy and rocker culture. Since 1970, this music and its public has come to occupy a prominent and permanent place in the musical tastes of the provinces. (ibid)

Note the snippy relegation of metal fandom to the ‘un-cultured’ provinces of, presumably, ‘mass taste’. Although Chambers, like Hebdige and Cashmore, views heavy metal as a musical style “untouched by the frenzied developments and transitory shocks of metropolitan change” (p. 124), he does acknowledge that the late 70s saw “the rise of a host of new, aggressively named groups: Motorhead, Iron Maiden, Whitesnake, Saxon” as well as the ‘surprising’ (given the aforementioned identification of the genre with a hetero-sexist masculinism) appearance of an “all-female heavy metal band, Girlschool” (ibid). This view of heavy metal as a “great force of political indifference [...] a dinosaur of youth culture, surviving its contemporaries and lasting seemingly without change into the 1980s” (Cashmore 1984: p. 263) was also clearly linked to its perceived commodified-character:

HM was, by this time, a complete industry; its items ranged from full-length feature movies (about 15, at the time of writing) through lapel buttons and T-shirts — these mundane items providing turnovers in the millions of pounds brackets. One of the features of heavy metal was the penchant of its devotees to collect memorabilia, particularly souvenirs of concerts, so a T-shirt bearing the legend “Black Sabbath, 1983 Tour” would signify the follower’s presence at the event. (p. 263)

One of the strongest and most theoretically-justified targets of the post-subcultural critique of the CCCS account of subcultural formation and subcultural resistance was the idea that working-class style cultures were created in a ‘market-free’ and ‘media-free’ space, that styles were made through an aggressive ‘appropriation’ of commercial commodities and media-images, re-worked into symbols of resistance, only to be then re-incorporated into the cultural-commodity system, sold-back as pre-packaged conformity and ‘fashion’ items. While the radical re-stylization of ‘conventional’ commodities — such as scooters, Doctor Marten ‘work boots’, Edwardian drape coats, braces and Parker coats — by exclusively working-class youth such as teds, mods and skins is wholly convincing, from punk onwards this ‘essentialist’ model seems hugely inadequate. Or as Gary Clarke, writing in the early 80s, argues:

[T]he current diversity of styles makes a mockery of subcultural analysis as it stands [...] To name but a few examples: the revival of skins, mods, and teds; rude boys; suedeheads; a psychedelic revival; rockers — both the traditional type and the younger, denim-clad heavy metallists; Rastafarians; souldheads (short-haired blacks); disco; Ant-people; Northern soul; jazz-funkateers; Bowie freaks; punk (subdivided into Oi, “hardcore”, or “real” punk, plus the avant-garde wing); futurists; new romantics; glam revivalists; beats, zoots, and so on. (1990: p. 93)

Of course, none of these styles are exclusively working class, although many articulate a consciousness of class or a re-worked class-identity, what they have in common is a shared musical preference that is key to the look, delineated values and leisure practices of the different groups. While we can also point to ‘commodity-centred’ subcultures such as surfing, snowboarding, skateboarding, car-modding or motorised (or non-motorised) ‘two-wheeling’ — to name but a few options — one of the key elements that seems to describe the transition

between the time of sub-culture and post-subculture is the changing role of musical tastes, music scenes, music-making and music consumption, and how these elements interact with other practices.

Heavy metal is a case in point, where the shift in musical preference of a fraction of the working class led to a decisive shift in the musical syntax of rock style, demonstrating that progressive rock could be rearticulated from the middle to the working class, retaining part of its previous audience. The fact that music critics and popular music theorists who witnessed this shift interpreted it as the *commodification* of rock style into what Chambers and others described as: “a ‘mindless’ display of inflammatory technique and a degraded populism” (1985: p. 124), or simply as ‘empty virtuosity’, revealed more about their own classed-values in being unable to recognise how a working-class vernacular form that had been appropriated by the ‘radical’ middle-class ‘counter culture’ and thereby in the process acquired a more ‘cultured’ sensibility — including, literary, avant-garde, folk, jazz and classical inflections — had then, in turn, been re-appropriated by a new generation of mainly working-class musicians, such as Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath and Deep Purple.

At this distance, it remains a moot point whether the largely negative reaction to the genre's emergence — symbolised in its pejorative ‘naming’ by *Rolling Stone* rock critics — actually served to reinforce this class-identification among both musicians and fans and thereby go on to play a central role in maintaining its ‘outsider’ status in subsequent years. What is clear is that neither the class-composition of its audience nor the vocabulary of its musical syntax have remained rigidly the same, although there are key elements of continuity. One of these is the riff-based compositional style which forms the seed-bed for most styles [although not black metal or some varieties of progressive metal (Brown, in press)]. Recent evidence suggests that a recognisable fraction of the working-class, male



Photo by Andy Brown

skilled-manual and the self-employed with City and Guilds qualifications — or what Savage (2006) and colleagues term ‘technical and minor-supervisory’ workers — constitute a recognisable core constituency, interested in the technical and musical aspects of the genre, including its guitar aesthetic and amplification technologies (a significant proportion of metal fans are amateur musicians and readers of ‘guitar tech’ magazines). However, over the years this core fraction has been subject to down-market and up-market shifts, recruiting both lower-middle class fans and lower-working class fans, in different periods of popularity and change. For example, during its initial period of popularity in the 1970s, heavy metal shared an audience with progressive rock, consisting of higher education students and aspirational working-class males; during the period of its resurgence, in the form of the New Wave of British Heavy Metal (NWOBHM), it was very much a lower-working-class defined genre. During its sustained period of success in the 1984-91 period, it recruited middle-class fans, including, for the first time, large groups of females. This pattern of up-market and down-market identification has continued over a remarkably long period of time; most recently there is evidence to suggest that metal's more avant-garde genres, such as 2nd wave black and progressive metal, including djent and drone, are once again attracting higher-educated, middleclass fans.

All of which gets us back to Iron Maiden. Formed by bassist, Stephen Percy Harris, in Leyton, East London, their origins, formation and membership exactly mirrors the class-profile or image of heavy metal I have just sketched. Harris, who served an apprenticeship as an architectural-'draughtsman', a life-long West Ham United fan, has the club's crest stencilled on his Fender Precision bass-guitar and the chant or mantra that many Maiden fans have adopted is a variant of the stadium chant, "Up the 'ammers" ("Up the Irons"). Formed in 1976 and influenced musically by progressive rock and classic heavy metal, the band came to prominence during the (so-called) NWOBHM period. Initially a hard rock revivalist movement that sought to reclaim the genre in opposition to punk it was, arguably, the key influence on the future diversification of metal into many sub-genres styles such as speed metal, cross-over, thrash, grindcore, death metal and black metal. Although NWOBHM was a regionally diverse, largely DIY movement of literally hundreds of (largely) amateur bands, out of it emerged a handful of names — Def Leppard, Saxon, Judas Priest, Motorhead and Iron Maiden — that would go on to define the next generation of heavy metal. Although signed to the then major EMI, it wasn't until Dickinson took over lead vocals on the *Number of the Beast* (1982) album and subsequent World Tour that their success was assured (to date they have sold over 85 million records). Dickinson, often referred to as a "gentlemen and a scholar" by many fans (including the ones we spoke to) most probably because he attended Oundle public school, is a champion fencer, qualified commercial airline pilot, author and broadcaster; he is also from a skilled-manual household (his father was an Army mechanic). Dickinson began singing in rock bands, in and around the East End of London, when he attended Queen Mary College, to study a degree in history.

Driving up from the South West, and trying to find the stadium once the motorway turned into the city cross-town traffic, was a bit of a nightmare. But we finally found our way onto the major arterial road that fed the stadium only to realise that we had forgotten to purchase a car-parking pass when we bought our tickets on-line! Fortunately, we soon realised, driving between the roundabouts that served the mainroad through Richmond, that there were many local entrepreneurs who had anticipated the demand, and were able to offer all-day parking at the back of some garage

or business, just off the main road. So we ended up, like many fans, walking up the main road to the stadium and, indeed, beginning to interact with fans getting cash for the parking at a nearby supermarket hole-in-the-wall:

'Goin' to see the Maiden, are ya'?

'Yes'.

I was wearing an X-L 'Number of the Beast' tee, and Chris a much slimmer-fit 'Killers' one.

'Is it your first time'?

We later found out that the question of 'Are you a Maiden?' was a favourite of fans, who were eager to welcome those new to the live experience into the spirit of the tribe.

Actually, having to walk up to the ground, rather than parking-up in the designated lot, was one of those unexpected mishaps that provided us with a much better perspective on witnessing the major venue arrival experience of most fans who were on foot, as we joined the main road into a growing crowd of black-shirted fans, who looked for-all-the-world like sports fans walking to their Saturday match. I have always found it striking on attending a metal gig at a small venue or a larger sponsored one, such as the many Carling Academy venues in major cities, that just before the concert there would suddenly be a startling number of metal t-shirts on show, worn by mainly young people, mostly men with long hair but also women, appearing all of a sudden from public transport and from the confines of local pubs, in a number and density that was striking in that they were not normally visible as a group in the day time or at any other times. This was not the first time that it struck me that this occurrence was similar to the prelude to a sporting event, although in this instance, there were no rival teams.

By the time we made it to the ground, Within Temptation were already in mid-set. We could hear their deep bass-tones booming out from the bowels of an adjacent stair-well as we walked around to the rear of the stadium, surprised by the steepness of it and its austere block-concrete architecture, like an oversize multi-storey carpark, rising high-up into the summer sky and casting a long, cold-shadow, despite the fact that it was early July. We immediately fell into a conversation with a couple of guys, in their mid to late 50s we guessed, who were sitting on a concrete walled-fence section immediately framing the entrance to the ground. They told us we had missed the Lauren Harris slot and that it was pretty well attended and that, although she was clearly rock not metal, "the young



Christine Griffin, Professor of Psychology, University of Bath
Photo by Andy Brown

woman had talent (just like her dad)'. To the left of us, through the interior shadows, was the walkway to the pitch area and the various stairs to the stadium seats. Any thoughts we might have had of heading that way were short-circuited by the presence of numerous, big and day-glo jacketed security guards, standing against a sun-lit backdrop, black walkie-talkies in hand. To the right, in the strong sunlight away from the shadow of the steep-stadium-sides, was a large throng of Maiden fans milling up and down, dressed in a wide-variety of t-shirts, black-hoodies and jeans. Some were standing in beer-drinking clumps, laughing and smiling; others were queuing outside the many t-shirt vendors or other memorabilia stalls or fast-food mobile vans. The majority were male although there were a good number of females there, too. The majority of the men were in their forties or fifties, some with whole families in tow; other men were in their thirties, twenties and here and there, teenage groups of mixed gender. Although there was plenty of long-hair on show, many of the men had short hair, while others were balding. Everyone was proudly wearing an Iron Maiden t-shirt, so that for all intents and purposes, it could have been a match day outside the ground, building up to the excitement of the kick-off. Although the band had commissioned a

commemorative t-shirt for the event, featuring Eddie as a cadaverous rugby player in a tattered kit, the t-shirt that seemed most prominent was the souvenir one from their headline Sonisphere appearance from the year before. But there were many others, indeed a bewildering array of them, of the many different albums and concerts, all featuring in some form or another their mascot, Eddie the Head (Barnes, 2004).

How are we to make sense of the Maiden tribe? Are they an example of a neo-tribal 'leisure culture'? Certainly the experience of fandom at such events is defined by participation in a consumer culture, from t-shirt purchasing and concert souvenirs, to the price of the travel, the ticket, and the food and drink consumed on the day. Some fans had travelled from Europe for the concert and were proudly announcing the fact; others had come from Wales, the Midlands and the North. There was a strong sense of male comradeship, especially among the older fans, who demonstrated public affection for each other, and also by striking up conversations with passers by. One of the most repeated conversations we heard or participated in was how many times each person had seen the band. It was a badge of honour. Overall there was strong sense of 'fandom', of belonging, of being part of a collective and of a 'collective happiness' — seen everywhere on people faces and their friendliness to each other — in being able to participate in such an event. Everyone was there to support the band and to celebrate their fandom. But how many of them, the following day or week, would be wearing their t-shirts to work, to the supermarket, to pick up the kids from school? How many of them would be on the Maiden website or regularly receiving tour news and up-dates? How many were metal fans and how many just fans of Maiden? We didn't find the definitive answers to these questions. What we did confirm was that many of Maiden's fans, especially the older males, those who had first seen them as teenagers, were working class, had working-class jobs, many skilled but also many un-skilled, glad to be 'away' with their mates for the day. There were also University students in attendance and, we supposed, office workers and (maybe) professionals, although we didn't speak to any. The strong sense of inter-generational fandom (we saw a whole family together, parents, children and grandparents — although the grandparents were not wearing t-shirts) and the fact that the majority of fans were older means this 'snap-shot' cannot be said to apply to metal fandom in general.



Photo by Andy Brown

The band ran onto the stage at around 8.15, as twilight was descending. Large screens behind them and at either side of the stage showed footage of their tour so far, crowds in different countries, and their specially customised Boeing 757 "Ed Force One", piloted by Dickinson, landing at an airport somewhere. Then the "Churchill speech" was heard, echoing around the stadium: "We will defend our island. We will never surrender". And everyone knew what was coming next, as the band launched into 'Aces High', strobe lights flashed and Steve Harris immediately ran to the front of the stage to plant his foot on the monitor and point the neck of his bass out into the crowd, who roared with approval. The sound, coming from a speaker somewhere above our heads, was not particularly loud. So we were immediately surprised by how everyone around us, some leading it, began to loudly sing the words of the song. And they did this all night, standing and celebrating each song in turn. The set-list was mainly drawn from the 1980-1988 period, including 2 Minutes to Midnight, Revelations, The Trooper, Wasted Years,

Rime of the Ancient Mariner, Powerslave, Heaven Can Wait, Run to the Hills, Fear of the Dark, Iron Maiden and the encores were Moonchild, The Clairvoyant and Hallowed Be Thy Name. The stage set was the Powerslave Egyptian one and various album covers on the screens, Dickinson waving the tattered Union Jack during 'The Trooper' and Eddie making a number of appearances, mid-song. There were flame-throwers during 'The Number of the Beast', moving light rigs and pyro-explosions, intricate musicianship during some of the longer songs and no less than three lead-guitarists! Standout moments were the opening song, 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner', 'Powerslave' and the whole stadium singing 'Wasted Years', which really was, looking around, like a cherished football-terrace anthem. Indeed, at one point I turned around to see that the scoreboard was illuminated on the back-wall of the stadium, reading "Iron 0 : 0 Maiden".

What are we to make of the themes of Iron Maiden songs, often deriving their names and subject matter from 'middle-brow' popular film and fiction, as well

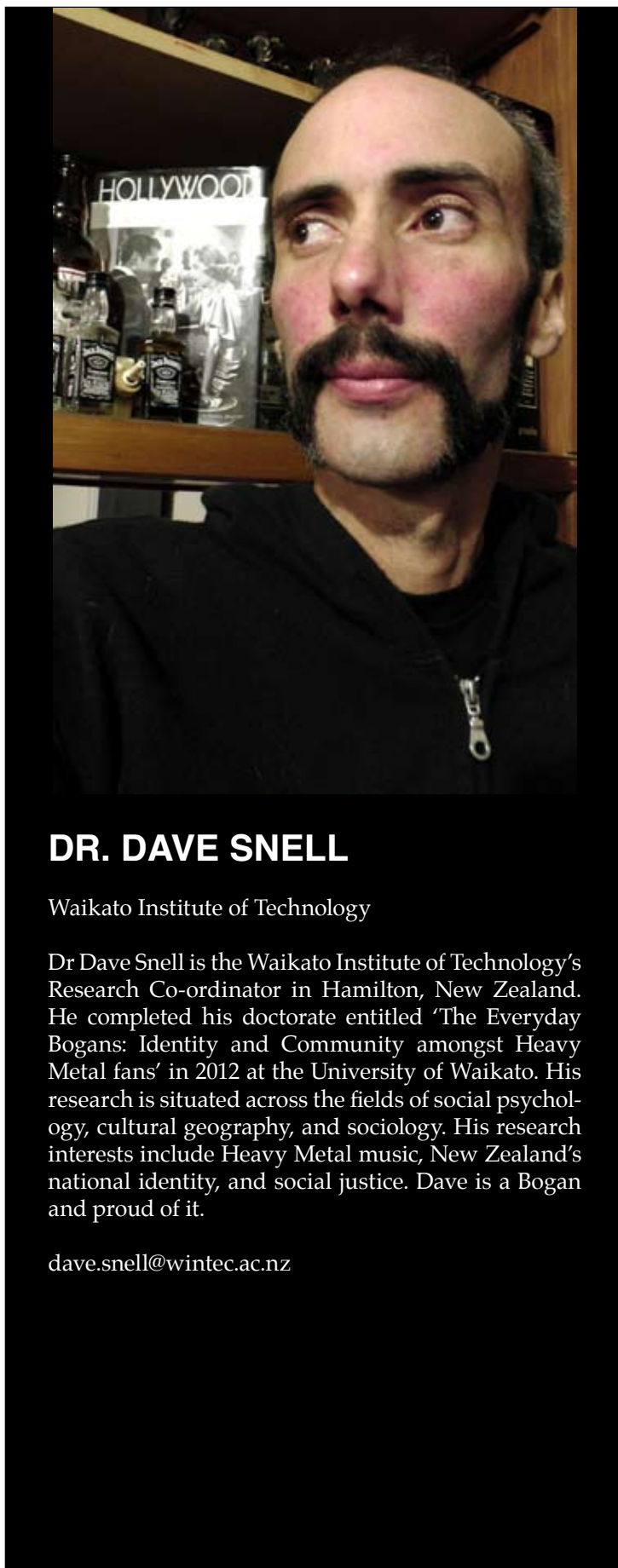
as well-known 'high-brow' classical and gothic literature, including poetry and ballads? Employing classical and historical themes, such as military action or heroism, provide songs with strong narrative subjects and themes, a sense of gravitas and mystique, argues Campbell (2009: p. 121). In one obvious sense, this is a clear example of *appropriation* of elite or high-brow themes to serve the purpose of the heavy metal song and to lend such songs a sense of drama. In almost all cases, classical and historical themes are drawn on in an irreverent or piece-meal fashion, often mixed with popular and middle-brow culture. For Walser (1993), this postmodernist pastiche and play with such themes allows fans the space to construct other connections and possibilities (p. 160), that are broadly anti-hegemonic. But the ambivalence of such songs, especially those to do with war, heroism and military conflict, means that conservative themes of patriotism, nationalism and gender are also present. How such themes are actually interpreted by Maiden fans is far from uniform. What is clear though, is that such songs are deeply meaningful to them — whether as theatre, melody or ritual. Walking back from the stadium just like an "away crowd" in the middle-of-the-road, police cordons on either side, we heard some fans tell us that the loud-speaker in their section "blew" during the concert. But they carried on singing anyway.

Notes

1. Christine Griffin, Professor of Psychology, University of Bath. As part of our research into metal as a *classed-culture* we conducted insider/outsider ethnographic fieldwork at Megadeth (Bristol Carling Academy) and Download Festival (2007); Defenders of the Faith Tour (Cardiff, 2008), and Lamb of God & Dimmu Borgir (Bristol, 2009). See Brown and Griffin (2009) and (forthcoming).

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THE NEW ZEALAND BOGAN: THRASH METAL SUB-CULTURE OR COMMUNITY?

The Bogan is a coarse, crass and crude, and raw, rough and rude member of the New Zealand underclass. An indelible part of the national psyche, with a strong belief that blood, sweat and beers will bring him respect, and, with that, a sense of belonging ... With interests such as loud music, loud women and loud cars... the capacity to consume copious quantities of bourbon, and always sporting some form of unkempt facial hair growth, the Bogan exemplifies the ... lifestyle that many others only dream of. (Ellis & Haddrell, 2010, p. 17)

In New Zealand, working-class Heavy Metal fans self-identify as 'Bogans' (Snell, 2013). The term Bogan originates from Australia, somehow related to the Bogan River in the Australian state of New South Wales; however any further information regarding the origin of the word is disputed. Potential explanations concerning its origins have included being an adaptation of an Aboriginal Australian word (Dell, 2008) or that it was a word used by (possibly Irish) colonisers and explorers, with its origins in the term 'bog', as in wetland (ibid.). Regardless of its origins, the word was used to describe local indigenous people in the area of the Bogan River — as described in journals kept by 19th Century explorers such as Thomas Mitchell. In his journal, Mitchell referred to local tribes as 'Natives of the Bogan' and a local tribal chief as 'King of the Bogans' (Mitchell, 1839, p. 204, see Figure 1).

In Australia, the term was then appropriated as a derogatory term to describe people who are working or lower class — similar to terms in other countries such as "chavs" in England or "trailer trash" in the United States (Snell, 2013). In New Zealand, the word has been further appropriated to refer to



Figure 1. Mitchell's (1839) depiction of 'Native of the Bogan'

working-class Heavy Metal fans — particularly those who are fans of Hard Rock (e.g. *AC/DC* and *Kiss*), as well as Thrash (e.g. *Metallica*, *Slayer*, or *Pantera*), and Classical (e.g. *Judas Priest* and *Iron Maiden*) Heavy Metal. Bogans dress similarly to other Thrash Metal communities in other countries — preferring to dress in black T-shirts bearing the logos of Heavy Metal bands, black jeans, and steel capped work boots (ibid.).

Bogans as a social group have emerged from New Zealand's settler history — a history that includes predominantly working class occupations, an underdog mentality, and copious amounts of beer drinking (see Snell, in press). Bogans have a complicated relationship to wider New Zealand society, as — due to their linkages to a number of national cultural pastimes and values — they can at times be celebrated and appropriated for marketing purposes (ibid.).

However, due to the aggressive music they listen to and perhaps due to their socio-economic status, they can also be aesthetically marginalised. Frequently Heavy Metal music is considered simply 'noise' and Heavy Metal fans are often dismissed as angry, misunderstood youths (Walser, 1993). In this critical reflection I consider the ways in which sub-cultural theories have influenced the ways Bogans have previously been positioned in public discourse and how existing sub-cultural theory (such as the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), explained in a later section) could be unintentionally detrimental to any future attempts to analyse this group. This is due to an overemphasis by these approaches on rebellion and 'high culture'. I also propose an alternative conceptualisation — that Bogans and other Heavy Metal fans constitute a community.

The trouble with Bogans

Media-based identities have been the subject of much scholarly and popular debate. News reports and opinion pieces regularly evoke public debate concerning the role of various types of media in the creation of related identities — although usually at the expense of those professing to be fans (e.g. Smithie, 2013). In both academic and non-academic spheres Heavy Metal music, for example, has often been the target of criticism and, in extreme cases, outright persecution. Non-academic examples of negative perceptions of Bogans and Heavy Metal fans have been around since the music, with notable examples including the oft-referenced Columbine shooting in the United States. In April 1999, two Columbine highschool students shot and killed 14 people, including themselves (Basu, 2010). News reports focused on the shooters' enjoyment of Heavy Metal music as being a contributing factor and a potential motive for the shootings. While this is a rather dated example, this narrative concerning the so-called link between this form of music and anti-social behaviour continues, with a more recent example including a 15 year old boy who critically wounded another student in Baltimore, Maryland (also in the United States). The shooter was described as a 'heavy metal misfit' who was 'obsessed' with the Heavy Metal band Rammstein (Siemaszko, 2012).

Words like 'obsessed' have frequently been used in popular discourse to pathologise or 'other' fans of particular leisure activities such as music (Jenkins, 1992). If Heavy Metal fans (including Bogans) are to be positioned as dangerous misfits then the term obsession is a way to do this. The Oxford English

Dictionary (2014) defines obsession as “An idea, image, or influence which continually fills or troubles the mind; a compulsive interest or preoccupation; the fact or state of being troubled or preoccupied in this way” (3rd para). The word obsession, then, is used in public discourse to represent fans such as Bogans as troubled and compulsive, and seems to imply that isolated fans are constantly thinking about their particular interest, rather than integrating it within their daily lives. As an alternative perspective, Hills (2002) describes a fan as

... somebody who can produce reams of information on their object of fandom, and can quote their favoured lines or lyrics, chapter and verse. Fans are often highly articulate. Fans interpret media texts in a variety of interesting and perhaps unexpected ways. And fans participate in communal activities — they are not ‘socially atomised’ or isolated viewers/readers. (p. ix)

This public use of the term obsession is therefore an inappropriate one in this context, as fans are often connected to other like-minded people, sharing their interests.

The positioning of this form of music as a corrupting influence may also be conceptualised as resulting from the cultural hierarchies that differentiate between high and popular culture. Higher or ‘culturally superior pursuits’ are associated with more ‘intellectual’ genres and mediums, with examples including classical music. This perceived superiority is based on an understanding that classical music has a long history, it maintains long-standing methods of instruction, and that it adheres to formal requirements of skill and virtuosity. In contrast, Heavy Metal (and other forms of pop-culture) is positioned as low culture and is viewed by outsiders as requiring little technical skill (Walser, 1993). While more recently such attitudes are changing, particularly due to the further development of Heavy Metal music and the merging of genres (e.g. classical music and Heavy Metal merging to form Symphonic Metal), such attitudes are still reflected in news reports such as Smithie (2013). Fans of those ‘higher’ cultural forms are often viewed by society as more intelligent and of a higher moral standing than listeners of ‘lower’ musical forms (Small, 1987). Williams (1961) argued that the selection of high cultural artefacts is “related to and even governed by the interests of the class that is dominant” (p. 308). This understanding may be linked to the view that media-based culture is “less something that *is* than something that *was*” (Levine, 1988, p. 251; emphases in original). Culture

is positioned as a product of the old leisured classes, resulting in the holders of this view wanting to defend their position against perceived new and destructive forces such as popular culture (Williams, 1961). Thus, to know about and engage with high cultural products is to be cultured; to be uninterested in or oblivious to such artefacts is to be uncultured. In this way, fans of music such as Heavy Metal are positioned as culturally inferior to listeners of other forms of music (Walser, 1993).

While the recent developments of Metal Studies is encouraging (see Spracklen, Brown, & Kahn-Harris, 2011 for a brief outline of developments), there is still a raft of literature decrying Heavy Metal as a potentially dangerous influence. Frequently this literature makes tenuous links between aggression and lyrical content, with questionable experimental methods that can sometimes border on the ludicrous (e.g. Mast & McAndrew, 2011). A common theme across both the academic and the non-academic is that this form of music is dangerous or at least anti-social. Both media reports and questionable scholarly research are frequently used by concerned parental groups to demonise the music (Walser, 1993). Such narrowly focused and ideologically loaded reporting has contributed to what Fischhoff (1999) has referred to as a *fundamedia attribution error*. This error describes the tendency for media (music, film, text) to be treated as a negative influence external to society that can be blamed for the prevalence of social problems and the manipulation of vulnerable youth. The news reports mentioned previously are examples of this, as they capitalise on societal fears — this despite the fact that Heavy Metal music is enjoyed (without harm) by millions of fans globally (Walser, 1993). Such moral panics also neglect to consider how audiences actively engage with, appropriate, and reconstruct products of the media industry for local purposes such as identity formation (*cf.* Hodgetts, Drew, Sonn, Stolte, Nikora, & Curtis, 2010).

The historical theorising of Bogans

While literature concerning New Zealand, or indeed Australian, Bogans is scarce, traditionally groups such as these have been conceptualised by both academic and non-academic sources as sub-cultures. As I will discuss later, this term is problematic. When discussing sub-cultures, perhaps the most drawn upon literature is that stemming from the 1960s by the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) (Gelder, 1997). The CCCS tended to emphasise youth cultures that frequently used materiality as a means



Retrieved from <http://www.nocleansinging.com/2013/02/14/mosh-pits-are-a-gas/>

of expression through dress and hairstyles — e.g. Rockers and Skinheads. The formation of such groups, predominantly in working class areas, was seen by proponents of CCCS approaches to such groups as a reaction to structural changes in post-war Britain. Group membership was frequently contextualised as a way for working-class youth to support each other through experiences of poverty through mutual social support (Bennett, 1999). In other words, sub-cultures were conceptualised by the CCCS approach as groups of working-class youth whose cultural status was linked to their class subordination and shared identities (Gelder, 1997). Other proponents such as Hebdige (1975) framed sub-cultures as symbolic structures that corresponded to a shared parent structure or dominant class — in this case those of a higher socio-economic status. Groups such as Skinheads, or in

Hebdige's (1975) case 'Mods',¹ were seen as an attempt to resolve problems inserted into the sub-culture by dominant groups — e.g. as a reaction to poverty created through the inequality gap. For example in Hebdige's work, Mods were discussed in relation to their appropriation of capitalist commodities, such as scooters or stylish clothes, as symbolic victories against the establishment. By appropriating these capitalist symbols or consumptive practices, Mods were viewed by Hebdige (1975) as attempting to score moral victories against the establishment through mirroring their symbols (similar to how 'hipsters' and their wearing of designer clothes in 'ironic ways' are viewed in more recent times).

While the CCCS approach provides a useful basis for future sub-cultural research and provided a number of insights into those social groups in the

1960s, this approach is problematic when applied to more modern sub-cultural groupings such as Bogans. For example, with its origins in post-war youth groupings, any use of material goods is positioned as ironic or as 'symbolic victories' (e.g. Hebdige, 1975). In contrast, modern sub-cultural groupings often rely on capitalism as it provides them with the material objects that are required in order to express membership. For example, while Bogans are traditionally from lower income brackets, they are still able to purchase band memorabilia. While Bogans invest a great deal of time in creating their own cultural artefacts such as band patches, T-shirts, radio shows, and internet content (*cf.* Kahn-Harris, 2007), official merchandise is still a significant aspect of cultural participation. This is despite the fact that, much like other Heavy Metal fans internationally, Bogans tend to reject mainstream practices (such as designer clothes) and media (such as more popular genres of music).

Thus, a possible implication of CCCS based research is that Bogans are unwitting dupes who are rebelling against capitalism, despite the fact that they are consuming the very products they are campaigning against. This approach paints a picture of these groups as consisting of superficial clothes-horses who lack any sustained engagement with the social formations or structure of which they are a part (Muggleton, 2000). As Miles (1995) acknowledged, such an approach "concentrate[d] on symbolic aspects of sub-cultural consumption at the expense of the actual meanings that young consumers have for the goods that they consume" (p. 35). For example, while many Bogans still reject 'mainstream values' they can still appropriate purchased material objects and use them in identity formation and in order to aid social cohesion (Snell & Hodgetts, 2007). Purchasing memorabilia and wearing it is an active process used in identity expression (Snell & Hodgetts, 2007). With its focus on rebellion, due to its emphasis on youth cultures resisting dominant 'parental structures', CCCS approaches tend to privilege notions of rebellion and adolescence, and so can silence more modern day members of groups such as Bogans (*cf.* Kahn-Harris, 2007).

Approaches that privilege rebellion can also lead to the analysis of Heavy Metal lyrics in order to discover the source or motivations for discontent. Such lyrical analyses are problematic, as lyrical content and meanings are diverse. Collective fan interpretations can frequently differ from the meanings that creators of lyrics can have, and individual fan interpretations can

also vary (Jenkins, 1992). However, this does not seem to stop psychiatric investigations into Heavy Metal music citing a variety of pathological reasons for people such as Bogans to listen to this form of music. Similar to the discussions earlier in this article concerning media panics and fundamedia attribution error, analysis of lyrical content can characterise Heavy Metal fans as predominantly coming from dysfunctional families, lack of a sense of history, community fragmentation, and a sense of alienation from wider society. All of these were identified in such investigations as reasons for suburban or working class adolescents to seek self-validation in the supposedly reflected themes of Heavy Metal lyrics (Reddick & Beresin, 2002). While some of these studies focused on the benign aspects of media appreciation, for example positive lyrical interpretations of these lyrics, they overlook the meanings that the listeners themselves construct. They also overlook the social aspect of music appreciation, as people who listen to this form of music are often introduced to it through friends as a newly shared interest rather than coming to it as individuals seeking social support from a musical genre (Miles, 1995; Walser, 1993).

Such academic approaches reinforce notions of high and low culture, between those who are supposedly educated and see the value of technical skill (e.g. Classical music fans) and those who are uneducated or perhaps even mentally unstable, who listen to angry noise (Bogans and other Heavy Metal fans). This is another reason why the term sub-culture is problematic. Thornton (1995) defines a sub-culture as having "come to designate social groups which are perceived to deviate from normative ideals of adult communities" (p. 2). This is particularly the case with Bogans, as their Australian counterparts are commonly viewed as socially unaware and problematic — a feature that is frequently shared with the more musically inclined New Zealand Bogan. In this way, categorising Bogans and other Heavy Metal fans as a sub-culture privileges rebellion and pre-judges such groups as 'not normal' and potentially inferior to other cultural forms. In research that adopts a resistance focus, Bogans are viewed, at best, as cultural dupes or rebels without a cause, and at worse pathological trouble makers. If sub-cultures are framed or viewed by wider society as deviant and non-normative, compared to Heavy Metal fans' views of the music as normal and part of their everyday life (Kahn-Harris, 2007), then there is a disconnect between theory and lived experience.



Retrieved from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/635057/Bogans-petrolheads-join-official-slang-ranks>

The Bogan community

The term community, on the other hand, was originally used as a way of conceptualising local residents who resided within rural centres and were also usually linked through shared beliefs and/or kinship (Bess et al., 2002). The term community is now used to describe a range of different groups. One of its more popular usages is its use in describing what has been referred to as 'communities of interest'. This term has been used to define communities in more relational terms (Colombo et al., 2001). A particular focus of research concerning communities of interest has been the quality of interpersonal interactions — such as the sense of belonging experienced by science fiction fans when sharing their interest with others (Obst et al., 2002). Communities of interest contain elements of belonging and membership, symbolism, trust, feelings of reciprocal influence, and a sense of loyalty which is often expressed through art (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). These are all elements that are experienced by Bogans and Heavy Metal fans. They too have their own set of symbols (e.g. band logos), sense of loyalty to the music (e.g. loyalty to bands and respect of the 'original' Metal bands such as *Black Sabbath* and *Judas Priest*), and a certain level of trust between fans. As I have written elsewhere (Snell, in press; Snell, 2013), Heavy Metal fans develop a sense of belonging and experience a sense of community through sharing interests with like-minded people, usually through shared activities.

This element of shared activities is described in the field of community psychology as 'communities of practice'. Briefly, communities of practice are those in which potential participants learn how to be community members through participating in shared rituals and activities with existing members (Wenger, 1998). Through interacting with existing members, relatively inexperienced or potential community members learn what to do and what not to do through observing and participating with existing members (Merriam, Courtenay, and Baumgartner, 2003). To be a Bogan or Heavy Metal fan is to want to be involved and further engage with the music and associated practices. For example, many fans want to start their own bands, start radio stations, write fanzines, or organise local events and gigs (Kahn-Harris, 2007). In engaging with the music in order to create such artefacts and events, community members interact with each other, learning what it means to be a community member. Many of the ways in which Bogans and other Heavy Metal fans engage in the music is reliant on other people. A Bogan needs

other band members to start a band, or usually needs other bands in order to organise an event. Bogan activities such as moshing² require other people, as you need to be able to collide into other moshers. Works such as that of Gruzelier (2007) have described the sense of community experienced by people enjoying Heavy Metal music together in a physical way.

This feeling of connection to others through moshing is frequently experienced with others who the individual moshers may not have met before. Attending a Heavy Metal concert and moshing with complete strangers also helps members connect and reconnect with their community. This has been referred to by Anderson (1981) as an 'imagined community'. While the sense of belonging and other characteristics of community are very real and experienced, this connection is to a wider Heavy Metal or Bogan community. Those attending the concert feel connected to a wider community of fans (both attending and non-attending). In her analysis of the football stadium, Charleston (2009) describes the connection between fans and the stadium as an emotional attachment. Anderson (1991) argues that rather than being based on kinship ties, communities are 'felt' and 'imagined' as real (Bess et al., 2002). In other words, fans feel connected to a much bigger, international community of fans, experienced within and across places.

Conclusion

This is why community may be a more appropriate term and field from which to examine Bogans and Heavy Metal practices. To its fans, Heavy Metal is a normative, positive experience for all ages — and so theories drawn upon to examine these groups need to reflect this. Theories of community more fully recognise the direct engagement between fans and their expressions of identity. McMillan and Chavis's (1986) definition of community, for example, recognises the expression of identity and belonging through music and other art forms. A focus on connections and quality of social interactions through communities of interest and communities of practice more fully represents what it means to be a member of this group. To be a community member is to be part of a group that has defined its own code of practices and behaviours, as opposed to sub-culture that seems to frame its members as deviant or otherwise 'non-normative'. To be a community member is to develop ways of being and to express social identities, as opposed to sub-culture where practices seem to be largely viewed as expressions of resistance.

Note

- 1 Mod is a sub-culture that originated in the 1950s in London that included elements of Pop music (particularly Soul, Rhythm and Blues and Ska), tailor-made suits, and Italian motor scooters (Hebdige, 1975).
- 2 Moshing is “a ritualized and furious form of dancing which combines physical aggression with collective displays of emotion” (Riches, 2011, p. 315).

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“CAN’T FAKE THE FEELING” — MEMORIES OF LEEDS’ ACID HOUSE CULTURE

Introduction

The discussion contained within this paper utilises a biographical and auto-ethnographical method to illustrate some of the key signifiers of Acid House culture. Aspects of this biographical / auto biographical method includes narrative in both a fictional and non-fictional context. Regarding the use of these approaches to biographical writing, Roberts (2002) suggests that the use of techniques such as fictionalized speech may provide a depth of sociological analysis that is “more revelatory of the self than other forms of writing” (p. 69). He also emphasizes the benefits of autoethnographic method in relation to the incorporation of researcher reflexivity and as a challenge to traditional hegemonic presentations of academic studies. Denzin (1997) agrees with the importance of researcher reflexivity and proposes the need to utilise a contemporary ethnographic approach to research “which embraces experimental, experiential and critical reading that are always incomplete, personal self-reflexive and resistant to totalizing theories” (Denzin, 1997: p. 246). Incorporated with this approach a more traditional style will be adopted in regard to the analysis of all the key signifiers and their association to Acid House.

Critcher (2000) defines Acid House as “no more than music associated with LSD” (p. 146). This discussion will highlight the lack of conceptual depth of Critcher’s definition. Reynolds’s (2008) historical account of the impact of Acid House and the drug Ecstasy on western popular culture is a useful backdrop. Reynolds considers himself a participant observer attempting to examine dance music subcultures “in their natural environment” (p. xvii). Reynolds takes pains to indicate that his text is not purely academic. However his work utilizes structural concepts including ‘race’ and social class

to examine the significance and development of Acid House music and culture. He documents the original synthesis of the drug Ecstasy, the emergence of electronic music in America and the advent of Acid House in the UK circa 1988, and proposes the existence of a "utopian/dystopian dialect running through Ecstasy [Acid House music] culture" (2008: p. xxvi). Reynolds' analysis seeks to question both the positive (aspirations for a better world) and negative (drug related, illegal) contexts associated with Acid House.

My PhD study locates the social, political and cultural effects of Acid House, and explores its ongoing meanings for its participants. It will examine how concepts such as 'race', gender and social class were negotiated in this sub cultural space and how allegiance to the Acid House culture influenced the life course of its participants. My study will contextualise the leisure experiences of individuals who participated in the Acid House subculture. In doing so, the study is significant in terms of its scope, linking individual leisure activities and nationwide (sub cultural) communities to broader social trends and longer historical trajectories. Furthermore, through its focus on oral history and memory work it will present accounts of sub cultural actors' experiences. The research will offer unique, (auto) biographical 'life history' narratives of a significant moment in UK cultural memory.

Location, Location, Identification

The purpose of this discussion is to identify some of the key signifying factors of Acid House culture. To achieve this a narrative method is used which incorporates the memories and experiences of the author. The segments of fictional narrative contained in this writing are drawn from the author's autobiographical memories of events related to the development of Acid House music culture in Leeds during the late 1980s. These memories are located in the direct experiences encountered during the development of Acid House culture in Leeds during that period. This narrative method serves to both identify the key signifiers and to allow for the reflective practice identified by Roberts (2002) and Denzin (1997).

A convenient meeting-up place was the "Corn Exchange", a Grade I listed building originally constructed between 1861–1863 (Victorian Web, n.d.). A significant remnant of Leeds' agricultural history, it is located in the Kirkgate region of Leeds City Centre, situated on the junction of Call Lane and Duncan Street. Historically the Call Lane area was associated

with soliciting and prostitution (Secret Leeds, n.d.) and was void of extensive commercial investment. In recent years however the area has been transformed through the process of gentrification (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003) with the development of fashionable wine bars, restaurants and city centre residential accommodation. For the young people in the following narrative, the location of the Corn Exchange served as a central hub for peer group activity. This was primarily due to its central position in relation to other key sites of daytime peer group activities which included amusement arcades and fast food restaurants.

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"Can't fake the feeling"

"Ha ha ha ha ha ha, what are you wearing?"

Lucas and Anna sat waiting for me on the Corn Exchange steps. The expression on Anna's face suggested that she was not pleased with the fact that I was late again. The expression on Lucas's face was a little more receptive. He shook his head in a disapproving manner, but the look on his face suggested that my habitual lateness was not an issue. I approached them both and attempted to sit on Lucas's knee. He moved quickly which resulted in me landing unceremoniously between the two of them.

"What are you wearing?" I repeated.

"I saw it in yesterday's newspaper" he began, "they printed a guide to what ravers should wear, look I'm not lying — Anna has got it in her pocket." . . .

Chakraborty et al. (2011) defines raves as "parties with loud, electronic techno-rock music, laser light shows, and all night dancing held in clandestine locations" (Chakraborty et al., 2001: p. 594). Critcher (2000) uses the term "rave culture" to describe "the late 1980's and early 1990's [where] there emerged in the UK a new youth cultural phenomenon" (p. 145). According to Critcher, the concept of "rave culture" is used as a generic term to "emphasise the totality of the cultural form and its innovating nature" (p. 145). For Critcher the concept of rave is also used to describe the actual party or event (the rave) and the culture (including drug consumption, dance and music). In reference to the concept of rave Reynolds (2008: p. 64) notes:

In 1988 the word 'rave' was in common parlance, but only as a verb, e.g. I'm going raving at this warehouse party. A year later 'rave' had become a noun, while 'raver' for many, was a derogatory stereotype, an insult.

For Chakraborty et al. (2011) the term 'raver' is used to describe an individual who attends a rave, suggesting that "a raver is a person who has an exciting and uninhibited social life" (p. 594). It is proposed that the swift decline in the capital of the concept of 'raver' is linked to the continued widespread appropriation of Acid House culture. The sense of belonging, notion of pride and 'right' to call oneself a raver became diminished as a greater number of people also begin to lay claim to the term. Collin and Godfery (1998) propose that, as the popularity of Acid House began to develop mainstream recognition, the concepts of rave and raver diminished in sub cultural credibility

For the purpose of this discussion the term 'rave' is used to describe a party/event while the concept of 'raver' is used to describe people who attend such events. Further, those who consider themselves to be adherents of Acid House music and culture will also fall into the category of 'raver'. Though the concept of "rave culture" will not be used as an organising concept here it must be acknowledged that its generic use in the vernacular (as Critcher (2000) suggests) is still commonplace. Therefore the operation of the precursor 'Acid House' enables a specific consideration of a temporal and cultural phenomenon.

. . . Anna reached into her inside jacket pocket and produced a neatly folded sheet of newspaper. She passed it to me and I unfolded it. The page had been removed from the Sun Newspaper. The date at the top of the page read Wednesday the 14th of September 1988. The page presented an 'Acid House fashion guide.' The main picture featured a blonde female model dressed entirely in smiley faced attire and accessories. The feature also contained a 'lingo' guide to assist its readers with the "correct things to say" when in attendance at an Acid House party. An offer for the Sun's own version of an Acid House smiley T shirt was also included on the page. I almost fell off the step with laughter. Firstly, in regards to the Sun's interpretation

of Acid House, and secondly due to the fact that Lucas had taken the Sun's guide almost literally. He had not copied the guide's fashion suggestions item for item, however his T shirt, jacket and baseball cap were emblazoned with the ubiquitous yellow smiley face.

"It is about being more subtle", I explained. I pointed to the small ten pence sized smiley face badge which was attached to my denim jacket, just below the collar. "There are some people still wearing smiley face clothes, but not many!" I said.

"I have spent all my money on these clothes." Lucas proclaimed. "I am flat broke now and I definitely cannot afford to get new clothes, not until my dole comes through, and that's not for another two weeks!"

Anna began to giggle, "I told you not to buy those silly expensive clothes, now you have nothing new to wear this weekend."

Lucas's mouth motioned to say something, but he knew Anna was right. He looked at me for some degree of support but I simply smiled and shrugged my shoulders. Dejected he averted his gaze to his shoes, his long bob hair style obscuring his face. Realising her boyfriend was upset Anna quickly changed the subject.

"Where is everyone else?" She asked. I was unsure. . . .

As a rule our extended peer group would meet in the city centre on a daily basis between Monday and Friday. Due to the fact that only a few of us had full time employment, the flow into the City Centre would commence at approximately midday. The employment situation of our group was symptomatic of conditions during the late 1980s. Charlesworth (2000) presents a bleak picture in regards to both the leisure opportunities and job prospects for traditional working-class communities during this period, linked to the decline in industrialisation and economic restructuring which resulted in widespread unemployment. Roberts (1999) places this situation in a postmodern context. For him the decline in traditional employment opportunities not only resulted in a decline in economic independence from the state, but also a reduction in the traditional determinants of identity. For Roberts, occupation and profession are

no longer influences on individual (or group) identity. Instead the concept of lifestyle becomes more important. According to Roberts leisure choice is a salient aspect of lifestyle and identity. It can be suggested therefore that our leisure activities and our allegiance to an Acid House culture had replaced the formation of a social class based identity based on employment and career. Acid House culture becomes important in the provision of identity.

• • • *"I bet they are still at McDonalds" I suggested, "I was with a few of the guys just before I came here, that's why I was late. I told them I was coming here, so I guess they will all be down here sooner rather than later."*

"Who was there?" Anna enquired.

As I began to dictate a list of those who were in attendance at my previous location, our attention was drawn to a small group who had just alighted a bus at the collection of stops adjacent to the Corn Exchange.

"There is Louise," Anna Indicated.

Placing two of her fingers into her mouth, Anna produced a loud whistle. One of the female members of the group which consisted of three females and two males acknowledged the whistle and waved in our direction. After a brief discussion amongst themselves, the group headed over in our direction.

I personally did not know any of the group, but I did recognise a couple of them through attending the Warehouse nightclub on Saturdays. The three females were immaculately dressed. Kickers shoes, flared Joe Bloggs denim jeans and multi coloured Naf Naf jumpers. The two males were dressed just as exceptionally. One was dressed in Chipie Chino pants and a blue Chipie pullover. The other male wore a pair of C17 denim dungarees and a pale Benneton shirt. • • •

It must be noted that all these brands existed for many years prior to Acid House music. What made these labels (and several others) synonymous with Acid House was the manner in which they were worn. However, as important as specific key labels were in relation to Acid House culture, the inability to purchase

these labels was not a barrier to participation. Designer clothes were desirable, but not compulsory. Instead a specific style of dress emerged which allowed members of the 'culture' to be as easily identified as those who were not. Charlesworth (2000) identifies the association of status and identity regarding "trendy clothes" as forms of symbolic capital (p. 53). He argues that style extends beyond clothes to other aspects of style and fashion such as hairstyles and knowledge of the music thus enabling poseurs and interlopers to 'pass' for adherents of Acid House.

Was style so important to Acid House? Firstly it must be considered that there was a practical element to the manner in which the majority of the adherents dressed. Night clubs could be hot and sweaty environments, so early styles of dress included casual wear such as T shirts and jeans. Specific French (Naf Naf; Chipie) and British (The Duffer of St George) clothing manufacturers became popular labels favoured by Acid House participants. Flared jeans also became a popular item, with Lancashire based denim manufacturer Joe Bloggs launching a 30 inch flared jean in the late 1980s (*Management Today*, n.d.). It is suggested that early Acid House style was very androgynous with dungarees, sweaters and hooded tops held in esteem by male and female participants. This practical element also included the appropriation of traditional outdoor/adventure labels such as Berghaus and Karrimor. This aspect of style and practicality related closely to the environmental (sometimes open air) element of raves. If an individual was leaving an event at 9 am after several hours of dancing, warmth and comfort were priorities!

The ability to identify other members of Acid House 'culture' was also a key aspect to the development of both identity and community. Style served as a key marker of identification. During a conversation with a party promoter of the late 1980's, Garratt (1998: p. 130) indicates:

You'd meet someone on the street and you might not know who they were, but you'd be wearing exactly the same clothing... And you'd get talking. That sort of thing happened all the time.

In the late 1970s Hebdige's seminal study sought to ascertain the relationship between subculture and style. Hebdige (1979) utilizes a structural framework to analyze "the expressive forms and rituals... of subordinate groups — the teddy boys and mods and rockers, the skin heads and the punks" (p. 2). For Hebdige (1979)

style — and the subcultures each specific style represents — is a visual representation of "defiance and contempt" (p. 3). Hebdige proposes style is a calculated and premeditated form of visual resistance to existing hegemonic power structures, a symbolic representation of difference (from mainstream culture) and rebellion. Allegiance to Acid House can be regarded as direct reaction through clothes and bodily practice to the prevailing social conditions of isolation, poverty and a lack of opportunity.

• • • As the group approached, Louise, the young woman who had responded to Anna's whistle, chimed "Are you guys out this weekend?"

We knew that this was no general query. In effect this was a question of intent in regards to which rave we were planning to attend in addition providing an opportunity to establish kudos and status within the group by 'dropping a top name' club to the chagrin of the speaker. As Louise and her friends stood in front of us, I began to feel Lucas moving slowly at the side of me. I looked in his direction and the baseball cap had already been removed. Slowly, ever so slowly he placed his hands into his jacket pockets. He then inched his hands closer until his hands were linked together through his pockets and resting on his crutch, this brought his jacket together so that his smiley face T shirt was less visible to the approaching group.

"We are not sure where we are going," Anna replied. "Maybe the Astoria Friday? Not at all sure about Saturday. What about you guys?"

"I've got my mum's car this weekend so will probably go to Monroes in Blackburn on Friday. We all went last week and it was amazing!" Louise said in an increasingly enthusiastic tone.

Anna, Lucas and I had heard of Monroes, but due to our lack of transport getting there was near impossible. We had been trumped.

"It was the most amazing night," Louise continued. "Amazing music. Amazing environment. And the people, the people were so friendly! It was like having your most

favourite family members in a club! It was our first time there but we felt like we knew everyone. We all got membership cards so it means we don't have to join the queue next time we go."

She paused and reached into her pocket and removed her purse. From the purse she produced a small credit card sized plastic item. The Monroes membership card was passed to Anna, who subsequently passed the card on to me. I then passed the card to Lucas, who returned it to Louise.

"It's the best club I have ever been to," Louise continued. "Ever since last week all I have waited for is this weekend so that I could go again. It will be brilliant! If there is any space in my mum's car then you can come. I will give you my phone number. Ring me anytime before seven as I will be going out and then you will not be able to contact me (mobile phones were considered an expensive luxury item during this period). If there is a space then you can definitely come."

Lucas and I sat in silence. It appeared the invitation was definitely only open to Anna.

"Have you got a pen? I will give you my home number" suggested Louise.

None of us had a pen. I proposed they try Storeys' amusement arcade opposite. There was a nod of recognition from Louise and her group towards Lucas and myself. We both nodded back. As Anna, Louise and the others headed towards the amusement arcade, Lucas relaxed and released an audible sigh of relief.

"I wish I could even begin to look as cool as those guys" Lucas proclaimed, "I felt so embarrassed with these stupid clothes on!"

I began to laugh. However I did not want to upset Lucas again so I quickly focused my attention on his immediate concern.

"Don't worry" I suggested. We can get you some new stuff. The main problem is you are skint, and the clothes they were all wearing are expensive! There are a few shops where we can get some decent, but cheaper alternatives; at least until your next dole payment arrives."

Anna came running back over. The smile on her face evident.

"Please, please, please," she gushed.

"Please God allow them to have a space for me on Friday. Monroes. I am going to Monroes!"

"What about me?" Lucas enquired in a concerned whisper. . . .

It would be simplistic to quantify both Anna's sense of joy and Lucas's sense of disappointment based solely on their ability/inability to attend Monroes. Not going to Monroes meant another weekend in Leeds for Lucas. This was not in itself a negative proposition as, for us, weekends in Leeds were (mostly) a joyous time. Anna's elation and Lucas's disappointment was associated with the rare opportunity to associate with other members of Acid House culture beyond our geographical confines. The chance to affiliate with members of the wider Acid House community (or family as Louise had described) beyond the regular and familiar associations of Leeds. We were all fully aware of Acid House events being held in cities such as Blackburn, Manchester, Liverpool, London and abroad in locations such as Ibiza. These locations all served as 'Meccas' of new experiences. Our social and economic situation served to highlight the limitations of possible leisure experiences. This shared experience too was conducive to group cohesion. Acid House provided us some understanding of who and what we thought we were and our position in society.

. . . "When will you know if you are going?" Lucas asked.

"Not until late Friday." Anna replied. "I will have to stay in until I get confirmation, but if it is not too late, and I do not go, I can always meet you in the Astoria later?"

Anna sat back on the step next to Lucas and placed her arm around him, She pulled him close and gave him a reassuring kiss.

"Let's go." I suggested.

"Where?" Lucas replied.

"For a start let's go and find you some decent clothes so you can take that God awful jacket off!"

I stood up and out stretched both arms in order to provide both Anna and Lucas an aid to rise up off the step. Before setting off Lucas paused to dust off any residual dirt that had been collected on his jeans from the dirty stone steps. Together we headed off with the hope of both new clothes and new experiences.

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HARD ROCK AND METAL IN THE SUBCULTURAL CONTEXT: WHAT FANS LISTENING TO THE MUSIC CAN TELL US

The use of subcultural theory as a framework for studying popular music fans has been critiqued by many scholars for a variety of reasons (see Hesmondhalgh, 2007 for a good summary and Hill, 2014 for a feminist critique), yet subculture remains a popular term although its key element — resistance — is often neglected. When I began my doctoral research about women hard rock and metal fans, subcultural theory's focus on power, class and activities seemed to me to be missing the point: the music. I could not recognise my own experiences or my extremely passionate engagement with the music I was listening to. I was shocked that a whole book could be written about punk without really considering the music and I felt that *Subculture: the Meaning of Style* was much more interested in clothes than in rocking out. Resistance to pleasure can be a useful and important framework: in Lauraine Leblanc's (1999) work on punk women, resistance is the key concept that allows her to discuss how the women gain strength in the face of pressures to conform to a femininity that is felt as oppressive. Subcultural resistance does not tell the whole story, however. When it comes to analysing women hard rock and metal fans' experiences there is a big gap in understanding why women would be involved in a male-dominated and sometimes misogynistic culture. In this short article I discuss hard rock and metal in the context of its early exclusion from subcultural studies and its later adoption, and I turn away from the theory in favour of closer attention to listening experiences and to musical pleasures.

I argue that subcultural theory's lack of interest in the experiences of listening to music makes the theory an inadequate framework for studying music

fans *as fans*, and that in the particular context of hard rock and metal it can only partially explain fan experiences. Yet when we attend to fans' musical engagement we can learn much about what makes music important to people — and also about how the music is heard. First, I critique subcultural theory's lack of interest in music and the particular place of heavy metal in the context of subcultural studies. Secondly, I consider how re-focusing our attention on musical pleasure, rather than on subcultural theory's key idea of resistance, we can learn new things about people's engagement with music as a leisure pursuit. Thirdly, I show how my interviewees' descriptions of their listening experiences allow new perspectives on the music, thereby challenging everyday assumptions.

Metal, and its associated music hard rock, is a massive musical genre with numerous subgenres and widespread appeal. Its fans are spread across the globe, across race, sex and class, although some groups are better represented than others and the social make-up of the fanbase differs between countries and subgenres. It has grown over the last 30 years in ways that have surprised some. In spite of its only few moments of being fashionable, the genre continues to thrive. Perhaps this popularity was initially difficult to foretell: the most significant subcultural study in the days of the NWOBHM (New Wave Of British Heavy Metal — late 1970s–mid 1980s, Girlschool and Iron Maiden being key bands), Dick Hebdige's *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979), was derisive:

Heavy metal is, as the name suggests, a heavily amplified, basic form of rock which relies on the constant repetition of standard guitar riffs. Afficionados [sic] can be distinguished by their long hair, denim and 'idiot' dancing (again, the name says it all). Heavy metal has fans amongst the student population, but it also has a large working class following. It seems to represent a curious blend of hippy aesthetics and football terrace machismo. (Hebdige, 1979: p. 155)

Hebdige's attitude seems to have set the tone for other academic work and E. Ellis Cashmore similarly treats metal fans with contempt: "it would be unfair to call heavy metal conservative: inert would be more accurate" (Cashmore quoted in Brown, 2003: 212). Andy R. Brown uses the example of heavy metal to forge a strong criticism of subcultural theory. He begins by arguing that subcultural theorists have dismissed heavy metal because it crosses class boundaries

(fans being working class or students) (Brown, 2003). It therefore does not fit subcultural theories that map 'subculture' onto class resistance to structural oppression. Brown comments that everything described by Hebdige could plausibly be analysed using subcultural theory to render it an 'authentic' subculture: the mixed class make up could be 'cross-class bricolage', and the 'football terrace machismo' could be a 'defence of space' (Brown, 2003). But he also argues that heavy metal has been dismissed because of too little consideration of the music of subcultures (Brown, 2003). Had Hebdige or other members of the CCCS thought about musical lineage they would have perceived that heavy metal's origins are, due to the appropriation of black music, similar to punk's, and, in the case of thrash metal, based partly within punk. However, this step was not taken "because records are conceived of by the CCCS as 'objects' and materials" (Brown, 2003: p. 215), and Brown notes the CCCS's belief that metal fans simply 'consume' records rather than use them in a subversive way, although they give no real evidence for this. In fact, "cultural commodities have no meaningful connection to youth groups until their meaningfulness is recognised as integral to a particular class identity" (Brown, 2003: p. 217), and as the CCCS is unable to map heavy metal onto one class, it is thought to be unsubversive, and therefore to have no subcultural meaning.

Brown's critique reveals the blindspots and prejudices of British subcultural theorists, but for me it is their lack of interest in the music that is most strikingly problematic. As a music fan I am astonished that music should only be considered as useful for ends such as signifying resistance to the exclusion of other kinds of uses and pleasures. This attitude ignores the emotional experiences of listening to music, and underestimates that a record may be bought 'just' for the joy of the music without considering any wider implications that the purchase might have. Yes, it may have been thought a political act to buy The Sex Pistols 'God Save the Queen' in Elizabeth II's jubilee year, but we should not ignore the pleasure of hearing Johnny Rotten's snarling voice or Steve Jones' harsh, distorted guitar. Context plays an important role in why we like something, but that should not be our sole focus. Furthermore, subcultural theory could not account for my own experiences as a music fan because *the music* was absent. Groups of people who I understood to be united by their similar taste in music appeared in subcultural studies to come together so that they could share similar fashions and articulate their frustrations about their powerlessness.

This seemed to be missing the point of participation in such groups: in my experience music had always been at the heart of why we came together. Why was it missing from the accounts?

The omission of music is not only a problem in itself, however; ignoring it can lead to skewed understanding of participation in music-related groups. One example of this is the work of Sonia Vasan. Vasan's article (2011) hints at the pleasures that women derive from their engagement with the music, but does not explore them in depth. The main focus is on the ways in which women death metal fans accommodate the scene's misogyny and how they engage in 'cost reduction' mechanisms in order to reduce the personal impact of sexism at concerts. Vasan grounds her investigation in the assumption that women should not like death metal and focuses on all the problems that the genre poses for women. The assumption that women ought not to enjoy death metal is evident through the framing of her article, her emphasis on exchange and cost reduction and her use of language. For example, "some women are even fans" (p. 334); a 'female band manager claimed not to be offended' (p. 336); 'female fans of death metal sincerely value the music and culture' (p. 342); 'most of the women either claimed not to be offended by such lyrics' (p. 346) (Vasan, 2011 my emphases). The use of 'claimed', 'sincerely' and 'even' all suggest that Vasan believes it impossible for women to be interested in or gain anything from the music itself; her stance leads to a glossing-over of women's pleasure in music: a disappointing omission, and one that leaves the reader puzzled as to why women participate in death metal. Significantly, Vasan uses a framework of subcultural theory. I argue that it is because of this framework, with its emphasis on things and doing rather than feeling and experiencing, that Vasan seems to be unable to focus on musical pleasures, instead being drawn to discuss interactions with other subculture members. Whilst this is of course important work, the emphasis on sexism results in it being difficult to understand why women would enjoy death metal. The allusion to pleasure serves as a tantalising glimpse of some other story, but this is not told.

It is vitally important to examine the relationships we have with the music we love. Finding space to discuss how music is experienced amongst the accounts that focus on subcultural behaviour is becoming an important new area of study. Two studies that do consider pleasure in music fandom are Gabrielle Riches's work on women and the moshpit, and Rosemary Overell's

discussion of men's pleasure in the live experience of grindcore concerts. Riches argues that it is very important that pleasure is brought into the investigation when considering metal. She makes her case in response to previous work that has emphasised the "violent, aggressive and masculine aesthetics associated with moshing" (Riches, 2011: p. 316). Whilst a good deal of work on hard rock and metal (Walser, 1993; Weinstein, 2000; Kahn-Harris, 2007 for example) treats women as anomalies amongst an audience of young, white, working class men, Riches's study positions women as *normal* subjects at the extreme metal gig and within the moshpit, rather than as exceptions, problems or victims. She does this via specific focus on the pleasurable aspect of participation in the moshpit, arguing that,

Failing to incorporate pleasure into music and leisure discourses obfuscates the ways in which we can explain why women, appearing to consent to dominant and patriarchal practices and expectations, engage in contradictory activities within forms of popular culture. (Riches, 2011: p. 327)

If pleasure is overlooked then the ways in which gender works in the pit cannot be fully examined, nor can we gain a rich understanding of women's participation in the male dominated metal sphere. Pleasure enables Riches to be attentive to the nuances and contradictions of women's participation in metal.

Overell's investigation into masculinity in Melbourne's grindcore scene looks at men's pleasure, and uses the alternative theoretical framework of 'belonging' (Overell, 2010) to open up new perspectives. She argues that grindcore might employ many tropes constructed as masculine, yet when considered alongside the affect on fans induced by live performance, this assumption of masculinity can be 'troubled' (Overell, 2010). Much of the imagery and the fans' discussions of porn and emo, she argues, can be perceived as defensive moves designed to protect the male participants from infection by 'feminisation' (which she loosely defines as showing emotions) (Overell, 2010). But, via reference to the bodily experience of physically participating in a grindcore gig, Overell shows that emotions are present in grindcore fans and musicians. Her interrogation of the meanings of the scene's prominent word of approval, 'brutal', enables deep analysis of that emotional experience. 'Brutal' is coded as masculine, but Overell argues that grindcore music cannot simply be read as masculine: in some ways it is disembodied,

particularly in the vocal delivery of lyrics. The vocal delivery is characterised as 'all noise' (Overell, 2010) with a preponderance of screaming rather than singing; the presence of screaming and the characterisation of it as 'excessive' can be coded as feminine (Overell, 2010). Overell's discussion of emotional response places pleasure in grindcore centre stage and brings gender into focus. It also begins to attend to engagement with the music itself. Riches and Overell demonstrate that thinking about pleasure can offer fresh perspectives on fan experiences and on constructions of gender within the social spaces of metal.

In my research I developed the framework of 'imaginary community' (for a fuller theorisation of the concept see Hill, 2014) to enable me to explore women's listening experiences without losing a sense of the context. That context is that hard rock and metal is thought of as a 'masculine' genre — but when musical pleasure is brought into the picture it is clear that women's participation is not solely in terms of resistance. Kahn-Harris argues that extreme metal fans, when describing or explaining their love of the music, use language that is limited by the scene itself (Kahn-Harris, 2007). I too found that, amongst women fans, the use of language that fits neatly within the ideology of the genre is prominent in their descriptions of their musical pleasure. This language emphasises aspects of the music that are allied to the myths about the genre, such as that musicians are authentic and warrior-like (see Hill, 2011). Terms such as 'fierce' and 'heavy', the emphasis on noisy electric guitar, the love of virtuosity and musical ability, and the comparisons to pop music which stress hard rock and metal's authenticity against pop's manufacturedness, all position hard rock and metal pleasures as ones which fall within that ideology. Such terminology is intrinsic in the way in which hard rock and metal music is understood as symbolically masculine. When particular qualities are ascribed a gender, the male dominance of the genre is maintained via the reification of male-associated qualities and the denigration of those linked to femininity. The result is the alienation and exclusion of women from the genre and the presumption of an underlying male norm for musicians and for fans. When only these 'masculine' qualities are prioritised, metal appears to be 'naturally' associated with men; this is evident in Vasan's unease and questioning of why women should be interested.

But this is not the whole story. Where for Kahn-Harris' interviewees the language was restricted to 'negative' terms around brutality, anger and violence,

my interviewees' language was not limited by these conventions. Where he describes the fans as inarticulate, I found that my interviewees were able to extend their descriptive lexicon beyond those conventions in unusual and persuasive ways. They used quite novel and imaginative descriptors of the music they enjoyed. In doing so they were able to articulate why their favourite bands moved them, using language that often contrasted sharply with the sort of terminology that is associated with hard rock and metal. They described the music as allowing transcendence, as challenging, as enabling shared experiences, as vibrant, and also used romantic terms, whilst two women discussed their simultaneous love of pop musicians alongside their hard rock and metal fandom. For instance, Ruby enjoyed the way in which she could relate to what the musicians were singing about:

It's an affiliation. [...] when I got divorced [laughs, but a little forced], probably a bad example, er, but obviously it was a highly emotional time, I think, you know, that a lot of, a lot of the metal music I listened to at the time was, especially with Killswitch Engage, was about heartbreak and sorrow and it kind of makes you feel like you're not the only person in that situation. It's almost like having a heartbreak buddy there on your iPod, but as well it kind of, it gives you a bit of a burn inside, if that makes sense, it, it, it kind of swirls your emotions up inside and I think enables you to get them out, even if it's running round the house kicking and throwing things erm it kind of gives you that little bit of fight to get emotions out, for me anyway. (Ruby)

Ruby's use of 'affiliation' suggested something like sibling-love and friendship, which was again signified through her use of 'not the only person', 'buddy' and 'there on your iPod'. These terms all create a sense of how Ruby felt about the music at the time of her divorce: that the music could provide intimacy, friendship and stability in a time of difficulty. Ruby's vocabulary — which is readily found in pop music culture — brings forth the question of to what extent does vocabulary cross genre boundaries. Ruby called Killswitch Engage her 'heartbreak buddy' as she found that the songs resonated with her own feelings at the time of her divorce. She felt that she was not alone, even when she was alone with her iPod headphones.

She also ascribed to the music the quality of giving 'a bit of a burn'. This odd metaphor connotes feelings building up until they are so painful that they feel

as if they are burning from the inside. This image of emotions having physical form (here: fire) was emphasised by her use of the verb 'swirls' where emotions were transformed into a liquid that needed to be shaken. Both the fire and the water were described as damaging and needing to be expelled from the body. The sorrow of the songs had a cathartic effect upon her, enabling her to express her own feelings in a dramatic, but obviously necessary manner. Kahn-Harris' discussion of catharsis centres upon extreme metal's ability to help get angry emotions out (Kahn-Harris, 2007), but for Ruby the emotion was pain and heartbreak. Lyrical and genre differences may impact upon the kinds of emotion that the music enables the listener to expunge. The image of a broken heart is not in accord with mythic representations of rock and metal musicians as warriors, for the warrior ought to be independent and strong. A broken heart implies dependence and weakness. Where the catharsis for Kahn-Harris' extreme metal fans is catharsis from anger, for Ruby it was catharsis from heartbreak and vitally it is the fact of the pain being shared that enabled that catharsis.

Aime told me that her first encounter with Avenged Sevenfold had been via music television. This occurred after having just read a review of the band:

It was just a review of a gig, and I thought, 'oh that gig sounded cool; [I] might go on YouTube and find out a bit' and er just before then I was watching Kerrang! on TV and I flipped over the channel and just that second a song of theirs came on and it was this kind of like husky bit where he sings and I was like ah! It was just I felt [breathy] that moment and I was like, it was really nice, it was kind of like a fairytale. (Aime)

Aime began by saying 'it was just a review', where 'just' ascribes little importance to her encounter with the piece (it came to have more significance later). The synchronicity of reading the review and then seeing the band on television seems to have suggested a magical or romantic relationship between herself and the band, as indicated by her use of the word 'fairytale' (she seems to have forgotten that she was intending to 'go on YouTube' where she may very well have chosen to watch the same video). The romance came from her somewhat erotic response to the 'husky' quality of the singing. 'Husky' is associated with throatiness and can be read as 'sexy', particularly if used about women (rather than 'hoarse' which does not have the same connotations). Aime struggled to put her response

into words, using instead 'ah!', sighing breathily and intimating a short time of arousal, 'that moment'. The use of 'fairytale' with Aime's narration of the story, which presents it as an encounter like love at first sight, relying on magical synchronicity, work within a discourse of romance language. There is a distinct sense that Aime's musical experience of Avenged Sevenfold was a romantic one.

Although Aime's story-telling might well work to bolster ideas of young women fans as groupies by ascribing a romantic relationship to her attitude towards the band, her response is more interesting than that. Aime's love for Avenged Sevenfold is not as 'straight-forward' as a passion for particular band members, rather it is a relationship with the music *and* how she imagines the musicians. It is a complex affection that intertwines her intellectual musical pleasure with her erotic musical pleasure and with her imaginative thoughts about the band. Such descriptions, alongside those of the music as beautiful, as allowing transcendence and the opening of the mind, interpretations of musical performances as joyous, and feelings of companionship between musicians and fans, all challenge notions of hard rock and metal fandom as a reification of warrior masculinity. My participants' expressions move our understanding away from a strict notion of the genre as 'masculine' because they highlight how pleasure is also found in aspects of the music that are not associated with masculinity, and some of which are linked to what is considered feminine. This wider consideration of women's pleasure in the music draws attention to the fact that when qualities are ascribed a gender this is a social process: the qualities that are associated with masculinity are not 'essentially' masculine (and similarly those linked to femininity are not 'essentially' feminine). Therefore when hard rock and metal is thought of as masculine this is the result of constructed understandings of gender, not the cardinal qualities of the music. The importance of considering these elements, therefore, is not just a matter of giving a fuller picture to women's rock and metal pleasure. It is necessary in order to challenge the orthodoxy of the genre as masculine and therefore the naturalised hierarchy that places men upon the stage and in the position of the 'real fan' whilst women are relegated to the subordinate role of the groupie.

Heavy metal has lost out in subcultural theory, and this is a problem in so far as it means studies of British heavy metal fans in the 1980s and 1990s, when the genre was extremely popular, are few and far between. Whilst

Brown argues that we *could* recognise metal as a subculture, work that has been done within the framework of the theory shows that an interest in social interactions has taken precedence over an understanding of the music and the fans' relationships with it. What this means is that uneven knowledges about fandom have been generated: it is when we turn our attention to the pleasures of musical enjoyment that we can begin to get a fuller picture of women's participation in hard rock and metal. And it is vital if we are to challenge common misconceptions about the genre.

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SOMALI MEN AND KHAT CHEWING AS RESISTANCE

This paper narrates how leisure can be used within society to act as a form of resistance towards neo-liberal capitalism. Focusing on khat, a narcotic herb traditionally chewed in East Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, this paper explores the potential for resistance that khat chewing provides the Somali community in Britain. The article first draws upon the three major waves of migration to Britain by the Somali diaspora, before providing an in-depth description of khat chewing as a leisure practice, and then finally analysing khat chewing as resistance through contemporary social theory, using the theoretical works of Giddens, Beck, and Bauman to understand the resistive potential of khat for Somali males living in the second epoch of modernity.

Somali Diaspora

Farrah (2000) narrates how the Somali diaspora has spread to many parts of the world with large concentrations in North America, the Arabian Peninsula and Europe. Due to the United Kingdom's colonial ties with Somaliland (a former protectorate of the Empire), many Somali migrants saw Britain as a logical route from which to seek employment and flee conflict. Valentine, Sporton and Nielsen (2009, p. 235) estimate "... that about 75,000 Somalis live in the UK ... About 5000 Somalis are thought to be living in Sheffield." This large community has been developed through three distinct waves of migration, beginning in the early 1890s with Somali seaman who served in the British Merchant Navy during the colonial period. Once the Empire started to disband, the role of the Merchant Navy diminished and many Somali seamen looked for work within Britain's industrial heartlands, further inland from the Atlantic ports of Liverpool and Bristol. Many migrated to the industrial cities of Manchester (textiles), Birmingham (manufacturing), and Sheffield (steel), and, once settled sent for their families to join them. The second stage of migration arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s, made up of refugees fleeing the tyrannical regime of Siad Barre, who had launched a major military incursion into Somaliland in an effort to persecute the Isaaq tribe (a major clan located around the city of Hargeysa near the border with Djibouti) for not giving up their



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land to government forces. As a result, civil war broke out between the South (whose forces were loyal to Siad Barre) and the North (consisting of the Somali National Movement), causing many in the region to lose homes and loved ones, and causing many to flee the region. The third wave of Somali migrants arrived in Sheffield in the early 2000s, and consisted of Somalis who had previously fled to other European countries such as Denmark, Holland and Sweden. These groups decided to make secondary migrations to the United Kingdom to join family and friends (Samatar, 2000; Valentine and Sporton, 2009).

The centre of Sheffield's Somali community is Broomhall, an inner-city suburb located to the south-west of the city centre. Broomhall is a small geographical area boasting a diverse population which totals 6,500 residents. Fitter (2012) explains how Broomhall is divided into two distinct neighbourhoods. The first, Broomhall Park, is comprised of Victorian coach houses which have been 'gentrified' by middle-class families who work in Sheffield's Central Business District or in the city's two large Higher Education Institutions. The second area, referred to simply as Broomhall, takes on an altogether different identity. Here, there is a constant police presence as the local Somali and Jamaican communities live side by side in a constant state of animosity (The Star, 2009). Tension within the area erupts frequently: in recent years Broomhall has suffered ever increasing bouts of gang violence, drug dealing, and general deprivation. As Hogan (2011, p. 273) states, "growing up in an area where everything is third rate, where housing improvements fall short of expectations, where large quantities of rubbish go uncollected, where drugs are allowed to be freely dealt and used, and alcoholics roam free, must have a long term impact". Such environments have led to a variety of social problems within the Somali community, most prominently in the form of isolation, low educational attainment and high unemployment rates (Farrah, 2000).

Khat chewing

As a result of the Somali community's isolation from wider society, many Somali males engage in their free time in what they perceive to be traditional Somali leisure activities. The cultural practice of khat chewing provides a site around which many Somali males gather to spend their free time (Cox and Rampes, 2003). Khat is a narcotic that is chewed in East Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. In Somaliland the practice is widespread, with many migrants engaging in the

activity throughout the diaspora, to both the pleasure and dismay of the communities within which they reside (Anderson and Carrier, 2011; Patel, 2008). Gebissa (2004) states that since the mid-14th century khat has been a major part of culture for populations on the horn of Africa. Nobody is sure how khat entered Somali culture, but it is believed that the practice spread from Ethiopian communities over two hundred years ago. When khat first found its way into Somali culture, the practice of chewing the stimulant was strictly reserved for the bourgeois military, religious and executive classes. By the 1920s, developments in infrastructure provided a link between the khat fields of the Ethiopian highlands and the population of Somaliland, thus increasing the supply and making the practice of khat chewing more widespread within society (Elmi, 1983; Warsame, 2004).

The global dispersal of the Somali diaspora has caused a further increase in khat consumption both at home and abroad. Somali migrants in Europe and North America use khat as a way of coping with the frustrations they experience within Western society in the form of racism, unemployment and borderline poverty, as well as helping to preserve a Somali cultural identity in environments that constantly place them within the confines of negative stereotypes (Ahmed, 2005; Klein, 2007).

Consumption usually takes place in 'marfish' [sic] cafes that serve as social centres, offering refreshments, television, food and khat, Marfish cafes provide the opportunity for exchanging information, keeping abreast of news from countries of origin and for other community activities ... khat can be purchased from fruit and vegetable shops, convenience stores and even newspaper kiosks. (Odenwald, Klein, Nasir, 2011, p. 2)

Within the diaspora khat chewing is also seen as a 'dark' leisure activity due to its position as a challenge to social, cultural and religious orthodoxy (Rojek, 1999; Spracklen, 2013). Patel (2008) describes Somali female opposition towards khat as coming in the form of frustration at the lack of support afforded to them by their male partners. Major concerns included Somali men spending limited time at home helping with childcare, wasting limited financial resources on the narcotic, and spending too much time in the mafrish instead of looking for work or training opportunities. Interpretations of the Quran place khat chewing in a moral grey area, with some in the community referring to the practice as *halal* (allowed), and others deeming the

practice *haram* (sinful) (Hansen, 2010). In particular the Salafi community, who promote a highly conservative interpretation of the Quran, class the practice of khat chewing as illicit behaviour. Due to the fact that members of the Salafi Sect occupy prominent positions as community spokespeople (Carrier, 2007), this has become a dominant interpretation of the practice, and as a result many khat chewers find their voice being drowned out of discourses which debate the ethical use of the stimulant.

Khat chewing also faces stigmatization from the UK Government, which has recently set in motion a bill to ban the practice and classify khat as a class C drug (Travis, 2013). The major argument used by the legislative powers in the UK to implement such a ban rests on the belief that the khat industry funds Islamic extremist groups such as Al-Shabaab, with the mafrish cafes serving as recruitment dens for such hard line fundamentalist organisations (Miller, 2014; Elbagir, 2012). However, the crux of the argument put forward by the UK Government is based on salacious stereotype and rumour. As previously stated, right wing Islamic groups such as the Salafi Sect support the ban on khat, as the narcotic in their view promotes sinful behaviour. In a similar motion, Al-Shabaab has banned khat chewing in territories under its jurisdiction in Southern Somalia. This places the UK Government's proposed ban in a precarious position, with no mandate that is remotely authentic. In addition there is no proven link between khat consumption and crime, while the World Health Organisation states that there are no major health concerns associated with the narcotic which they describe as being as potent as coffee (Huppert, 2014; Miller, 2014; Patel, 2008; Odenwald et al, 2011).

Leisure and life politics

As the argument above highlights, the practice of khat chewing as a leisure activity for Somali males is being increasingly eroded by a multitude of forces. This, in conjunction with the isolated position of the Somali community in Sheffield and the United Kingdom generally, paints the picture of a community that is both isolated and excluded from the rest of society. To understand the excluded leisure lives of Somali men and the Somali community in Britain more generally, this article will turn to the epistemological framework of contemporary social and political thought, in particular that of Giddens, Beck, and Bauman who chart the transition of modernity into its second stage.

Leisure originally emerged in the modern era as dichotomous with work: if work was hard and

uncompromising then leisure represented a part of life which could be enjoyed and used for relaxation. However, Marxist scholars saw a manipulative side to leisure, as a mechanism which prepared men and women for the harshness of work by providing rest and relaxation (Clarke and Critcher, 1985). Leisure provided the time for workers to replenish the body and mind in preparation for hard manual labour, thus playing an important part in the industrialised capitalist world (Spracklen, 2009). Therefore leisure became a site of control of the working classes. Central to this mechanism was the ethical legislation of morality, which categorised leisure choices as 'moral' and 'immoral'. Such an undertaking was symbolic of the solid modern period according to Bauman (1989) who uses the metaphor of the 'gardening state' to describe the epoch. In this 'gardening state' legislative principles developed on the scientific concepts of rationality were designed to order society, seen in the form of ethnicity, class and gender. Bauman (1991, p. 113) describes modernity as "... an age of artificial order and grand societal designs, the era of planners, visionaries and more generally gardeners who treat society as a virgin plot of land to be expertly designed". Leisure for the working classes therefore took on an identity that was deemed ethical by the legislative powers of the state:

If philosophers, educators, and preachers make ethics their concern, this is precisely because none of them would entrust judgement of right and wrong to the people themselves. (Bauman, 1995, p. 10)

As a result, the leisure activities of the working classes were designed for them by the legislative institutions of modernity. Collins and Vamplew (2002) build upon this assertion by narrating the relationship between industrial business and sport, emphasising how many modern day sport teams can trace their roots back to corporate organisations such as steel works, breweries, and textile mills, using leisure as a way of ordering and engraining a more efficient work ethic into their employees. Spracklen (2011) makes a similar connection between leisure and religious institutions, highlighting the concept of 'Muscular Christianity' as the central ethos of leisure understood as facilitating a healthy body and mind. Such philosophies became essential in keeping the working classes under control and obedient to the ruling classes. This placed social commentaries on leisure at the heart of sociological inquiry by Marxist academics who saw the potential for revolution and emancipation in the field of leisure.

However, society has since transitioned from the 'solid' modern to the 'liquid' modern era, characterised by the new right political philosophy developed initially by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan and implemented today by the global elites at both ends of the political spectrum. Such policies promote the:

... radical melting of the fetters and manacles rightly or wrongly suspected of limiting the individual freedom to choose and to act ... That rigidity is the overall product of 'releasing the brakes': of deregulation, liberalization, flexibilization, increased fluidity, unbridling the financial, real estate and labour markets, easing the tax burden ... (Bauman, 2000, p. 5)

Such a political ideology has helped usher in an era of intense anxiety and ambivalence, as there are no longer any state-verified remedies to solve the personalised problems that people face on a daily basis, leaving the market as the sole site to exercise the eradication of such personal antagonisms. Giddens (1991) interprets this shift as a move away from 'emancipatory politics' — characterised by the political goal of left wing parties to provide freedom and equality within society, running in direct antithesis to the right wing mantra of class divides and scepticism over change, to the concept of 'life politics' — which narrates the politics of lifestyle and "... centres on questions of how we should live our lives in emancipated social circumstances" (Giddens and Cassell, 1993, p. 34).

At the centre of Giddens's (1991; 1993; 1994) notion of life politics is the concept of 'abstract systems' which are made up of an amalgamation of 'symbolic tokens' and 'expert systems': "Symbolic tokens are media of exchange which have standard value, and thus are interchangeable across a plurality of contexts" (Giddens and Cassell, 1993, p. 292). A prime example of 'symbolic tokens' is money, which is both valued and interchangeable throughout the world, while "'expert systems' bracket time and space through deploying modes of technical knowledge which have validity independent of the practitioners and clients who make use of them" (Giddens and Cassell, 1993, p. 292). Such 'abstract systems' penetrate virtually all aspects of society, having a major influence on the food we eat, the clothes we wear and the transport methods we use (Giddens, 1994). A central 'abstract system' in the 'reflexive stage of modernity' is the free market, which in Giddens's (1991, p. 214) opinion enables individuals to emancipate themselves from "... the fixities of tradition and from conditions of hierarchical domination".

No longer are individuals born into a society with a pre-ordained identity as was the case in traditional and early modern societies: instead one has the choice to develop an identity which conforms to a particular life project and trajectory.

In such circumstances, 'abstract systems' become centrally involved not only in the institutional order of modernity but also in the formation and continuity of the self ... the most distinctive connection between abstract systems and the self is to be found in the rise of modes of therapy and counselling of all kinds. (Giddens and Cassell, 1993, p. 304).

The spread of individualization forces those within society to adopt new ways of affirming their unique identities. As Beck (1994, p. 13) states "individualization means, first, the disembedding and second, the re-embedding of industrial society ways of life by new ones, in which the individuals must produce, stage and cobble together their biographies themselves". Giddens (1991, p. 223) sees such an environment as a form of emancipation, through alleviating the structure of determinism placed upon individuals, by allowing individuals to create identities that they want and feel comfortable with, thus "... bringing back to prominence precisely those moral and existential questions repressed by the core institutions of modernity". After all there are a variety of consumer goods and services in place, in the form of councillors, therapists, life coaches, and of course celebrities, to provide guidance on the creation of an identity. Beck (1994, p. 8) on the other hand sees potential dangers facing individuals within the second stage of modernity:

"there are increasing inequalities, but class inequalities and class consciousness have lost their central position within society ... Individuals are now expected to master these risky opportunities, without being able, owing to the complexity of modern society, to make the necessary decisions on a well-founded and responsible basis."

Beck, Bonns and Lau (2003) go on to link to the limited power of the nation state to control the globalised free market. In other words, the nation state is becoming redundant as power roams uncontrollably over borders.

Liquid modernity and synoptic control

Here Zygmunt Bauman comes to prominence, proclaiming that "markets without frontiers (are) a recipe

for injustice, and for a new world disorder” (Bauman, 2007, p. 8). As society is steadily stripped of institutionalised, state endorsed and state supported protection, citizens have been introduced to the vagaries of the free market. Society has been turned into the playground of global forces beyond the reach of political control (Bauman, 1998). Bauman labels this current epoch as ‘liquid modernity’, an era which is characterised by the progressive separation of power from politics. As nation states are capable of solely policing their own territories, national governments are unwilling (probably because they are unable) to contain the freedom of the global elites and their plethora of multinational corporations. As a result nation states concede their powers and focus solely on batten down the hatches, leaving the individual alone to face the spectres of fear and ambivalence that society exudes (Bauman, 2006). This has caused the development of “... a global figuration in which all human activity is bonded together by a free market economic framework that is utterly beyond the control of individual citizens” (Davis, 2008, p. 1238). In the liquid modern era individuals are alone with no state verified remedy, just the free market from which to navigate life projects and trajectories:

No more salvation by society means that there are no visible collective, joint agencies in charge of the global societal order. The care for the human plight has been privatised, and the tools and practices of care deregulated. It is now individual wit and muscle that must be stretched in the daily struggle for survival and improvement. (Bauman, 1997, p. 39)

As a result, those individuals with enough economic capital to pursue their own life projects through the ‘abstract system’ of the free market do so in an attempt to navigate their lives away from misfortune and uncertainty. However, Bauman (2000) argues that such individuals are not free of control, insinuating that the market is now used to control those that it seduces. Here Bauman (2011, p. 55) refers to society as a swarm, moving away from the strict ordered columns of solid modernity that were based on social standing. The swarm of society, much like a swarm of bees, is difficult to discipline. Therefore “anyone who wishes to keep a swarm of bees on a desirable course is better off tending the flowers in the meadow, not drilling every bee in turn”. Here the market takes on the metaphorical description of the flowers, and it is the market which is tended to, to help each individualised citizen navigate their path through a deeply fragmented social order.

As a result of this fragmentation, life in ‘liquid modernity’ “... changes too fast for habits and routines — those pillars of comforting certainty for human beings — to have any chance to ‘solidify’, to settle into a pattern” (Davis, 2008, p. 1239). Therefore, there needs to be a form of example that such individuals follow and aspire to. The examples of the liquid modern era are celebrities.

... it is now your task to watch the swelling ranks of Big Brothers and Big Sisters, and watch them closely and avidly, in the hope of finding something useful for yourself: an example to imitate or a word of advice about how to cope with your problems, which, like their problems, need to be coped with individually and can be coped with only individually. (Bauman, 2000, p. 30)

As a result society enters into a new form of control that is situated vehemently within the field of leisure. But, this time, leisure is not used as a mode of disciplining bodies into leisure activities that will help provide fitter and supposedly more ethical workers for the ‘means of production’, as it was in the solid era of modernity. Now leisure provides the site from which individuals are now controlled into consuming the right goods in order to solve their social problems. Leisure provides a site of meaning and understanding, where individuals make important decisions based upon their political affiliations to certain life projects:

It is now ‘celebrities’ that provide the focal point for generating communities of meaning. Unlike the martyrs and heroes of ‘solid modernity’, celebrities are worthy emblems of ‘liquid modern’ society as their oscillating notoriety perfectly encapsulates the episodic nature of ‘liquid life’. (Davis, 2008, p. 2139)

Bauman (2005) places consumerism at the very heart of the synoptic method of control, policed by what Veblen (1899) referred to as ‘conspicuous consumerism’, through which celebrities play the role of template. In a “... synopticon-style society: the tables have been reversed and it is now the many who watch the few” (Bauman, 2000, p. 86).

Leisure, flawed consumers and the new poor

As Seabrook (1988) points out, in modern day society the poor do not inhabit a separate culture from that of the rich: they must occupy the same world that has been contrived to service the wealthy. So the poverty of the poor is aggravated just as intensely by economic

growth as it is by recession. The poor lack the economic resources to participate in the culture of consumption which helps those more fortunate alleviate the fear and anxiety of the 'liquid modern' world. As a result many feel helpless and excluded in a society devoid of state remedies (Bauman, 2006).

It is one thing to be poor in a society of producers and universal employment; it is quite a different thing to be poor in a society of consumers, in which life projects are built around consumer choice rather than work, professional skills, or jobs. If being poor once derived its meaning from the condition of being unemployed, today it draws its meaning primarily from the plight of a flawed consumer. (Bauman, 1998, p. 1)

This 'flawed consumer' represents the new poor of society, those the seduced majority see as beyond the pale of political redemption via the welfare institution. It is in the city that such animosity has to be managed:

The changing nature of the city, from a place of collective security fortified against the enemy 'outside', to the 'liquid modern' setting where cities are seen to house the threats and dangers 'inside'. The 'stranger' within our towns and cities is taken to be emblematic of 'liquid modern' fears. (Davis, 2008, p. 1242)

Within the city "separation and keeping a distance becomes the most common strategy these days in the urban struggle for survival" (Bauman, 2007, p. 72). Such an atmosphere of segregation has led to the state of 'urban mixophobia', which is a response to the wide variety of human types which occupy the habitus of the city. 'Mixophobia' represents a desire to be similar in an attempt to stop citizens looking deeper into each other, offering comfort by making togetherness easier to bear (Bauman, 1995).

As a result "... it appears no accident that the fear of the outsider has also grown to the extent that ... ethnic communities have been cut off" from the rest of the city (Bauman, 2007, p. 88 quoting Richard Sennett, 1996, *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life*, Faber). Fear of the 'Other' is endemic within the city. This has the negative effect of isolating ethnic communities, as deviant and untrustworthy. Neal (2013, p. 5) argues that the "... most 'legible' black male body is often thought to be the criminal body and/or a body in need of policing and containment-incarceration". As a result black males are disproportionately arrested,

tried, and sentenced, so that today one third of all black men between the ages of eighteen and thirty nine can expect to be paroled, put on probation, or jailed within their lifetime (Weathersbee, 2006). A dialectic of such practices results in leisure spaces becoming increasingly racialised, as cultural racisms prevent many ethnic minority members from gaining enough financial capital to compete in the consumer playgrounds of leisure. Thus the self-reflexive project of identity creation championed by Giddens (1991;1993;1994) becomes an unrealistic aspiration. Further, "The depiction of Black men as inherently inferior, violent, and hypersexual and the need to control Black men remain common and central across the spectrum" (Ferber, 2007, p. 19). As a result leisure spaces have become privatised, with automated cameras and security patrols intercepting any unwanted 'flawed consumers' from entering the shopping malls and leisure villages which populate British towns and cities (Minton, 2009).

Such exclusion is highlighted in the work of Valentine and Sporton (2009) who reveal how the Somali community feel excluded within British society. In effect, they narrate Gilroy's (1987) assertion that Englishness and blackness represent mutually exclusive categories. This is a point again narrated by Lashua (2006, p. 400) who argues that "... difference is the site of struggle in the hegemonic processes that resist and reproduce dominant ideological quotes, such as racism, sexism and colonialism": a scenario emphasised by a Somali male respondent in Valentine and Sporton's study:

I feel I've got an identity being Somali so I always know where I am from ... My skin is black and that's what colour I am ... But I see myself as Somali black. A white person will just see you as black ... They see black is black. (Valentine and Sporton, 2009, p. 739)

Bauman (2000) narrates how those communities who are seen as being unable to participate in the synoptically infused 'liquid modern' world still fall under the auspices of the panoptic form of control. Foucault states that the main objective of panopticism is to:

Induce in the inmate a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that the architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining

a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers. (Foucault 1977, p. 201)

George Orwell's novel *1984* sums up the nature of panopticism as the following passage shows; "It was even conceivable that they watched everybody all the time ... You had to live — did live, from habit that became instinct — in the assumption that every sound you made was overheard, and except in darkness, every moment scrutinized" (Orwell in Sclove, 2000, p. 22). For ethnic minority communities including the Somali community in Sheffield, many aspects of their leisure time are disciplined by external bodies. The panoptic form of control "collects and contains the population" (Simon, 2005, p. 8). As a consequence the spatial and territorial aspects of urban life evolve not just as an issue of socio-economic status, but also as "... constructions of people as dangerous racialised 'others' who reside in marginalised (i.e., not here, but over there) spaces" (Lahua and Kelly, 2008, p. 473).

The segregation of such panoptically observed localities, filled with members of the population who are not synoptically controlled through the free market (Blackshaw, 2005), is enforced through the concept of interdictory spaces (Bauman, 2000; 2007). Interdictory spaces help cut off such localities from the consumer playgrounds of the wealthy: "Explicitly the purpose of interdictory spaces is to divide, segregate and exclude" (Bauman, 2007, p. 77). Such spaces within contemporary cities work by using modern day turrets and moats to divide and disperse populations, in the form of underpasses, main roads, and security patrols which can intercept and repel any trespassers or unwanted guests (Bauman, 2000). As a result, many ethnic minority populations find their leisure time interrupted by implicit police tactics which include 'stop and search'. Such violations of human liberties are used extensively on black males in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, who are ten times more likely than their white counterparts to be stopped by law enforcement officers (Kwesi-Johnson, 2012).

Khat chewing and resistance

Although Somali males and the wider Somali community in general face exclusion in their leisure lives, this does not stop leisure acting as a site of resistance. Resistance is defined by Shaw (2006) as a struggle against power structures that spread through everyday life, occurring when social constraints and

ideologies are challenged. Genoe (2010) narrates how leisure provides a site where disadvantaged social groups can challenge the ideologies which oppress them. As Lashua and Fox (2006) explain, rap music has become an important form of resistance for Aboriginal Canadians in their leisure time as many proponents of the practice attempt to use the activity to challenge the negative discourses which surround their people's culture and way of life, thus showing how leisure can be encompassed by sub-groups and used "as a space of expression, solace, and respite" (Lashua and Fox, 2006, p. 279). Similarly the sub-culture of khat chewers in the Somali community use khat as a site of resistance against two distinct ideological crusades on their culture, these being (1) the rise of assimilation-based immigration policies in the 'West', as a result of the nation state's continued loss of self-efficacy due to its declining power on the world stage; and (2) as previously articulated, the individualised nature of the 'liquid modern' epoch, which heightens senses of ambivalence and fear once negated by communities and strong social bonds between citizens.

Assimilation refers to the blending of minority ethnic cultures into those of the dominant society (Fletcher, 2014). Since 2010, the U.K. Government has moved away from the 'multicultural' policies set out by the previous Labour Government. David Cameron's speech in Munich called for an end to the weakening of Britain's collective identity:

... because we have allowed the weakening of our collective identity, under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We've failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We've even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our own 'values'. (Cameron, 2011)

The impending ban on khat and the subsequent crack-down on mafrish cafes can be attributed to such a policy. This exemplifies the shaky argument put forward by the Government that khat funds terrorism. This is a blatant tactic used by the nation state to 'protect' its citizens from the supposedly increasing spread of global terror networks, but which in fact masks its own inability to control global financial markets (Bauman, 2007). According to Davis (2008, p. 1239), "If political institutions are now incapable of controlling the 'hidden hand' of the global free market, then perhaps they can

legitimate their position of authority by promising to protect their citizens from the 'hidden hands' of political extremists". As a result khat chewing becomes stigmatised as a leisure activity that is anti-western and therefore in need of eradication from British shores.

What is not understood by such a discourse is the centrality of the sub-culture of khat chewing in the Somali community. Cox and Rampes (2003, p. 457) state that "chewing khat is both a social and cultural based activity. It is said to enhance social interaction" between members of the diaspora who are often stigmatised within British society as being either immigrants or asylum seekers, 'sponging' benefits with no desire of contributing to the economy. In particular, the sight of khat chewing Somali militia defeating an American incursion into Mogadishu, as narrated in the film 'Black Hawk Down' (2001), provides a great sense of pride within the Somali psyche, helping to alleviate the negative stigma many face living in the West (Harris, 2004). This has led to many Somalis idolising khat as a key aspect of traditional Somali identity, an analogy promoted by Hansen (2010, p. 595) who explains how chewing khat helps "... strengthen social ties and trust between fellow chewers, and a sense of belonging to Somaliland society." Khat can therefore be interpreted as providing a central crux of the Somali male identity, which discards the negative stigma of being portrayed as an unwanted immigrant or any other racialised 'imaginative geographical' reference which demeans former colonial diaspora communities living in the West (Said, 1979).

As articulated above, the sub culture of khat chewing provides a form of resistance against the assimilation-based immigration policies of the U.K. Government, as well as resisting the individualised nature of life in the 'liquid modern' era. Brah (1996) emphasises the possibility of diasporic communities resisting such antagonisms, through her examination of 'diaspora space'. Brah believes that one can live in a space (country) without subscribing to the dominant national discourse of that space. The mafrish provides Somali males with a 'diaspora space' which invokes the "memories of what was recently left behind, by the experiences of disruption and displacement as one tries to re-orientate, to form new social networks, and learns to negotiate new economic, political and cultural realities" (Brah, 1996, p. 194). For Somali males, khat chewing provides a space where identity can be forged around what they deem to be traditionally Somali. The concepts of 'life politics' and 'reflexive biographies' fall on deaf ears here, in the areas cut off from the conspicuous consumers. Here "a large

number of the (Somali) diaspora are not exposed to the self-reflexivity that Giddens identifies with modernity, or alternatively, the hybridization which is seen to characterise the globalization process" (Anthias, 2001, p. 636). It is khat chewing which holds the creative potential to encourage a wider 'diasporic consciousness' and in turn develops closer knit social bonds and community togetherness, which in the fluid and unpredictable world of the 'liquid modern' epoch provides a sanctuary from which individuals may consolidate identity and come to trust others around them.

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Taster chapters from recently published LSA volumes

Rural Tourism Development: The Results of Community Surveys in Three Rural Communities in Finland

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Introduction

Successful community tourism relies on the support of everyone in the community from the petrol station attendant to the owner of the 5-star hotel. However, for community-based tourism to thrive it must meet the needs of the community as well as those of potential tourists. By working with the community prior to developing tourism, issues can be addressed and solutions built into the services, experiences or products to be offered.

Community-based tourism (CBT) is defined by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) as 'a form of tourism where the local community has significant control over, and involvement in, its development and management, and a major proportion of the benefits remain within the community' (WWF International, 2010). It is assumed that by engaging locals in the process of planning and developing tourism, a more sustainable tourism industry will be developed by creating a more equitable flow of benefits and greater consensus in the decision making process which will be based on 'social justice and mutual respect' (Pearce, 1992; Gilchrist, 2003). In other words, the development will meet the needs of the local community as well as those of the tourists (Blackstock, 2005; Cole, 1997; Dann, 1996; Hall, 1996; Jamieson, 1997; Jones, 2005; Kiss, 2004; Laws, 1995; Sebele, 2010; Stabler, 1997; Taylor and Davis, 1997). However, there is an argument put forward by Simpson (2008) that community benefit tourism is equally successful, with the community benefiting from the development but not being directly involved in its planning or operation. Similarly, this benefit can be more than just financial; it can raise awareness about conservation issues through education, raise self esteem through participation (Salafsky *et al.*, 2001) and, most importantly, include the values and interests of the residents in any development (Murphy, 1985).

Regardless of the mechanism of development, it is important that tourism meets the concerns of local people as well as their needs. One way to facilitate this is to enable local people to take part in the planning process (Ko and Stewart, 2002; Frauman and Banks, 2011, Gursoy *et al.*, 2009). This ensures a network of support for, and their participation in, the entire process and, in particular, guarantees that the projects have true community support (Gutierrez *et al.*, 2005). Similarly, it is anticipated that by being involved in the development of tourism from the bottom up, local engagement should reduce the impacts of the dissatisfaction cycle that is so common in tourism (Butler, 1990; Doxey, 1975, see Schofield, 2011 for an comparative analysis of local dissatisfaction with tourists). However, it must be noted that there are dissenting voices concerning the value of community-based tourism regardless of its goals. It is usually not possible to engage everyone in the industry as communities are heterogeneous gatherings of individuals with different skills and desires. Those that are not directly involved (e.g. providing services) or involved in an indirect manner (e.g. providing provisions to the services, e.g. food stuffs) may suffer more from the impacts of price inflation, annoyance of tourist presence, land take from development or crowding.

Many of the studies concerning CBT are undertaken in developing countries and hence can have more extreme cultural, social, environmental and economic impacts. However, communities in developed countries are also impacted by tourism development. Factors such as age, gender, employment, duration of time in the community, status, etc. (Schofield, 2011; Che, 2006) may determine the degree of impact, be it positive or negative. This paper is based on the preliminary results of a community-based tourism development project, called COMCOT* (An innovative tool for improving the competitiveness of community based tourism). COMCOT is a cross-border partnership between six areas in Finland and Estonia funded by the EU Central Baltic Interreg IV A programme. Its aim is to develop nature tourism, based on the ideas and desires of the local communities, by developing tools to improve the competitiveness of community-based tourism. Therefore, COMCOT could be described as an Integrated Rural Tourism (IRT) project (Saxena and Ilberry, 2008) with an additional aspect of being a cross-border partnership linking the six communities to encourage networking cooperation, exchanges and a stronger overall tourism offering than each community could provide individually.

The first objective of this paper is to present results of two different community-based tourism development

* [<http://www.centralbaltic.eu/projects/funded-projects-2/279-sfe/473-an-innovative-tool-for-improving-the-competitiveness-of-community-based-tourism>]

phases conducted in the Finnish pilot regions, namely Virolahti, Pyhtää and Lohja. These phases were:

- 1) mapping out the community's attitudes towards tourism in general
- 2) collecting together the community's own ideas for tourism development (a bottom up approach) in their own region.

These two phases are especially important in community-based tourism development as they clarify those opportunities for tourism that also have community support in the region. The first phase comprised an exercise to establish a knowledge base of the community's attitudes towards tourism development in general. This was achieved by employing a questionnaire survey in which local people were asked to list what they liked about living in their areas, what they did not like, what changes they would like to see, what changes they did not desire and how tourism could both affect and effect these changes. In addition their attitudes towards potential impacts of tourism on themselves and on their local area were assessed to enable these to be taken into account during the planning process. The second phase involved collecting ideas for tourism development in the region from the community. This was done by undertaking a prioritisation exercise carried out with local entrepreneurs, business advisors and community developers.

The second objective of the paper is to link the results of the community surveys and the prioritisation exercises. The aim here is to assess whether the detailed questionnaires can help identify community needs and then to ascertain whether the actions prioritised by the local potential tourism providers meet those demands and desires.

Methods

In the community surveys a total of 234 people were surveyed in the three communities (Lohja, $n = 117$; Virolahti, $n = 98$ and Pyhtää, $n = 19$) in spring 2012. There was a slight female bias in the survey (58.5% female, 33% male, 8.5% not stated) and the survey included people from the ages of 18 to 75+, with the average age group being 36–55. Surveys were undertaken in local shops, community centres and within meetings set up specifically for the COMCOT project. People 18 years of age or older were approached on the next to pass basis, the details of the project explained, permission in the form of a signature was obtained and they were asked to fill in the self-completion questionnaire. The questionnaires included a series of open, closed, Stapel scale and socio-demographic questions. Questionnaires were provided in Finnish. All quantitative results were entered into Excel spreadsheets and analysed using IBM SPSS Statistics 20.

Prioritisation Exercises based on ideas for potential tourism development were undertaken in Autumn 2011 and Spring of 2012 within the communities to develop tourism-related actions based on community input. This involved

a brainstorming exercise where individuals were asked to identify potential tourism developments (e.g. actual experiences, products or facilities) along with additional factors that would support these developments (e.g. improving signage, marketing, developing networks, etc.). The factors identified by the communities ranged from 27 to 78. They were then asked to reduce the list to 27 strategic actions and place them in a prioritisation matrix. Through this they were able to assess which activities were the easiest to achieve while making the greatest contribution to growth along with those that required more effort, but would still have a significant impact on growth. In addition they were asked to consider what they could realistically accomplish within a reasonable time-scale (e.g. 5 years), ensuring they had long term goals beyond the duration of the immediate project. These proposed actions were then compared to the results of the community questionnaires in order to assess whether they met community desires and concerns.

Results

Participants were asked open-ended questions on what they liked about living in their area, what problems they faced, what changes they would like to see and what changes they would prefer not to see. Their responses are given in **Table 1**. All communities liked being close to nature, the scenery, landscape, countryside, peace and quiet and services (note that the lack of services or fear of losing them features highly in later questions). In addition, people in Lohja liked being near to Helsinki and their work. People in Virolahti and Pyhtää struggled with long distances to work, to shops and the lack of services, while the Lohja residents were more worried about crime and the lack of entertainment. However, lack of public transport, traffic issues and either a lack of or a decrease in services was an issue for all as mentioned earlier (see **Table 2**).

The main changes most in demand in all three communities were more public services and better transport. The three communities then diverged with Lohja residents demonstrating desire for more evening entertainment, Virolahti residents wanting a larger population and Pyhtää residents wishing to remain an independent municipality. The latter arose for Virolahti as well in Question 5 (*What changes would you not like to see in the community?*).

The changes that locals preferred not to see are predictable and included no decrease in services or increase in environmental damage, but again diverged with Lohja not wanting their population to increase, while Virolahti welcomed more people (although there were some concerns about Russians). There were also worries about the municipalities being merged from Virolahti.

Participants were asked whether they wanted tourism to increase, decrease or stay the same and whether they thought the impacts of tourism were positive, negative or equally positive and negative. Over 66% of people wanted

Table 1: What do you like most about living in this area and what problems do you face?

WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT LIVING IN THIS AREA?		
LOHJA (n=117)	VIROLAHTI (n=98)	PYHTÄÄ (n=19)
Environmental (38.9%)	Environmental factors (40.6%)	Environmental (50%)
<i>Nature & countryside (n=37)</i> <i>Presence of the lake (n=19)</i> <i>Beautiful landscape (n=6)</i>	<i>Nature & countryside (n=23)</i> <i>Scenery (n =12)</i> <i>Sea (n =11)</i> <i>Space (n =5)</i>	<i>Nature & countryside (n =11)</i> <i>Sea (n=2)</i>
Socio-cultural (25.9%)	Socio-cultural (53.6%)	Socio-cultural (34.6%)
<i>Peaceful and secure place (n=16)</i> <i>Sport facilities (n=6)</i> <i>Good leisure time activities (n=5)</i> <i>Outdoor activities (n=5)</i>	<i>Peace (n =34)</i> <i>Social cohesion (n=6)</i> <i>History (n =5)</i> <i>Freedom/Few people/Small (n=7)</i>	<i>Peace (n=6)</i>
Socio-economic (35.2%)	Socio-economic (5.8%)	Socio-economic (15.4%)
<i>All the services are nearby (n=30)</i> <i>Closeness to Helsinki (n=15)</i> <i>Easy access to workplace (n=7)</i> <i>Affordable levels of rent (n=5)</i>	<i>Services nearby (n=5)</i>	<i>Services (n=4)</i>
WHAT PROBLEMS DO YOU FACE HERE?		
LOHJA (n=117)	VIROLAHTI (n=98)	PYHTÄÄ (n=19)
Environmental (1.1%)	Environmental (3.4%)	Environmental (0)
Socio-cultural (23.9%)	Socio-cultural (31.5%)	Socio-cultural (31.5%)
<i>Drugs/crime (n=10)</i> <i>Few events/not enough to do (n=10)</i>	<i>Long distances to everywhere (hobbies, work, school, etc.) (n=11)</i>	<i>Long distances to services and/or no services (n=6)</i>
Socio-economic (75%)	Socio-economic (65.1%)	Socio-economic (37.5%)
<i>Lack of public transportation (n=35)</i> <i>High level of rent (n=10)</i> <i>Few stores (n=7)</i> <i>Traffic/ poor road maintenance (n=6)</i> <i>Lack of jobs (n=4)</i>	<i>Services decreasing / located at long distance (n= 25)</i> <i>Lack of public transportation (n=23)</i> <i>Traffic (n=6)</i>	<i>Lack of public transportation (n=5)</i>

Note: Factors suggested by five or more of the individuals surveyed (5%) (or in the case of Pyhtää 2 or more people surveyed) are presented above. Sample sizes are shown as (n =). The percentage of responses for each community in each of the three categories (Environmental, Socio-cultural and Socio-economic) are shown as a % in bold, illustrating the importance of that factor to that community.

tourism to increase with only 0.4% of the 234 people surveyed suggesting tourism should decrease, although 11.5 % of people did not answer this question and 21.8% said levels of tourism should stay the same. When considering tourism impacts, over 69% said they were mostly positive, 17.9% thought impacts were equally positive and negative, 11.5% did not answer this question and only 1.7% said the effects of tourism were mostly negative.

When asked whether they were involved in tourism, 12% of the Virolahti residents spanning ages 18–75 stated that they were involved compared to none of the residents in Lohja or Pyhtää. When asked whether they would like to be involved in tourism, 10% of Lohja residents, 6% of those

from Virolahti and 16% of those from Pyhtää, representing ages 18–75+ expressed an interest in jobs related to tourism. Overall only 5% of the 234 people surveyed were involved in tourism and 9% said they would like to become involved. In Scotland, which has a similar population distribution (e.g. small remote rural communities with most of the population living in one area (the central belt), 9% of the population is currently employed in the tourist industry (<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Business-Industry/Tourism>).

Twenty eight Stapel Scale (-5 to +5) questions were used to explore the potential impacts of tourism on the 'Personal Life' of the people along with impact on their 'Life in the Area': the results are shown in **Table 3**.

Table 2: What changes would you like and not like to see?

CHANGES I WOULD LIKE TO SEE		
LOHJA (n=117)	VIROLAHTI (n=98)	PYHTÄÄ (n=19)
Environmental (5%)	Environmental (9.8%)	Environmental (16.7%)
Socio-cultural (33.3%)	Socio-cultural (37.8%)	Socio-cultural (33.3%)
<i>More activities in the evening and winter (n=12)</i>	<i>More permanent inhabitants (n=9) More events, especially during winter time / more lively (n=7)</i>	<i>Pyhtää remains as an independent municipality (n=3)</i>
Socio-economic (61.7%)	Socio-economic (52.4%)	Socio-economic (50%)
<i>Better public transportation (n=24) Bigger shopping centre/more stores (n=9)</i>	<i>More services (n= 20) Better public transportation (n=7)</i>	<i>Enhancing services (n=2)</i>
CHANGES I WOULD PREFER NOT TO SEE		
LOHJA (n=117)	VIROLAHTI (n=98)	PYHTÄÄ (n=19)
Environmental (42.5%)	Environmental (14.7%)	Environmental (25%)
<i>Increase of traffic by the lake (n=7) Higher density of buildings (n=5)</i>	<i>Environmental damages including mines (n=6)</i>	<i>Increase of traffic by the lake (n=7) Higher density of buildings (n=5)</i>
Socio-cultural (27.7%)	Socio-cultural (53.3%)	Socio-cultural (33.3%)
<i>Increase of population (n=6)</i>	<i>Increase of the number of Russians (n=6) Consolidation of municipalities (n=6)</i>	<i>Russian ghettos (n = 1)</i>
Socio-economic (29.8%)	Socio-economic (32.0%)	Socio-economic (41.7%)
<i>Decrease of services / stores (n=6)</i>	<i>Disappearing of services / jobs (n=10)</i>	<i>Closing down / reduction of healthcare and other services (n=3)</i>

NOTE Factors suggested by five or more of the individuals surveyed (5%) (or in the case of Pyhtää 2 or more people surveyed) are presented below. Sample sizes are shown as (n =). The percentage of responses for each community in each of the three categories, Environmental, Socio-cultural and Socio-economic, are shown as a % in bold, illustrating the importance of that factor to that community.

Significant differences occurred between two personal factors and four related to life in the area. With regards to 'Personal Life', both residents of Virolahti and Pyhtää were significantly more positive about how more tourists would impact on their socialising with other residents (Kruskal Wallis, $\chi^2 = 13.024$, $p = .001$) and residents in Virolahti were more positive about how it would make them feel about their cultural identity (Kruskal Wallis, $\chi^2 = 5.863$, $p = .053$). The four factors that showed a significant difference with respect to 'Life in the Area' were 'Economy of the area' with Virolahti the most positive (Kruskal Wallis, $\chi^2 = 7.421$, $p = .024$) and 'Maintaining population of the Area' where Virolahti was again the most positive (Kruskal Wallis, $\chi^2 = 7.479$, $p = .0224$), while Pyhtää was most positive about the 'Number of hotels/restaurants open' (Kruskal Wallis, $\chi^2 = 6.130$, $p = .047$) and Lohja residents were most interested in the Entertainment Opportunities (Kruskal Wallis, $\chi^2 = 9.814$, $p = .007$). The location of the communities is reflected in these results. Virolahti is 2 ¼ hours' drive from Helsinki while Pyhtää is slightly closer at 1 ¾ and Lohja is within an hours' drive and hence very convenient for residents of the Helsinki area.

In more general terms the results show that the residents are aware of the benefits of tourism to the economy and associated socio-cultural opportunities, but slightly concerned about the impacts on the environment. However, most of the scores ranged around neutral suggesting they were not too concerned either way. Only one of the thirteen statements concerning 'Personal Life' had a score greater than 1 (Socialising Habits), while seven of the fifteen statements in 'Life of the Area' received scores greater than 1 (Economy, Maintaining Population, Shops Available, Hotels/Restaurants Open, Entertainment Opportunities, Preservation of Culture and Heritage Sites Open) with the Economy receiving the highest score of 2.68. In contrast, five factors were given negative scores under 'Personal Life' (Feeling Safe, Driving Around the Area, Enjoying Peace and Quiet, Feeling of Space), all of which relate to local people's personal enjoyment of the area and their local natural environment. Hence, although they see the positive benefits to the local area, residents are aware that tourism will impact on their personal lives. This reflects the answers to the question about what people liked about living in the area, e.g. nature, countryside, peace.

Table 3: Comparison of the impacts of tourism on personal life and life in the area for LOHJA, PYHTÄÄ and VIROLAHTI

(Q 17-44)	Lohja n = 117	Viol n = 98	Pyhtää n = 19	Chi ²	Sig. p=.
PERSONAL LIFE					
<i>My household's income</i>	0.18	0.43	0.61	2.502	0.286
<i>My daily routine</i>	0.19	0.40	0.28	1.334	0.513
<i>My socialising habits with other permanent or full-time summer residents</i>	0.75	1.62	1.39	13.024	0.001
<i>Feeling safe</i>	-0.02	-0.13	-0.33	3.002	0.233
<i>Enjoying my garden/land/hobbies</i>	0.25	0.20	-0.17	4.326	0.115
<i>Driving around the area</i>	-0.59	-0.85	-0.83	1.319	0.517
<i>My water supply</i>	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.405	0.817
<i>My food supply</i>	0.04	0.19	0.00	1.851	0.396
<i>Spending time with non-residents</i>	0.52	0.87	0.22	4.715	0.095
<i>My cultural identity</i>	0.35	0.82	0.44	5.863	0.053
<i>Enjoying peace and quiet</i>	-0.22	-0.06	-0.44	1.080	0.513
<i>Enjoying the landscape</i>	0.14	0.31	-0.05	0.563	0.755
<i>Feeling of space</i>	-0.15	-0.14	0.00	1.414	0.493
LIFE IN THE AREA					
<i>Economy of the Area</i>	2.00	2.68	2.16	7.421	0.024
<i>Creating jobs for younger generations</i>	1.61	1.59	1.28	1.082	0.582
<i>Maintaining population of the area</i>	1.58	2.16	1.67	7.479	0.024
<i>Traffic issues</i>	-0.19	-0.69	-0.26	3.166	0.205
<i>Impacts on the countryside (e.g. litter)</i>	-0.45	-0.93	-1.26	4.850	0.880
<i>Number of shops available</i>	1.22	1.18	1.37	0.157	0.924
<i>Number of hotels/restaurants open</i>	1.42	0.92	1.56	6.130	0.047
<i>Entertainment opportunities</i>	1.49	0.81	1.22	9.814	0.007
<i>Preservation of local culture</i>	1.37	1.52	1.61	0.975	0.614
<i>Heritage sites and buildings open</i>	1.40	1.21	1.37	0.474	0.789
<i>Peace and quiet</i>	-0.38	-0.36	-0.86	1.283	0.527
<i>Beauty of landscape</i>	0.31	0.05	0.22	2.213	0.331
<i>Wild plants and animals</i>	-0.11	0.04	-0.39	0.989	0.610
<i>Water quality</i>	-0.14	0.01	-0.50	3.511	0.173
<i>Air quality</i>	-0.09	-0.13	-0.44	1.721	0.423

Note Kruskal Wallis test for k samples, IBM SPSS Statistics 20

Six factors were given negative scores under 'Life in the Area'. These, too, related to enjoyment of the natural countryside (Traffic, Impacts on the Countryside, Peace and Quiet, Wild Plants and Animals, Water Quality and Air Quality). However, only one of the negative scores was greater than -1.

Finally, the results of the Prioritisation Exercise were linked to community desires and problems in order to assess whether the community proposals for development would address any of the issues mentioned (see **Table 4**). (The three factors being the nine activities that would have the most impact on developing tourism, nine that would have a medium impact and nine that would have the least impact). The results of the prioritisation exercise were sum-

marised into eight categories along with 'Other', representing 110 different proposed actions. 'Infrastructure' includes physical structures along with web design; 'Capacity building' includes training together with developing visitor information services or letting agencies; 'Strategic' links to discussion with other organisations; and 'Other' includes attracting funding and less defined activities. 'Jobs', 'Events', 'Information gathering', 'Enhance community life' and 'Improve natural environment' are self-explanatory.

It can be seen that the creation of jobs was the joint top or top priority in Lake Lohja and Virolahti. Both communities specifically mentioned as problems faced either the distance to their work or lack of jobs. Linked directly to this is capacity building which was in the top three factors for all

Table 4: Categorisation of the Prioritisation Exercise

	LAKE LOHJA				VIROLAHTI				PYHTÄÄ				
	Most	Mid	Least	Total	Most	Mid	Least	Total	Most	Mid	Least	Total	
Jobs	4	3	5	12	7	4	4	15	1	3	2	6	33
Infrastructure	4	3	3	10		1	2	3	5	2	3	10	23
Events	1	2		3	3	2		5	3			3	11
Capacity building	1	1	3	5	3	3	4	10	2	2	3	7	22
Information gathering		1		1	1		2	3				0	4
Strategic	1	2		3			1	1		1	1	2	6
Enhance community life	2	1	1	4				0				0	4
Improve natural environment	1			1				0				0	1
Other	1		1	2		1		1		2	1	3	6
Total	15	13	13	41	14	11	13	38	11	10	10	31	110

communities. The largest number of Pyhtää's tourism plans were related to infrastructure development, which was second for Lake Lohja. It should be mentioned that since this study was undertaken, a new development has been proposed for the area which will provide the improvement of local infrastructure as well as offering excellent employment opportunities, so these results have already been superseded. The final two factors of note that were identified in this exercise were the desire for events, particularly in the off season, and the enhancement of community life. In both Virolahti and Lake Lohja winter events were proposed which would help to meet this demand and most of the proposed infrastructure developments would offer more opportunities for people living in the area.

Discussion

There are various models which quantify residents' attitudes towards tourism and some of these enable the development of models to aid in tourism planning (e.g. Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004). Similarly there are various tools (e.g. TAP, Guiterrez, *et al.* 2005) and methods that inform development (e.g. lesson drawing, SWOT, bench marking, case studies). The COMCOT project is using a variety of these methods, but the emphasis is on a bottom-up approach. The community had direct input into the process from two angles; firstly, as part of the prioritisation exercise and, secondly, through the questionnaires. The brainstorming from the prioritisation exercises produced numerous ideas at both the strategic and project level, with the local organising committee deciding which ones to take forward. This inevitably led to heated discussion as some projects were deleted from the list. Similarly, by carrying out the questionnaire survey, the local people who were not directly involved with the prioritisation exercise could make their feelings known, ensur-

ing that the proposed developments have the potential to address real community desires. It must be remembered that although only 9% of the people surveyed were interested in being involved in tourism, 100% of the community will receive its benefits as well as its negative impacts. Hence local involvement is critical to ensure success and they must be kept informed of developments and progress to ensure they remain positive about tourism.

The results show an awareness of the positive and negative impacts of tourism among the communities' residents. Most impacts were viewed as neutral by the local community other than impacts on employment and socio-cultural opportunities, including retaining the population. This indicates that the respondents have little knowledge of tourism, which probably originates from the fact that the economies of these pilot regions are not strongly dependent upon tourism. It is not the dominant livelihood nor is it likely to be so in the near future. Tourism will be an addition to local economies, especially in rural areas, and other livelihoods will continue to exist. Therefore, the residents have little experience with tourism and they are unable to imagine the impacts of intensive tourism activities.

These low scores also suggest more could be done to inform the local population about the potential impacts, both good and bad, and to engage them even further in the development to try to mitigate negative impacts. Schofield (2011), for example, suggested that municipalities should be involved in information campaigns which acknowledge the potential impacts of tourism while planning a strategy to manage these and show the direct benefits of tourism development to the communities. Keogh (1990) stated that by showing the local people the benefits of tourism in the region, the industry is more likely to receive support.

Many of the ideas raised from the prioritisation exercise did support the development hopes the community expressed in the community surveys. This indicates that these tourism development ideas will, most likely, have at least some community support. This provides an excellent chance for these initiatives to be taken further without major conflicts. It also illustrates the arguments that can be used when marketing the tourism initiatives to the local communities and administrators. In conclusion, this project has shown that by ensuring the community is the true basis of development, community issues as well as those in business/economic sector development initiatives can be directly addressed.

The next step in the COMCOT project is to link the Action Plans developed from the prioritisation exercises with the results of a tourism marketing analysis. This will enable further refinement of the proposed actions to ensure the development of activities, facilities and infrastructure that will meet the demands of the local community as well as their potential tourism market. The entire process will be documented in a later paper.

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Volunteer Fundraising: The Motivation for Involvement in a Charity Arts Event

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Introduction

Events such as fun runs and concerts are increasingly being used to raise funds for various charities. Research has shown that volunteer fundraisers are motivated to participate in events such as charity sports events due to variables such as socialising with others and enjoying the sport (Filo, Funk and O'Brien, 2009). However, a recent study by Wood, Snelgrove and Danylchuk (2010) identified that individuals demonstrate an array of motivations for volunteering which range from having an enthusiastic connection to the sport and the charity, to having no connection to either fundraising or the sport. Given these extremes Getz (2012: p. 301) suggests that the key questions for volunteer managers are, "What motivates event volunteers, and how can their commitment and productivity be maximized and sustained?". He suggests that the underlying motivations to volunteer for events can include generic motivations like doing good ("altruism"), looking for social and career benefits (networking) and personal challenge. In addition, volunteers particularly enjoy the belonging and sharing or 'communitas' that can occur through their event experiences, with core or "career" volunteers seeking not altruistic but rather intrinsic rewards associated with the volunteering experience itself (Stebbins, 1996).

Similarly, Barron and Rihova (2011) found that amongst their sample of volunteers, altruistic motivations were minimal as many were volunteering as part of a well-considered career development strategy while others approached volunteering activities from a utilitarian perspective. Thus volunteers may be motivated by a range of affiliatory dimensions (i.e. demonstrating a sense of affiliation with and attachment to the event or activity); by egoistic motivations (intrinsic personal rewards like enhanced self-esteem and feeling good about oneself); altruistic dimensions (arising from personally-held views about social responsibility and unselfish concern for welfare of others); and the solidary dimension (derived from social interaction, interpersonal relationships, family traditions, friendships and need for social interaction) (Monga, 2006). Bang, Won and Kim (2009) noted that to sustain a volunteer workforce, the most important tasks of event organisations and managers are building

a sense of motivation, commitment, and intention to continue volunteering. They found that interpersonal contacts, love of sport and personal growth as a volunteer had significant influence on volunteers' commitment to sporting events. The volunteer's commitment and motivations, community involvement and extrinsic rewards were found to be important variables in predicting volunteers' intentions to continue their involvement with future events.

To date, the majority of literature in this area has concentrated on volunteering at sporting events but there has been little or no attention given to examining the motivation to volunteer in arts related charity events and none in relation to volunteers at comedy festivals. This study uses an autoethnographical approach to explore why the author volunteered to co-produce and co-direct six small scale charity arts event as part of the Melbourne International Comedy Festival (MICF) and the Melbourne Fringe Festival (MFF) from 2007–2011. The paper then reflects on how the festival organisers could encourage more volunteers to become involved by discussing methods to make the volunteer experience more attractive.

Arts festivals and comedy

Thousands of festivals are staged each year to celebrate various aspects of culture, heritage and sport. Some of these festivals celebrate famous cultural events, while others are showcases for the performing arts: i.e., music, drama, visual arts and comedy. Quinn (2006) determined that arts festivals contribute substantially to the local economy because of increased visitation to an area during the period of the festival, with the added potential for the animation of communities and improvement of quality of life. In addition, the existence of such arts festivals helps to increase revenue flows and increased arts activity in a region, with associated improved venue infrastructure (Frew and Ali-Knight, 2010).

Getz (2008) suggests that arts festivals have been found to display a lack of concern for tourism and take a product orientation that tends to ignore customer needs and commercial realities. This may reflect the organisers' concentration on the development of the core activity, namely supporting the arts development, rather than considering the event attendees. However, even given this perceived lack of attention to the tourist attendees, numerous arts festivals attract international tourists to their respective areas and, contribute to the vibrancy and attractiveness of their associated regions.

Some arts festivals are fully curated, meaning that all acts are invited to perform by the event organisers. Others are partially curated and some are completely open-access which include fringe festivals. All arts festivals, whether curated, part-curated or open-access provide some support for the artists, and this highlights the important role these organisations play in strengthening and developing the creative industries in their respective cities, regions and coun-

tries. One of the ways that partially curated and open access arts festivals can support independent artists and their associates is to establish a range of benefits for their involvement. This could include subsidised or free tickets for other shows, a closing-night party and the creation of awards to recognise excellence in the various art genres such as comedy, drama, cabaret, dance, music, puppetry, etc.

The Edinburgh Fringe and the Adelaide Fringe represent the world's largest and second largest arts festivals, respectively, and are both nonjuried, open access combined arts festivals (Frew and Ali-Knight, 2010). An example of a partially curated festival would be the MICF which has curated entries but also allows independent artists to register (which represents the majority of shows). MICF was established in 1987 and is held over three weeks in March and April. The MICF aims to discover, develop and showcase great talent for the entertainment and inspiration of a broad based audience (MICF, 2012). The MICF is supported by local council and state government bodies through the provision of financial and/or in-kind support. Any performer can register and perform at MICF, irrespective of their experience, status or nationality and without constraints from the festival which reflects the festival's open access forum. The downside of this non-curation element is that the festival has the potential to become very large, with hundreds of shows competing for the same audience. This can result in small audiences and poor box office takings for many shows (Frew, 2006b).

As a not-for-profit event, the MICF has several objectives related to the encouragement of comedy as an art form and the involvement of the local community as follows:

- To promote and encourage ... the comedic arts through an annual Comedy Festival
- To promote the importance of comedy as an artistic element in the cultural fabric of Melbourne, Victoria and Australia
- To organize a Comedy Festival that is accessible and encourages the general public to participate as audience members, performers or employees; and,
- To contribute to the development of new talent in the field of comedy writing and performance (MICF, 2005).

Similar to other comedy festivals, the MICF manages a range of educational and community programmes aimed at the local population as a means of engaging more people to become involved in the festival and to ensure the festival remains viable by encouraging a constant demand from individuals who want to become participants either as performers, producers or audience members. For example, to encourage new Australian comics to establish themselves in comedy, MICF manages the "Raw Comedy Competition", which is a national "open mic", stand-up competition; "Jeez Louise" which is a seminar designed to encourage more women into comedy; and "Class Clowns" to encourage children to become involved in the comedy festival. There are

also a range of free events designed to encourage audience involvement such as free performances. These programmes are designed to encourage arts access to more people in the community and to encourage people to learn new skills and develop new comedic work (Frew, 2006b). However, since the majority of events in the festival are staged by independent artists the biggest role MICF has in encouraging comedy is to allow them to perform under the umbrella of the event, with their support. The voluntary nature of the artists' and producers' involvement in the festival reflects the need for organisations such as MICF to provide encouragement for people to become involved and the facilities to do so. This chapter addresses the Getz (2008) research question, namely: what motivates event volunteers, and how can their commitment and productivity be maximized and sustained? To answer this question I refer to my own experience as a volunteer co-producer and co-director of a series of six small-scale charity arts events, and reflect on the best way to maximize commitment and sustain productivity among such volunteers.

Methodology

This paper uses an autoethnographical approach to examine the motivation and experiences of the author as a volunteer fundraiser during the creation and management of six small scale charity arts events staged from 2007–2011. Five of the events were held during the MICF and one during the MFF. Autoethnography allows authors to draw on their own experiences to extend understanding of a particular discipline or culture (Holt 2003) whereby the life of the researcher becomes a conscious part of what is studied (Ellis, 2008). Because autoethnography values the personal experience of the researcher, participant observation is the "core practice through which reflections are developed and all other data collection activities are organized" (Duncan, 2004: p. 5). One of the approaches associated with autoethnography involves personal narratives in which the social scientist takes on dual academic and personal identities and focuses on some aspect of her/his personal experiences in daily life. The goal with an autoethnographical approach is to write meaningfully and evocatively about a topic as a means of understanding a self or some aspect of a particular life lived in a cultural context, and to allow the reader to reflect on, understand and cope with their own lives (Ellis, 2008). Given the above, autoethnography is a useful approach for examining volunteer experience at an arts event and reflecting on the motivation for involvement and the associated implications for the management of such volunteers.

The following discussion uses an informal, first person narrative approach to illustrate the author's experiences regarding volunteering as an independent co-producer and co-director of six comedy shows over a five year period. Throughout the discussion reference is made to the author's reflective journal where thoughts and insights were recorded

routinely each year at the end of each festival. Among other aspects, the reflective journal contains numerous insights into the workings and atmosphere of the comedy festival, the nature of comedy as a popular performing art, the experience of comedy festivals for consumers (namely, audience members), comedy festivals as a vehicle for artists to perform and the motivation and the experience of the author as a volunteer fundraiser. These journal entries provided a rich source from which to draw to highlight individual motivation for involvement in arts events and the related volunteer management issues.

Comedy and comedy festivals

Laughter and particularly communal laughter is an attractive social habit in which to engage. Attending a comedy show has the potential to generate many benefits and comedy festivals can provide an attractive environment with which to associate as it creates a space for fun and laughter. Attending a comedy show can turn an audience member's mood from being tired to being energised, and can re-energise an individual after a hard day at work (or at leisure). Therefore, a light-hearted and fun experience engaged in at a comedy club or comedy festival, has the potential to be an attractive leisure activity for thousands of individuals. This reflects the importance of comedy festivals for locals and tourists alike and reflects the importance of comedy festivals in the inventory of leisure activities available within a community (Frew, 2006b).

My involvement with comedy festivals began as an audience member at comedy shows during the Edinburgh Festival Fringe from 1984 to 1987 while I was a student at the University of Edinburgh. This involvement continued after my migration to Australia through my annual attendance at the MICF from 1994 to the present day. I could therefore be nicknamed a "comedy festival junkie" because I love attending comedy festivals to experience the various comedy genres of stand-up, theatre, cabaret, music, and visual comedy performed by domestic or international acts and, new or established acts. Since I am a regular attendee at comedy festival events I now have a heightened sense of awareness of what I find amusing as I have been exposed to all types of humour during my comedy festival experiences. So perhaps I could be described as a "laughter aficionado".

From a professional perspective, I have published several academic articles on comedy festivals and comedy festival management from a supply and demand perspective (see, for example, Frew, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007). The primary data for these articles were gathered via focus groups with interstate comedy festival attendees and semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders (namely directors of comedy festivals). The secondary data were gathered via analysis of comedy festival programs; comedy festival web sites and local newspapers featuring aspects of the festivals. These secondary sources provided information about the history of the festivals, the staging of special events within

the festival, the new and/or international comic acts performing, the shows which won awards and the physical layout of the festival.

During the data-gathering phase for these publications I also attended special events during the MICF, such as the national new comics' competition, the national young comics' competition, a forum to encourage women into comedy, an all-women's comedy gala, and, the annual comedy awards ceremony. To sample the atmosphere of the festivals I spent time in the central hub of the festival, in street precincts and sought venues frequented by performers and other participants in the festival. I also had informal conversations with attendees and comedy festival performers. At MICF I was invited backstage to the after-show party for the women's comedy gala and I also attended the exclusive Festival Club at MICF and mingled with famous comedians drinking and socialising. Therefore, to experience the comedy festival at a deeper level I was not content to simply sit in an audience and listen to the comedy. Instead, I tried to experience as much as I could beyond the confines of the theatre chair, and attempted to enter the social world of the comedy festival participants and attendees.

From attendee to participant

The essence of stand-up comedy has been described as creative distortion achieved through "exaggeration, stylization, incongruous context and burlesque" (Mintz, 1985: p. 79). However, difficulties arise when researchers try to analyse what makes something funny. White (1974: p. 1) points out that "Humor can be dissected as a frog can, but the thing dies in the process and the innards are discouraging to any but the pure scientific mind". Put more simply, Woody Allen suggests that, "Jokes are like frogs. If you dissect them too much they may die" (Nevin, 2005: p. 16). Creating humour via stand-up comedy appears to be a very difficult skill to master. Even the incredibly successful stand-up comedian, sitcom writer and performer, Jerry Seinfeld said, "I know I can't impress anyone doing stand-up comedy. They already know I can do it. But to do it well, to do it very well, is still a challenge ... I'm still obsessed with the art of telling a joke" (Farhi, 2004: p. 2). Similarly, I am impressed by comedians' ability to think in an abstract way, their seemingly endless creativity and their ability to remember long dialogues with minimal or no prompts. I am particularly impressed by their comic timing and delivery and I am envious of their ability to make an audience erupt into peals of laughter.

Thus, stand-up comedy is a difficult and challenging hobby. It is difficult because it takes a particular talent to be funny and the comic needs to generate good material and develop excellent delivery skills. Comics need to be personable on stage and need many hours of stage time to achieve the confidence to create a good stage presence and make the audience responsive and relaxed (Stebbins, 1990). In 2004 after I had immersed myself in the comedy festival I

convinced myself that I could do stand-up and so I started performing regularly in Melbourne at open-mic[rophone] comedy nights. As a new stand-up comic I was impressed by the level of camaraderie I experienced backstage with the other new comics and I enjoyed the feeling of euphoria when I finished my set and came off stage. From my first gig in February 2004 to the present day (2012) I have now performed 113 stand-up comedy sets (ranging in length from five to 15 minutes) in pubs and clubs throughout Melbourne. This represents about one gig a month so I am now a fairly experienced stand-up comic and stand-up comedy has become a serious leisure activity for me (Stebbins, 1982). In my stand-up comedy set nowadays I incorporate music via my electric piano which I play to add background and colour to what I am saying. My style of stand-up could be described as quirky observations of day to day life which (mostly) avoids “blue” material. My experience of doing stand-up comedy led me to volunteer at comedy festivals and I have co-directed and co-produced my own annual show at MICF from 2007–2011.

Stand-up comedy is a particularly challenging activity for females for a range of reasons. For example, there may be a feeling of unease among audience members about the power of a woman being on stage and the belief that women are raised to be receivers of humour — not necessarily the generators of humour. In addition, female comics appear to be violating the norms of femininity (Barreca, 1991). Traditionally, funny women may have been seen by men as buffoons rather than comics — that is, they were funny for the wrong reasons (Willett, et al. 2012). In addition, there appears to be a culture prevailing in Australia and New Zealand (and possibly other parts of the world) suggesting women are not as funny as men (Hay, 2000). To counter these attitudes Gilbert (2009) suggests that some female comics have deliberately used stand-up as a means of attacking hegemonic power and privilege in the public sphere by transgressing boundaries and inviting women to be the laughers rather than the laughed-at. From my perspective I became very aware that there are proportionally few female stand-up comics in Melbourne. I am often the only female comic in a line-up of 10 comics. I believe there is a range of reasons: sometimes the audiences are hostile and heckle if they are drunk which is not pleasant to experience when you are on stage trying to engage the audience; sometimes in a pub situation it is difficult to perform as the audience is more interested in chatting to each other than engaging with the comic; to network and develop camaraderie and support from other comics requires the comic to hang out in the pubs where the comedy shows are staged. For females this may be less attractive than for male comics, and for women with children this may not be possible due to parenting responsibilities. Indeed, I mentioned my children to a fellow male comic who looked concerned and asked, “Who’s looking after your children at the moment?”. I replied, “Their other parent”.

In April 2004 I attended the event called the Jeez Louise

Funny Woman’s Forum organized by MICF. At the Forum I met a fellow new stand-up comedian, Sarah. She impressed me with her encyclopedic knowledge of comedians and the comedy industry and we struck up a friendship. Together we started attending comedy nights and performing our five minute sets around the comedy venues in Melbourne. In October 2006 Sarah mentioned that she wanted to stage a show during the MICF and asked me if I would be interested in being a co-producer and co-director of the event. At this point I had performed 70 stand-up comedy gigs so I knew how difficult it was to get stage time with a good sized audience and high quality fellow comics to create a great night of comedy. I wanted to gain more stage time and I could see a gap in the comedy festival scene for a show with a balance of males and female comedians on the bill, and with an audience of over 100 audience members to create a great atmosphere. Sarah and I decided to go ahead with organizing the event so we selected a charity on behalf of which to raise funds; we created a name and image for our show, booked a venue and registered the show with MICF. Once we decided to stage the event in 2007 I attended workshops for future performers organised by MICF in November 2006 on how to successfully stage a show at the festival.

Sarah and I believed that our audience were probably quite sophisticated comedy festival attendees, being residents of Melbourne where the festival has been staged since 1987 and where there is a buoyant comedy scene, and so we needed comics who had the ability to entertain this type of audience. British comedian Tim Law suggested that there are two types of comedy audiences:

[T]here’s the conservative people, who want it pretty gentle and easy ... and you’ve got a real hardcore comedy crowd, who love comedy, and they’re pretty much the same everywhere. They’ve seen a lot, and they don’t want too much bland observation; they want more. They want to be taken on a journey, or shocked and surprised like I do. (Hunter, 2005: p. 21)

In my reflective journal I noted that good stand-up comedy often has an enduring quality about it since some of the things the comics speak about in their act stay with you for a long time. For example, something happens in your everyday life and you find yourself thinking, ‘This reminds me of what that comic said at the comedy show’. So the experience keeps coming back to you and you can laugh to yourself and reflect on how much you enjoyed the experience. Therefore, in our show we wanted to include both male and female comics who had something quirky and interesting to say. We reflected on the many comics whom we had met during our comedy gigs over the last few years and we approached 8 comics who had performed comic material that we believed suited our anticipated audience. We chose comics who avoided material that was racist, sexist or extremely vulgar. We chose comics who we believed had insightful and/or

quirky material and had a personable on-stage presence. We made sure that we had seen them perform at least once so we were familiar with their material and style. We explained to each of the comics that we were unable to pay them for their performances as this was a charity event. Thus we were confident that our comics would match our audience to make the show a success; and this is the technique we used for our subsequent four shows.

We chose an evening time slot for the show. We selected Monday as traditionally Monday is the day when comics do not schedule their own festival shows so they would be available to perform at our show. In my reflective journal I noted that the creation of successful comedy requires certain conditions to be present:

“Comedy is a delicate flower which can easily be destroyed without proper care and attention. The conditions need to be just right for comedy to flourish: the lights have to be dimmed; the audience should be comfortable, well fed and watered; there should be minimal, hopefully no, distractions; and, the audience must be able to hear the comics clearly. If any one of these conditions is not present then the atmosphere created for comedy to be successful is destroyed. If you have ever tried to retell a funny anecdote from a comedy festival show and your friend or colleagues does not laugh then you may think, ‘I think the joke has lost something in the retelling – you just had to be there’. Indeed, what was missing was the correct atmosphere, the appropriate delivery, the stage presence of the comedian and, the context of the joke”.

Sarah and I deemed our first show (Event 1) in April 2007 a success as it was sold out: we raised over \$1,000 for the charity of our choice and we received a range of unsolicited feedback from the comics, the venue and the charitable organisation (see **Table 1**).

Following the success of Event 1 Sarah and I discussed whether we were interested in creating a show for the MFF which would be staged in October, only 6 months after the MICF. When discussing whether or not we wanted to volunteer to stage another event so close to the first we wrote down a list of pros and cons for Event 2 (see **Table 2**). Interestingly the ‘social good’ reason appeared as the fifth most important reason and not the first. When discussing whether we should stage a show in MFF I explained to Sarah that I wasn’t interested in producing and directing the show by myself as I thought it would be too much work and bit lonely. Thus, the aspect of socializing was important in making a decision to become involved in the MFF. Following our discussion we decided that if we were not allocated a Festival Managed Hub Venue then we would not stage the show.

Our application for a Fringe Festival Managed Venue emphasized that what was unique about Event 2 was that it was specifically designed to support emerging Melbourne artists to develop and promote their careers while also providing a social good by raising money for an appropriate charity. We mentioned that as the co-producers and co-directors we were local Melbourne comics who are both full time professionals in our own fields, we were dedicated to supporting the development of comedy and the performing

Table 1 Unsolicited feedback received from Comics, Venue Management and Charity

“It was the highlight of my festival last year” (Michael Williams, Comedian)
“Thanks again for the gig...it was one of the best crowds I had throughout the festival...about 20 people who saw me that night came to my show” (Ben Lomas, Comedian)
“Congratulations on running a successful event that was thoroughly enjoyed by all” (Management, Vibe Bar, Melbourne)
“Congratulations on a fantastic Comedy night last night. Tash and I thoroughly enjoyed it and it was great to be a part of such an entertaining and successful evening. You had Starlight everywhere, which was wonderful to see and we really appreciate your generous support and of those who gave their time last night to give back to our organisation”. (Charitable Organisation, Starlight Foundation)

Table 2 Arguments for and against staging a similar event at the Melbourne Festival Fringe

For	Against
Good fun	Sarah going overseas on holiday for five weeks
Networking opportunities	Recognition of the amount of work involved
Good for our profile	The availability of suitable comics
Kudos	Ability to get right comedy room
Social good	Time and effort needed to practice performance and write new material
Support for seating, lighting, audio, front of house staff	
Opportunity to party	

Table 3 Summary of Comedy Shows staged during the Melbourne International Comedy Festival and the Melbourne Festival Fringe from 2007–2011

Year	Title of Show	Amount raised	Charity
2011	Event 6: One Night Stand Comedy 5	\$2,200	Starlight Children's Foundation
2010	Event 5: One Night Stand Comedy 4	\$2,000	Starlight Children's Foundation
2009	Event 4: Monday Night for Comedy 3	\$1,500	Starlight Children's Foundation
2008	Event 3: Monday Night for Comic Relief 2	\$1,500	Comic Relief
2007	Event 2: Laugh for a Cure	\$500	National Breast Cancer Foundation
2007	Event 1: Monday Night for Comic Relief	\$1,000	Comic Relief

arts in Melbourne. Based on our application, we were successful in receiving a festival managed venue for Event 2 at the 2007 MFF. Following our positive experience there we then went on to co-produce and co-direct another four shows during MICF from 2008–2011 (Events 3–6). We decided not to stage any further events at the MFF as we believed that the MICF was when our target audience would be thinking about comedy and more likely to support our event rather than during the fringe festival which hosts only has a small number of comedy shows. **Table 3** provides a summary of Events 1–6.

Reflections on volunteer fundraising experience

To answer the question as to what motivates event volunteers, the following reflections are my perspective on why I volunteered. These reasons altered slightly from my first volunteering experience to the most recent. At the start of my comedy festival volunteering career my main reasons for volunteering for Event 1 were as follows:

- I wanted to have a higher profile among my Melbourne comedy peers;
- I wanted more stage time; and,
- I wanted to experience a “good quality audience” given my earlier experience of small, inattentive audiences.

Each of these reasons for my involvement in Event 1 did not reflect any desire to create a social good by raising money for charity. Instead it reflected my desire to create an enhanced standing in the society of Melbourne comics and as a means of providing an opportunity for myself to gain exposure to a high quality comedy experience. These types of reasons are supported by Monga (2006) who suggests that many volunteers have egoistic reasons for volunteering.

My motivations for volunteering to organize Event 2 at MFF were mainly because it was such a “buzz” to organize Event 1: we received such great feedback and appreciation that I wanted to experience it all over again — even though it was challenging and hard work. However, for Events 3–6 the reasons I repeatedly volunteered each year were as follows:

- I wanted to experience the “inside of the festival”;
- I wanted to secure a Participants Pass which allows free entry to see other comedy shows;

- I wanted to experience the exclusive Participants Only Festival Closing Night Party;
- I was interested in providing a social good by raising much needed funds for a range of charities, namely Comic Relief, the National Breast Cancer Foundation, the Mirabel Foundation and the Starlight Foundation; and,
- I wanted to gain hands-on experience in creating and running a small scale comedy event, particularly because I needed such an experience to draw on when teaching events management degree students.

These motivations for involvement are similar to the range of motivations identified in the literature. For example, similar to the motivation reasons identified by Monga (2006), the most important for me was firstly for egoistic reasons, then solidary, then affiliations and then altruistic. However, when Sarah and I wrote our application for a Fringe Festival Managed Venue, we mentioned the altruistic aspect of developing the show as a means of supporting up-and-coming young comedians. This application was written to appeal to the reviewers rather than reflecting my true feelings about my motivation to volunteer. Similarly, when considering Bang, Won and Kim’s (2009) reasons for motivation, my experiences would be in the order of personal growth, interpersonal contact, love of the activity in question, and then community involvement. This demonstrates support for Monga’s (2006) assertion that there are multiple reasons for volunteering and there is no one particular motive.

Other aspects to reflect upon when considering motivation to volunteer are the influence of work on the selection and engagement in leisure, the influence on leisure in an individual’s wellbeing and sense of self (Haworth and Veal, 2013), and where work can have a positive spillover effect into leisure and vice versa (Staines, 1980). In my case, selection of stand-up comedy as a hobby was initially related to my academic research into comedy festivals and the role of humour in society. My experiences of stand-up comedy and the necessity to perform in riotous pubs allowed me to gain confidence and led me to become more confident in making my voice heard in work meetings. My thinking was that if I can perform stand-up in front of a hostile crowd (or a large audience of paying customers at one of our comedy festival shows) then I should have the confidence to make my

voice heard in a committee meeting! This was one of several unexpected outcomes of my volunteer experiences. Another unexpected outcome was that I wrote about my volunteer experience in my recent successful application for promotion at my university under the heading of “Professional and Community Service, Management and Leadership”. The university committee mentioned in my promotion outcomes letter that they were impressed with my involvement with the comedy festival. (Little did they know that my main reasons for involvement were hedonistic and egoistic rather than utilitarian.)

Concluding comments

There are several implications of this discussion in the context of volunteer management:

- To encourage individuals to volunteer, events managers should pay attention to the needs and wants of the volunteers. In the arts sector this may involve providing privileged access to the performers the volunteers admire. This could involve the creation of an exclusive event where the volunteers can “rub shoulders with the stars” or provide networking opportunities with producers, directors and other industry representatives.
- For younger individuals, volunteering may provide the opportunity to establish contacts and networks in the industry and add valuable work experience to their resumes (Barron and Rihova, 2011); and,
- Volunteering in the arts can provide useful stage time for new performers as some arts volunteers are also performers.

From a volunteer management perspective festival managers should recognize the time and effort involved in staging events such as small-scale charitable events and for the festival to continue to support independent artists and volunteer producers and directors by providing a range of incentives such as a participants pass to allow free entry to some shows, a participants only party to allow participants to engage with other performers at an exclusive event, and, to encourage them to continue their festival involvement.

In this autoethnographical study I have used personal narrative and reflection to focus on the social and cultural aspects of my personal experience and interaction with volunteering to co-produce and co-direct a series of annual events at two festivals. I identified that I was motivated to be involved due to egoistic reasons, and I revealed a vulnerable self that relied upon the camaraderie of others to support my involvement in this leisure activity.

The chapter has reflected on the real reasons why I wanted to be involved in these events which were more hedonistic than altruistic even though the events were designed to raise money for a charity. This discussion relies on my introspection and self-consciousness to reveal that we often want the world to believe we are being altruistic in our activities when in fact we are being egoistic.

The significance of this study is that it builds on the existing work in the events and volunteer management literature on non-profit fundraising and the growth in charity events but focuses on the realm of the arts and in particular comedy festival events. The arts events examined in this paper (namely the six comedy shows) were of significance as they were touted by the organisers as having the dual aim of providing a social good by raising money for charity but also supported emerging local Melbourne artists to develop and promote their careers. As such, the charity arts event filled a gap in the Melbourne arts community by giving independent artists with the opportunity to experience a large, supportive comedy festival audience which helped then in their transition from newcomer to established artist. However, the chapter also reflects on the multiple motivations for volunteer involvement and the sustained commitment to re-volunteer in subsequent years.

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Childhood Sport Socialization, Family Leisure and the Construction of Young Adults' Leisure-Sport Careers

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Introduction

The central objective of this chapter is to examine some key aspects of the relationships that exist between leisure-sport¹ participation and childhood sport socialization as an aspect of family-based leisure. More particularly, we will argue that developing a more adequate understanding of inequalities in present-day participation rates among young adults requires a consideration of the key features of childhood sport socialization that appear to precede high levels of leisure-sport participation in adulthood. In doing so, we shall examine: (i) the impact that important life-transitions have on participation and their association with broader forms of social inequality; (ii) family leisure as a crucial site for the construction of young adults' leisure-sport careers; and (iii) some of the social processes associated with the formation of sporting habituses during childhood that help generate unequal predispositions towards adult leisure-sport participation.

Leisure-sport participation, social inequality and life-transitions

Despite the well-documented difficulties of comparing patterns and trends in leisure-sport participation across coun-

tries (Nicholson, Hoyer and Houlihan, 2011; van Bottenburg, Rijnen, van Sterkenburg, 2005), it is clear that various forms of social in-equality — whether individually or in combination — make an important contribution to observed differences in participation among all social groups. A recent analysis of national sport participation policies revealed that while social inequalities such as gender, social class, age, and ethnicity do not impact on participation uniformly, the social skewing in participation rates that can be observed in many countries throughout Europe, North America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania is closely associated with socially structured forms of inequality (Nicholson *et al.*, 2011). For example, in the United Kingdom (UK), where levels of income inequality are especially wide and increasing (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010), leisure-sport participation has been described as "becoming increasingly unequally distributed" (Coalter, 2007: p. 64), with those higher up the social scale, and especially young white males, being more likely to participate overall, more frequently, and spend more time participating in a wider range of activities when doing so. The social distribution of adults' leisure-sport participation is particularly clear from successive sweeps of the Active People Survey (APS), which was first conducted in England in 2005/6 (see Rowe, 2009). The findings of each APS have since consistently indicated that overall and frequency of participation declines continuously with age (especially for males), and is significantly related to social class, ethnicity, disability, and regional-level socio-economic deprivation (Houlihan, 2011; Rowe, 2009; Sport England, 2012). This has led Coalter (2013: p. 5) to observe that:

Sports participation in the ... UK has exhibited consistent correlations with aspects of social structure such [as] sex, level of education, age and social class. Even in times of increasing aggregate participation, the relationships between the rates of participation of these

social groups remained relatively constant. An appropriate metaphor might be an escalator — although all were moving up, the relationship between the various steps on the escalator remained relatively constant — this applied both when participation was increasing and decreasing.

Given the persistence of such socially structured and consistent correlations, Coalter (2013: p. 18) has also argued that sport might be regarded as “epiphenomenal, a secondary set of social practices dependent on and reflecting more fundamental structures, values and processes” associated with social inequalities in the wider society. More particularly, in contrast to conventional analyses of participation data, which often fail to consider the implications of understanding the relationships between forms of social inequality and leisure-sport participation, it might be argued that various aspects of inequality typically precede such participation (Coalter, 2013). Indeed, as we shall return to later, it would appear that many of the roots of inequalities in leisure-sport participation are most likely to be found within the structure of the wider society, where “the scale of material inequalities ... (provides) the skeleton, or framework, round which class and cultural differences are formed” (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010: p. 28).

The impact of various social inequalities (particularly social class) is also compounded, to a greater or lesser degree, by major life events and socially structured life-transitions that characterize the life-course and which have consistently been shown to impact on participation in a range of sport and leisure activities (Haycock and Smith, 2011; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975; Roberts and Brodie, 1992). In their four-year longitudinal study involving 4,554 adults from six regions in the UK, Roberts and Brodie (1992: p. 37–38), for example, noted that although drop-out from leisure-sport participation “occurs in all age groups ... the heaviest drop-out is in youth and young adulthood”, and many people fail to participate at all, or on a regular basis, thereafter. This drop-out, the changing nature of participation, and the activities undertaken during the transition from youth to young adulthood, was strongly related to the individualization of people’s overall lifestyles and to their current life-stages (Roberts and Brodie, 1992). Team games, for example, were popular until the end of statutory schooling when participation in these activities became no longer organizationally convenient. Many more adults who remained in sport instead began to undertake more flexible, partner and individually-orientated sports (e.g. squash and badminton) and ‘lifestyle activities’ (e.g. swimming and multi-gym) that could be accommodated within broader changes in their leisure lifestyles and were more likely to survive the transition into young adulthood (Roberts and Brodie, 1992). In contrast to those whose participation lapsed altogether in conjunction with an increasing engagement in home-based

and health-threatening leisure, adults who experienced uninterrupted leisure-sport careers did so “largely as a result of experiences in sport during childhood and youth” (Roberts and Brodie, 1992: p. 41). More specifically, Roberts and Brodie (1992: p. 42) noted that the main characteristic that distinguished adults’ early sport socialization and continued participation “was the number of different sports that they had played regularly and in which they became proficient during childhood and youth”; that is to say, adults who engaged in one or more sports during every year from age 16 to 30 continued to play regularly up to at least age 35 and their entire leisure-sport careers were less vulnerable to disruption (Roberts and Brodie, 1992).

The development of what Roberts and Brodie (1992) termed ‘wide sporting repertoires’ during childhood and youth was strongly related to gender, with males being more likely to engage in leisure-sport, spend more time when doing so, to continue participating at a later age, and to have more continuous leisure-sport careers than women. Roberts and Brodie (1992: p. 60) also observed that social class “makes its most decisive impact on sports participation during the critical life-stages of childhood, youth and young adulthood”, with those from the middle classes being more likely to continue participating during adulthood. Thus, unless leisure-sport had been adopted and survived the major life phases preceding adulthood, then adults were unlikely to restructure their leisure to accommodate, or revive, their participation, and “the greater the number of life events that individuals experienced ... the greater their likelihood of increasing their participation in non-sporting leisure” (Roberts and Brodie, 1992: p. 69; original emphasis).

In a more recent study of 3,080 adults (aged 18+) in Ireland, Lunn (2010) argued that life-course changes in participation can be represented by the ‘sports hill’, where there is an identifiable kink in participation at age 11 that reaches a peak at age 15, before falling off sharply during the late teenage years, followed by a “decline throughout adulthood which is steeper in earlier adulthood and shallower in middle age” (Lunn, 2010: p. 713). In this regard, Lunn (2010: p. 714) suggested that “participation as a child and as a young adult appears to be strongly related to transitions into and out of educational institutions”, with transitions into and out of participation occurring more steadily after age 20. The changes in adults’ participation also varied according to the kinds of sports undertaken, with team sports accounting for the peak in participation and then the steep decline observed at age 15, while engagement in individual activities did not peak until age 20 and declined far more gradually (Lunn, 2010). Sex-related differences in adults’ leisure-sport careers were also evident, with females being more likely than males to take up team sports later, towards the beginning of secondary school, before quickly dropping out again by the end of compulsory schooling. These differences in participation were much narrower for individual activities, which were

undertaken by substantial numbers of males and females who were much less likely to drop out of these activities than more team-oriented sports. These sex-related inequalities in participation varied over the life-course, however, “widening in young adulthood, narrowing in the 30s, then widening again” (Lunn, 2010: p. 714) with age. The impact of social class (as measured by educational attainment separately, and when combined with income) was also significant; those who had higher educational attainment and income reported much higher participation rates during late adolescence, especially for individual activities, and were more likely to be active during adulthood than those lower down the social ladder (Lunn, 2010). For Lunn (2010: p. 717), educational attainment is thus “a particularly strong and enduring determinant of participation” and “transitions in participation between childhood and adulthood are likely to be important” (Lunn, 2010: p. 712) in understanding the foundations of adults’ future sporting engagement.

The relationship between social class, educational transitions, and leisure-sport participation is particularly notable, since “those most likely to participate in sport are from the higher socio-economic groups and have stayed in education after the minimum school-leaving age” (Coalter, 2007: p. 48), a pattern that is evident in many countries (Coalter, 2013; Green, 2010; van Bottenburg et al., 2005; van Tuycokom and Scheerder, 2010). Existing data also indicate that the longer a young person (especially young women and those from higher up the social hierarchy) stays in full-time education the more likely they are to engage in leisure-sport and the less likely they are to drop out in the future (Coalter, 2013; Coalter et al., 1995). As Coalter (2013: p. 12) has noted, this is typically related to the tendency for those in full-time education to:

... have free time, be provided with accessible opportunities for free or highly subsidized participation in a wide range of sports and mix with peers who are sports participants. This longer period of ‘independence’ permits the development of a longer term commitment to participation as a lifestyle choice and the willingness and ability to protect it in the face of subsequent work and relationship demands.

Although social class and length of time spent in education are thought to make an independent difference to participation rates and the construction of leisure-sport careers, the extent to which they do so may “depend on predispositions that have been formed earlier in life, and the standard predisposition within a sociodemographic group will explain the rate change — whether overall this is upwards or downwards” (Birchwood, Roberts and Pollock, 2008: p. 284). Indeed, in a study of the leisure-sport careers of 31–37-year-olds in the three South Caucasus countries, Birchwood et al. (2008: p. 291) have argued that the higher rates of leisure-sport participation among university students and graduates in their sample prior to entering university could not be attributed

to a “higher education effect”. Instead, since higher education graduates had higher rates of participation compared to non-university students before they enrolled at university, the length of time spent in education (at least at university) could not adequately explain the observed differences in leisure-sport participation. It was the cultural dimensions of family environments which were identified as being the crucial source of young adults’ predispositions to take part in leisure-sport, and which helped sustain the unequal propensities to participate over the life course. These predispositions, they argued, were relatively fixed by age 16, were relatively independent of the social class of families, and were largely “a product of childhood socialization in the family” (Birchwood et al., 2008: p. 293). Thus, even though more generous university sports provisions may generate independent effects on rates of participation in western societies, this is only likely to be observed among students who are appropriately predisposed to do so (Birchwood et al., 2008).

Evans and Davies (2010: p. 768–9) have similarly noted that, upon leaving compulsory schooling, there are few alterations in “social patterns and inequalities and the predispositions for sport amongst individuals and populations” in their leisure time, which as we shall explain below, remain heavily class-based and linked in complex ways to other processes of social reproduction associated with education and the cultural dimensions of family life (Evans and Davies, 2010). We shall examine some of the roots of these predispositions — family leisure and childhood sport socialization — in more detail below.

Family leisure and childhood leisure-sport participation

After over 40 years of leisure studies research, it is now well established that the home and family are crucial sites for leisure and that leisure plays an important role in family life (Green, 2010; Kay, 2009a, b; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975; Roberts, 2006). This was expressed particularly clearly by Rapoport and Rapoport (1975) in their classic study, *Leisure and the Family Life-Cycle*, which revealed that together with ‘work’ and ‘family’, ‘leisure’ was one of the major ways in which the lives of family members were individually and collectively constructed in socially patterned ways, particularly in relation to gender and social class. In their more recent study of 31 Canadian families, Shaw and Dawson (2001: p. 228) argued that “family leisure should be seen as a form of purposive leisure, which is planned, facilitated, and executed by parents in order to achieve particular short- and long-term goals”. These goals, they suggested, generally fall into two main categories: (i) the improvement of family functioning, positive interaction (emotionally and psychologically) and communication among family members to enhance family cohesion based on a strong sense of family unity; and (ii) the use of family leisure to instil among children desired moral values and behaviours (such as the

adoption of healthy lifestyles) that would prepare them for their lives as adults (Shaw and Dawson, 2001). In this regard, Shaw and Dawson (2001) claimed that parents often purposively use family leisure as a means of fulfilling their parental obligations by engaging in, and often organizing, physically active pursuits to benefit their children (especially in health and fitness terms), rather than themselves (see also Harrington, 2009; Kay, 2009a; Shaw, 2008).

Useful though the concept of purposive leisure is in identifying the "complex gender and generational relationships that inform 'family leisure'" (Harrington, 2009: p. 54) and the goals parents set to meet their children's needs, Harrington (2009: p. 71) has claimed "it does not take into consideration the gendered identities and leisure repertoires that mothers and fathers bring to family leisure practices". Furthermore, she adds that purposive leisure "is a uniform concept that does not account for how family leisure may be mediated by class, ethnicity and other cultural processes" (Harrington, 2006: p. 426) and thus underplays the significance of social contexts and relationships in structuring the use of leisure among families. Other studies have, however, sought to provide a more complex and nuanced understanding of family leisure and the differential (often gendered) impacts that engaging in activities such as sport can have on the experiences of mothers (e.g. Thompson, 1999) and fathers (e.g. Harrington, 2006, 2009; Kay, 2009a) as they engage in the process of parenting through leisure. For example, in a study of the ways in which men used football as a means of fathering their children, Kay (2009a: p. 106) noted that, among other things, football provided fathers with "one strategy for involvement with their sons by spending time with them, collaborating in their activities, and experiencing emotional closeness through shared experience and enjoyment". Those fathers who did not necessarily participate in football nevertheless felt obliged to support their sons' participation in the sport, even if this simply meant 'being there' to watch them (Kay, 2009a).

The importance some fathers often attach to 'being there' for their children in sporting settings was reinforced in a study of Australian fathers, which revealed that as well as passing on intergenerational experiences of sport and family life, children's involvement in sport:

... not only gives fathers interests in common with their children, and ways for fathers and children to bond together, but it also provides concrete ways of supporting children in their activities, and occasions for private and meaningful conversation. (Harrington, 2009: p. 66)

As Kay (2009b: p. 2) has noted, leisure often "features more prominently in fathering than in mothering, and sport ... has a special significance as a form of activity in which fathers have traditionally nurtured relationships with their children". Mothers do indeed play an important role in supporting

children's sporting experiences through leisure-based parenting, but studies have consistently revealed that they often do so in different ways to fathers. In one study of women's participation in tennis, Thompson (1999) claimed that many mothers undertook largely domestic and stereotypically feminine duties (e.g. providing transport and washing clothes), rather than taking a direct part in the organization and provision of sporting events since this was largely undertaken by men. Shaw (2008) has also claimed that the unequal power relations which often characterize the different roles mothers perform in family leisure, including their children's leisure-sport participation, is often more evident in the distribution of the work associated with these activities rather than whether they are actively involved at all. In particular, she argues that much of the 'hidden' work of family leisure (e.g. planning, scheduling, and organizing of leisure) "falls primarily to women" (Shaw, 2008: p. 699) and "compounds the heavy workload experienced by many mothers, adding to their other family and household responsibilities, and to the paid work responsibilities of employed mothers" (Shaw, 2008: p. 697).

The frequently gendered roles performed by fathers and mothers in family leisure and their children's leisure-sport participation cannot, however, be adequately understood in isolation from the increasing growth and diversity of 'non-traditional' family forms (for a review, see Kay, 2000, 2009b), and from the individual and collective impacts of other forms of social inequality, especially social class. Dagkas and Stathi (2007), for example, have noted that the higher rates of overall leisure-sport participation and greater number of activities undertaken by 16-year-olds living in more middle-class, often two-parent, families in their study was supported by a range of class-related practices. These included the participants' ability to take advantage of the greater financial and transport assistance available to them in their familial networks, and their greater involvement in whole family-centred activities at weekends intended to enhance their sporting tastes and habits (Dagkas and Stathi, 2007). Those from single-parent, typically lower social class, families had limited experiences of leisure-sport, received little, if any, financial support and encouragement from parents, and were more likely to perform caring roles for siblings and adopt largely sedentary leisure lifestyles (Dagkas and Stathi, 2007).

In seeking to provide a more nuanced analysis of the differential contribution made by parents within various family structures in relation to their children's leisure-sport socialization, Quarmby and Dagkas (2010) noted that participation among the 11-14-year-olds in their study was initially encouraged by all mothers and fathers, but the amount and type of encouragement varied across family structures, with children from intact families being more likely to receive parental encouragement and assistance (e.g. with transport and financial commitments) to support their participation. Both parents from intact couple families were also

more likely to transmit sporting dispositions and choices by encouraging their offspring to engage in joint family-based physical activities (Quarmby and Dagkas, 2010). This stood in marked contrast to the leisure activities of mothers in the three single-parent families in the study who rarely reinforced their own early interest in physical activity through joint family leisure activities. Instead, these mothers typically engaged with their children in more sedentary activities (such as TV viewing) that were perceived to be easier to accommodate alongside other parental responsibilities (e.g. caring for siblings) and which posed fewer burdens on their low incomes (Quarmby and Dagkas, 2010). These findings were reinforced in a study by Quarmby, Dagkas and Bridge (2011) who noted that children in intact couple families (and some step-families), especially boys, spent more time participating in activities such as swimming and cycling, often with one or both of their parents, than their peers who lived in a single-parent family. They also noted that children from single-parent families spent more time participating in family-based sedentary activities during the week and the weekend, while the possibility of engaging in leisure-sport was further limited by the time many children spent travelling to see their other biological parent (often their father) who sometimes did not live nearby (Quarmby et al., 2011).

Although it has become somewhat unfashionable to make too much of the impact of social class in structuring leisure-sport participation and other aspects of social life, the findings of studies such as Coalter (2013) and Evans and Bairner (2012) indicate a point which is of considerable importance: many kinds of class-related advantages that first emerge during childhood impact variously on leisure-sport participation during this and subsequent life-stages. Evans and Bairner (2012) have similarly emphasized that many of the class-based resources associated with participation in sport and other social activities are, to a large degree, acquired and reproduced in the context of family life and through class-based parenting practices. In particular, they argue that more middle-class families are often better able to invest their offspring with different kinds of symbolically significant opportunities, abilities, and identities through the cultural transmission of sporting dispositions (Evans and Bairner, 2012). Growing-up in more middle-class families is thus more likely to expose children and young people to efficacious social contexts in which they are socialized intensely, extensively, and are likely to become more physically literate (Evans and Bairner, 2012) as a consequence of their parents' engagement in what Evans and Davies (2010: p. 771) have described as the "increasing amounts of the 'work of learning' ... [that] are and have to be done outside school, in and around the home, as part of ... the 'corporealisation of childhood'". Family leisure should therefore be properly regarded as an important context in which socially valuable stocks of economic, physical, social and cultural capitals are often transmitted between family members within

their particular social milieu. Indeed, for reasons explained next, it is these networks of relationships and social contexts that provide the vital preconditions under which differential processes of childhood sport socialization occur, and the experiences of them, we will argue, often form the foundation upon which the construction of future unequal leisure-sport participation rates and careers are based.

Childhood sport socialization and leisure-sport careers

As part of a broader study that injected a longitudinal, biographical dimension into the study of the leisure-sport careers of nineteen 30–35-year-olds living in north-west England, we examined some of the key features of childhood sport socialization that typically precede high levels of leisure-sport participation in adulthood (Haycock and Smith, 2012). We were particularly interested in exploring the relationships between childhood sport socialization and adult leisure-sport participation *per se*, rather than absolute levels of participation, among our interviewees. All of the participants were self-defined as 'White British', came from families headed by heterosexual parents, and since the majority had lived in intact, mainly nuclear, families with one or more siblings when young, the sample was unrepresentative of other family types that are increasingly common in Britain (see Haycock and Smith, 2012).

Since the majority of our respondents' parents had previously participated in leisure-sport at some point throughout the life course, whether parents themselves were active sports participants could not adequately explain the variations in frequency of leisure-sport participation between the different groups. The clearest differences lay instead in the participants' experiences of childhood sport socialization. In particular, our evidence suggested that the extent to which respondents were invested with different experiences of sport socialization by their parents was influenced by financial and transport constraints, whether parents had themselves participated in sport, and the extent of parental encouragement (Haycock and Smith, 2012). Those with the highest levels (four times or more) of current weekly participation tended to have two sports active parents who encouraged them to participate in leisure-sport, typically for enjoyment and the 'love' of sport, and who experienced fewer financial and transport constraints than other parents. These respondents were also more likely to have inherited sporting habituses and values from both parents who were in turn more able, and likely, to purposively invest (e.g. emotionally, financially, culturally) their offspring with different resources and kinds of 'ability' that formed the basis of their predispositions towards leisure-sport participation during childhood (Evans and Davies 2010; Evans and Bairner 2012; Haycock and Smith, 2012). In this regard, we concluded that childhood and youth was for the most frequent participants a particularly important and impressionable life-stage in

which their sporting habits and predispositions towards more frequent leisure-sport participation in young adulthood first became deeply embedded and internalized in their emerging habituses, or personality structures (Haycock and Smith 2012). While significant for the construction of all our respondents' sporting habituses, leisure-sport participation had become part of the frequent participants' "second nature", or "embodied social learning" (Elias, 2000, p. 368), which developed within the historically produced and reproduced relational networks of which they were a part, and which stretched across generations (Bennett *et al.*, 2010; Bourdieu, 1984; Elias, 2000).

The significance of our respondents' historically produced networks of relationships for their present-day participation was also evident in the comments recalled by the less frequent participants in our sample. These groups appeared locked into childhood familial networks where leisure-sport participation was neither highly valued, nor normalized to a large extent, compared to other leisure activities favoured by their parents. In this regard, the less frequent participants were constrained when young to engage in largely non-active family-based cultural practices that did not appear conducive to developing the kinds of sporting habituses possessed by their more active counterparts (Haycock and Smith, 2012). This was reinforced by the tendency for *either* their mother or father to adopt a dominant role in relation to their childhood sports socialization. For many of the less frequently active women, it was their mothers who played the major role in planning and organizing their early engagement in leisure-sport, even though they were not always directly involved as active sports participants alongside their offspring. These mothers — who had themselves been active, to varying degrees, when young — played an important role in encouraging some respondents' sporting experiences by providing much of the 'hidden' work of family leisure (Harrington, 2009; Shaw, 2008), and spent disproportionate amounts of time on their daughters' initial engagement in sport and other leisure activities than their fathers. For other respondents, however, fathers (the majority of whom had themselves continued participating until at least their mid-twenties) played a greater role in childhood socialization and used sport as a means of engaging in shared leisure experiences and bonding with their children (Harrington, 2006, 2009; Kay, 2009a; Shaw, 2008).

On the basis of these findings, we tentatively suggested that although we cannot conclude that these features of child sport socialization (nearly) always leads to higher levels of adulthood leisure-sport participation, without this kind of family background higher rates of future adult participation are likely to be rare (Haycock and Smith, 2012). This is not to suggest that the features of childhood socialization exhibited by our most frequent sport participants are sufficient explanations of well-known changes in levels of leisure-sport participation (typically downwards) post-

childhood, or of generational shifts in participation (Green, 2010; Lunn, 2010; Roberts and Brodie, 1992; van Bottenburg *et al.*, 2005). Rather, it might be hypothesized that whilst they may not be sufficient conditions for promoting high levels of present-day participation, each of the identified features of childhood sport socialization appeared to facilitate the development of a broader repertoire of sports skills, interests, and predispositions that helped broaden our participants' childhood sporting biographies and sustained their leisure-sport careers into young adulthood (Haycock and Smith, 2012). Although influenced by key life events and transitions (see Haycock and Smith, 2011), the construction of wider sporting repertoires and differential experiences of childhood sport socialization disproportionately advantaged the more frequent participants (often from more privileged backgrounds), and preceded higher levels of adult leisure-sport participation (Birchwood *et al.*, 2008; Haycock and Smith, 2012). In this regard, our data appeared to confirm the observation that:

... all the major, recognized differences in adult rates of sports participation between sociodemographic groups are generated during childhood, via cultures that are transmitted through families, and that post-childhood experiences play a relatively minor direct part in generating these differences. (Birchwood *et al.*, 2008: p. 291)

Finally, our evidence suggested that parenthood, the links between family-based leisure networks and the construction of wide sporting repertoires, and the extent to which leisure-sport was a feature of the respondents' childhood socialization, all had "direct effects on sports participation" (Birchwood *et al.*, 2008: p. 288). It was equally apparent, however, that whilst many of the predispositions for high levels of leisure-sport participation in adulthood appeared to be relatively fixed by age 16, family-based experiences of childhood socialization "was still making a difference, that is, having additional effects" (Birchwood *et al.*, 2008: p. 292) on our respondents' present-day participation levels.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have sought to examine the significance of some key features of childhood sport socialization that appear to precede high levels of adult leisure-sport participation, and which help develop a more adequate understanding of inequalities in present-day participation rates. These features, we suggested, are typically acquired to a large extent via the socialization practices of family leisure during childhood that help construct the deep-seated sporting predispositions and habits which appear to generate unequal predispositions towards leisure-sport participation in adulthood. Accordingly, the extent to which traditional constraints such as life-transitions impact on participation, and the policy solutions commonly used to mediate their effects,

may depend on the degree to which sporting predispositions and habits have been formed earlier in life and which are relatively fixed by age 16. These predispositions are, in turn, associated in many complex ways with broader forms of social inequality (particularly social class) that together make “the achievement of substantially higher sports participation rates ... well beyond the control of sports policy” (Coalter, 2013: p. 18). As Coalter (2013: p. 18) has noted, however: “if this is true then we are also left with the interesting question as to why, with such high levels of inequality, the UK has what could be regarded as a relatively high level of sports participation”. If the analysis presented in this chapter has any merit, then a consideration of the kinds of childhood sports socialization experienced by present-day participants may be a useful place to start exploring this question.

Notes

- ¹ In this chapter, ‘leisure-sport’ is used as a catch-all term intended to incorporate less competitive physical activities of the kind associated with the term ‘lifestyle sports’ (Coalter, 2007), as well as conventional sports, that are undertaken in spare time.

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