

Rough Comfort: Consuming adventure on the 'edge'

let at
end →

Malcolm Foley, Matt Frew, & David McGillivray

Picture the snowboarder flying off the cliff edge, mountain biker hurtling down a forest track, street kids grinding their skateboards along a rail, or the flowing hair and sculpted sweat glistening body of a sportclimber launching their body through space, arm outreached, searching for that lifesaving hold.

These are the images of adventure regularly peddled in adverts, magazines and through the global media. They promote the chic of adrenaline, where radical and risk meet. Participants are portrayed as the new coolhunters to be found in the countryside or the cul-de-sac. This paper explores the adventure phenomenon whilst problematising many of its pretensions. It will, firstly, outline the philosophical origins of adventure, before identifying the current scope of adventure recreation provision in rural and urban environments. In problematising adventure recreation, the paper explores its associations with lifestyle and reliance upon processes of commodification, flow and risk at the heart of its appeal. It concludes by illustrating the paradox of adventure recreation through its reliance upon managing the illusion of risk for discrete consumer markets.

Introduction

The field of adventure recreation is a growing phenomenon. Its promotion and popularity is associated with high octane, adrenaline fuelled experiences, found in both rural and urban environments. At its core, adventure recreation advocates risk and radicalness – it is the epitome of the new coolhunter consumerism. This paper investigates the phenomenon whilst challenging much of its pretensions. It is argued that despite their risky reputation, many adventure recreation activities are instead consumed in highly rationalised, managed and pre-packaged environments. Although skill is often essential, it is invariably harmonised and tamed by technological developments. As a result, the language of 'risk', 'radical' and 'adventure' has become the fuel of commerce. A mass market has emerged that de-differentiates traditional rural and urban spaces, splicing the athleticism and austerity of adventure pioneers with the comfort and convenience of modern consumer culture.

Unlike the ideological or romanticised enthusiasts of old, a new consumer is on the block, practising a new religion in managed cathedrals of consumption (or adventure). Here, identity is constructed, displayed and symbolic capital accrued. The skill and achievement of climbing routes, skateboard moves or BMX stunts blend with the coloured ropes, braided hair, pierced eyebrow, baggy shorts and designer trainers. Together they form the badges of identity bestowing prestige and distinction.

In the new cathedrals of adventure, you can now fly or skate, climb, or soak in the spa, before recovering in the restaurant over a bottle of wine specially imported to mirror the 'real' adventure experiences you have enjoyed (e.g., a Rockies Red). The adventure recreation phenomenon is increasingly themed, managed and packaged for easy consumption. Here dedication is displayed and consumption celebrated as the thrill and challenge of adventure activities are instantly and ephemerally enjoyed. The adrenaline 'fix' has been percolated and purified of the irritations and contingencies of time, arduous terrain and weather. Adventure can now be served instantly in safe, sanitised and pleasant surroundings. It is a commodity to be consumed in environments of perfumed masculinity where rough comfort is the order of the day.

Methodological preoccupations

This paper is principally conceptual, albeit supported by three small-scale case study investigations of adventure recreation environments encompassing the gamut of outdoor, urban and simulated adventure activities currently available throughout Scotland. The paper also draws upon secondary data in the form of print and broadcast media portrayals of adventure. The authors' intention at the outset was to problematise contemporary discourses of adventure in light of the invading forces of consumer culture. To this end, they were concerned with illustrating the shifting discourses through reference to key texts and illustrative examples drawn from the current industrial context. Three small-scale case study organisations were chosen to depict the emergence of the 'new', market-driven attitude towards containing adventure. These cases provide the backdrop from which the key concepts explored in this chapter are illustrated (i.e. consumption of adventure, urban adventure, risk and flow).

Adventure recreation – An emerging territory

The adventure arena is undergoing a social shift from traditionalist outdoor recreative forms to those catering for consumers in both rural and urban environments. The historical notion of adventurous activities, which although on the wane still persists, was often couched in rites of passage, spiritual self-discovery, wonder and awe of natural environments (Newby, 1982; Clark et. al., 1994). Such adventure experiences were predominately displaced or hidden processes often involving lengthy, arduous and perilous journeys to unknown corners of the planet. Combinations of skill, knowledge, physical and mental ability were essential if personal survival and success were to be achieved.

Adventure is also tied to modernist agendas of human liberation and the project of the self, with the domination of nature and self-discovery/mastery paving a road to a better tomorrow and more rational civilization (Bauman, 1992; Harvey, 1990). However, the tales and tribulations of past adventurers have now given way to mediated events, glamorous photo shoots, magazine covers, television series, interviews, and lucrative sponsorship packages. To be seen to be adventurous has become a desired condition, socially valued and, thus, a potentially lucrative

market. Aspects of adventure have been atomised, moved out of the idealised, often elitist, spaces of the mountaintops into the marketplace of the masses. Adventure is now a market increasingly contained, controlled and packaged for consumption. In the hands of the market, adventure, as much as the new breed of adventure consumer, has become a 'facilitised' phenomenon. This is dual confinement in terms of the abstract ideological space of the market and of the physical boundaries of actual facilities. These facilities are risk arenas where raw emotions are prompted and played in consumer friendly and rationally managed environments. It is this process of market development, demand and meaning of adventure that provides the focal point for this paper.

Adventure: Industry to identity

Bearing in mind the focus of this paper, it is worth documenting the industrial coverage and current economic importance of adventure recreation activities. A recent Mintel (2001) report highlights major growth in the adventure recreation 'industry', suggesting that the appeal of these activities is crossing over into the mainstream. The industry is now recognised as a global phenomenon with billion-dollar appeal (*ibid*). For the purpose of this paper, adventure recreation activities cover a spectrum comprising traditional outdoor pursuits (e.g. mountaineering) but also incorporating urban adventure activities (e.g. skateboarding, BMX and quad biking) and (so-called) extreme sports (e.g. skysurfing). These activities can be located in either indoor or outdoor spaces. Specific business responses have emerged to exploit this global trend, ranging from small entrepreneurial ventures to large, one-stop, 'cathedrals of consumption' (or adventure) (Ritzer, 1999). By way of illustration, it is worth documenting the local to global reach of the industry. Locally, the Vertical Descents company in Glasgow offers abseiling, canyoning, fun yakking and mountain biking. Nationally, The Scottish Adventure Centre in Ratho offers the world's largest climbing arena, an airpark air adventure course, an adventure sports gym, BMX and mountain bike trails, scuba diving school and an outdoor climbing park and gardens. Finally, internationally, a company based in Vail, Colorado, has created Adventure Ridge, a four acre complex at the Vail Mountain, which features a range of adventure provision from the high energy activities (e.g. snowboarding, ice-climbing and snow-tubing) to the more passive, themed and musically enchanted activities (e.g. moonlit snowmobile ride).

The provision of such facilities illustrates the development of the adventure recreation industry, providing experiences along a spectrum of passive, intermediary and active adventure. The adventure industry now offers stratified adventure experiences with something for everyone. Pre-packaged adventure experiences are offered to fit the purse as much as stress the person. Adventure is emerging as an off-the-peg industry and, almost regardless of age, skill or economic position, promoted as an accessible medium and means of re-enchanting disenchanted lives. More importantly, it is argued much of this re-enchanting appeal, and success of the adventure industry, relies upon the provision and management of identity formation and affirmation for emergent consumer markets. Mintel (2001: 62) illustrates this in its assertion that adventure recreation activities are:

about freedom, enjoyment and an opportunity to be lost 'in the moment'... they mix an anti-establishment vibe with an edgy individualism, a hint of danger and a cool and casual style (Mintel, 2001:62)

This depiction of the playful adventure recreationalist intimates the importance of lifestyle to the concept. It is to lifestyle and identity that the paper now turns.

Adventurous lifestyles

The last two decades have witnessed a challenge to, and decline of, established discourses of countryside activity and revisions of the appropriateness of adventure forms (Macnaghten & Urry, 1998; Harrison, 1993). As a result, the countryside has become less a romantic and idyllic space, and more of a material resource that can be rationalised and packaged for consumption (Heywood, 1994). For example, Butterfield and Long (2001) argue that market researchers use lifestyle groupings to typify consumer habits, of which outdoor recreation is one. His contention is that these are separated into 'self-explorers' (e.g., solitude seeking), 'experimentalists' (e.g., microlite flying), and 'conspicuous consumers' (e.g., water-skiing). The latter two groups, with their high visibility, provide the demand for 'adventure' recreation activities. These adventure seekers require free-flowing, commodified countryside or dynamic adventure activities that strive for, compete with and offer difference amongst the kaleidoscope of other leisure opportunities available (Centre for the Study of Environmental Change, 1994). Although all of this requires to be problematised and interrogated, it is nevertheless clear that there is a new breed of consumers living a commodified existence where adventure activities, lifestyle and identity merge and convey a status value (Agger, 1991). Ideological romanticism and environmentalism are challenged by groups of 'coolhunters' (Klein, 2001) - individualists who not only seek the thrill, and revel in the 'pure spectacle' of adventure, but desire to be part of the 'gaze' (Urry, 1990; Butterfield and Long, 2001) of the spectacle.

In light of the above, the countryside is re-imagined as a facility, or outdoor gymnasium, of excitement and adventure. It is a resource for both the display and distinction of self through skill, 'body discipline' and supportive commodities of clothing and equipment (Wilson, 1995). Adventure recreation works 'to provide consumers with a 'vibe' that is about 'personal challenge, pushing yourself just a bit further and demonstrating this talent to others' (Mintel, 2001:62).

Consumers of adventure recreation activities are encouraged by 'meaning brokers' to 'live life on the edge', to escape from the chains of rational work systems and to seek out new adventures. Consumers are urged to show 'No Fear' as corporations fuel their lifestyle aspirations, offering identities and 'dreamworlds' (Rojek, 1995) as being within their reach. As the marketing literature for the new Adventure Centre in Eastern Scotland suggests, 'Adventure sports are a 'gateway to adventure' and to a life filled with extraordinary experiences, dynamic participation and enjoyment. Adventure sport is who you are, not what you do.'

The marketing of 'extremes' (e.g. Extreme Sports, X-Games, World Extreme Games) is a relatively recent phenomenon, now used by various corporations in the development of brand identity, gaining legitimacy through youth markets (X-Games). Corporations use the 'X-treme' as a marketing strategy central to the 'cool curve' (e.g., Xtreme Razors, burgers, etc.), developing a range of follow-up markets for their 'extreme products'. Promising an escape from the mundane, regulated and rationalised life (e.g., North Face) that will 'challenge the limits - never stop exploring', new leisure experiences offer difference, associations with spontaneity and a return to youth (e.g., through their associations with 'play'). Desire for both adventure recreation activities and associated products is shaped intertextually, through mediated imaging, supportive slogans, peer and social influences, thereby setting in motion a series of positive associative signifiers (youth, adventure, excitement, difference, risk, challenge). These 'texts' speak to both consumers of adventure activities and of the associated products.

Urban adventure recreation

As time and space are compressed in the postmodern condition (Bauman, 1992), de-differentiated spheres offer participants insulation and protection from the rhythms of nature, so that it is now possible to experience 'adventure recreation' activities separate from direct contact with the natural environment. The urban environment is now permeated by adventure in a variety of forms, ranging from formalised, contained environments to informal, unstructured and free-flowing spaces. Indoor urban environments include adventure centres (e.g., from the Adventure Centre, Ratho to the Tokyo Dome) climbing walls (Alien Rock), motorsport venues (e.g., Scotkarts) and war simulations (e.g., Laserquest). Outdoor urban and semi-urban spaces include skateparks, BMX tracks, paintball facilities and inline skating. These facilities illustrate the disembedding and de-contextualisation (Rojek, 1995) of 'adventure' from an association with a specific geographical space (i.e. the outdoors) to a universal cultural space. Moreover, they represent 'cathedrals of adventure', in which participants follow a new religious quest for meaning and self-identity, where physical athleticism, performance and achievement are revered.

Many of these urban adventure recreation activities (e.g. skateboarding, BMX riding) evidence the traits of Maffesoli's neo-tribalism, as they create intense, episodic social attachments in the midst of the generalised neutrality and transparency of postmodern society (Maffesoli, 1991). In this sense, these adventure recreation activities become the site for the momentary coherence of diffuse bodies in 'emotional communities'. Participants recognise their tribal status yet, paradoxically, value their nomadic existence. The temporary nature of the activities is the main attraction, as momentary collectives provide a reassuring balance to the fractious, episodic, anonymous conditions of postmodernity. These activities are also often centred on particular subcultures. Skateboarding is a useful illustrative example. As Borden (2001) argues, skateboarding participants desire separation, opposition, irrationality, creativity and ambiguity – features constantly under attack

from the homogenising tendencies of mainstream society. He goes on to suggest that skaters strive to create a 'reasonable distance' (Borden, 2001: 138) between themselves and others, celebrating their difference through dress, language and attention to alternative rules.

However, of particular interest given the focus of this paper, is the extent to which such idealised notions of radicalness and resistance are increasingly assimilated into the mainstream by the market mechanism. Despite a decline in skatepark-based skating following its expansion in the 1970's, more recent evidence points to a resurgence in targeted facilities located within or close by urban centres. For example, in recent years, the UK has seen an increase in the number of formal skating facilities, especially multi-use skateparks (e.g., skateboarding, inline skating, BMX). As Borden (2001) reports, one recent study conducted for a UK skatepark website recorded that, a large majority of respondents sought both a well-run commercial park with an entry charge, and an indoor facility – in other words, a sanitised, comfortable environment.

Notwithstanding the above, there are problems associated with managing subcultural spaces like those occupied by skateboarders in UK cities. One such problem is the territorial nature of these activities. Skaters colonise informal spaces, often designed for alternative purposes (e.g. pedestrianised areas, public squares, modern art structures, steps and rails). Whereas skateboarders have tended to rely upon the appropriation of such spaces, often with a political motive in mind, the new commercial skatepark phenomenon relies upon the formalisation and containment of space, erecting boundaries around an activity normally associated with breaking down social boundaries and resisting incorporation.

It can be argued that these commercial skateparks (and mountain bike trails, Snowdomes etc.) seek to replicate skate culture both through the design of their facilities and their attention to symbols and imagery. For example, they involve skaters in the design of the facility itself, its 'decoration' (stickers, graffiti), music and 'rules'. However, a paradox exists as skateboarders often promote the incomprehensible nature of their symbolism to the 'outside world' (mainstream society) as central to their identity. Once the capitalist machine understands and exploits in the name of new market niches, then assimilation as opposed to resistance has occurred. Storey (1999: 55) terms this 'commercial incorporation', where subcultural styles lose their status because they move from originality and opposition to incorporation. Rather than questioning the legitimacy of corporate life through their anarchic activity, skateboarders appear to have fallen foul of the continual attempts to 'integrate the adolescent in trade and consumption by offering a parallel everyday life' (Lefebvre, 1995: 357). Manufacturers and skatepark owners have achieved a 'legitimised corporate image' (Borden, 2001: 158) and provide a ready-made space open for colonisation – at a price. Nowhere is this love-in with corporate life more apparent than in the Sony-sponsored 'Playstation' skatepark in London.

One note of concern for skatepark providers and their counterparts is that in their attempts to construct emerging markets for their facilities, they risk disenfranchising those 'authentic thrill seekers', those (predominantly young) participants who involve themselves in the subculture because of its anarchist edge.

The introduction of differential market segments to a social space like the skatepark may then simply alienate the alienated. This is already apparent in 'the re-appropriation of skate-style by non-skaters' (Borden, 2001: 160) which has led to angst amongst skaters about the incorporation of 'their' activity by the inauthentic user – essentially questioning their own identity as skaters. Nevertheless, in some ways, this is exactly the purpose of the new facilities – they realise that the rebelliousness, the nihilism of the 'authentic skater' produces a dangerously unpredictable consumer. Instead of the 'bad taste, scatological humour, swearing, poor diets – anything that might be seen as antagonistic to others' (Borden, 2001: 163), providers want the loyal, predictable consumer who will pay for the 'pleasure' of skating in a warm, safe environment within close proximity of McDonalds – in other words, a consumer that embraces rather than de-faces global corporate life.

Flow

In considering the conceptual domain of adventure recreation (either rural or urban), it is also worth looking to the work of Csikszentmihalyi (1975; 1988; 1991) on flow and optimal arousal. He argues that individuals experience flow whenever they become completely absorbed in a task or activity, which, although often rule bound, matches their skills against an appropriate challenge. He suggests, therefore, that the balance between skill and challenge is the prerequisite for a flow, or optimal arousal experience. Optimal arousal refers to an ordered state of consciousness where a person's perception of what there is to do (challenges) and what one is capable of doing (skills) is equal. According to Butterfield and Long (2001), flow is of relevance to a number of countryside activities, particularly adventure activities – although urban adventure environments also seek to manufacture flow experiences. In considering rock climbing, Csikszentmihalyi has argued that such (adventure) activities give participants a sense of discovery, exploration and problem solution - feelings of novelty and challenge. Such activities encourage individuals to both explore and expand the limits of their abilities. In their most basic form, adventure recreation activities provide a clear set of challenges, either of the *unknown*, leading to discovery, exploration and problem solving or of *competition*. It is clear that adventure recreation activities meet both definitions, perhaps within the same activity. Adventure recreation providers then play the role of the 'meaning broker' in the design, development and delivery of flow experiences to the neo-tribal adventure consumers.

Risk

Risk discourses are also central to both traditional and contemporary conceptions of adventure. Beck (1992) coined the term 'risk society', referring to social life becoming more dependent on uncontrollable contingencies on a global level. He also identified the phenomenon of risk escalation towards an uninsured society, which has particular relevance for the management of adventure recreation activities. Risk was formerly seen to be manageable through the main tenets of modernity; rationality, order and progress. However, risk discourses now pervade social consciousness to the point that societal and individual risk management

strategies (Giddens, 1991) are a focus of both academic and business discourses. In the realm of recreation, traditionally conceptualised as containing opportunities for freedom, self-determination, spontaneity and psychological well-being, the rationalisation of risk through the management of health and safety has altered common understandings of what it is to enjoy recreation devoid of external constraints (Frosdick & Walley, 1997). Adventure providers, in the delivery of flow experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988), have assimilated and commodified traditionally 'anti-social activities' (e.g., 'joy-riding'). Anger is contained in space and time in an attempt to replicate the excitement intrinsic to the appeal of socially unacceptable activities (e.g., at off-road driving centres). Such environments re-package risk through processes of rationalisation (Ritzer, 1993), delivering the paradox of 'McDonaldised Adventure', where the illusion of risk becomes the central feature of its consumption.

The acquiescence of predominately middle class consumers (Mintel, 2001) is supported by lifestyles increasingly contained and constrained by the burdens of increasing working hours and encroaching disenchantment with rationalised lifestyles. Coupled to this, cultures of fear permeate every aspect of social existence (Beck, 1992). Concern over personal and family safety, and more importantly the fear or poor parent guilt (Furedi, 2002) has cleared the way towards an engagement with risk containment. The modern world is one where only 'cotton wool' will do. This, paradoxically, produces greater risk as individuals become desensitised to those experiences past generations took for granted. Whereas in a romanticised past a swim in the river, walk in the wood or a jaunt to the nearest city was a simple, matter of fact personalised pleasure, today such experiences are fraught with danger, risk minefields that are extended and amplified through partners, friends or family. Whereas modernist discourses of science and technology promised the alleviation of ignorance as a means to enlightenment and emancipation, paradoxically, knowledge acquisition appears to have simply amplified feelings of risk escalation.

The emergence of indoor skateparks in the 1980s and 1990s provide a useful urban adventure example of risk containment and its managerial implications. Moving away from outdoor concrete skateparks, with their in-built dangers (e.g. unpredictable weather and hard surfaces), these all-day, all-year round facilities offer predictability in climate alongside ancillary services which reduce the risks associated with the activity, including immediate access to first aid and regular maintenance of equipment. Adventure recreation activities are, therefore, increasingly sustained on the packaging of 'rough comfort', where you are exhorted to reach your limits in a dry, cosy, comfortable – some would say, sanitised environment. Nevertheless, the onward march of corporate colonisation does contain its own risky irrationalities. For example, the codification of skating in 'provided space' (Borden, 2001) brings with it the risk of alienation, expressed through boredom, loss of challenge, and the constraining chains of safety and behavioural codes. Adventure providers, in whichever realm, continually face such management dilemmas with those consumers who value the unexpected.

Managing adventure recreation

In light of the above, there are demands for the rationalisation of risk and for the clawing back of the 'extreme into the mainstream' through the application of management techniques to regulate and codify adventure activities (e.g., licensing authority, qualified instructors, insurance and guided trips). Although marketed on the basis of risk and adventure, participants in these activities, paradoxically, desire safety and security. They often follow rule-bound behaviour, are concentrated, well-prepared, use appropriate equipment and take no unnecessary risk. Managers of adventure recreation activities are charged with managing this contradiction; between manufacturing a perception of risk central to the marketability of the activity (conceptualising lifestyle) whilst ensuring the alleviation of risk in the activity itself (operational skills). As such, these managers are responsible for enchanting a generally disenchanted and McDonaldised consumption realm (Ritzer, 1999), albeit where the forms of this re-enchantment may simply act as a veneer for further 'McDonaldisation' processes.

In addition, as meaning brokers, they also require an appreciation of the cultural distinctions of adventure consumers, evidenced at the service interface. This knowledge is useful in ensuring the service fit between the conceptual and operational realms. Here, the adventure of play is legitimated, produced and consumed for both adult and child. Moreover, the conception of adventure developed here draws upon a notion of adventure democracy as opposed to a democratisation of adventure (e.g., traditional outdoor education). Adventure is a response in consumption where past elitism is being replaced by mass demand. Historical adventure (i.e. democratisation of adventure) centred on rural/mountainous rites of passage, conveyed paternalistic and civilizing overtones. Adventure was educative, uplifting and wholesome - something done to you. Adventure democracy seeks and celebrates adventure difference in various environments. It is neo-tribal, creative, spontaneous, often associated with the colonisation of space but also regulated and prone to surveillance (e.g. anti-skateboard and roller blade bans/fines). As such, the phenomenon of adventure has witnessed an atrophy of elitism towards a hypertrophy of mass consumption. Compressions in time and space, disenchantment with the everyday, expectations of instantaneity and expected ancillary comforts have made adventure a market open to 'facilitisation'. In this light, adventure has moved from open journeys of self-discovery to journeys of confinement, paradoxically, controlled rather than care free.

Conclusion

Today adventure has become a consumer market where rafts of adventure activities are organised, produced and packaged by purveyors of risk and adrenaline. Unlike mainstream leisure and recreation activities, to engage in adventure is to place the fear factor up front and press individual stress buttons through a spectrum of stratified adventure experiences. Risk is a central, explicit and expected ingredient for the new breed of consumer. However, for these consumers adventure does not

entail the endurance slog, freezing or torrential weather, grazed knees, desert thirst or hungry belly of bygone adventure pioneers. Their adventure involves an easy access, pay-to-play process where the pleasure is heightened and pain reduced if not eradicated. For them the rough of risk comes with the comfort and instant gratification of modern consumerism. Cathedrals of adventure consumption have emerged to pander to the paradoxical whims of this new breed of adventure consumer.

This atomised adventure has been contained and managed in snowdomes, skate/BMX parks, climbing centres and now multi-adventure clubs offering everything from sub-aqua to skytracks. In such facilities rationalised risk meets retail; you can be 'out there' in here, get a buzz then have a beer. Here cool is a radical chic that is comfortable and easy to consume. It is safe, yet, risky; rough but comfortable. However, although linked to a romantic and traditional past (Harrison, 1993) this mediated trend, and rationale for adventure activities, runs deeper. It can be premised, not only on the ability to construct facilities or adventure cathedrals to service demand but, more importantly, for such facilities to act as facilitators of identity in the wake of disenchanted lifestyles.

The adventure consumer seeks to construct a self as much as engage with and enjoy adventure experiences. However, this self is not fixed or a project in the modernist sense (Grenz, 1996). These consumers typify aspects of postmodern identities that shift, are out grown and cast off like old clothes or music taste (Campbell, 1987; Miles, 2001). In the adventure arena the climb, dive, aerial move, mountain bike trail, skateboard or BMX trick mingle with the accessorised style of cars, clothes and cologne. Objective commodities and the consumption of adventure experiences convey associated meanings that are assimilated in a process of identity construction and re-construction. Given this, and the central marriage of risk to identity, the development and management of adventure experiences may become increasingly problematic. In quest for adventure, and its identity appeal, 'facilitated' adventure may spill out or extend to other environments where adventure consumption and display can be packaged and managed. As such this apparently ambivalent, playful phenomenon and desire for identities of 'rough comfort' may not be as neutral as it first appears.

Future research

This paper has sought to map the conceptual territory that is adventure recreation management. Such exploratory work, by its nature unearths as many questions as answers. With this in mind, there is a need to move from the theoretical territory to empirical investigation, from the logos to the praxis (Bourdieu, 1996; Wacquant, 2000). At this point of contested discursive territories around the adventure arena it is essential to investigate the implications of commodification processes upon traditional providers located within the adventure education domain. These investigations would be most effectively directed at the sustainability/effectiveness of current practice, upcoming threats and opportunities, and the scope for collaborative work with those providers concerned with exploiting the thirst for adventure in contained, simulated environments.

References

- Agger, B. (1991) 'Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance' *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17.
- Bauman, Z. (1992) *Intimations of Postmodernity*. London: Routledge.
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society*. London: Sage.
- Borden, I. (2001) *Skateboarding, Space and the City: Architecture and the Body*. Oxford: Berg.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996) *The Rules of Art*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Butterfield, J. & Long, J. (2001) Changes in lifestyle and the future of countryside recreation. in M. Usher (Ed) *Enjoyment and Understanding of the Natural Heritage* Edinburgh: The Stationery Office.
- Campbell, C. (1987) *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Clark, G., Darrall, J. Grove-White, R., Macnaghten, P. Urry J. (1994) *Leisure Landscapes: Leisure, Culture and the English Countryside: Challenges and Conflicts*. London: CPRE.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1975) *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1988) 'The flow experience and its significance for human psychology', in M. Csikszentmihalyi and I.S. Csikszentmihalyi (Eds) *Optimal Experience. Psychological Studies of Flow in Consciousness* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1991) *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Furedi, F. (2002) *Culture of Fear*. London: Continuum.
- Frostdick, S. & Walley, L. (1997) *Sport and Safety Management*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Grenz, S. J. (1996) *A Primer on Postmodernism*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Harrison, C. (1993) *Countryside Recreation in a Changing Society*. London: TMS.
- Harvey, D. (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Heywood, I. (1994) Urgent dreams: climbing, rationalization and ambivalence. *Leisure Studies*, 13: 179-194.
- Klein, N. (2001) *No Logo*. London: Flamingo.
- Lefebvre, H. (1995) *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes September 1959-May 1961*. London: Verso.
- Macnaghten, P. & Urry, J. (1998) *Contested Natures*. London: Sage.
- Maffesoli, M. (1991) *Les Temps des Tribus*. Paris: Livre de Poche.
- Miles, S. (2001) *Social Theory in the Real World*. London: Sage.
- Mintel (2001) *Extreme Sports*, November 2001.
- Newby, H. (1982) *Green and Pleasant Land*. London: Penguin.

- Ritzer, G. (1993) *The McDonaldization of Society: an investigation into the changing character of contemporary social life*. California: Pine Forge Press.
- Ritzer, G. (1999) *Enchanting a disenchanted world: revolutionizing the means of consumption*. California: Pine Forge Press.
- Rojek, C. (1995) *Decentring Leisure*. London: Sage.
- Storey, J. (1999) *Cultural consumption and everyday life*. London: Arnold.
- Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage.
- Wacquant, L. (2000) Durkheim and Bourdieu: the common plinth and its cracks, in Fowler, B. (Ed) *Reading Bourdieu on Society and Culture* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Wilson, K. (1995). Olympians or Lemmings?: The Post-Modern Fun Run, *Leisure Studies*, 14 (3): 5 – 11.

Whose Journeys?

The Outdoors and Adventure as Social and Cultural Phenomena

**Critical explorations of relations between
individuals, 'others' and the environment**

Editors

Barbara Humberstone

Heather Brown

Kaye Richards

2003

*The Institute for Outdoor Learning
Perth: England.*

