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Intergenerational opportunity – the impact of a community of women on encouraging physical activity

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Abstract

Though modern society is often criticised for promoting the selfish and the individual, the notion of community still exists. We remain informed by those around us and we continue to find or seek persons who represent behaviours, actions, values or beliefs that resonate within ourselves (Martin & Sugarman, 1999). This paper examines the impacts a community of women can have on encouraging others to participate in physical activity. Based on the results of evaluations of two festivals targeted at encouraging women's ongoing participation in physical activity, the results reveal that the women experienced anticipated benefits of health, social inclusion, fun and personal development, but they could also achieve a sense of recognition and relevance for their future engagement through observation of their peers and older women. Searching deeper, it was revealed that the specific sub-group of mothers similarly noted this benefit, but also demonstrated a motivational desire to engage in physical activity to act as positive living examples for their children. Combined, these results indicate that women continue to find reason to resist dominant stereotypical perceptions that exist within society and can find support and empowerment for themselves and their children through engagement in physical activity and the examples of other women.

Keywords: *role modeling, physical activity, women*

* * *

Introduction: author reflective notes

I guess I never really needed to think about women's rights or opportunities. My life has been dominated by women role models who actively engage in many walks of life. While my mother stayed at home and cared for the children, my father worked long hours and was really only a part of my life at the weekends. My world was a woman's world in the broadest possible sense. I had an older sister who was the one who challenged perceptions of what a 'girl' should be. She was nine years older and in many ways her struggles were not part of my childish world – I just reaped the benefits. My teachers at primary school were women, I learned music from a lady around the corner and my Sunday school teachers were female. Women were my world and they were doing all the things that were important to me. They were the ones who influenced my early life, who whispered in my ear that I could do anything, who showed me how to play the piano, to cook, who taught me how to read, to climb the fence and to turn somersaults. What else was there to life? I was busy, I was doing, I played, I got dirty. I contributed around the

home in the kitchen and in the yard. I learned to change washers from my mother, to put up scaffolding with my dad. I helped to paint, mix cement, cook, iron, trim trees, swing an axe and work the vacuum. Was there really a time when you couldn't do things because you were a girl? Thankfully that was not the reality of my life world. I was surrounded by women who sheltered me from a realisation that there were things that girls were not supposed to do and who had fought for my rights before I was consciously aware that such a struggle might be needed. In my privileged life world, I saw women doing many different things, I lived in a world of books where all things were possible, and I was always encouraged to try and strive.

It hasn't always been like that however, and perhaps, even for those women like myself who were given access to more opportunities, it still isn't quite as much that way as we would like to believe.

A case in time

It has been thirty years since the fight for women's rights was an active political and social struggle. At the forefront of this effort women not only fought for equal rights to be embedded in government policy, they struggled to gain entry to the multiple forums of modern life including the wider workplace. During this time women became more vocal. They established women's health networks, implemented women's studies within universities, wrote, agitated, wooed and convinced (for example, see Cole, 1995; Lupton, Short, & Whip, 1992). Since that time, the next generation of women has benefited. While equal pay is still somewhat of a misnomer, in many countries women do have the right to work past marriage, the life-space to make choices regarding their employment, they hold positions of power within boardrooms and in parliament, and are encouraged that they can 'do anything'.

While these advancements have been made, one wonders if it is enough. Though women are engaged in established and once heavily patriarchal institutions, do they hold real power? Do they have the freedom to act from the perspective of women's good, or just the ability to enter the fray as long as they reflect more masculine qualities? Scratch the surface of modern society and is there really an equal and balanced representation and understanding of the diverse and viable perspectives and desires of both men and women, or is there a tenuous peace which is held in place by political correctness and big brother policies?

Women are still fighting for their daughters to have a better world to live in than they had themselves. Women are still protecting, forging the way, and trying to offer a more generous and accessible world that their daughters may live in. We learn from our parents and our care givers regarding how we initially may interact with the world, what is right and what is wrong. We are inculcated into society through media and we are trained to fit within a disciplined world through school. But we still have the capacity to look outside these institutions, and mothers, other women and peers offer the opportunity not just to show us how to fit, but how to be more. Amongst the broad gamut of women in the world, we can find those who are like us, women we can identify with, women who are challenging the moulds, living their good life, fulfilling their dreams. Unless we get to see these women we are limited in our knowledge, confined to the immediate, and potentially restrained in our dreams.

Observing other women can prove difficult as modern Western social worlds do not particularly encourage the formation of supportive networks for women. Yet the connection of women, the power of women and the relationships of women at their very best are powerful forces for change, support and hope. This article reflects on the gift that women can offer to other women and girls. Based on the results of two studies of the experiences of women participating in targeted festivals encouraging women's participation in physical activity, the paper reports on participating women's desire not only to do something for themselves, but of their wish to offer positive and proactive role models for

their children. In addition it highlights the gift of hope and anticipation women can receive by being part of a community of women, watching, interacting and sharing with other women participants. The women who spoke of their desire to be role models for others were not super women; and those who found role models were not needy. These women were not warriors to the cause or radical in their approaches to life. They were neither sad nor angry. But they were women who saw the need and value of having a network of opportunity, who appreciated the chance to learn from other women and to be inspired, and who found a life-space to offer hope and prospect to other women and girls.

Women and physical activity

The circumstances surrounding women's participation in physical activity and leisure have been a source of investigation over the years. Viewed as a forum where women and girls have been considered at risk, there has been a range of literature examining the motivations, constraints, benefits and facilitators to women's physical activity. Although recently girls and women are acknowledged as being more physically active than in the past (for example, Bialeschki, 1999; Sport and Recreation New Zealand, 2003), there continue to be concerns regarding women's lower participation rates and realisations of the different conditions which are relevant for catering for diverse populations' physical activity needs (for example, Bauman, Bellew, Vita, Brown, & Owen, 2002; Henderson, 2003; Ransdell, Oakland, & Taylor, 2003; Wilcox, Castro, King, Housemann, & Brownson, 2000). Most directly in the case of women, this has included a focus on girls, older women, rural women, mothers and women with disabilities.

The current article focuses on the results of interviews with participants in two targeted physical recreation 'come and try' programmes for women. The Active Women's Festival is an annual four week event based in Christchurch, New Zealand and Real Adventure Women (RAW) is run over three, two monthly cycles each year in Brisbane, Australia. Aimed at all women who live in the regions, these events were evaluated to understand the effectiveness of the programmes in encouraging women's participation in physical recreation, and to explore women's experience of physical recreation in general. Analysis of the results revealed that the women experienced a range of motivations and benefits from their programme participations that were consistent with their physical recreation participation in general. In particular, and of relevance to the data presented here, the mothers spoke of their motivation to participate in physical recreation so they might be positive role models for their children, while other women acknowledged the benefit they received from observing and interacting with participating women who modeled behaviour, skills and abilities they could aspire to. For these women, role models were found in the 'come and try' activities they attended, and in the women's extended physical recreational lives. This paper reports on the positive, if unheralded, impact that women's communities of support can offer in modeling positive behavior back to a generation, and in encouraging ongoing and various participation forward as women observe others they can relate to, and anticipate their own engagement as they age and/or become less agile.

Role modeling

The importance and impact of role models has received mixed criticism over the years. For some, role modeling is seen as an ambiguous and poorly defined construct subject to various interpretations of impact and influence (Byrne, 1993; Jung, 1986). For others, role modeling is viewed as offering examples of important and attainable behaviours that others may identify and aspire toward (Australian Sports Commission, 1999; Gould, 2001). While part of the reason for this disparity lies in the nature of the research being conducted (the identification of role models versus the impact of role models), there are consistent findings that are important to note. For example, it has been demonstrated that same-sex role models have a more positive impact than

other-sex role models (for example, Ochman, 1996), that women rate personally known role models as more influential than famous or elite examples (Lenskyj, 1994; Wohlford, Lochman, & Barry, 2004), and that people respond best to those who are more like themselves (Hamann & Walker, 1993). Specifically in the case of women, Wohlford, Lochman and Barry's (2004) study of role model choice and self-esteem, concluded that women are more likely to rate personally known role models as being more influential than men, and that they consider role model relationships to be meaningful to personal and professional development.

These theoretical understandings are relevant not only for representing the example that role models can play in influencing behavior, but in locating those examples in the specific circumstance of women. Across disciplines, findings repeatedly reveal that women are particularly likely to be influenced by their mothers and female friends (Basow & Howe, 1980; Looker & Magee, 2000) and to perform with greater success when their role models are women (Tidball, 1989). Within leisure, it has also been acknowledged that parents, siblings, peers and schoolteachers are major socialising influences on leisure choices, values and attitudes (Gilbert, 2001; Horna, 1994) and that mothers' attitudes and behaviours can significantly influence their daughters' attitudes to leisure (Shannon, 2003). While these impacts are also occurring within the broader socialisation processes of media, access, education, race and social status for example (Horna, 1994), there is a wealth of data that supports the impact of modeled behavior on our personal and professional development.

Of course, with influence comes responsibility and the potential to model behaviours and attitudes that are not desirable. In addition, the use of inappropriate role models may act as disincentive or prove to be burdensome, not uplifting. For example, women themselves have been blamed for a lack of female role models (Byrne, 1993), role modeling has been seen as reinforcing sex-typical expectations (Saltiel, 1985), and role models have variously been found to be potentially ineffective as motivational tools. This has particularly been linked to approaches where highly successful sports women have been utilised as models of participation for women and girls and been found to represent values and motivations not necessarily shared by those who are being encouraged to participate (Lenskyj, 1994). Rather, the individual who is personally known, similar, and exhibits like traits and achievements is more prone to be a meaningful role model, as these persons share characteristics that can be readily identified with, and offer accessible potential.

Methods

The data reported in this paper represent findings from evaluations of two local area initiatives to encourage women to trial different types of physical recreation. As part of those evaluations, twenty women participants from each programme were interviewed to better understand their experiences of the 'come and try' festivals. The results reported here reflect one of the shared, common meanings that emerged from analysis of these conversations, namely the inter-generational gift of role modeling.

The interviews with the women took place following their participation in the 2001 RAW program instigated by the Brisbane City Council in Queensland, Australia; and the 2004 Active Women's Festival run by Sport Canterbury, a regional sports trust based in Christchurch, New Zealand. Each programme was focused on creating opportunities for women to participate in physical activity by offering diverse, supported, and low cost events that were suitable for ongoing participation (Brisbane City Council, 2000; Sport Canterbury, 2003). These events attracted hundreds of women who were surveyed for their satisfaction with the activities provided, the events' organisation and the activity leadership. From these pools, 20 women were interviewed from each programme (n=40) who were both willing to be interviewed and had the time available to speak to the researchers.

Semi-structured interview questions were designed to capture the women's experiences

of the festivals, asking women to explain the reasons why they chose to be involved; the long and short term outcomes they felt they achieved as a result of their participation; the sorts of circumstances that may have constrained their participation; and the ways they negotiated these potential limitations. In addition, data was gathered on the women's life stories in an effort to contextualise the choices they made within the circumstances of their lives. This included questions on their access and interest in physical recreation in the past, their socio-demographic backgrounds (age, marital status, living arrangements, education, ethnicity, number of children etc) and their physical recreation intentions for the future.

While a suite of interview questions was asked of each woman, the questions were general and used to gauge the women's experience of the activities they had done. Based on the women's responses, probing questions were then used to better understand the women's meanings and to explore how they understood their own lives, opportunities and choices. For example, all women were asked to explain their reasons for attending the festival, but probing questions included asking individuals to explain what they meant by "doing something for me" and/or to explain their reasons in relation to other times in their lives.

The women interviewed were identified through initial surveys. A component of these asked the women if they would be happy to provide further information regarding their experiences and to participate in an interview that would take at least one additional hour of their time. For each event, approximately one third of the women who returned surveys indicated they would be happy to be interviewed. Initially 30 women from each programme were contacted to follow through on this request. These women were selected based on their accessibility to the interviewer, their capacity to represent the socio-cultural diversity of women who had participated, and who had done a range of the activities available. While efforts were made to gauge some representativeness from the women interviewed, it was also the intention to speak to women who were rarely evident in event participation but were a desired target group. Thus women who were mothers, older, worked shifts or were not white and middle class, were also sought. For each festival the actual number of women who could find the time to be interviewed reduced the groups to 20.

Each woman was interviewed in a quiet location of her choice (predominantly their home or the author's hotel). The interviews lasted from 45 to 80 minutes, were audio tape recorded with the women's permission and then transcribed verbatim to capture the women's intonation, pauses and detailed thoughts. Following this the transcripts were analysed one at a time through a process of coding sentences, paragraphs and phrases to capture the themes and experiences of the interviewees. This process involved doing a number of coding sweeps of each transcript before the coded phrases were reduced to a series of themes and sub-themes that were then compared across interviewees (Neuman, 1997; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The results presented in this paper do not represent the detail that was gathered. Rather the information presented reflects a common sub-theme that emerged from the women's motivations and benefits of participation, that of role-modeling.

The researcher's interpretation of the results was confirmed in a number of ways. As the interviews progressed women were asked to clarify their meanings to reduce interviewer assumptions and the interviewer endeavoured to mirror the women's statements to avoid ambiguity of intent. During the analysis, transcripts were reviewed by more than one person. Thus there was the chance to check for spurious assumptions and to ascertain if the meaning one inferred was shared by another (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Thirdly, once the data was analysed, the conclusions were shared with interviewees who were happy to give more of their time, and with the organising co-coordinator of each festival. As the co-coordinators were both women and closely involved with the

participants, their impressions and sense of resonance were seen to be informative to the analysis process. No disconfirming suggestions were made at this time with the women acknowledging that the findings resonated with their own stories or their understandings of the experience.

Results: give back, anticipate forward

The women participants were motivated by aspects of role modeling as they a) strove to offer positive examples to their daughters and sons; and b) benefited from access to women who acted as role models for them. Though the motivational aspect of role modeling was repeatedly expressed by the mothers in the group, the benefit of observing women who offered accessible and recognisable behaviours for future leisure was broadly acknowledged across the participants. Combined, these represented the dual relationship of role model example that was part of the women's experience. For example, for the mothers there was an intentional desire to offer positive messages to their daughters about their life potential and right to participate in whatever they chose, and for their sons, a desire to show that mothers and women were important and deserved time for self. Cumulatively, many of the mothers were deliberately endeavouring to offer positive examples for their children in terms of attitude (to physical recreation and to women) and actively caring for health.

More accidentally, the women also found that they personally benefited from observing and interacting with other women who modeled actions, abilities and attitudes that represented an optimistic approach to activity and to ageing. Immersed in a women's only programme open to women of all ages, the participants commented on their appreciation of identifying the potential for their own future to include active participation in life and the right to continue to fulfill their desires. Drawing on women role models, they found in the programmes evaluated and in other aspects of their lives, this gift of hope and future potential which was viewed as a meaningful bonus to their experience.

Each of these role modeling examples are described below using the women's own words. Brief demographic details are offered for each woman to locate the life contexts to their experiences, and assumed names are used to protect the women's anonymity.

Give back: mothers role modeling for children

For the women who were mothers, role modeling for their children emerged as a motivating factor in their decisions to participate in physical recreation. While they also commented heavily on personal and functional motivations that the 'come and try' programmes offered, there was a notable motivational desire to be positive role models for their children. In their conversations they spoke of wanting to be fit enough to be able to do things with their children, of their wish to encourage their children to life-long activity and of their aspiration to show their children that they had the capacity to do anything they chose. These comments emerged from women who were still caring for dependent children, but were also seen in women with older, independent children who recognised the impact their own behaviours continued to play in their children's attitudes and approaches to life.

Lily for example, was a 52 year old mother of two sons aged in their early 20s. She had previously suffered a knee injury that limited her participation in physical activity but was motivated to continue to try new and personally challenging activities to "be able to show my boys that you can still keep trying". Having tried abseiling in the Active Women's Festival in the previous year she knew that one of her sons had reflected on her willingness to overcome her fear of heights. In that knowledge he found inspiration to push his own boundaries. As Lily pointed out,

> he thought, 'Well mum went abseiling and she was scared, why can't I try swing dancing?' I thought, 'Good on him'. I want to continue pushing myself and keeping healthy, not only for me, but so my boys continue to have positive messages from me.

Similarly Vera, a 47 year old mother of two whose children attended university commented on her desire to model to her children the possibilities of life:

> I know that it's important for the children to feel comfortable trying things. For me, it's always been important to show that even though they might be afraid, they can at least reflect, 'Well, if mum can do it, I can'.

More commonly the women with dependent children noted their desire to be role models for their children. Louanne, 39 and a mother of two, participated in physical recreation "to keep myself fit", to build and maintain her "long term health" and to also "be a good role model for my kids". Forty two year old Lucy explained similar understandings. Also a mother of two dependent children she made effort to include her children in physical recreation and reflected that her own engagement was at times guided by her future hopes for her children more than for herself. As she explained:

> Sometimes I think why am I doing this? But I want my children to have opportunities and hopefully, by me doing and taking them, that will set them on the path of continuing to do activities for life.

The similarity of comments that reflected this motivation can be readily identified in the women's statements of intent. Poppy, a 39 year old part-time worker and mother of four children under the age of five, consistently commented on her desire to "encourage my kids to do. I am always looking at ways of encouraging them to be active, to try something". Her desire was to not only "be well for me, for the family and to be active so I can age well", but to "be a natural role model. Not be the best of everything, but to let the kids know it's okay to try." Ruth, a mother of three pre-teens expressed similar sentiments but particularly focused her motivation to being a role model for her daughter. In a marriage dominated by her husband, Ruth desired to let her nine year old daughter see a positive and strong female role model. As she explained, "I also like to see myself as a role model for my daughter. That she can see that women are important and that mums do an important job and are allowed to do things." This impression was also valid for all her children:

> Hopefully I always think that I can inspire them. Maybe not for now, but in ten years time they'll look back and think, mum used to do this stuff, you know, I can do it … That's why I do this. Not just to prove to myself, but also for them, so they might see when they're faced with a challenge that their mum does things like that and she survived.

Thus the mothers of the study were being role models for their children to encourage them to take opportunities that emerged, to be active in caring for their own health, and to demonstrate that women are important and have the right to access physical recreation and personal enjoyment. These women wanted to "raise my daughter to go out and do these things, to be physically active and to be outdoors" (Tamara, 38, mother of one). They wanted to let their daughters realise "there are some girls out there who are into traditionally 'guy' sports like downhill biking" (Amy, 42), and they desired to let their sons realise the value of women. As Nicole, a mother of three sons pointed out,

> I want my kids to know that they can try and that women are important. Everyone has the right to have time for themselves and if my boys see me doing, then they will have better appreciation for other women.

The mothers' underlying reasons for role modeling differed in terms of the nature of the impact sought and the focus of their attention (sons, daughters, children), but they shared similar desires not only to be healthy and active so they could have the energy to play with their children, but to offer a positive example of women, of their capacity to push their own boundaries and of the need for valuing others. In physical recreation the women believed they would personally be better able to "age well". In addition how-

ever, they also believed that the experience offered more than personal gain, it provided meaningful and strong messages to their children of their own potential behaviours, opportunities and values.

Anticipate forward: observing and recognising future possibilities

While role modeling for younger generations was expressed by mothers, there was greater diversity in the demographic profile of women who indicated the learnings, hope and support they received from observing other women participating in physical recreation. For a number of the women in their 50s and 60s, there was a conscious awareness of the optimism they gained from participating with able women who were older than themselves. Noting that some of the events they chose to participate in (including those outside of the come and try festivals) included women who were in their 70s and 80s who experienced some form of physical disability, they were impressed by the apparent agility and attitude of older women to continue to be active. For example Win, a 51 year old single woman who had varyingly suffered from physical ailments and "weight issues", realised that she gained inspiration and personal hope from participating with women who represented a broad gamut of ages and abilities:

> It was good having a mix of ages and there were a couple of really inspiring women… one was 84 and she, she had a grandpa stick. I think she'd had a hip replacement. Another one was 78 and she had something done to her spine. Just absolutely up with everything. Total quality, fit, active...

Similarly Julie, a 62 year old recently retired nurse commented on a cycling tour she had participated in. Recognising that while some of the other women struggled with walking, their bicycles acted as an equalising force and they continued to vigorously ride as they aged. As she commented,

> I think 78 was the oldest, the next one was 71 and she had bilateral hip replacements over 8 years ago I think. She was tough. She was a wonderful woman who'd been a dairy farmer and she was just such fun.

For Win and Julie, not only were they mentally impressed with these older women, they were inspired. As Win commented, she had a desire to be equally as able and active knowing in herself that "I want to be like that", while Julie noted the women "were so inspirational, they made me think. You just start to think, wow, there is just so much out there to do."

While this type of reaction was more predominant with women over the age of 50, it was also seen in the younger women. Ruth, a 39 year old mother of three, realised that the women she played social tennis with were role models for her. Distinctly older ("I think the next youngest to me is turning 60") and very able, she described the group not only as "incredibly agile" but noted that "they're good inspiration. Every now and then I stop and realise that I have things to look forward to and my physical life does not need to stop once I turn 45 or 50 or whatever."

While some of the women who modeled physical behaviour came from fellow participants, they also could be found among the instructors. Rowing for example was often led by older women and men who were in their 50s and 60s and were keen regular club members. Devoted, supportive and competent, these individuals displayed ability and dedication that was encouraging to other women. Val, a 38 year old full-time employee realised "that it is possible to just keep on doing and to take up things later in life. I am looking forward to retiring to try these new things." Observing the other women participants, Katie also realised the potential that life could offer at all stages of the life course. At 37, Katie was a mother of two young children who worked part-time. She realised that through the RAW programme she had been

> …immersed in a forum where women were doing for themselves and were having a go. It didn't matter what your skills were, there was a chance to try and participate. You could be 66, as a woman I did archery with was, or you could be 16, but you could still

> keep doing. I think that's great and it was a wonderful reminder for me personally… I sometimes feel old now! There were women who had lived much more or evidently harder than me, but they were thriving. I think we all need to remember that … I hope I do.

Though older women were recognised as offering encouraging influence, women also found positive incentive from those closer in age who displayed similar characteristics to themselves such as age, marital status, employment or number of children. From these women there was the chance to observe latent aspects of themselves in the achievements of others. A number of women commented on the impact they experienced from these lateral relationships. Joan for example realised "there were women there my age who were struggling financially or with their health, but they were making the effort – so should I". Carol similarly believed the interaction with others like her gave her "a good kick. I have more opportunities than most, I need to use them. I intend to get out and do more to keep myself healthy and active. If these women can, why can't I?" Through the achievements and capacity of others the women found a mirror that offered them the chance to see their lived and unlived potential and the incentive to act for their future.

Able to look to the women beside them in their physical recreations, many commented not only on the benefits of participating with other women, but on the resultant hope for the future that they gained. Whether this was from observing other women in similar circumstances who were actively involved and living their physical recreation, or from watching women who were older overcoming the perceived barriers of age and injury, these women benefited with an optimistic anticipation of potential as they headed to their own futures.

Discussion

The implications of these findings are meaningful on a number of levels. Primarily it is evident that the women's experiences of the programmes they attended offered them the opportunity to engage in role modeling of positive behaviour and to be inspired by the women they observed. While the debate on the efficacy of role modeling continues (Byrne, 1993; Gould, 2001), the results of this study reinforce the potential of same-sex role models to provide a positive impact (Ochman, 1996) and affirm the understanding that, at least for women, role models are particularly effective when individuals can identify others who are more like themselves (Looker & Magee, 2000; Wohlford et al., 2004). While differences were evident amongst the women who were interviewed (for example,. varying employment, household make-up, stage of life), these women found resonance in their shared experiences as women (for instance, Pam: "It's not universal but there is a bond"), and anticipation of other potential in their physical activity as they acknowledged their futures as older women (such as Doris: "We all get old, it's just nice to see hopeful ways of living that"). Embedded within programmes enabling networks of support, and engaged in activities aimed specifically at women, the women who were interviewed found a life space in which to see themselves as role models both within and beyond the group. In addition, they gained access to motivational encouragement for their own futures through their interactions with other physically active women.

While the women in this study represent only a small group of individuals, their shared understandings describe a web of women's support that individuals could contribute to, and draw strength from. Tied to the other women participants through their recognition of similarity, yet also aware of the wider possibilities their physical recreation participation could imply, there was a handing down of lived example to the next generation and an identification of others who could be an example to self. Combined, the women experienced not only the benefits of recognising role models in others, but through their own actions, participation and involvement, their capacity to provide a supportive environment for others.

In this framework the intergenerational gift of role modeling was both an unencumbered present for the recipient and a form of resistance of dominant social messages. While women have gained much in the fight for the right to be heard, seen, and valued, the messages underlying these women's experiences of role modeling suggest that they continue to resist not only messages of the value and rights of women to personal time, care and enjoyment, but that they are also resisting prevalent images of ageing. Exploring these ideas further allows us to see not only the immediacy of the role modeling described, but some of the underlying influences that impact on women's desire to role model, and their appreciation of alternative role models in their own lives.

While Western understandings of gender and ageing are beginning to alter, it is apparent that there remain gendered categories of understanding that continue to dictate norms of conduct (Firat, 1994). As a result the dominance of masculinity still remains, gender continues to matter, and women's leisure and sport activities remain devalued compared to men's (McGinnis, Chun, & McQuillan, 2003). Recognising these patterns, some of the women in this study were intentional in their motivations to role model other understandings to their children. Seeking to help their sons to "value women", to demonstrate to their daughters that females could participate in "traditional 'guy' sports", and that women's free time could be used for personal value ("Mums do an important job and are allowed to do things"), the women strove to help their children perceive women's rightful access to diverse physical recreation. Though their active engagement may have been contextualised within the defining environment of their relationships with their children and husbands as they acknowledged focused motivation away from themselves (Gilligan, 1982; Kane, 1990), they also strove to portray active, empowered and physical images that normalised women's entitlement to physical recreation. This entitlement represented a desire to display women's right to participate in physical recreation, not just a feeling of deserving access to the privilege (Henderson, 1996).

Similarly, in the community of women participants the women also found individuals who challenged their expectations of ageing. While stereotypes of older adults have been seen to be multidimensional and include both positive and negative subtypes (Hummert, Garstka, Shaner, & Strahm, 1994), common perceptions tend to reflect older adults as frail, dependent and unlikely to participate in physical recreation (Bytheway, 1995; Spirduso, 1995; Wearing, 1995). Participating with a wide range of women, including those who were older, the women of this study were challenged in their own understandings of these stereotypes and began to appreciate the possibility of other ways of aging. Thus the messages they were given provided alternative impressions that encouraged positive change in their own perceptions of ageing ("I want to be like that") and new representations of the implications of growing older ("it was just inspirational to see older women still actively involved").

While the implications of the results demonstrate the potential of physical recreation for inspiring women, the findings are enhanced by the communal nature of the women's experiences. Participating with other women who were seen as similar and whose achievements were relevant to their own life situation, the women gained an empowering sense of value and entitlement as they observed women who could be meaningful role models. Though the benefit of learning from other women was serendipitous, there was evidence of the potential of physical recreation to give women confidence to challenge gendered stereotypes, to be a forum for them to challenge women's sense of entitlement to self-care, and to do so as active agents. Without having to be 'degendered' (Wheaton, 2000), the programmes offered women the chance to blur the lines of women's physical recreations, to be role models for their children, and to learn from other women who represented empowered examples of women's rights and potentials.

Conclusion

There are multiple layers to the intergenerational role modeling implied in the women's comments. Not only were women role modeling positive leisure behaviour and attitudes for their children, they were observing their peers and gaining inspiration, and they were building hope and good intentions for their futures. By offering circumstances where women can participate with their mothers or daughters, their neighbours, peers, sisters or friends, the potential exists for a wide range of examples to be represented for women to emulate, be influenced by, or to learn from. In life we are surrounded by socialising influences. The women of these studies demonstrated that not only were they informed in their choices by their need to care for their own health, to seek a new hobby or to try something new, they were also motivated by a desire to be active and positive role models for their children and/or were inspired by the women around them.

While the women were offered an opportunity to focus on themselves through their participation in women's only physical activity programmes, they continued to experience attachment to their families through the motivation of role modeling, and a sisterhood of women as they saw hope, anticipation, inspiration and an active future through their observation and interaction with other women. The implications of this finding for now are merely intuitive as the investigation of women's experience and the reality of role modeling demands further investigation with a wider group of women. It is evident, however, that the women allowed themselves to experience their physical recreation within a context of affiliation and attachment, aware of the women around them and, for some, acting from the impetus of representing not only their own needs, but the future of their children and particularly their daughters. Carol Gilligan (1982) noted that "women's sense of integrity appears to be entwined with an ethic of care, so that to see themselves as women is to see themselves in a relationship of connection" (p. 171). In 'come and try' programmes like RAW and the Active Women's Festival, women have the chance to identify not only with their connections back to their children and to endeavour to create for them positive and healthy choices, but to also find new relationships and connections with their own life paths as these evolve through change and shifting structures. Perhaps one of the greatest benefits of these types of events is not so much the access they provide to physical recreation, but the chance to build new relationships and realities that will take women into the future and embed models of opportunity and potential for the women of tomorrow.

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Youth Sport Coaches' Qualities for Successful Coaching

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Abstract

This study was conducted to identify the most important qualities that youth sport coaches need for successful coaching. It used the Delphi Technique among 67 of the 93 youth sport coaches from Daejon Sport Council in South Korea. In the first Delphi round, 52 items suggested by the coaches were divided into seven categories by a panel of professors: (a) characteristics and attitudes, 15 items, (b) abilities and skills, 9 items, (c) knowledge, 8 items, (d) education and experience, 4 items, (e) instructional methods, 9 items, (f) interpersonal relationships, 3 items, and (g) management, 4 items. In round two the 67 youth sports coaches rated the 52 qualities on a 7-point Likert scale. In the third and final round, the highest means for any single items were scored by enthusiasm, ability to motivate athletes, sports management, BA degree in exercise or sport, provide instruction without discrimination, establish open and harmonious relationships with youth's parents, and risk management. The results of this study lead to the conclusion that these items should be a major concern for youth sport coaches who wish to be successful on the job, and they should be aware of the need to modify or revamp their qualities accordingly.

Keywords: ***Coaches, Delphi Technique, Qualities, Youth Sports***

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I. Introduction

Since the Law on the Promotion of National Physical Education and Sport was enacted in 1973, each secondary school in South Korea has been required to have one or more athletic teams for the development of national sports. The policy, "Qualification for the Prominent Student-Athlete", introduced in 1973, has played as a major role in the development of school athletic programmes and national sport (Kim, 1992; Lee, 1996). As a result of this policy, sport programmes have become a very popular form of recreational activity for youths and the government has achieved its aim of developing highly skilled student-athletes and promoting national prestige (Hand, 1998; Kim, 1997).

However, many serious social problems regarding coaches' abilities and qualities have arisen as a result of this policy (Jang & Kim, 2003; Jung, 1993; Lee, 1996). Because most sport coaches possess only a specific sport skill, they are not usually prepared for all their duties and responsibilities (Jin, Cho, & An, 2003; Kim, 1997). With its increased awareness of the qualities needed for coaching in sports, the Ministry of Culture and Sport (MCS) developed a national coaching and instruction certification programme in 1986. Yet many sport coaches, even if certificated, still show poor demonstration and teaching

skills, poor safety knowledge, and inability to apply theory to practice (Jang & Kim, 2003; Kim & Cho, 2002). Regarding the qualities and abilities of a good coach, many researchers and scholars (Choi, 1996; Knoppers, 1989; Martens, 1987; Parkhouse, 1991; Leith, 1990) have suggested that coaches need to be better prepared if they are to be effective on the job.

There has been a growing interest in the study of the qualities needed for successful coaching. In their research, Kang, An and Won (1996) subjectively grouped the qualities needed in successful coaches into six broad categories such as professional knowledge, sport skills, leadership, administrative ability, and personal character. Through interviews with coaches, O'Day (1994) and Woodman (1993) identified the following abilities and knowledge as required in sport coaches: technical competence, intellectual competence, administrative competence, interpersonal competence, and social competence. Some useful information in this regard is provided by recent research into the effective and successful practices of fitness instructors. Jung and Kim (2003) examined the competencies of fitness instructors. They found that the most important factors were customer service orientation, coaching certification, good relations with members' parents, and risk management. Similar results were obtained by Cho and Kim (2003) in a subsequent study using the Delphi technique with a group of competitive sport coaches. They found that being customer service oriented, responsible, patient, having instructing experience, and giving suitable and timely feedback were the most important qualities for coaching. In a questionnaire study of sport coaches in South Korea, Choi (1996) asked them to indicate whether they agreed, disagreed, or had no opinion concerning certain listed qualities for being a good coach. The qualities rated most important for coaching were positive attitude, teaching skill, education, management, and interpersonal skill. Although these findings provide some general insights, they offer little real understanding as to the really important qualities that youth sport coaches should possess to be successful.

The above review indicates that previous research has identified a number of factors pertaining to what qualities are needed for successful coaching in sports. However, there is still much more that can be learnt from youth sport coaches themselves: what do they believe are the most important qualities that coaches need to possess? Since youth sport coaches can play a critical role in shaping and influencing values such as self-confidence, competitiveness, and health, hiring well-trained and adequately prepared sport coaches is important. Despite the widespread popularity of sport programs for youths, only recently has systematic study been undertaken in an attempt to discover the qualities of successful coaches in youth sports.

Although a review of the literature revealed a number of different methodologies, the Delphi technique received the most support among the reviewed methods. The technique is used to obtain the opinions of a group of people considered experts in their field in an attempt to achieve some level of consensus through a series of questionnaires interspersed with controlled opinion feedback (Dalkey, 1972; Tersine & Riggs, 1976). A main advantage of these particular methods is that group pressures can be avoided, eliminating the so-called "bandwagon" effect. Additionally, participants are asked to comment on any response from within the group that does not go along with the thinking of the rest of the group; thus those without strong convictions move closer to the group mean (Boucher, 1980). The current study was designed to extend previous experience with the different methodologies used to find out the important qualities of youth sport coaches using the Delphi technique. Its purpose was to identify the most important qualities that

coaches themselves perceive to be necessary for success in youth sports.

II. Methods

Ninety-three youth sport coaches who worked for Daejon Sport Council in South Korea were invited to take part in the study. A questionnaires was hand-delivered to the 93 coaches by 10 survey assistants. Prior to the distribution of the questionnaires, the survey assistants received instruction by the researchers. The researchers gave the survey assistants a list of coaches grouped according to location. Before the first hand-delivery, an attempt was made to contact each coach by telephone. After the researchers had contacted each coach about who was going to deliver the questionnaire and when, the research assistants distributed the questionnaires. All respondents were informed within the questionnaires that the information they supplied would be confidential. To help decrease the potential of information leaking to another participant, identification numbers were assigned (Morrow, 1971). The research assistants were instructed to deliver the questionnaires directly to the coaches. If the coach wanted to complete the questionnaire right away, the research assistant waited. If the coach had questions regarding the questionnaire, the coach was advised by the research assistant to contact the researchers.

An expert panel was set-up comprising three professors working at CNU (Chungnam National University) in Daejon. They were experts in the field of coaching and sports administration. Their responsibility was to categorise the list of qualities perceived as important by the coaches.

The paper-and-pencil version of the Delphi technique which is called the Conventional Delphi was used (Woudenberg, 1991). Three rounds were used in this study.

First round. Each coach received the questionnaire, a covering letter, and a self-addressed, stamped return envelope. Each coach was given an identification number. The coaches were asked the following questions: (1) What do you think are the most important qualities for successful coaching in youth sport? (2) Would you like to participate in the subsequent two rounds as a panel member in this study which will require you to rate the overall responses? (circle Yes or No). Participants were asked to return the questionnaire within one week. Respondents who did not return the completed questionnaire were contacted by telephone in an attempt to improve the response rate. At that time, they were requested to return the completed questionnaire within four days.

Second round. The first-round respondents who volunteered to participate in the study received the second-round questionnaire, a covering letter and a stamped return envelope. They were asked to rate the responses in terms of importance. The respondents were to identify the most important qualities on a Likert-type scale where 7 was very important and 1 was least important.

Third round. In the third round, the questionnaire contained the group mean, standard deviation, and the participant's individual score for each item. The questionnaire, instructions on how to revise the responses if desired, a covering letter, and a self-addressed, stamped return envelope were sent back to each respondent remaining from the second round. The respondents were also sent their original answers from the second round so that they could see how their responses compared with those of their fellow contributors. The respondents were asked to review their responses based upon this additional information, and were given a chance to either revise them or maintain their positions. Additionally, this third and final round asked the experts to agree or disagree with the proposed list. A consensus form was sent to all remaining participants to determine the degree of support for the proposed list. If the

consensus form was not returned within one week, the researchers called the coach to obtain a response to the proposed list. Consensus is assumed to have been achieved when a certain percentage of the votes fell within a prescribed range (Tersine & Riggs, 1976). For the purpose of this investigation, it was decided that a consensus was achieved when 70% or more of the respondents supported the list.

The list consisted of items that were grouped as follows: (1) items with a mean ≥ 4.0 on the importance scale were grouped as high in importance, (2) items with a mean < 4.0 on the importance scale were grouped as low in importance. The mean of 4.0 was arbitrarily adopted as the cut-off point on the importance scale. A standard deviation of 1.3 was arbitrarily adopted as the cut-off point, and items with a standard deviation of > 1.3 were considered as lacking in consensus and placed under the column of no consensus. The standard deviation was used as a measure of dispersion of opinions. The smaller the standard deviation, the closer the convergence of opinions. The statistical results were generated by using the SPSS for Windows 9.0.

III. Results

Round one. The first-round questionnaire was hand-delivered to 93 youth sport coaches in Daejon, South Korea. The coaches were asked, " What do you think are the most important qualities for the successful coaching of youth sport?" The initial panel of experts was composed of the 77 coaches, or 82.8% of those contacted, who completed and returned the first open-ended questionnaire. Of the 77 coaches who responded, 67 coaches or 87.1% agreed to participate in the subsequent rounds of this study and they became the final experts. There were five female coaches and 62 males. Their ages ranged from 21 to 43 years. The coaches averaged 11 years of coaching experience. Each coach was certificated in sports or physical education.

As noted in Table 1, which lists the means and rank in importance of each item, a total of 53 items was generated by the coaches as result of the first questionnaire. The items suggested by the first questionnaire were divided into seven categories by the panel of professors: (a) characteristics and attitudes, 15 items, (b) abilities and skills, 10 items, (c) knowledge, 8 items, (d) education and experience, 4 items, (e) instructional methods, 9 items, (f) interpersonal relationships, 3 items, and (g) management, 4 items.

Round two. The second-round questionnaire was hand-delivered to the 67 experts who had agreed to participate in the subsequent rounds. In the second round, they were requested to rate the response items in terms of importance for a coach to possess for coaching youth sports successfully.

All 67 youth sport coaches completed and returned the second-round questionnaire for a return rate of 100%. The group means and standard deviations were then calculated for each item. The items rated on importance were divided into two groups: those items with a group mean of ≥ 4.0 and those with a group mean of < 4.0. Altogether 45 items had a group mean of ≥ 4.0 on the importance scale. Among these 45 items, the range of the group means was from 4.07 to 6.56.

The items that received the highest mean scores in the category of characteristics and attitudes were "enthusiasm" (6.27) followed by "a positive attitude toward studying and research" (6.09). In the category of abilities and skills, "ability to apply sport theory to practical use" (6.22) followed by "ability to motivate athletes and promote their skills" (5.67) had the highest mean scores. With regard to knowledge, the items with the highest mean scores were "sport management" (5.34) followed by "first aid" (5.29). The items that received the highest mean scores in the category of education and

Table 1. The Means and Ratings of Importance Qualities for Youth Sports Coaches

Item	Round II Mean (SD)	Round III Mean (SD)	Rank
I. Characteristics and Attitudes:			
Enthusiasm	6.27(1.04)	6.31(1.08)	1
A positive attitude toward studying and research	6.01(0.98)	6.12(0.92)	2
Ethical behavior	5.91(1.46)	6.02(1.17)	3
Diligence	5.53(0.78)	5.71(0.68)	4
Professionalism	5.66(1.20)	5.69(1.12)	5
Humane	5.61(0.74)	5.67(0.91)	6
Patience	5.29(1.20)	5.62(1.11)	7
Friendly	5.54(0.66)	5.60(0.58)	8
Sportsmanship	5.33(1.14)	5.53(1.12)	9
Persuasive	5.41(1.01)	5.48(0.97)	10
Self-control	4.76(1.11)	5.24(1.03)	11
Creative	4.52(1.23)	5.04(1.15)	12
Sense of humor	3.98(1.36)	4.85(1.23)	13
Confident	4.12(0.93)	4.22(0.94)	14
Ambitious	3.26(1.17)	4.20(1.19)	15
II. Abilities and skills:			
Ability to motivate athletes	5.67(0.79)	6.30(0.86)	1
Ability to apply sport theory to practical use	6.22(1.11)	6.19(1.14)	2
Communication skills	5.90(0.97)	6.03(0.93)	3
Ability to maintain an effective and safe work environment	5.21(0.89)	5.52(0.91)	4
Ability to maintain specific skills	5.23(0.87)	5.49(1.06)	5
Problem solving abilities	4.57(1.02)	4.90(0.99)	6
Organization skills	4.72(1.12)	4.78(1.13)	7
Ability to adapt to different environments	3.78(0.84)	4.11(0.86)	8
Counseling skills	3.23(0.82)	4.04(0.95)	9
III. Knowledge:			
Sports management	5.34(1.13)	5.72(1.22)	1
First aid	5.29(0.78)	5.44(0.69)	2
Sports psychology	4.82(1.45)	5.14(1.17)	3
Measurement/assessment	4.68(1.06)	4.95(0.89)	4
Exercise physiology	4.23(1.04)	4.31(0.95)	5
Biomechanics	4.42(1.21)	4.24(1.13)	6
Sport medicine	3.21(0.95)	4.13(0.89)	7
Sport nutrition	4.25(1.09)	3.77(1.15)	8
IV. Education and experience:			
BA degree in sports, exercise, physical education	5.38(0.78)	5.58(0.69)	1
Instructing experience	5.13(0.75)	5.48(0.75)	2
Athletic background	5.16(1.04)	5.32(1.02)	3
Coaching certification	5.03(0.84)	4.39(0.78)	4
V. Instructional methods:			
Provide instructions without discrimination	6.56(0.93)	6.79(0.86)	1
Exhibit leadership to lead athletes effectively	6.12(0.68)	6.38(0.82)	2
Show patience in instructing	6.07(0.89)	6.29(0.84)	3
Provide instructions according to athletes' abilities	6.01(1.04)	6.21(1.02)	4
Develop ways to improve instructional methods continuously	6.01(1.26)	6.10(1.09)	5
Provide suitable feedback to athletes' performance	5.21(0.81)	5.47(0.82)	6
Devise instructional plans and execute them accordingly	5.20(1.20)	5.27(1.12)	7
Use praise and reprimand appropriately	4.42(0.78)	4.60(0.67)	8
Use verbal and nonverbal communication to demonstrate skills	3.56(0.84)	4.35(0.93)	9

Table 1. (Continued)

Item	Round II Mean (SD)	Round III Mean (SD)	Rank
VI. Interpersonal relationships:			
Establish harmonious relationship with youths' parents	5.64(0.71)	5.67(0.68)	1
Establish open and harmonious relationship with teachers/staffs	4.44(1.12)	4.68(0.84)	2
Establish harmonious relationship with other organizations	3.11(1.22)	4.04(1.12)	3
VII. Management:			
Risk management – liability and negligence issues	5.77(0.72)	5.84(0.82)	1
Time management	5.35(0.64)	5.25(0.58)	2
Equipment and facility management	4.83(0.78)	4.95(0.86)	3
Self-management – manage health, stress	3.20(0.86)	4.23(0.94)	4

experience were "university education" (5.38) followed by "athletic background" (5.16). With regard to instructional methods, the items that received the highest mean scores were "provide instructions without discrimination" (6.56) followed by "exhibit leadership to lead athletes effectively" (6.12). The items that received the highest mean scores in the category of interpersonal relationships were "establish harmonious relationships with youth's parents" (5.64) followed by "establish harmonious relationships with teachers and other staff" (4.44). With regard to management, the items that received the highest mean scores were "risk management" (5.77) followed by "time management" (5.35).

Round three. The third-round questionnaire incorporated all the responses. Also, the group means, standard deviations, and the individual's round-two rating for each item were listed. The 67 coaches were requested to review the statistical information, and to either change their round-two ratings or to leave them as they were. The number of items rated on importance with a mean ≥ 4.0 increased from 45 to 52. Those added were "ambitious", "ability to adapt to a different environment", "sense of humour", "sport medicine", "counseling skills, "use verbal and nonverbal communication to demonstrate skills", and "establish harmonious relationships with other organisations". Among the 52 items, the range of the group means was between 4.04 and 6.79. One item was rated on importance with a reduced mean of £ 4.0, namely, "sport nutrition".

With regard to characteristics and attitudes, the items that received the highest mean scores after this stage in the research were "enthusiasm" (6.31), followed by "a positive attitude towards studying and search" (6.12). The items that received the highest scores in the category of abilities and skills were "ability to apply sport theory to practical use" (6.30), followed by "ability to motivate athletes" (6.19). With regard to knowledge, the items with the highest mean scores were "sport management" (5.72) followed by "first aid" (5.44). The items that received the highest mean scores in the category of education and experience were "university education" (5.58) followed by "instructing experience" (5.48). With regard to instructional methods, the items that had the highest mean scores were "provide instructions without discrimination" (6.79) followed by "exhibit leadership and lead athletes effectively" (6.38). The items that received the highest mean scores in the category of interpersonal relationships were "establish harmonious relationship with youth's parents" (5.67) followed by "establish harmonious relationships with teachers and other staff" (4.68). With regard to management, the items that had the highest mean scores were "risk management" (5.84) followed by "time management" (5.25).

VI. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to identify the most important qualities that youth sport coaches, as perceived by themselves, need to possess to be effective on the job. The Delphi technique was used to elicit opinions on a particular topic from coaches through sequential questionnaires.

In the characteristics and attitudes category, "enthusiasm" was judged to be the most important of 15 items. This result, along with the findings of previous research (Knoppers, 1989; Sage, 1987), leads to the conclusion that youth coaches define enthusiasm as a crucial quality that a coach should have. Additionally, this finding supports Miller's (2000) contention that enthusiasm leads coaches to motivate athletes. It seems that without showing youths that he or she truly cares about them, a coach's effectiveness drops significantly.

With regard to abilities and skills, "ability to motivate athletes" was considered more important than the other eight qualities. This finding might be explained by the results obtained by Deborah, Feltz, & Jun (2000), and Roetert (2000). They suggested that effective coaching in youth sports depends on the coach's ability to maintain the interest that brought athletes to the sports. The finding of this study implies that a successful coach is not only highly motivated but also fosters that same enthusiasm in the players.

In the knowledge category, "sport management" was considered more important than the other seven items. Over the past decade, important professional changes have occurred in sport management in South Korea. In studying coaches' concerns, Choi (1996) and Wi & Jong (1996) pointed out that a coach as professional keeps pace with these changes. The results of this study might be explained by the fact that coaches have started to focus on the importance of sport management in dealing effectively with things that happen in a variety of coaching settings.

With regard to the education and experience category, "BA degree in sport, exercise, or physical education" was regarded as the most important of the four items that coaches should have. This result may be explained by social and institutional specificities in South Korea. Today, the government and the states have started to require a major in physical education, exercise, or community sport and recreation as a minimum standard for certification to coach (Kang, An, & Won, 1996; MCS, 2000). Our finding suggests that coaches value advanced degrees and having the formal education that is necessary to study, analyse, compare and experiment with every aspect of a sport setting.

In the instructional method category, "provide instructions without discrimination" was regarded as more important than the other eight items. This finding contradicts one previous study (Deborah, Feltz, & Choi, 2000). The widespread belief among the coaches in our research that every athlete should be provided with the opportunity to participate in sports is probably a result of the efforts that have been made to reverse former discriminatory practices. It is based on the idea that participation should not be regulated by birth or social background, but that all athletes in sport events should face the same set of competitive conditions, regardless of who they are or where they come from.

With regard to the category of interpersonal relationships, "establish harmonious relationships with athletes' parents" was considered to be the most important quality that coaches should have. There is often an atmosphere of strain or alienation between coaches and parents (Choe, 2000). The strain may take the form of constant underground grumbling, or it can sometimes be brought out into the open in the form of ac-

tive hostility. Regardless of the openness of the strain, at any given point in time there is a potential tension between coaches and parents (Kim & Cho, 2002). This may be explained by the fact that parents in South Korea have considerable influence in the community. To be successful as a coach, one must be able to deal successfully with parents.

In the management category, coaches ranked "risk management" as the most important among the four items. This finding supports Jang & Kim's (2003) result; they also found that risk management was the most important item. This is an interesting finding because, in the past, Koreans did not file many lawsuits arising from accidents in sport settings. However, due to changing attitudes, some lawsuits have recently arisen (Chang, 2002; Choe, 2000; Jang & Kim, 2003). Because coaches are concerned with liability issues against themselves, they now believe that risk management should be a major concern for coaches since they are in direct contact with athletes.

In summary, this study aimed to identify the most important qualities that youth sport coaches need in order to be successful in the coaching profession. During three rounds of the Delphi technique, 52 items were identified as important qualities. The items were divided into seven categories: characteristics and attitudes; abilities and skills; knowledge; education and experience; instructional methods; interpersonal relationships; and management. The highest means for the items in each of the categories were scored for "enthusiasm," "ability to motivate athletes," "sports management," "BA degree in PE, exercise, or sport," "provide instructions without discrimination," "establish open and harmonious relationships with youth's parents," and "risk management." These results lead to the conclusion that these particular items should be a major concern for youth sport coaches who want to be successful on the job and that they should be aware of the need to modify or revamp their qualities.

It will be clear from the design of this study that caution must be exercised when generalising the results. This study only provides a slice of reality related to the qualities needed for successful coaching. Therefore, several future research directions may be suggested from the findings of this study. Studies are needed to explore the differences, if any, that are present in the views of parents, sport administrators, coaches and players in different sports, and by gender and previous experience. Also, further research is needed that will triangulate the results of this enquiry into the qualities needed for successful youth sport coaching by using entirely different designs.

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Community Education: Global Perspectives for Developing Comprehensive Integrated Human and Community Services

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Abstract

In this article, the authors present an overview of Community Education, explaining that it is an educational philosophy that links together leisure, social, cultural, educational, and health initiatives together with community development and other human and lifelong learning needs in the planning and delivery of services at the local level. They stress the fact that Community Education is different from traditional western education and argue that although the philosophy is practised globally, it should not be perceived as globalisation. Community Education practitioners' focus is local – on individual communities in whatever stage they are in their development, and their role is working in partnership with the community's residents, businesses, agencies and organisations in problem-solving initiatives and the delivery of services. The authors point out the similarity between the desired outcomes of Community Education and Leisure/Recreation initiatives. The article also includes a short review of how the Community Education process works in different parts of the world.

Keywords: ***Community Education, community development, community values, Community Schools, civic responsibility, lifelong learning, citizen involvement, interagency cooperation, partnerships***

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The Community Education Concept and Identifying Labels

Community Education is an educational philosophy that is linked directly to the Community School concept because the implementation and practice of the philosophy is often at local school sites. Worldwide, various labels are identified with components related to Community Education, such as informal education, popular education, community development, community learning, non-credit education, and types of educational partnerships. The exact label used usually depends on the historical context of each country or region, but in each there is the implied linking and merging of what is meant by the term "community" and the term "education." The development stage of a country

influences the focus of Community Education initiatives.

Community. In the global context, "community" can be a difficult term to define. In a historical sense, "community" refers to belonging to an identifiable homogeneous group, inhabiting a contiguous area, having a sense of security, and having a set of basic service institutions (Decker and Decker, 2003). In today's global context, people relate to their communities through both geographic and non-geographic substructures. From a sociological perspective, the concept of community refers to a group of people united by at least one common characteristic, such as geography, shared interests, values, experiences, or traditions (Centers for Disease Control, 1994).

Communities can also be viewed as systems composed of individual members and sectors that have a variety of distinct characteristics and interrelationships, with each sector populated by groups of individuals who represent specialised functions, activities, or interests within a community system (Centers for Disease Control, 1994). For example, schools focus on student education; the leisure sector on parks, recreational pursuits, and tourism; the transportation sector on moving people and products; the economic sector on enterprise and employment; the religious sector on the spiritual well-being of people; the health care sector on prevention and treatment of diseases and injuries, etc.

With new technologies and the complexities of today's society, an individual can be a member of a number of different communities. For example, almost everyone is a member of the local community and the neighborhood in which s/he lives, and at the same time a member of an ethnic and cultural community on local and international levels, a member of a professional community, and increasingly a member of a variety of virtual communities. Whatever the community, in the true "sense of community" there are generally accepted rules and social norms that protect, respect, and help address the basic needs of members of that community (Decker and Decker, 2003).

Education. The simple definition of education "as the knowledge and development resulting from an educational process" (Merriam-Webster Online, 2005) does not indicate its importance in terms of human growth or the acquisition of principles and values. In April 2004, the United Nation's Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) kicked off a Global Campaign for Education (www.campaignforeducation.org) intended to focus attention on the importance of education. The following are the summary points of why education is so important worldwide.

- Education impacts on human development and economic growth, and it is a fundamental requirement for democracy.
- Education provides people with the tools and knowledge they need to understand and participate in today's world.
- Education enhances the ability of families to manage health problems, improve nutrition and childcare, use leisure wisely, and better plan for the future.
- Education is essential for economic development and eradicating poverty. It allows people to be more productive, to play a greater role in economic life, and to earn a better living.
- Education makes it possible for people to be responsible and informed citizens, and to have a voice in politics and society, which is essential for sustaining democracy. It also provides individuals with the knowledge and awareness needed to promote tolerance and understanding among people.

Education is related to values, because the educational process takes place within a cultural construct. Therefore, it should be remembered that what counts as being a positive value in one part of the world may not be as well supported in others. This caution is particularly the case when one considers the differences between the underlying value systems that encourage the perception that education aims to make people productive consumers – typical of many western countries – and those value systems that encourage people to become skilled for subsistence and community living – typical of many third world or

developing countries. The Community Education philosophy acknowledges the necessity for respect of a particular community's value system. In short, Community Education must respond to the needs of the local community rather than having any absolute purpose at its base.

Development Stage. Porter (2005) argues that "The Era of Globalization" is fast becoming the preferred term for describing the political, economic, and cultural atmosphere of today because "the same forces that allow businesses to operate as if national borders did not exist also allow social activists, labour organisers, journalists, academics, and many others to work on a global stage." Ritzer (2003) views globalisation as a movement away from "something" that is indigenously conceived, locally controlled, and rich in distinctive content toward "nothing" that is centrally controlled and relatively devoid of distinctive substance. There is active debate of whether globalisation is a good or bad thing. Although the term globalisation itself is neutral, it can be perceived as a positive or negative depending on the circumstances and outcomes it generates. Thus, a globalised movement towards a cure for AIDS can be seen as positive, whereas much of the debate related to globalisation and economic development has been characterised as the wealthy all over the world making decisions that benefit themselves at the expense of the poor. Rumford (2005) emphasises that complicating the debate is the fact that the terms "globalization and Americanization (and Westernization) are seen virtually as synonymous."

Advocacy of Community Education is worldwide, but it should not be perceived as globalisation. Although the philosophy is practised globally, its focus is local. The Community Education concept stresses that each community has unique factors that must be taken into account, including the community organising and economic development of that particular community.

In developed countries, Community Education is focused more on lifelong learning and efficient use of resources. It is almost always identified with a local neighbourhood in which people live. In developing countries, Community Education is focused more on social engineering, community organisation, and civic development. In underdeveloped countries, Community Education's emphasis tends to be on community development, building the community's infrastructure, and increasing economic development, and it is greatly influenced by ethnic/religious norms and cultural domination issues.

Basic Components

The Community Education philosophy acknowledges the mutual interdependence of the family, school, and community in the education of the community's residents. In the global context, it can be practised in what are labeled (a) school-based models, (b) community-based or (c) agency-specific models. It has three basic components (Decker and Boo, 2001):

1. Lifelong Learning
   - Implementing the principle that learning continues throughout life.
   - Providing formal and informal learning opportunities.
   - Offering programmes and services for all community members, often in an intergenerational setting.
2. Community Involvement
   - Promoting a sense of civic responsibility.
   - Providing leadership opportunities for community members.
   - Including diverse populations in all aspects of community life.
   - Encouraging democratic procedures in local decision making.
3. Efficient Use of Resources
   - Using the school's and the community's physical, financial, and human resources to address community needs.
   - Reducing duplication of services by promoting collaborative effort.

Principles of Community Education

Community Educators can be found in schools, in community agencies, in hospitals, and in the wider community, doing different things, but using the same set of principles. These principles – and the strategies designed

to implement them – have a positive impact on a school's traditional academic programme and the well-being of the community-at-large. The principles of Community Education (Decker and Decker, 2003) are:

■ *Lifelong Learning.* Education is viewed as a birth-to-death process and everyone in the community – individuals, businesses, public and private agencies – shares responsibility for educating all members of the community and providing learning opportunities for residents of all ages, backgrounds, and needs.

■ *Self-Determination.* Local people have a right and a responsibility to be involved in determining community needs and identifying community resources that can be used to address those needs.

■ *Self-Help.* People are best served when their capacity to help themselves is acknowledged and developed. When people assume responsibility for their own well-being, they build independence and become part of the solution.

■ *Leadership Development.* The training of local leaders in such skills as problem solving, decision making, and group process is an essential component of successful self-help and improvement efforts.

■ *Institutional Responsiveness.* Public institutions exist to serve the public and are obliged to develop programmes and services that address continuously changing public needs and interests.

■ *Maximum Use of Resources.* The physical, financial, and human resources in every community should be interconnected and used to their fullest to meet the diverse needs and interests of all community members.

■ *Integrated Delivery of Services.* Organisations and agencies that operate for the public good can better meet their own goals and serve the public by collaborating with organisations and agencies with similar goals.

■ *Decentralization.* Services, programmes, and other community involvement opportunities that are close to people's homes have the greatest potential for high levels of public participation. Whenever possible, these activities should be available in locations with easy public access.

■ *Inclusiveness.* Community services, programmes, and other community involvement opportunities should be designed to involve the broadest possible cross-section of community members and eliminate the segregation or isolation of people by age, income, sex, race, ethnicity, religion, or other factors that impede participation.

■ *Access to Public Information.* Public information is shared across agency and organisational lines. Community members know more than just the facts; they know what the facts mean in the lives of the diverse people who make up the community.

Contributions of the Global Leisure/Recreation Field

The preface to the publication *Benefits of Parks and Recreation* (1992) emphatically states that "to those involved in the delivery of leisure services, recreation has always been seen as a means to a bigger end." Community Educators would agree with Allen and Smith (2005) that leisure should be an integral part of education and that:

> There needs to be recognition of the cultural importance of leisure education regarding its significance and use…[and] the schools have a responsibility to the student and to every citizen of the community (1) to place emphasis on the avocational aspects of all school subjects for leisure time use, (2) to provide a variety of leisure opportunities for children and adults of all ages, and (3) to make available public owned areas and facilities for community use.

The 1997 update to the *Benefits Catalogue* points out that the term "recreation" is used "as a broad concept relating to physical recreation, sports, fitness, social recreation, arts, culture and therapeutic recreation" and summarises the benefits in terms of eight marketing statements. These emphasised outcomes are among the intended outcomes when a comprehensive, integrated Community Education programme is successfully implemented in a community:

1. Recreation and active living are *essential to personal health.*

2. Recreation is a key to balanced *human development.*

3. Recreation and parks are essential to *quality of life.*

4. Recreation reduces *self-destructive* and *anti-social behaviour.*

5. Recreation and parks build *strong families* and *health communities.*

6. Recreation reduces health care, social service, and police/justice *costs.*

7. Recreation and parks are significant *economic generators* in a community.

8. Parks, open spaces and natural areas are *essential to ecological survival.*

Community Education in Practice

There is wide diversity among Community Education programmes because each programme is based on a specific community's needs and desires. When there is an emphasis on a particular need or focus, the Community Education programme may be identified by that need or focus, such as extended day programme, after-school programme, leisure and recreation programme, health and human service programme, or adult and continuing education programmes. When Community Education is used as an intervention strategy, it may be identified by the targeted population or by problems, such as at-risk youth and families, drug and substance abuse, coping skills, basic job skills, health care, or rehabilitation.

When the focus is on civic or community development, Community Education initiatives may be linked to community organisational efforts such as building a school, promoting community sanitation, or improving environmental qualities. When the focus is economic development, Community Education strategies may be used to encourage the development and implementation of self-help efforts or micro and entrepreneurial enterprises.

Community Education's basic philosophy is grounded in the dynamics of outreach and involvement. The implementation process is designed to reach out and identify what members of a particular community need and want and then to help find the resources – financial, physical, and human – to meet their needs or desires. The process's emphasis is on having as broad and diverse community *involvement* and *participation* as possible and developing self-reliance in individuals and groups. The Community Educator's role is one of a partner; a member of a partnership working along with community residents, businesses, agencies, and organisations in problem-solving initiatives and the delivery of services.

Using Community Education principles, the Community Educator's work begins at whatever stage a community is at in its development. The Community Educator does not assume that his or her value system is the right one, but helps the community to clarify and develop collective values and acquire the skills and resources needed to maintain its viability. A Community Educator does not try to be the centre of attention or maintain a powerful position, but instead tries to develop others in the community to take leadership roles and to accept responsibility for long term development.

Community Education Differs from Traditional Western Education

Traditional western education carries with it a series of underlying assumptions about the value of certain knowledge and the way in which this knowledge should be developed, transmitted, and assessed. The United States' focus on the basic skills – as assessed by the demanding and sometimes vindictive accountability systems now present in many western countries – assumes that certain knowledge is more important than other knowledge. If this "basic" knowledge is not addressed first, foremost, and last, then students, teachers, and schools can be somehow vilified for any lack of success in this area. However, this focus on success is not something that all countries treat in the same way. Although all countries might wish their children to be literate and numerate, not all countries have a policy of "shame and blame" if students or schools do not reach

this objective (Steinitz, 1999). Some systems enable a broader range of measures of success to exist.

Traditional western education has also made the assumption that it can support other parts of the world by delivering education to other (underdeveloped) countries in the same way that education is delivered in western countries. What is not recognised is the fact that an acceptance of western education traditions involves the implicit acceptance of a series of values that may not be accepted in other parts of the world.

Viewed in this context, the difference between traditional western education and Community Education becomes clear. The operating frameworks are completely different. Whereas, western education brings with it a series of embedded values that will change the life as well as the learning of people it involves (often without the people even knowing this change is happening), Community Education starts from a different beginning point. For a Community Educator, preserving the community's values is a prime objective. Community Educators work with community members to help find out what the community needs. If values are to be changed, then the change must be with the full knowledge and acceptance of the community. A short review of Community Education in different parts of the world shows how the process works.

Community Education in the United States

Decker and Brown (2005) highlight milestones in the evolution of Community Education in the United States. Community Education has deep roots that can be traced to ideas expressed by John Dewey regarding education for the whole child and the role of family and community in shaping the experiential learning opportunities for all learners. The philosophy is usually implemented through Community Schools. Early 1900 models with related links to the concept of a Community School were the "lighted school" in Milwaukee, the "settlement house" "community centers" in Chicago, and the Kentucky and West Virginia Community Schools spearheaded by Elsie Clapp.

The modern Community School movement stems from the motivation and actions of Frank J. Manley in Flint, Michigan. However, its evolution in Flint would not have been possible without the philanthropy of Charles Stewart Mott and a long-lasting creative partnership between Mott and Manley. The initial concept was that schools were facilities owned by the entire community that were commonly under-utilised. The idea behind Community Schools was simple. Open up what the community already owned and extend the use of the properties and facilities to serve a variety of community needs. The concept kept growing and broadening until the entire community, not just students, became involved in health, educational, and recreational programmes. Adults from all walks of life were involved in the planning of programmes and serving on advisory councils.

Manley's early experiences in Community Education became the basis for his "Four Is" theory. He believed that if he could get people *in*, they would get *interested*, could not help but become *informed*, and that would lead toward community *involvement*. He felt that these four Is would combat four negative Is: ignorance, indifference, inertia, and intolerance (Procunier, 1999).

Today's Community Education movement is more diverse than when it first emerged nearly 100 years ago. Because each Community Education programme is implemented reflecting individual communities, there is no one model. The web site of the National Center for Community Education in Flint, Michigan (www.nccenet.org) has descriptions of exemplary models and case studies of Community Education programmes. It highlights programmes in three model settings – school, district, and agency – that are making a difference in their communities. The web site of the National Community School Coalition in Washington, DC (www.communityschool.org) has descriptions of both school- and non-school-based models. The web site of the National Community Education Association

(www.ncea.com) has articles and resource information.

Highlights of Community Education in Other Countries

The International Community Education Association (ICEA) has a web site (www.icea.de) and an online journal. The July 2003 issue of the *Community Education International Journal* contains highlights of Community Education in a number of regions.

Angelika Krueger, a former ICEA Associate Regional Director, commented on Europe, particularly Germany. She explains that in Germany the Community School concept is a transforming strategy for the traditional German school. Especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, it relates to community empowerment and contributes to the empowerment of children and young people.

Ekundaydo Thompson, a former member of the ICEA Board of Directors, points out that, in Africa, community development provides the rationale and context for the practice of Community Education. Increasing levels of poverty, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and political violence determine to a large extent the agenda for Community Education in Africa.

In Latin America, Juergen Zimmer, former President of ICEA, highlights a powerful popular education movement inspired by Paulo Freire's paradigm of education which is contrary to the authoritarian vision principally sustained by authoritarian governments and based on participatory teaching and the combining of community development with local and regional social change. In this context Community Education defends the organisation of grassroots teaching and the connection between instruction and the socio-political organisation of the poor. In efforts to make learning in the community, with the community, and for the community, schools become less closed, less elitist, less authoritarian, and less distant from the general population. This is, for community education, a question of fundamental importance. ...We should not accept the world the way it is, we have to be different to create something different in this world.

Charles McConnell, formerly Chief Executive of the Scottish Community Education Centre, reporting on Scotland, points out that since the mid-1970s, all municipal education councils have adopted the term Community Education to describe their informal education services and it is now called community learning and development.

> It is an approach for promoting social inclusion and development, lifelong learning and active citizenship.... [There is] also a significant growth in the number of other public service disciplines, from teacher to health worker, environmentalist to community planner keen to adopt this approach as they engage with local communities. (ICEA, 2003)

Building for the Future

Effective Community Education programmes are sensitive to a particular community's changing needs. To make sure a programme is responsive, leaders must engage in ongoing assessment and evaluation. Three important questions should be asked over and over: What is the programme accomplishing? Does it respond to community needs? Can it be made more responsive? In addition to assessing the programme regularly, advisory groups, task forces, and special committees should reassess community needs at least once a year. Surveys, interviews, community forums, and other techniques may be used to stay abreast of changing needs.

Developing a lasting Community Education programme takes time and the ongoing effort of committed people. It takes time to gain endorsement of the concept by community policy makers, education leaders, agency officials. It takes a concerted effort to gain the support of community leaders and residents. And it takes dedicated attention to many details to establish a process for involving community members in the identification of community needs and the mobilisation of community resources to address those needs.

But the rewards are clearly worth the time and effort. Community Education programmes work because:

- They involve parents and other community members in efforts to improve academic achievement and school climate.
- They provide places and programmes in which community members can educate themselves.
- They develop public knowledge about diverse interests and interrelationships that make up a community.
- They provide a setting for community members to meet, talk through issues, and work together to address problems.
- They provide opportunities to discover and nurture the public leadership needed to sustain a viable community.

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Stalwarts in Sport

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Abstract

This paper reports further analysis of an Omnibus Survey of volunteering in sport, conducted in 2002 for Sport England (Taylor, et al. 2003). From this survey of over 8000 individuals it has been possible to identify those who both volunteer in sports clubs organised by their members, and contribute over 300 hours a year to volunteering in sport. Analysis of the sex, age, education, work status and motivation of these volunteers shows that the only significant distinguishing characteristic of these volunteers is their motivation. This leads to implications for further research, including studies of the career paths of key volunteers, the relation of volunteering to club attachment, and the internal management of clubs.

* * *

Introduction

General population surveys (Davis Smith, 1998; Prime, et al. 2002; Nichols, et al. 2004a) show that sport and exercise are the most significant areas of voluntary activity in the UK. Within these areas, the most significant organisations are voluntary sports clubs. For example, the National Survey of Volunteering, completed by a random sample of 1,486 adults aged 18 or over in the United Kingdom, found that, of those who volunteered formally, defined as in the context of an organisation, 26% were involved in sports/exercise (this equated to 12% of the whole population). This was the highest single area of involvement out of a total of 17 categories (Davis Smith, 1998). Similarly, the Home Office Citizenship Survey in 2001 found that sports and exercise were the most significant fields in which formal volunteering took place: 13% of all respondents (Prime et al., 2002). Both surveys confirm sport and exercise's positions as the most important areas in which volunteering takes place. Sport clubs are not only a major area of active citizenship but can also contribute to other policy objectives: for example, they are a major provider of opportunities for young people to play sport and develop skills and commitment. However, as in other areas, there is a concern that there may be insufficient volunteers and those that remain are facing increasing pressures. Recent research (Taylor, et al. 2003) has concluded that responding to these pressures requires 'professionalism' in club management, in the sense of a formality of organisation, but the ways in which clubs have responded to these pressures are dependant on the attitudes of key volunteers in the club structures. Thus it is important to know about those key volunteers, whom Cuskelly (2004) has termed 'stalwarts' in sport.

A study of volunteers in UK sports clubs, conducted in 1995/6 (Sports Council, 1996), included a questionnaire survey of 353 volunteers in 47 sports clubs. The questionnaires were distributed at committee meetings of the clubs, so one would expect respondents to include the key club volunteers, and to over-represent those who had a formal role within the club structures. The questionnaires asked respondents to estimate the time they, and

others, spent volunteering for the club, both in and out of season. Given the limitations of such estimates, a significant finding was that the voluntary hours were very unevenly distributed: 35% of volunteers contributed half the hours in total. Further analysis showed that while 41% of volunteers contributed half the mean hours or less, 14% contributed twice the mean hours or more. Volunteering intensity by main role showed that the five most demanding roles in order were coach, fixture secretary, secretary, chair, 'other administrative' and treasurer (Shibli, et al. 1999). The most important finding was the general concentration of voluntary work, showing that the voluntary sector structure of UK sport was very reliant on a relatively small number of volunteers who contributed a large proportion of the work. Cuskelly (2004) has identified a similar pattern in Australian voluntary sport, and, applying Stebbins's typology of 'career volunteers' (Cuskelly and Harrington, 1997), has described these key volunteers as 'stalwarts'.

Knowledge of the characteristics of these 'stalwarts' in the previous UK survey was limited by the sample size, and may also have been limited by the selection of the 47 clubs and the volunteers within them. The analysis of the concentration of voluntary work relied on estimates made by those committee members present at the focus groups, and these included estimates of the total volunteer work contributed by all volunteers in the clubs. The present research adopts an alternative way of identifying those volunteers who give the most time, and the distribution of this time, by using a larger sample of the general population and only using estimates made by respondents of the time they gave themselves.

Cuskelly and Harrington (1997) categorised the motivations of Australian club members who had been formally elected or appointed to the board or committee administering a club. Drawing on Stebbins's (1996) categorisations of serious leisure, they devised four categories of volunteer: 'marginal volunteers' within which there were 'obligeers' and 'role dependees', and 'leisure careerists' within which there were 'altruistic leisure careerists' and 'self-interested leisure careerists'. Volunteers were allocated to these categories through their response to an open question asking about their initial motivations for volunteering. Obligees felt that they should give back something to sport or the club; there was a lack of others to volunteer; everyone should take a turn; others perceived as incompetent; they needed to volunteer for the club to survive; they felt pressured to volunteer; or felt that they should do so to help friends. Role dependees were involved because their children or other members of their families were in the clubs. The altruists' motivations included: felt that they wanted to help others; had a love of the sport; attachment to the sport; to develop the club or the sport; felt a need to volunteer; or were motivated by an interest in youth/young people. Self-interested leisure careerists were motivated by: personal development; to develop and use skills and knowledge; to learn; to share knowledge; enjoyment/satisfaction; high evaluations of their own competence; felt that they had something to offer; wanted to meet a challenge; wanted to meet others/socialise in the sport they had played in; affinity with a sport or club; or wanted to be involved/active. It is worth noting that this categorisation by initial motivations was achieved through analysis of responses to open questions rather than prompts.

However, Cuskelly and Harrington did not relate the amount of time given to the clubs to the four categories of volunteer though one might expect the volunteers who gave most effort to correspond to the 'leisure careerists'. The research also did not consider how both the motivations for volunteering and the rewards from volunteering might change with involvement.

These stalwarts are important because of their role in maintaining the club structure of sport in the UK and elsewhere – which is essential for participation in team sports and those where there is a competitive structure within a national framework. In the UK, the club structure is also seen as important in achieving government policy goals such as increasing participation by young people to combat obesity (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002).

Although there is a trend towards more individualised, flexibly timed, fitness-oriented activities and away from traditional team sports (Coalter, 1999), participation in traditional team sports is still quite high. Parents still want their children to participate in these sports and the commercial sector can only meet the demands of those who can afford to pay.

A second reason for the importance of this group is an overall decline in sports volunteers, or at least increased difficulty in the recruitment of volunteers. Thus more reliance is placed on those who remain. Unfortunately we do not have accurate trend data for the number of volunteers in UK sport (Nichols, et al. 2004). In the 1995/6 survey of club volunteers, 55% of respondents responded that 'increasingly the work is left to fewer people' (Sports Council, 1996). A replication of this survey question in 2002 found that this response had risen to 65% of respondents (Taylor, et al. 2003), suggesting that the problem of recruitment and retention of volunteers had increased. Using data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Cuskelly (2004) has also been able to identify a decline in sports volunteering in Australia. The concern that there are insufficient volunteers in sports clubs is a reflection of a wider concern that there may be a reduction in the propensity to volunteer (Thornton, 2004) reflecting a change in the nature of citizenship (Pattie, et al. 2004).

A third reason for the importance of this group is the increasing complexity of volunteers' roles and tasks. Research in the UK has shown an increase from 23% to 30% between 1995/6 and 2002 in the number of volunteers who feel that increasingly their work requires specialist skills (Taylor, et al. 2003: 43). This arises from a set of 'drivers for change' identified from the qualitative interviews conducted in the Sport England research (Taylor, et al. 2003: 144). These included: the need to compete more fiercely in the general leisure market for the time, money and enthusiasm of volunteers and members – hence the need to provide a comparable service to the expanding commercial and public sector sports provisions; the need to respond to conditions attached to government support, either directly (as in National Lottery applications) or indirectly through conditions imposed on funding for National Governing Bodies (Nichols, et al. 2004b); pressures from technological change, social risk aversion (leading to concern to protect against litigation), and increased legislation. The same increase in complexity of volunteers' tasks has been noted in Norway (Enjolras, 2002: Seippel, 2002), Belgium (Verhoeven, et al. 1999), Greece (Papadimitriou, 2002) and Australia where Cuskelly et al. (1998: 199) state that 'as the professionalization of sport management continues, the nature of volunteer commitment will become increasingly important'.

The increased complexity and specialisation of volunteers' tasks may also require, as noted above, a 'professionalisation of sport management' in organisations that have, in the past, exhibited an antipathy to 'management'. This leads to the most important reason for needing to understand the key volunteers. The above pressures, and the need to compete more fiercely for the time, money, and enthusiasm of members and volunteers (Nichols, et al. 2005), mean that sports clubs have little choice but to adapt. However, the Sport England research found that the willingness to do so varied, depending on the motivations of key groups of volunteers and the club culture. In traditional clubs, informality was valued and professionalisation was seen as a threat. On the other hand, some clubs had fully embraced the need for professionalisation. These were the type of clubs which had taken Sport England's (2001) advice to adopt volunteer job descriptions, mentors for new volunteers, and specific shared expectations between volunteers and clubs, as part of a more bureaucratic management system. These clubs were in a minority – only 5% of clubs had made use of Sport England's programme of support, the Volunteer Investment Programme (VIP) (Taylor, et al. 2003:92).

Thus, it is crucial to understand the key volunteers in the club structure, not only because of their present contribution but because they are the people who will determine how, and if, the voluntary sector in sport adapts and

survives. The above review suggests that the need to adapt is an international phenomenon.

Methods

The results reported here are from research conducted in 2002 for Sport England (Taylor, et al. 2003). Objectives of this study included: to quantify the contribution made to English sport by volunteers (building on previous research in 1995/6); to identify the nature of volunteering in sport in England and the challenges faced by volunteers and volunteer managers; to identify and evaluate the support provided to sports volunteers and volunteer managers; and to identify the benefits associated with sports volunteering.

The research used a wide range of methods. The main focus of this paper is an analysis of results from a national Omnibus Survey conducted by BMRB International. The sample size was 8458 people aged 16-plus. Respondents were prompted about volunteering in 28 different sports. Being a 'sports volunteer' was defined as 'doing anything in a sporting context other than playing for which you (the respondent) have received no payment other than expenses' in the last 12 months. Respondents were also asked in which organisations their volunteering took place. These included: 'a sports club organised by its members' and 'an informal group such as family or a group of friends'. This allowed for a distinction between formal and informal volunteering; responses in this latter category were defined as informal. Respondents were also asked in which months their volunteering took place and in a typical week how many hours they spent on this activity. This allowed for an estimate of hours contributed to sports clubs organised by their members.

This was the first UK national survey, representative of the whole population, to ask specifically about volunteering in the context of voluntary sector sports clubs, in contrast to previous surveys which asked about volunteering in general, and then categorised this by area of activity. The data set permits comparisons between general volunteers in sports clubs and those who take key roles and contribute the most time, the true stalwarts in sport, in order to discover any differences which might help in the recruitment and retention of this important group.

Results

While previous surveys of the general population have shown that sport and exercise are the most important areas of voluntary activity, the present survey shows that volunteering in sports clubs organised by their members is the most significant single form of volunteering in sport. Of the whole population, 14.8% had volunteered in a sporting context over the last 12 months, and 13.4% had taken part in formal volunteering, defined as in the context of an organisation. However, just 6.6% of the total sample had volunteered in the context of a 'sports club organised by its members'. They represented 44.7% of those who had volunteered in any formal sports organisation. This was the most significant category of formal sports volunteering; showing that voluntary sector sports clubs are the most important context for volunteering in sport.

'Stalwarts', the core volunteers who provide much of the volunteering for voluntary sector sports clubs, were separated from other volunteers by first identifying the 457 who gave time to voluntary sector sports clubs. Of these, 101 respondents gave 301 voluntary hours or more a year. From this group were removed those who only volunteered to help family or friends: for example, parents of children who were training and performing at a high level. This left 84 volunteers who gave over 301 hours to sports clubs per year, and who were not primarily concerned with meeting the needs of their own families or friends. This group are treated as the key volunteers in the club structure.

These stalwarts, although only 18.4% of the volunteers who helped with sports clubs, gave 62% of the total hours. As in previous research, this finding has to be qualified by the difficulties respondents faced when estimating the time they gave – they may have been prone to exaggerate or to under-estimate. A few respondents reported giving more than

1000 hours per year, which would equate to 20 hours per week over a 50 week year. However, the impression from the 1995/6 survey was confirmed; that a small number of people give a large proportion of the time, although the distribution was even more unequal in this most recent sample.

Not surprisingly, 61% of these stalwarts performed an administrative role for their clubs. Another high percentage, 49%, were involved in coaching. This confirms the findings from the earlier survey that this was one of the most demanding volunteer roles. Thirty-eight percent were involved in refereeing or officiating, and 61% in fund raising. In all these roles stalwarts were significantly (chi-squared value of 0.05 or below) more likely to be involved than other club volunteers. These findings confirm those of the 1995/6 survey, that these roles are the most demanding in terms of time contributed, and that the volunteers in these roles contribute a disproportionately large amount of the total volunteering time in the clubs (Shibli, et al., 1999).

However, further analysis did not show that this group of stalwarts had distinctive personal characteristics. Cross-tabulations did not show a significant relationship between being a stalwart and age, stalwarts tending to be only slightly older than other volunteers. Neither was there a significant relationship with gender, although again, stalwarts were slightly more likely to be male. Terminal education age, categorised as 16 or younger, 17-18, and 19 or older, was not related to being a stalwart: neither was working status or having dependant children at home.

The only significant differences between stalwarts and other volunteers was in their response to a question asking how they initially became involved in volunteering. In order of significance, stalwarts were more likely to have become involved because: their children were taking part in the sport, they wanted to improve things/help people, they were helping with sport at school, they had a desire to continue involvement in sport after playing, and they thought it would give them the chance to learn new skills. This analysis is limited by the extent to which respondents, who may have been volunteering for some time, can accurately recall their initial motivations, but it shows that the motivations for volunteering and its rewards are the areas on which further research may most usefully focus to understand why some people volunteer for the most demanding jobs upon which the structure of club sport depends.

Discussion

The initial motivations of those identified as stalwarts in the Sport England research did not all match those of Cuskelly and Harrington's 'leisure careerists'. The three motives in common were; they wanted to improve things/help people, they had a desire to continue involvement in sport after playing, and they thought it would give them the chance to learn new skills. The motives of 'helping with sport at school' and 'their children were taking part in the sport' matched more closely Cuskelly and Harrington's 'role dependees' who in Australia were part of the broader group of 'marginal volunteers'.

Why was there this mis-match between the present research results and those expected from Cuskelly and Harrington's categorisation; that the stalwarts would nearly all be 'leisure careerists'? Maybe part of this mis-match arises from the limitation of categorising volunteers according to their initial motivations, although both pieces of research asked about this. Many volunteers may become involved initially because of a child's participation, but will then progress in a volunteering career. This was certainly shown to be the case in the Guide Association in England (Nichols and King, 1999a) where a child's participation was one of the most important reasons for initial involvement, yet 50% of the Guiders had volunteered in this capacity for ten years or more. As they progressed in their volunteering careers, identifying with the ethos of the organisation, the rewards of seeing what they had achieved with young people, and the social rewards, all became more important to them. Therefore a more precise way of defining 'career' volunteer could use the present rewards from volunteering, rather than initial motivations to volunteer. It is possible that

some volunteers in the present survey had become involved through being 'role dependees', through their child's involvement, but still did not have the other motivations characteristic of 'leisure careerists'.

A second reason for the mis-match might be that Cuskelly and Harrington used responses to an open question to categorise respondents whereas the present research used responses to a set of prompts. The two different methods might well be expected to produce different results.

Further research is needed to find out more about these key volunteers, and the results above show the importance of focusing on their motivations as a distinguishing characteristic. The research findings from the 2002 Omnibus Survey indicate the type of club member who is most likely to be induced to 'progress' from initial volunteering to a more substantial commitment, and Cuskelly (2004) has suggested continuity theory (Atchley, 1999) as a tool for understanding how volunteers make the transition from playing to volunteering.

Another approach to understanding key volunteers could be by replicating research which has shown a relationship between attachment to trade unions and voluntary union activity. Snape and Redman (2004) have used exchange theory to characterise three types of attachment between members and unions. These are termed covenantal, social exchange, and economic exchange. The type of attachment was a good predictor of union participation: those members with a strong covenantal attachment (a strong identification with the values and mission of the focal organisation) were more likely to be involved as union 'activists'. An implication for unions was that they needed to actively encourage members to develop a covenantal relationship as only then would they become activists; a finding paralleled by the research into Guide leaders described above (Nichols and King, 1999a). It is probably insufficient just to concentrate on providing services to attract and maintain volunteers via an economic exchange attachment unless an organisation can afford, and considers it desirable, to employ paid officials at all levels. If it proves possible to characterise the attachments of members to sports clubs in the same way, one would expect these to predict different levels of volunteer involvement. A covenantal commitment would be expected to predict the very high levels of voluntary involvement of the volunteers in the most demanding positions, and this corresponds exactly to the ideological commitment that research has shown to be a motivating feature of many long-serving Guide leaders (Nichols and King, 1999b). In this case, the activity of the Guide leaders was understood as typical of 'serious leisure' (Stebbins, 1996), especially as it was characterised by a strong shared ethos.

However, research also needs to understand the internal dynamics of sports clubs and the best management system for volunteer recruitment and retention. Pearce (1993: 155) has noted the 'tendency to rely heavily on core members and insufficiently on others' in voluntary organisations, confirmed by the analysis above. However, she also notes that it is vital to achieve a management system which is consistent with the motivation of volunteers. Pearce's work (1993) concluded that as volunteering is leisure, management of volunteers 'entails the management of the meaning of their work' (1993: 182). This highlights the need to understand the motivations of the volunteers in key positions in sports clubs, and those of potential new volunteers.

If clubs are reliant on a few key volunteers, and assuming these have been in the same clubs for some length of time, the prevalent management style is likely to be characterised by inter-personal control. Systems of informal control are likely to be important to the key volunteers who have been in their organisations for a long time; both as a style of management and because the informal network of relations acts as a reward for continued involvement. This may itself make it more difficult for new volunteers to come forward as they will need to feel accepted into the established group, which may well have a distinctive culture.

Thus a research challenge is to find a management system, or set of practices, which

help clubs strike a balance between meeting the needs of the stalwarts, and attracting new volunteers, and at the same time, help the clubs to respond to external pressures for professionalism (in terms of providing a service more comparable to those of the commercial and public sectors). Even if the balance can be struck, a further challenge will be to find a way of 'selling' the idea to the club volunteers.

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The Experience of Risk in High-Altitude Climbing

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Abstract

Climbers remain adventurers in our society. When climbers move out on a high-altitude expedition or some other vertical mountain experience they are already in a risky situation. This paper explores how climbers perceive the inherent risks in climbing through their subjective experiences. The data was collected through nineteen in-depth interviews with climbers, and the analysis explores how perception of risk is constructed as a fundamental element in climbing. It seems to be clear that risk is inherent to this activity, and climbers are perfectly aware of its existence. The discourse analysis suggests a differentiation throughout life concerning risk-taking among climbers. Moreover, throughout the climbers' narratives, we are able to see that climbing allows the construction of a distinctive life.

Keywords: *climbing*, *risk perception*, *risk taking*

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Introduction

High-altitude climbers remain in our imaginary as adventurer figures in contemporary society. On their mountain journeys they have to face pathways full of natural hindrances and ambushes (De Léséleuc, 1998). When the endeavour is to seek and to conqueror the highest and more difficult mountains, like Everest or Torres del Paine, the conditions that one can find are absolutely adverse. The most frequent kind of death is sudden and shocking – "a slip or a fall into a crevasse – and the biggest killer in terms of numbers: a burial in an avalanche" (Ortner, 1997, p. 140). Furthermore, hypoxia[1], reduced temperatures and several imponderable incidents[2], are some of the features of this activity's environment. Therefore, even acclimatised[3] and experienced climbers are sometimes close to the limits of survival (Hornbein, 1996).

As a high-risk activity, climbing assumes one of the general features of contemporary society (Stranger, 1999). We are said to live in an emerging risk culture within a society full of uncertainty wherein risk is fundamental in social organisation (Giddens, 1994). Moreover, it can be asserted that in contemporary society

[1] Hipoxic environments – environments with reduced barometric pressure and oxygen partial pressure that induces a decrease in oxygen transport to tissues and a loss, sometimes dramatic, of physical performance (Ward, Milledge, & West, 2000).

[2] Some of the accidents may be avalanches that might suddenly occur.

[3] Acclimatization has been considered as a complex process of adaptive organic responses, which allow humans to be gradually adapted to hypobaric hypoxia increasing their physical performance, and enhancing their survival possibilities in this hostile environment (Hochachka, 1998; Hochachka, Rupert, & Monge, 1999).

taking certain kinds of risks is an important element that contributes to society's development and to individual self-achievement (Giddens, 1994).

The goal of this paper is to reflect on this phenomenon. Our analysis relies in some authors' theories, such as the concept of *habitus* in Pierre Bourdieu (1980; 1986), the risk conception developed by Le Breton (2000), the concept of *edgework* in Lyng (1990), and the concept of excitement in Elias and Dunning (1992). Using these theories, high-altitude climbing can be firmly situated in the basic cultural and social processes in contemporary societies.

Risk and climbing – theoretical considerations

Even though most people have an intuitive understanding of *risk*, this concept defies precise definition (Weber, 2001). Some of the reasons might be related with the fact that risk should be historically and culturally situated, that is, related to time and space in a particular culture (Beriain, 1996). In this way, we can assume that risk is a social process, varying according to location (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1983). However, in Lyng's (1990) opinion, there is an absence of research thoroughly interrogating voluntary risk-taking behaviour. That is, we still lack "an account that would explain high-risk behaviour in terms of a socially constituted self in a historically specific social environment" (Lyng, 1990, p. 852).

There are some cultural changes in our society that have effects on people's conduct and on the values considered important to guide this conduct. Undoubtedly, we live in a changing period that promotes change in what are considered appropriate norms for living. Values like safety in life and work are substituted by values related to the *self*. Indeed, self-expression, self-realisation, hedonism, individualism and a protective feeling to nature seem to be more and more developed. Moreover, in Le Breton's (2000) opinion, we live in a society which confers increasing importance on risk questions and, at the same time, valorises more-and-more safety in everyday life. Physical activities like climbing fall within this frame where people seek practices that provide strong sensations, pleasure and self-development within a natural environment, and also self-expression related to personal distinction.

The practice of a physical activity in which there resides an implicit risk, like climbing, can also be analysed using Lyng's (1990) concept of *edgework*. Lyng (1990, p. 855) focused his approach on two forms of social determination: "the factors internal to the individual and the external social environment of edgeworkers". Activities that can be subsumed under *edgework* have one central feature in common. They all involve a clearly observable threat to one's physical or mental well-being or one's sense of an ordered existence (Lyng, 1990). As examples of those activities, Lyng (1990) refers to danger sports like rock climbing and skydiving in which threat or injury are always present.

It is possible to relate the concept of *edgework* to two features of contemporary society. On the one hand, with the quest for excitement as established by Elias and Dunning (1992), since in everyday life we have to deal with imposed social norms and conducts, sometimes very suffocating. On the other hand, the quest for practices that might be able to develop a distinguishable self-expression as discussed by Bourdieu (1980) in his concept of *habitus*. In fact, Bourdieu has specifically addressed distinctive tastes for sports and physical activities. In this author's opinion, to understand the group (class) distribution in the different sports, it is necessary to take into account the representations, the specific schemes and appreciations, that the different classes have of the costs (economic, cultural and physical) and benefits attached to different sports; that is, the immediate or deferred symbolic benefits linked to the distributional or positional value of each of the sports considered (Bourdieu, 1986).

Hence, as Laberge and Kay (2002) argue, the concept of *habitus* can be very helpful in understanding how a specific group's preference for a specific sport practice is linked to particular benefits expected from the practice. Moreover, this concept can be useful in examining the extent to which sport fields, as symbolic systems constructed through shared values and beliefs, constitute sites of production, contributing to the construction of identity, difference and social order (Kay & Laberge, 2002).

This article explores the risk conceptions of climbers and their quest for risk, considering whether or not they practise climbing underneath a desire for risk as a way of self-expression and as a way to make their lives remarkable, that is to say, distinguishable.

As Williams and Donnelly (1985) assert, risk is a constitutive element in climbing, though vast in its ambiguous conceptions. Thus, in this study the risk concept is used in a limited perspective; namely, how risk is perceived individually and taken as a free choice by alpinists. The goals of the study were to understand how climbers perceive climbing inherent risks through their subjective experiences and to find out if climbers are consciously 'risk takers', and, if so, why.

Research method

The analysis is based on 19 in-depth interviews (Ghiglione & Matalon, 1993) with high-altitude alpinists; five were Everest climbers and only one had never climbed above 4000m altitude (see Table I). All the climbers participated in this study as volunteers, their ages ranged from 25 to 43, and only one was a woman. Despite concerted efforts, it was not possible to interview more female climbers, since in Portugal (where the study was conducted) this is an activity with a low level of participation among women. Albeit large numbers of studies (for references see Loewenstein, Hsee, Weber, & Welch, 2001) have found that men tend to be more risk averse than women, gender will not be dis-

Table I.

Climber	Age	Max. Altitude	Classification according to altitude*
1	35	6000 m	Extreme Altitude
2	37	3800 m	High Altitude
3	34	8848 m	Extreme Altitude
4	40	6088 m	Extreme Altitude
5	43	4807 m	Very High Altitude
6	29	4000 m	High Altitude
7	39	4200 m	High Altitude
8	43	8586 m	Extreme Altitude
9	39	6088 m	Extreme Altitude
10	37	8000 m	Extreme Altitude
11	39	8848 m	Extreme Altitude
12	41	8000 m	Extreme Altitude
13	25	6000 m	Extreme Altitude
14	41	5000 m	Very High Altitude
15	42	8000 m	Extreme Altitude
16	28	4800 m	Very High Altitude
17	38	5700 m	Extreme Altitude
18	27	4800 m	Very High Altitude
19	27	6088 m	Extreme Altitude

* Classification established by *American Alpine Club Journal Altitude Medicine (cit. in Hultgren, 1997: 4-5).*

cussed in this paper, given that there was not enough data from women.

Based on the literature and on my own personal experience as a climber (though not an expert climber), a primary version of the interview was applied to some experts from the population to be studied. Subsequently a final version was adopted. Several main themes were found to be prominent in the interview data: conception of risk; perception of risk; risk as challenge; controlling risk; risk and pleasure; and physical integrity in risk.

All the interviews were tape-recorded, lasting an average of 90 minutes. After being listened to and transcribed fully, the interviews were submitted to content analysis (Bardin, 1977; Silverman, 2000). Several topics were discussed with each interviewee: the reasons why alpinists climb mountains, physical sensations in their practice (pleasant or not), personal risk conception and perception, and physical integrity in risk. Though respondents were deliberately guided toward the predetermined themes, spontaneous detours were encouraged with the aim of eliciting respondents' particular perceptions and appreciations of alpinist practice and particular knowledge of the field.

Climbing is a cluster of activities ranging from mountaineering to rock-climbing, to free climbing, to cliff hanging and alpinism. This article addresses the risk perception of high-altitude alpinists, but they will be referred to simply as climbers, since this a more common term.

Conception of risk

In a scenario that might be extremely hostile (as the one involving climbing) there are at least three factors that confer risk on the activity: factors related to the space environment, activity features, and the subject as an active agent (for references see Fuster i Matute, 1988).

Regarding the factors related to the space environment, the climbers refer these as objective risks, that is, risks that are completely uncontrollable and unavoidable such as falling rocks and collapsing *seracs*:

> "There is always some risk. There are objective and subjective dangers. For example, when I went to Aiguille du Midi I felt some objective risks because the rock was very hot and fragmented. We could watch a lot of stones falling, and, of course, they could fall above us" (Interviewee 7).

> "We all know that if we want to do something in a high altitude environment, eventually we will pass through a very dangerous situation which can only be controlled by not going, that is, hypoxia. However, we still go on…" (1).

The risk related to the individual as an active agent (Fuster i Matute, 1988) is understood as subjective, since:

> "There are sets of concepts and knowledge that might cause subjective dangers, because we decide by our own analysis. If we make a wrong decision, we might be in a risky situation. Sometimes we are not in conditions to make the best decision, since we might be very tired" (2).

> "I think that one of the subjective risks is related to the evaluation that one makes about one's own physical state. Now I know that I was very weak when I reached the top of Everest, and these are the consequences…" (3. This climber suffered frostbite in his hands and nose).

Perception of risk

There is clearly a perception of risk in climbing for the simple reason that risk is effective and real. Climbing is almost like playing with life (De Léséleuc, 1997). As one of the participants put it, "*Losing in alpinism might be written with capital letters! It can be all or nothing!" (12).* Indeed, climbers agree with the fact that "*this is a risk activity, with real risk!" (14),* and that "*risk is inherent in climbing" (16).* Therefore, they are perfectly

aware of its existence, as "*risk is always there! From the first moment that I put on my crampons I know I will meet risk!" (1).*

The subjects were asked to describe one risky situation, so we can analyse the ways they perceived risk. The following examples illustrate the majority of the answers.

> "The second time I tried Everest we climbed throughout in alpine style and we decided to camp at 7900 m. It was winter! We were inside a bag at -42ºC! To fall asleep could mean to die. We could not sleep!" (11).

> "I knew that I would be in a risky situation two years ago. I was 100m from the top, but I had to come down because I was very tired and completely dehydrated. Furthermore, suddenly the weather became truly bad. I decided to come down to rest and try again later" (8).

Risk as challenge

Activities like climbing take place in risk situations that are cannot be avoided. Moreover, this activity may create a situation in which fatality occurs almost deliberately (Giddens, 1994). Indeed, we are able to perceive through climbers' own words that risk is important in their practice.

> "I have to be very honest, if there was no risk, or at least a little bit of it…" (3).

> "For me there has to be some risk. If it ends I have to look for more. Well, it's not looking for it, but for me the big deal in climbing relies on risk!" (5).

> "If we submit ourselves to a very difficult task, we will be very happy after we have done it successfully, so the more difficult the task the more people join…" (6).

These opinions are in accordance with other studies (De Léséleuc, 1997; Williams & Donnelly, 1985) in which participants assert that they would not do such an activity if there was no risk. Accepting risk in activities like climbing might be connected with the development of a personal meaning of risk (Fuster i Matute & Agurruza, 1995), since we live in a society where everything is done to make it more-and-more safe (Le Breton, 2000).

It is also possible to speculate that climbers perceive this activity as a way to make their lives distinguishable, because:

> "When we go, we cut with everyday life, and when this happens it's like living an adventure. It is something that expands our personal book or biography, and we have the chance to be the authors of our own lives!" (11).

> "I knew that if I could reach the Everest summit I would do something very difficult for the majority of people" (3).

> "Most of the persons are very concerned with getting more-and-more material things to make their lives happier, but I think that doing something in a natural environment, far away from city chaos with so much adventure, brings me good feelings, happiness!" (4).

Controlling risk

In his conceptualisation of *edgework* , Lyng (1990) establishes some categories: the specific individual qualities and capacities that are relevant to *edgework* experience. These characteristics are above all cognitive in nature, a "special form of *mental toughnes*s" (Lyng, 1990, p. 859). A similar emphasis mentioned by our interviewees was *mental control*. Indeed, they considered self-discipline as fundamental not only to be able to accomplish their goals, but also to solve any kind of difficulty that might occur. Some participants' comments reflect this:

> "At high-altitude, climbing is 80% psychological and 20% physical. We need a lot of determination and discipline! This is because we need to keep on going and not

stop even though the tendency is to stop and to rest…" (8).

"We are always at our limits, and we need to keep on going very slowly to reach our goal, which is so near… But we need a mental capacity to absorb all that…" (3).

"If mind fails… our body might be in shape, but we'll be out of strength! There are a lot of situations that we only control with our minds…" (12).

Climbers are always trying to overcome themselves, not only controlling risk, but also overcoming all hitches, which provokes sensations like a "*very strong adrenalin feeling" (6).*

"It's very important to feel that I'm in control of the situation and that I'll overcome myself by doing something that I have never done before and that might be a little bit risky. Of course I'm in tension, because I know that things can go wrong, but in the end the satisfaction is like: Yes! I've done it!" (19).

There is also a *"tendency to go right through the route that reveals further complexity" (1)*, considering that *"if I can do an 8B with a rope, I want to try an 8B without it!" (5).* Even so, these felt and implicit emotions and pleasures were not recognised as risk-seeking attitudes, for the reason that "*it's all about challenge and overcoming it… as a matter of fact, I never thought about it in terms of risk" (7).* In fact, climbers may actively seek out risky situations, but this is not because they enjoy the resultant feelings of fear; rather they seem to work very hard to control this fear (Slanger & Rudestam, 1997). What they seem to enjoy is the sense of exhilaration that follows the application of personal control within an out-of-control situation (Kiewa, 2001).

Risk and pleasure

Welcoming risk, as in other studies (for references see Pedersen, 1997), was most evident in the youngest climbers in this study. Actually only the youngest participants linked a pleasant feeling to high-risk situations as illustrated by the comment, "*the more risky a successful activity, the greater is the pleasure!" (6).* This is also discussed by Bratton *et al* (1979) whose study verified that only for the youngest participants was it important to *flirt* with danger. The older climbers in my study seemed to be aware of their attitude towards risk in youth. Indeed, they felt that this revealed their lack of experience which could have resulted in a false sense of safety:

"When we are young we do some rash things. It is all done unknowingly. When I was 18 years old I didn't even knew what a rope was, and I used to do some incredible things in the Pyrenees… At that time there was a lack of awareness…" (12).

But this changed with age and experience. As one of the oldest climbers stated; "*I believe that we become more serene through the years*" *(15).* This is corroborated in Loewenstein *et al's* (2001) study in which the authors argue that among young people there is more propensity to engage in high risk-taking behaviour. In addiction, those climbers who were already parents tended to avoid high-risk situations and only engaged in activities in which they felt that the "objective risks" were controllable.

"I started to be more fearful after my child's birth, for the reason that I can't abstract myself from all that surrounds me. I can't expose myself to something so risky that I could hurt myself or put my life in danger" (1).

"When I became a father, everything changed. I understood that there is someone so fragile who needs me and I cannot disappoint her. More then that, I cannot sacrifice her future to my pleasure" (14).

Physical integrity in risk

It is difficult to get precise statistics on death rates in high-altitude mountaineering. According to Ortner (1997), one out of ten

Himalayan climbers do not return, and the death rate on expeditions to the Everest area runs at about one in eight. Moreover, "approximately one person has died for every four who have successfully ascended Everest" (Loewenstein, 1999, p. 317). These data illustrate the real risks that this activity involves. Furthermore, there is probably not a single Himalayan climber who has not lost at least one close friend to a mountaineering accident, and who has not been on at least in one expedition that suffered a fatal accident or some other death (Ortner, 1997). Likewise the climbers in this study who had been to Everest had stories to tell.

> "The second time I went to Everest I did go to the top but my friend did not come down with me. Unfortunately, he died there…" (3).

> "When I went to Everest on an international expedition with four Catalans and two Swiss, the two Swiss died!" (11).

Still, this does not seem to be a reason to stop going on expeditions: quite the opposite, and a friend's death during an expedition appears to be an excuse to keep on going, given that,

> "The best tribute that we could bestow on persons like them, who lost their lives for this dream, for something that was not tangible… the best tribute we could give them was to reach that summit for them!" (11).

Considering Loewenstein *et al's* (2001) study, it would be expected that such events would change, or at least influence, future climbing expeditions. Nevertheless, this is not so obvious; otherwise we would not be able to verify in the subjects a continuing participation in expeditions to high mountains which were even more dangerous for them. Particularly, for those who had already suffered frostbites, like two climbers in this study (3 & 11), it seemed as if mountaineers do not remember the miseries they passed through, and this helps to explain why they keep returning for more (Loewenstein, 1999). In fact, even though the climbers in this study mentioned some difficulties inherent to practice, similar to what Slanger and Rudestam (1997) found, the majority of narratives emphasised the good experiences, "*Because all the attractions that a mountain can offer are much bigger than being accommodated on a sofa*" *(17).* In Slanger and Rudestam's (1997) opinion, sometimes it seems that they do not realise their real weakness, otherwise they would not argue that, *"Once frozen, it's very difficult to be caught out twice!" (11)*, and this despite the obvious described physiological enhanced susceptibility to more severe frostbite on subsequent expeditions (Ward et al., 2000).

Discussion

Conception of risk

The risk conception of the subjects in this study is in accordance with the related literature since they make a distinction between objective and subjective risks (Fuster i Matute, 1988). Moreover, the climbers knew that risk and jeopardy were constitutive elements in climbing (Williams & Donnelly, 1985). Actually, there are studies in which participants assert that they would not do such activity if there was no risk (De Léséleuc, 1997; Williams & Donnelly, 1985). Some climbers in this study had the same opinion: *"For me there has to be some risk. If it ends I have to look for more" (5).* Risk seems to be a real and important element in climbing, since mountain climbing invokes emotions and pleasure sensations in which effort for itself and risk are the most acclaimed features (De Léséleuc, 1999).

Perception of risk

Considering the alpinists' risk perception, we can assume that they were completely aware of the real situation. Climbers perceive risk as an inherent factor in climbing and most of the time they experience risk as positive in itself, *"adding some spice to the total situation"* (Breivik, 1996, p. 310). Actually, as Le Breton (2000) emphasises, it would be in-

conceivable to live an adventure without risk since this represents not just spice but also triumph in other people's eyes. As one of the climbers answered about risk importance:

> "Of course it is important! We do not reach for it but we want to control it. We need a control over ourselves and over a situation that might involve some risks" (12).

It could be asserted that climbers perceive risk as truly important in their lives, since in everyday life they cannot experience situations with so much excitement. Therefore this 'risk-seeking' behaviour might be explained by Elias and Dunning's (1992) concept of a quest for excitement. When we analyse the social and cultural changes in contemporary life we can verify that leisure is generally understood as essential and as a means of personal enhancement and self-development. So when climbers practise their activity they are able to provide themselves with a coherent sense of self in which resides the real importance of leisure (Kiewa, 2001). Nowadays, climbing might be understood as an attempt to achieve relative freedom from the external compulsive forces of one's culture and physical environment (Kiewa, 2002). This fact is also emphasised by Williams and Donnelly (1985), who consider that, through climbing, people appear to be motivated to seek out places where they can escape from the suffocating circumstances produced in the society, which means seeking arousal in natural environments such as mountains.

Controlling risk

Even if risk is necessary this does not mean that one wants its materialisation (De Léséleuc, 1997). On the contrary, it means a desire to surpass and to control whatever comes by, which embraces the implicit challenge of accomplishing a summit. As one of the climbers stated,

> "I dispose myself to a challenge and to face up to the wall… Eventually, I may have to deal with some risks that I have to overcome" (18).

According to Lyng (1990), the more difficult a problem is, the more competent one feels when one is able to solve it. Therefore, the greatest satisfaction or feeling of competence results from being able to control the seemingly uncontrollable. In accordance with this, there are studies (for references see Motl, Berger, & Leuschen, 2000) in which rock-climbers report an increased sense of competence and more positive self-appraisal.

Risk and pleasure

The above analysis has shown that challenge and pleasure are deeply connected. On the one hand, it is very important to feel competent, and so climbers try to realise tasks that are progressively more difficult. On the other hand, climbers reach for situations that can provide more excitement in life and thereby make it worth living. It is possible to relate the competence feeling to Lyng's perspective (1990). He posits that edgework activities restore a sense of spontaneity as well as a belief in personal control. Indeed, it seems that control is powerfully reinforced by the practice of such activity (Loewenstein, 1999).

As explained earlier, risk is understood as elementary in numerous leisure activities and, more than that, a component of pleasure in itself (Elias & Dunning, 1992). In addition, Cunha e Silva (1998) argues that in this kind of activity pleasure is mediated by risk and vertigo which arise from direct and brutal contact with reality. In fact, linked with risk, vertigo legitimises these practices (Loret, 2002) alongside an attempt to destroy perception's stability and to inflict a voluptuous yet still desirable and pleasant panic (Callois, 1990). It is also possible to verify among the climbers in this study an emphasis on self-control related to vertigo within risk.

> "I try to feel some risk and I like to feel some fear, but not panic. To feel some fear helps me to control myself" (19).

According to Léséleuc (1997), this relationship with danger and overwhelming situ-

ations generates pleasant feelings. The challenge underlying risk appears to be intimately connected with pleasure since voluntarily assumed risk is associated with pleasure by those taking the risks (Heimer, 1988). Indeed, if risk becomes danger rather than challenge, the most common attitude would be to avoid it (Sokolowska & Pohorille, 2000) and, apparently, that is not what happens. This risk attitude can be explained by some general features of our society. Contrary to traditional societies, where risk was understood as avoidable, in the western contemporary society we are able to observe a new adventure concept arising. Here, risk is perceived as an end in itself. If in another space and time, risk was expected but not desirable, in our days the fundamental meaning of adventure lies in overcoming risky situations (Le Breton, 2000). Our climbers' adventure is risky, and consciously risky. More than conscious, it is desirable for most of the climbers – an attempt to restore meaning to their lives through a defying adventure.

It is possible to establish a connection with Le Breton's (2000) work, for whom there is a relationship between sensation-seeking and current participation in risky sports and physical activities. In this author's opinion, these (new) adventurers find in climbing a way to confirm their existence, since they defy death and have a chance to certificate their lives. Putting themselves in risky situations and defying death is an important way of testing their own lives due to the absence in contemporary society of other indicators of real meaning of existence (Le Breton, 2000). In this way, there might be an ontological reason to choose a risk activity; meaning that through this activity climbers feel that they are truly alive and that they meet their real selves.

Additionally, it is possible to speculate that climbers perceive this activity as a way of making their lives distinguishable, for the reason that they believe that they become "*the authors of our own lives!" (11*). It is useful to recall the concept of *distinction* discussed by Bourdieu (1991) since when perceived through social categories, the differences between practices symbolise different positions. That is, practice functions in each society in the same way as differences which are constitutive of symbolic systems, such as a set of distinctive features and differential deviations that are constitutive of a mythical system, that is, as *distinctive signs* (Bourdieu, 1991). Moreover, it is in the agent's hands to make possible the actualisation of inscribed potentialities in the body as capacities and dispositions shaped by existential conditions (Bourdieu, 1998). In this way, the agent can make his life distinguishable by choosing his practice. Thus, by selecting climbing as a different and differentiating practice, climbers *differentiate* their lives, turning them into *distinctive* lives. As Bourdieu (1991, p. 629) argues, the practices (in this case, climbing), "Or the patterns of consumption which the model tries to explain….conceive of the correspondence between, on the one hand, social positions and classes, considered as substantial sets, and, on the other, tastes or practices, as a mechanical and direct relation".

Therefore, the practice of climbing may be understood as a way to make life distinctive, representing a different taste from others, showing that climbers are not vulgar. Indeed, if we consider, as Bourdieu argues, *habitus* as structured structures, generative principles of distinct and distinctive practices, the sport a person practises and the way he or she practises it – *habitus* – are also *structuring* structures, different ways of classifying tastes. In fact, "*habitus* makes different differences; they implement distinctions between what is distinguished and what is vulgar" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 634).

Therefore, climbing is not only an ontological mode to meet true existence, but also a mode to 'construct' a distinguishable lifestyle within a society where taking risks has a significant meaning and makes a distinctive life worth living. In fact, this may be one of the many interpretations of the term

lifestyle, in which people are impelled to sustain coherence across all fields of behaviour. Thus, for Bourdieu this would include everything from possessions to bodily demeanor, in which climbing might have a symbolical significance.

As in other studies (Heimer, 1988; Weber, Blais, & Betz, 2002), it is possible to establish a relationship between risk-taking and age among climbers. This study's climbers referred to their own changing attitudes throughout life. These changes are related not only with their different risk perceptions acquired by experience, but also with changes connected with different aims in life and for the activity. They are aware that somehow they were unconscious when they started the activity, as highlighted by the comment: "*When I started I didn't even knew what kind of ropes should be used*" (12). Secondly, "*there is a time when we believe we are supermen, and nothing can happen to us, only to others, and I passed through that phase!"* (4). In effect, there is a tendency to be an adventurer in youth and to live life in its immediacy (Simmel, 1997) since this is a period of discovery and liberty. Therefore, it is among the youngest that we find the most risky behaviour (Le Breton, 2000).

Considering the fact that we no more live beneath sacred or religious systems as in traditional societies, there is a lack of markers to distinguish stages in life such as passing from youth to adulthood (Le Breton, 2000). Thus, surpassing risky situations could be understood as a status passage in life and entry to adult society (Le Breton, 2000). Moreover, the opportunity to be in a distinguishable adventure and to live risky situations can be recognised as a ritual, that is, a sacred form of life. Actually, even though we live in a profane society, there is a hidden desire to give our lives a special meaning, to bring a sacred meaning to life (Le Breton, 2000).

Attitudes when facing risk situations seem to be changeable, not only because "*we become more serene through the years*" *(15),* but also because people acquire other responsibilities such as being parents and being a responsible family member. As stated by Mary Douglas (1999), when people knowingly take risks, they are not alone; the bigger the risk, the more likely they are to consult their families before making a decision. Even though there is no direct approach to their families, this is a very significant influence when one has to decide which expedition or which summit to reach, given the increased responsibility of being a parent. Thus, some climbers seem to avoid high-risk situations and only opt for activities in which they feel that the "objective risks" are controllable, despite the feeling that some risks can be overwhelming. Indeed people's reactions to risk depend on a variety of factors that influence cognitive evaluations of risk which "include the vividness with which consequences can be imagined, personal exposure to or experience of outcomes, and past history of conditioning" (Loewenstein et al., 2001, p. 271).

Physical integrity in risk

Physical integrity despite risk is an expected consequence of climbing, since the threat of death or injury is always present for all participants. This fact is in accordance with Le Breton's (2000) point of view as far as the meaning of taking risks today is concerned. Even if some of our subjects only thought about remarkable peril situations after they had passed through real jeopardy such as being very close to death, and stated that, *"It is not worth the risk of being in a hospital bed" (3)*, this did not mean that they would not do it. Being close to death may be seen as a test of existence (Le Breton, 2000), a symbolic way to make life real in a sacred sense. Indeed, some of the climbers who had been in very dangerous situations still participated in risky expeditions.

Additionally, this kind of attitude reveals another feature of our society – living the present intensely with all that it can offer, which is something that has more-and-more value (Featherstone, 2002). Thus, it can be

said that alpinists seek out strong feelings as if it was the last day of their lives. Therefore, we should not feel surprised when some of them say:

> "If I have to die at least I want to die doing something that I really enjoy and in a place with so much greatness as a big and beautiful mountain" (5).

Concluding remarks

There is no doubt that climbing occurs within a context of risk; therefore, all the climbers in this study were perfectly aware of this, and they all perceived risk as a fact which they had to confront. Moreover, risk was experienced as positive in itself, since risk might cause pleasant feelings related to a sensation of vertigo. In fact, like in other studies, controlling risk seemed to give climbers a powerful feeling vis-à-vis their circumstances and consequently allowed them to feel in control of their own lives. Herein lies one of leisure's functions; the possibility to develop a sense of self. In addition, the practice of a risky activity such as high-altitude climbing may be even better understood in the context of some pervasive features of our modern societies. Risk might be assumed as a cultural construction in reaction to basic features of contemporary society. In traditional societies risk is not a value in itself; on the contrary, in a traditional adventure risk is something that should be avoided. However, in our society, even more important than the adventure in itself, seem to be its consequences. That is to say, the more risky an adventure, the more meaningful it will become, not only in the significance of the climber's existence – a real existence (a sacred form of life) – but also as a distinguishable practice that confers a *distinctive* lifestyle.

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World Leisure and the United Nations

One of World Leisure's most prized and important partnerships is that of our relationship with the United Nations (UN). Recently, World Leisure was granted renewal of its non-governmental organization special consultative status with the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). This privileged relationship provides an opportunity for World Leisure to participate in a wide array of UN's sponsored events, meetings, and other activities.

The UN's work with non-governmental organizations was first established formally in 1946. At that time, there were 41 non-governmental organizations that held consultative status with the UN. Opportunities for such a relationship with the UN was enabled as a result of Chapter 10, Article 71 of the UN Charter. This article states that the ECOSOC "may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the UN concerned." (1945). By 1992, there were 700 non-governmental organizations that had achieved this status. As a reflection of the growth of non-governmental organizations throughout the world, today there are over 2,500 holding consultative status.

The granting of the special consultative status by the UN to World Leisure is predicated upon the establishment of a reciprocal relationship between the two organizations. World Leisure is expected to contribute to advancing the aims of the ECOSOC and the activities of the UN in general. In turn, recognition by the ECOSOC enables World Leisure to contribute directly to the work of this body and the formulation of its programs and services by providing technical support, advice and counsel in our area of expertise. Frequently, World Leisure is called upon to attend various UN conferences, meetings and forums, as well as provide direct input via oral interventions and written statements. Among the other key factors in the granting of consultative status to an organization is that it must have an "... established headquarters, a democratically adopted constitution, authority to speak for its members, a representative structure, appropriate mechanism of accountability, and democratic and transparent decision-making processes" (2005).

The program areas of the ECOSOC have great implications for the advancement of World Leisure's vision of promoting leisure as being integral to social, cultural and economic development. Among ECOSOC program areas with direct relevance to World Leisure include: social development, women's rights, sustainable development and human settlements, governance and institution building, population development, economics, trade, and science and technology. Further, ECOSOC is focused on such areas and

topics as indigenous populations, refugees, environment, children's rights, volunteers, and health.

World Leisure, as a special consultative body, has been designated as an organization with special competence in the area of leisure and recreation by the ECOSOC. Such non-governmental organizations holding this special consultative status are granted the opportunity to attend UN meetings, designated UN representatives, attend UN conferences, circulate statements at ECOSOC meetings and ECOSOC subsidiary bodies meetings, as well as speak at meetings of the latter bodies. Every four years, World Leisure is required to submit a Quadrennial Report detailing our activities in two parts. The first part of the Quadrennial Report details basic information regarding the organization including: 1) the type of consultative status; 2) area of activity; 3) geographic distribution of members; 4) constitution of by-laws; 5) funding; and 6) organizational affiliations. The second part of this report details World Leisure activities during the reporting period as related to UN and ECOSOC aims.

World Leisure has made a concerted effort to reflect and align its strategic initiatives and priorities with the UN's goals. These are reflected in its strategic plan entitled *A World Fit For Living: World Leisure Priorities for People 2004-2008.* Drawing on the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on the Rights of Children, Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women, and the Principles for Older Persons, World Leisure has committed itself to the following priority areas: 1*) Heightening the Awareness of Leisure Benefits.* Expanding the application of leisure as a contributor to individual and community well-being, especially among those who stand to benefit most from participation; 2) *Improving Policy and Legislation.* Encouraging Governments to develop effective policies and practices in providing for leisure, especially the lowering of barriers to involvement and participation; 3) *Strengthening Leadership.* Providing education and training programs for those in positions of responsibility who have the greatest impact on the development and delivery of leisure programs; and 4) *Expanding International Co-operation.* Identifying and promoting cooperation among governmental and non-governmental agencies and organizations.

Recently, the Executive Committee of World Leisure confirmed the appointments of Dr. Gerald Fain and Professor Bohdan Jung to serve as our representatives to the UN. Gerry Fain is Professor in the School of Education at Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. Fain is best known for his academic work related to ethics and leisure and for his work in the area of therapeutic recreation. He is author of numerous publications and has held memberships and has been active in a large number of organizations, including World Leisure, serving as a member since 1972. Bohdan Jung is Professor, Warsaw School of Economics, Warsaw, Poland. He serves as the director of the Institute for International Studies at the same institution. Professor Jung has served as the Managing Editor of the *World Leisure Journal* since 1991. His academic interests include a focus on the media and information society. Dr. Fain will represent World Leisure at the UN in New York City. Professor Jung will represent out interests in Europe, especially in Geneva.

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Leisure: Changing Life – The 2006 World Leisure Expo: Hangzhou, The Peoples Republic of China

The historic and lovely city of Hangzhou in the People's Republic of China will be the host of the 2006 World Leisure Expo. One of the most significant and exciting new programs of the World Leisure Organization, this event is scheduled to operate from April to October of 2006. The World Leisure Expo has been positioned to serve as a way to "... promote leisure and leisure pursuits and enterprises" (2006 Hanzghou World Leisure Expo, 2004a). Further, the World Leisure Expo is designed in such a way to focus greater attention on the development and improvement of China's leisure and tourism infrastructure. The World Leisure Expo will provide an opportunity for an exchange of ideas to help advance ways of enhancing and improving the quality of life leisure-related themes.

The many and varied activities and events of the World Leisure Expo are being built around the theme of "Leisure: Changing Life." This theme emphasizes the importance of leisure as a way of enriching the lives of individuals as well as improving the delivery of leisure services in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, The People's Republic of China, and throughout the world. As such, the World Leisure Expo has three primary goals. These include:

- To promote the exchange and dissemination of leisure science and understanding in countries throughout the world, especially among developing countries;
- To promote the development of the leisure economy and enhance its contribution to improving the quality of life for all; and
- To improve the international stature and prestige of Hangzhou in the field of leisure by creating the conditions pre-requisite to becoming a leisure city.

Projections call for over 15 million domestic visitors and 1 million overseas visitors to attend the World Leisure Expo. More than 5,000 exhibitors from 60 different countries will be providing information and displays of their leisure-oriented products and services.

The main venue of the World Leisure Expo will be the World Leisure Expo Garden. As the focal point of the World Leisure Expo, the Garden is conceptualized as an integrated area including leisure venues, exhibition facilities, tourism attractions, as well as human residences. The World Leisure Expo Garden will be organized around six themed streets with the following focus: Women's Street, Family Street, Children's Street, Art Street, Book Street and Food Street. Resorts and hotels include the World Leisure Expo Grand Hotel, the Venice Hotel, and the Hangzhou Radon Spring Holiday Inn. In addition, the World Leisure Expo Garden will feature a number of hotel-like apartment buildings. Four leisure communities will be established around the following themes: Venetian Canal District, Mediterranean Villas, Zurich Town, and Orlando Town.

Within the World Leisure Expo Garden, an area of 30,000 square meters will house a special folk exposition. This unique exposition will be located in the Venetian Canal District and will feature the displays of 100 cities exhibiting their distinctive community leisure environments. Each city will have the opportunity to be featured in a "City Day"

program. On a designated day, each city will be featured in such a way as to call attention to their efforts at creating social, cultural, and physical environments enhancing leisure opportunities.

Another major venue for the World Leisure Expo will be the World Leisure Folk Garden. This area, located in the Xiaoshan District's Xianghu Tourism Resort, is nearby the World Leisure Expo. This area will feature leisure programs that reflect "... a traditional Oriental character and cultural flavor" (2006 Hanzghou World Leisure Expo, 2004b). A full range of services will be available that cater to business-type activities. The World Leisure Garden has been conceptualized as "... an ideal place for sightseeing, vacationing, amusement, relaxation, conferences and banquets (2006 Hanzghou World Leisure Expo, 2004c).

There will be many events associated with the World Leisure Expo that provide educational exchanges and a heightened awareness of the impact of leisure throughout the world. One of the most important will be the staging of the 9th World Leisure Congress sponsored by the World Leisure Organization. This important worldwide gathering of leisure professionals, government officials and concerned citizens will feature presentations by scholars and authoritative professionals from around the world. It is expected that over 3,000 individuals will attend this event scheduled for October 2006. In addition, a World Leisure Summit will be held and will focus its attention toward the drafting of a "Global Leisure Declaration." Another important development will be the establishment of the Asia Pacific Centre for the Study of Leisure (APCL). This education, research and service focused centre will provide the World Leisure Organization with a second "World Leisure International Centre of Excellence (WICE)." This Centre will provide an Asian Pacific focused program complementing World Leisure's existing WICE located at Wageningen University in The Netherlands. For the first time, World Leisure will present the "World Leisure Innovation Prize" to recognize examples of extemporary efforts that have resulted in the promotion of leisure. Other events to be featured in the World Leisure Expo include The World Leisure Commodities Exhibition, World Yacht Exposition, Amusement Equipment Exposition, Worldwide 100 City Leisure Customs Exposition, World Art Exposition, World Carnival, World Leisure Expo Gala Show, and the Hangzhou West Lake Fireworks Show.

The 2006 World Leisure Expo provides an unparalleled opportunity to advance leisure as being integral to social, cultural and economic development. It will provide numerous venues and events to heighten the awareness of citizens, government officials, businesses, and other professionals to the importance of leisure. The World Leisure Expo will provide an opportunity to demonstrate why leisure is central in enhancing and enriching the quality of lives of individuals throughout the world. More information can be obtained from the Expo website www.wl-expo.com or to get involved in the event contact the Expo office using the email address office@wl-expo.com

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Upcoming events

Celebrity Culture
University of Paisley, Scotland
September 12-14 2005
www.celebrity.paisley.ac.uk

13th European Sports Management Congress
and 75th ISRM Annual Conference The Power of Sport
The Sage, Gateshead
September 7-10 2005
www.easm2005.com

7th ANZALS Biennial Conference
Kangaroo and Kiwi Culture: Impacts on the Leisure Experience
University of Waikato, New Zealand
November 30-December 3 2005
www.staff.vu.edu.au/anzals

XVI International Sociological Association World Congress
Research Committee on Leisure RC13
Durban, South Africa
July 23-29 2006
www.ucm.es/info/isa/congress2006/

Leisure Studies Association Annual Conference
Making Space: Leisure, Tourism and Renewal
University of West of England, Bristol
July 12-14 2006
www.leisure-studies-association.info/LSAWEB/2006/Main.html

The Impact of Consumerism on Sport, Leisure and Health
Hong Kong Baptist University
October 7-8 2006
For details contact Tongkk@hkbu.edu.hk

9th World Leisure Congress
Leisure – integral to social, cultural and economic development
Hangzhou, China
October 15-20 2006
www.worldleisure.org

The Diverse Worlds of Unemployed Adults: Consequences for Leisure, Lifestyle, and Well-being.

Mark E. Havitz, Peter A. Morden, and Diane M. Samdahl, 2004, Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

In the early 1990s Mark Havitz and Diane Samdahl, two of the authors of this book, themselves faced impending unemployment when restructuring at the University of Oregon identified their own posts for abolition. Although both secured new positions before their old ones were eliminated, the experience was enough to strengthen their resolve to undertake research into unemployment. Collaborating with Peter Morden, they went on to undertake the extensive, in-depth and multi-method study into the experiences of unemployed Canadian adults that is the focus of this book.

A decade later the findings of their research have been documented in *The Diverse Worlds of Unemployed Adults*. It is a book that the authors hope will address a noticeable gap in the North American literature. Although a number of North American leisure scholars have addressed the relationship between leisure and unemployment in short works, none have attempted the extended treatment afforded the subject by Sue Glyptis, for the British experience, in the 1980s, and Frances Lobo, for Australia, in 2002. Furthermore, such work as has been carried out previously has been methodologically limited: among the weaknesses that Havitz, Morden and Samdahl cite are the predominance of interview-based research, the use of small samples, the failure to employ standardised indices in the investigation of dimensions such as self-esteem and life satisfaction, and the absence of longitudinal designs. They also particularly identify the tendency to document the experience of unemployed people through short- and medium term recall methods, with little attempt made to use more direct measures of experience, such as Experience Sampling. By confronting these methodological limitations in their own multi-method study, the authors seek to not only illuminate the North American situation, but to make a more fundamental contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the experience of unemployment and its relationship with leisure, lifestyle and well-being.

The resulting research project recruited 60 'recently unemployed' men and women in Kitchener, Ontario in May 1994 to participate in a complex, two-phase, mufti-method study. Data collection involved an Initial Interview, use of the Experiential Sampling Method (ESM) over a one-week period, a Follow-up Interview at the end of the ESM period, and a self-completion Daily Activities mail-back questionnaire. Data collection for the ESM element was particularly intense, involving participants being 'buzzed' at random times 7 times a day for 7 days: on each occasion they had to complete a short series of questions about the activity in which they were participating when contacted. All four elements of the data collection were then repeated in Phase 2, approximately 3 months later.

The book is very much an extended and detailed research report of the harvest of data this study has yielded. Following a short introduction and outline of methodology, the results are documented in more than 150 pages of text supplemented by half a dozen figures and nearly 50 detailed tables. Extensive appendices describe the research process and make transparent the deliberations that underlay the analysis. Interspersed with this are a brief opening outline of the issues the study addresses, a later discussion of the relationship of the study to the broader unemployment literature, and a policy-oriented chapter discussing the potential role of leisure services in contributing to the lifestyles of the unemployed. In short, much of this volume delivers a new dataset, while a rather shorter part – as might be expected – critiques the contribution that this makes to our understanding of unemployment. What does this contribution amount to?

As their title signals, the central concern of this volume is to demonstrate that unemployment is an experience to which individuals respond in diverse ways, and there is little doubt that the authors establish this to be the case. In doing so they provide a new conceptual framework for capturing this diversity. A systematic analysis of the Initial Interview data led to grouping their participants into four main categories – Planners, Vacationers, Connectors and Marginalized – with a further 10 subgroupings identified within these. The four overarching categorisations in particular seem useful labels that are likely to gain currency within leisure research. In this volume, these categories and their sub-groupings are used to organise the subsequent analysis of the ESM and 'Daily Activities' data, showing that the different orientations towards unemployment are manifest in different behavioural patterns. In particular, they highlight the potential for leisure service providers to engage more with unemployed constituents, and to recognise their diversity when they do so.

An additional theme running throughout the book is a concern to challenge the dominant wisdom that unemployment is a predominantly negative experience. Havitz, Morden and Samdahl do not dispute the corrosive effect of unemployment – but they are anxious to also highlight more positive dimensions in unemployed people's experiences. As part of the ESM element of the data collection, participants identified, at the end of each day, what had been the best part of the day, and why it was special. The result is a useful 15-page section in the book in which these highlights are identified and explained.

All of these are valuable additions to our knowledge of how unemployed people live their lives. They emphasise the diversity of unemployed people's experiences and they show, too, that unemployment can contain many positive experiences. But how much do these findings also increase our understanding? For while Havitz, Morden and Samdahl are confident and persuasive writers about their own study, some issues arise about how they integrate this material with the broader literature surrounding the lives of the unemployed.

One dimension the authors do not really address is the question of duration of unemployment – a central component of the experience. The impact of unemployment becomes more acute as people spend longer periods out of work and for most- although admittedly not all – this means that a predominantly negative experience becomes more difficult. There are associated behavioural impacts: out-of-home activities and social contact are particularly low among the long-term unemployed, and problems of boredom and nothing-to-do are acute. In Europe it is these longer-term unemployed who are a particular concern for policymakers, partly because of the cost of providing continued social assistance, and partly because of concern for well-being. By focussing on 'recently' unemployed people – a categorisation that is not defined – Havitz, Morden and Samdahl therefore limit the scope of their study somewhat. Despite the challenges of initial adjustment, the early weeks of unemployment are typically relatively positive: financial problems are not yet acute, psychological resources have not been eroded, and many individuals are optimistic that they will not remain unemployed for long. Most of the participants in this study did exactly that: by the time the Phase 2 research began, most were working or enrolled in study courses, with only 7 participants still unemployed. It would be interesting to see whether the same methodology, replicated with those who had been unemployed for a year or more, produced similarly positive results about the potential of leisure.

A second issue that is prominent in the unemployment literature but less in evidence here is the issue of poverty. Shortly before the authors embarked on this research, David Fryer's 1992 review of unemployment research from the 1930s and 1980s concluded that the crucial factor affecting responses to unemployment was whether or not individuals and their households were in poverty. Sue Glyptis' book, referred to in this volume, had also drawn attention to the significance of poverty for responses to leisure provision: while leisure could have much to offer the unemployed, it had little effect if monetary support was so low that basic needs could not be met. While it is legitimate for Havitz, Morden and Samdahl to attach less importance to financial resources, it would be useful to have a fuller discussion of their reasons for doing so.

The Diverse Worlds of Unemployed Adults is a well-written, interesting and informative book. The sheer volume of data it contains secures its place as a useful addition to the knowledge base. It has taken a while to move from data collection to publication, but its appearance in 2004 is a useful reminder of the problems of worklessness and the dilemmas surrounding 'leisure solutions'.

TESS KAY, Loughborough University
March 2005

WORLD LEISURE JOURNAL INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The *World Leisure* Journal will publish papers submitted for review. In 2005 there will be four issues. The early issues may include papers from the 8th World Leisure Congress. Special themes will be advertised later. Issues on a selected theme will have a proportion of journal space allocated to the special theme, but space will be given to contributors' articles that do not fit the theme. General papers are therefore invited for each issue.

World Leisure will present articles, book reviews, and journal abstracts that focus on leisure, recreation, and related issues, which impact on individuals, groups and society in general. The Journal aims to promote studies of applied and professional interest. Contributions may be in the form of original articles reporting the author's research, reviews, or case studies. Papers are invited and encouraged from authors throughout the world. Instructions for presentation are provided below. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor-in-Chief Professor Ken Roberts to the address appended.

Material will be considered for publication on the understanding that such material is original and unpublished work, not currently under review by any other journal or publisher, or already accepted for publication elsewhere. The author warrants that the material submitted does not infringe copyright of any other work. The author shall be responsible for all statements made in the material submitted.

Authors should forward *three* copies of their manuscript, word processed in double-line spacing, justified and in Times 12 font, conforming to the general style described in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (5th ed., 2001).* Manuscripts, preferably of 4000-6000 words, should be on white bond paper, with page printing to be one-sided. Manuscripts may also be submitted on disk or as email attachments.

Articles should include the following components, each to begin on a new page, in this sequence: title page; abstract and key words; text; acknowledgments; references; tables – each table, complete with title and footnotes, on a separate page; legend for illustrations. The page number and running head should appear in the upper right-hand corner of each page, following the title page.

Title page should contain the title, which should be brief but informative; name(s) of author(s): first name, middle initial, and last name, with the highest academic degree(s) and principal position, title, and/or affiliation; name of department(s) and/or institution(s), if any, to which the work should be attributed; name, postal address of author responsible for correspondence about the material; the source(s) of support in the form of grants or equipment.

Abstract and key words. The second page should carry an abstract of not more than 200 words indicating the purpose of the study or investigation, the basic procedures used, the main findings and the principal conclusions, emphasizing new and important aspects. Below the abstract state 3 to 10 key words or short phrases that will assist indexers in cross-indexing the article.

Text should usually be divided into sections with headings (e.g., Introduction, Method, Results, Discussion, and Conclusion).

References: note especially the proper style (APA) for references, both in the text and reference lists.

Tables should be numbered consecutively, each given a brief title, and presented in the APA style. Each table should be cited in the text in consecutive order. Tables should be used only when necessary to clarify important points in the text.

Figures and illustrations should be provided as black and white prints or drawn in solid black ink on good quality white paper. Indicate approximate location in the text.

Review of manuscripts. The anonymous review process requires authors to submit copies of their manuscript with all author-identifiable passages removed.

Upon acceptance of the article for publication, authors should submit a copy of the work with any revisions on disk or by email in addition to the final printed copies. Use Microsoft Word.

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