UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

September 22, 1999

Greetings:

Thank you for your new and continuing association with the Arts and Administration Program. We are beginning the sixth year of the MA/MS in Arts Management. Built upon a twenty-five-year-old Cultural Services Program, the current degree program is graduating an informed, imaginative, motivated, and highly employable group of professionals who are making significant international contributions to art and culture.

My colleagues and I realize that you chose this program from a number of other attractive arts management degree programs. For this reason, we continually review curriculum, course content, research results, and the socio-political arts and cultural climate so that your experience with us will be relevant and current. Faculty, staff, advisory board members, and alumni associated with the Arts and Administration Program are committed to facilitating your academic and professional success. We will assist you in negotiating the on-going challenges of the profession.

My colleagues and I are also committed to facilitating a learning environment that is dedicated to the advancement of knowledge and the development of personal integrity. Bigotry, discrimination, harassment, and intimidation are not tolerated. We look forward to working with you in creating a culture of respect that honors the rights, safety, dignity, and worth of every individual.

I am unwaveringly committed to facilitating your experience in the Arts and Administration Program. I have an open-door policy and urge you to periodically let me know how you are doing. The quality of your experience is important to my colleagues and I. Your opinions of the quality of that experience will assist in the continuing excellence of arts management preparation at the University of Oregon.

Best wishes,

Doug Blandy
Program Director

ARTS & ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM
School of Architecture and Allied Arts · 5230 University of Oregon · Eugene OR 97403-5230 · (541) 346-3639 · Fax (541) 346-3626

Table of Contents

Conceptualized and Compiled by Doug Blandy and Deborah Snider
With Contributions from AAD Faculty and Students

MISSION

Arts management is a multidisciplinary field, focused on promoting the arts and culture for individuals and societies. The master's degree in arts management at the University of Oregon is based on the belief that professional arts managers must be familiar with the social, cultural, economic, political, technical and ethical contexts of the arts. The University of Oregon program in arts management is built upon over two decades of academic research, programming, and publication in the area of cultural and community arts services.

University of Oregon, Arts & Administration Program (AAD)

NEW AND CONTINUING STUDENT ORIENTATION

"Building Community and Collegiality"

Wednesday, September 22, 1999 Shelton-McMurphey-Johnson House (3rd & Willamette)

Morning Activities: First- and Second-Year Students, AAD Advisory Board, and AAD Faculty

- 9:00-9:15 Arrivals, Greetings, and Packets to New Students
- 9:15-9:25 Welcome and Introductions by Doug Blandy
- 9:25-9:30 Welcome by Sherry Narens, House Director at SMJ
- 9:30-10:30 Continental Breakfast; AAD Advisory Board Round Table
- 10:30-10:45 Break
- 10:45-11:15 Overview of AAD Program by AAD Faculty
  - Core Requirements - Rogena Degge
  - Technology Component - Beverly Jones and Eric Schiff
  - Research Component - Jane Maitland-Gholson
  - Internship & Professional Practice - Linda Ettinger
  - Areas of Concentration:
    - Community Arts - Doug Blandy
    - Event Management - Gaylene Carpenter
    - Museum Studies - Rogena Degge
    - Performing Arts - Doug Blandy
- 11:15-11:30 Break

Mid-day Activities: First- and Second-Year Students, AAD Advisory Board, and AAD Faculty

- 11:30-11:35 AAD Student Forum - David Bretz, President
- 11:35-12:00 Panel Discussion by Second-Year Students
- 12:00-1:00 Lunch for First- and Second-Year Students with AAD Faculty in Advising Clusters - Caterer "Of Grape and Grain"

Afternoon Activities: First and Second-Year Students, AAD Advisory Board, and AAD Faculty

- 1:00-1:15 Office Administration
- 1:15-1:45 Other Opportunities
  - AAAE Conference - Linda Ettinger
  - Event Management Certificate - Gaylene Carpenter
  - Museum Studies Certificate - Rogena Degge
  - Special Workshops and Course Offerings - Doug Blandy
- 1:45-2:30 AAD Faculty Round Table: discussion of research interests and projects
- 2:30 Adjourn for individual advising sessions, if desired (or make an appointment)

Evening Activities: All AAD Students, AAD Advisory Board, AAD Faculty, and AAD Alumni

7:00 Dessert Pot Luck, at Doug and Linda Blandy's home, 1778 Jefferson

Advising Notes

University of Oregon Arts & Administration Program

Master's Degree in Arts Management

Name _____

Admit Date _____ SSN _____

Faculty Advisor _____

		TERM/YR	GRADE	CREDITS
Core Requirements (32 graded credits):				
AAD 550	Art In Society (4)			
AAD 551	Art & Community Service (4)			
AAD 560	Arts Administration (4)			
AAD 562	Cultural Policy In Art (4) → Regena prefers if taken in 2nd year			
AAD 607	Arts Program Theory (4)			
AAD 610	Marketing Arts Organizations (4)			
AAD 664	Arts Program Evaluation (4)			
PPPM 580	Managing NonProfit Organizations (4)			
	Total Credits:			
Technology Component (minimum 6 graded credits):				
AAD 583	Information Design & Presentation (3)			
AAD 584	Advanced Info Design & Presentation (3)			
AAD 585	Multimedia For Arts Administration (3)			
	Total Credits:			
Research/Practice Component (16-19 credits):				
AAD 601	Research (3 pass/no pass)			
AAD 610	Professional Practice I (3 pass/no pass)			
AAD 610	Professional Practice II (3 pass/no pass)			
AAD 630	Research Methods (4 graded)			
AAD 503	Master's Degree Thesis (6 pass/no pass) OR			
AAD 611	Master's Degree Project (3 pass/no pass)			
	Total Credits:			
Area of Concentration (minimum 14 credits):				
_____	_____			
_____	_____			
_____	_____			
_____	_____			
_____	_____			
_____	_____			
_____	_____			
_____	_____			
	Total Credits:			

ARTS & ADMINISTRATION - ADVISOR LIST - FALL, 1999

9/8/99

Student Name	Concentration (please notify the office if your concentration is incorrect)	Faculty Advisor	Research Director
FIRST-YEAR STUDENTS - Fall, 1999 Class (18)			
Allan, Sonya	Museum Studies	Degge	
Brewster, Carol	Event Management	Carpenter ✓	
Buryk, Julia	Community Arts	Maitland-Gholson	
Chen, Jung-I	Performing Arts	Blandy	
DeGiusti, Launa	Event Management	Carpenter ✓	
Dixon, DeeAnn	Museum Studies	Degge	
Glenn, Christopher	Performing Arts	Blandy	
Kliever, Aleena	Museum Studies	Ettinger	
Llamado, Suzanne	Community Arts	Maitland-Gholson	
Myers, Shannon	Event Management	Carpenter ✓	
Naughton, Mary Ann	Performing Arts	Carpenter ✓	
Navarrete, Trilce	Community Arts	Maitland-Gholson	
Pickett-Johnson, Marcie	Museum Studies	Degge	
Rinaldi, Tina	Museum Studies	Carpenter ✓	
Roberts, Gail	Community Arts	Maitland-Gholson	
Schoof, Natalie	Performing Arts	Maitland-Gholson	
Svoboda, Matthew	Performing Arts/Con. Music	Blandy	
Walsh, Lauren	Museum Studies	Degge	
SECOND-YEAR STUDENTS - Fall, 1998 Class (13)			
Almy, Katherine	Community Arts	Blandy	
Baugus, Heather	Community Arts	Carpenter ✓	
Bretz, David	Performing Arts	Ettinger	
Couch-Goodling, Becky	Performing Arts	Blandy	
Golar, Staci	Community Arts	Carpenter ✓	
Lillis, Kelly Ann	Museum Studies	Degge	
Oakes, Carlton	Performing Arts	Blandy	
Osland, Jessica	Community/Museum Studies	Degge	
Ruthardt-Knowles, Kim	Community Arts	Degge	
Schoeffler, Amy	Performing Arts	Carpenter ✓	
Stock,Carolyn	Performing Arts	Ettinger	
Wen, Pei-Yin	Performing Arts	Ettinger	
White, Heather	Community Arts	Degge	
BEYOND SECOND-YEAR STUDENTS - Fall, 1997 Class (1)			
Buxton, Geary	Performing Arts	Carpenter	Ettinger

Arts & Administration/Historic Preservation Programs

Fall, 1999 Courses – September 27 – December 10

MONDAY (M)	TUESDAY (U)	WEDNESDAY (W)	THURSDAY (H)	FRIDAY (F)
9:00-11:50 Arts Administration AAD 460/560 (4 cr) **Ettinger** 249 Lawrence	9:30-10:50 Intro to Planning Pract. PPPM 611 249 Lawrence	9:00-11:50 Professional Practice II AAD 610 (3 cr) **Ettinger** 263 Lawrence	9:00-11:50 Master's Degree Project AAD 611 (3 cr) **Blandy** 263 Lawrence	9:30-11:50 National Register Nomin. AAAP 431/531 (4 cr) **Kramer** ~~249~~ 263 Lawrence
	11:00-12:20 Planning Analysis PPPM 613 249 Lawrence		9:30-10:50 Intro to Planning Pract PPPM 611 249 Lawrence	10:00-12:00 AAD Faculty Meetings 256 Lawrence
12:30-13:50 Intro to Public Law PPPM 418/518 249 Lawrence	12:30-13:50 Non-Profit Mgmt PPPM 480/580 (4 cr) **Downes**/249 LA	12:30-13:50 Intro to Public Law PPPM 418/518 249 Lawrence	11:00-12:20 Planning Analysis PPPM 613 249 Lawrence	12:30-18:30 Public Policy Analysis PPPM 636 249 Lawrence 10/1,10/15,10/29/12/3
	14:00-16:50 Public Budget Admin PPPM 629/249 LA			13:00-15:50 Orientation to Dist. Learn. AAD 410/510 (3 cr) **Jones** ITC/Knight Library
	14:00-15:20 Art & Gender AAD 252 (4 cr) **Degge** 16 Pacific		12:30-13:50 Non-Profit Mgmt PPPM 480/580 (4 cr) **Downes** 249 Lawrence	Event Management Work-shops/Oct 29, Nov 12, Dec 8, time/place TBA
14:00-16:50 Event Management AAD 410/510 (4 cr) **Carpenter** 249 Lawrence	14:00-15:20 Fundamentals of HP AAAP 410/510 (3 cr) **Amundson** 263 Lawrence	14:00-16:50 Art In Society AAD 450/550 (4 cr) **Degge** 249 Lawrence	14:00-15:20 Art & Gender AAD 252 (4 cr) **Degge**, 16 Pacific & 249 & 141 LA	**SATURDAY (S)**
	15:30-16:50 Art & Human Values AAD 250 (4 cr) **Blandy** 221 Allen	14:00-14:50 Sp St FIG Coll Exp AAD 199 (1 cr) **Blandy** 263 Lawrence	14:00-15:20 Fundamentals of HP AAAP 410/510 (3 cr) **Amundson** 263 Lawrence	Oct 16 & 30/9:00-16:50 Planning Interpretive (2cr) Exhibits (self-supp fee) AAD 410/510, **Parman** 249 Lawrence/25 limit
			15:30-16:50 Art & Human Values AAD 250 (4 cr) **Blandy** 221 Allen/249 LA	Nov 13/9:00-16:50 Authentic Networking AAD 408/508 (1 cr) **Dellabough**(self-supp fee) Baker Downtown Ctr, 134
17:00-18:20 Wrk Villard Hall AAAP 408/508 (1-5 cr) **Bleekman** 263 Lawrence	18:00-20:50 Women & Their Art AAD 452/552 (4 cr) **Dellabough** (self-supp fee) Baker Downtown Ctr, 134		18:00-20:50 Introduction to HP AAAP 411/511 (3 cr) **Osborne** 263 Lawrence	**Also Offered (AAD only unless specified):** 401 Research 405 Reading 406 Spec Prob (AAD/HP) 409 Practicum (Staff/Carpenter) 503 Thesis (AAD/HP) 601 Research (AAD/HP) 602 Super Coll Teach (GTFs) 604 Internship 605 Reading (AAD/HP) 606 Spec Prob (AAD/HP) 609 Practicum(Staff/Carpent/HP) 611 Term Project (HP)
18:00-20:50 Applied Creative Proc. AAD 410/510 (4 cr) **Dellabough**(self-supp fee) 249 Lawrence	18:00-19:20 Info Design & Present. AAD 483/583 (3 cr) **Schiff** 112 Millrace 1	18:00-20:50 Arts & Visual Literacy AAD 251 (4 cr) **Maitland-Gholson** Willamette 110/249 LA	18:00-19:20 Info Design & Present. AAD 483/583 (3 cr) **Schiff** 112 Millrace 1	

Revised September 3, 1999

AAD ADMINISTRIVIA

1. AAD graduate mailboxes have been assigned by number, and are in the hallway outside 251E Lawrence. Second-year student numbers may have changed!
2. After you have registered for classes, please go to the Photo ID office in the Erb Memorial Union (EMU) for your picture ID. This ID allows bus privileges, library privileges, and may be used as an additional photo ID to your driver's license when needed.
3. To set up your e-mail account, go to the "Help Desk" in the South Lobby of the Computing Center. You will need to show your photo ID and your PAC number, used to access Duck Call. **E-mail is used by the AAD program as the primary communications tool**. Daily messages from the office, faculty announcements, job postings, and other important data with time sensitivity make it important that you check your e-mail at least once each day. Please use the e-mail listserve only for official and professional business that is of interest to constituents in the program.
4. The fall term Schedule of Classes is available from the UO Bookstore for $.25. It has a wealth of information on financial aid billing and tuition statements, campus-wide course information, how to call Duck Call to register, final exam schedules, grades and transcripts, and general university services.
5. Parking permits may be requested through the Office of Public Safety in Straub Hall. Bicycles must also be registered with Public Safety.
6. The fall term dates of critical interest are:
    - Monday, September 27 – first day of fall classes
    - Monday, October 4 – last day to drop a class without a mark of "W" on the transcript
    - Wednesday, October 6 – last day to add a class
    - Thursday, November 11 – Veteran's Day; classes are held, but offices are closed
    - Friday, November 12 – AAD Advising Session for all students; 11:00-12:00 in 249 Lawrence
    - Monday, November 15 – Duck Call registration begins for winter term
    - Thursday/Friday, November 26-27 – UO closed for Thanksgiving holiday
    - Monday-Friday, December 6-10 – Fall Final Exams
    - Thursday, December 16 – Fall grades available on Duck Call and Duck Web
    - Wednesday, January 5 – first day of winter classes
7. Pre-authorizations for class procedures (these have check marks by them in the Schedule of Classes):
    - Speak with the instructor of the class for permission to be preauthorized
    - Come to the AAD office and enter your name, SSN, topic, your phone, e-mail on the page for the appropriate class. Topic is very important on open-ended classes (with middle number as zero), as we can customize the listing on your transcript, i.e., Prac Oregon Bach Fest is a practicum you have done with the Oregon Bach Festival
    - Allow up to 48 hours for the office to enter the preauthorizations in the UO integrated database
    - Call Duck Call to register
8. Each AAD professor has a bin in 251E Lawrence (AAD Office) for the return of papers and projects to students. Please check there first for graded materials.
9. Remember that the AAD/HP office serves two academic programs, both Arts & Administration and Historic Preservation Programs. Because of decentralization of administrative duties and the shared office, we have curtailed hours to 9-noon and 1-4 in order to handle the increased workload. Please be patient and please honor the hours: No begging in the hall, whining, pleading, bribing or cajoling!
10. The AAD Resource Room (256 Lawrence) houses archival copies of student theses and terminal projects. Access to the Resource Room is by request in the main office, and is limited to the office's open hours. Sorry! You may not borrow these copies, as too many have been lost in the past. You may only remove them from the Resource Room for the purpose of copying in the AAA Library. If the Resource Room is in use for meetings by the faculty or GTFs with their students, it will not be available to you. Anyone authorized to use the Resource Room for meetings is asked to post meeting times on the outside of the door.
11. The AAD office number is 346-3639. Deborah Snider's e-mail address is: dsnider@darkwing.uoregon.edu

Winter 1999

Mentor Catalog

Arts & Administration Program (AAD) · University of Oregon

Arts & Administration Advisory Board

(top row, left to right) Bill Flood, Bill Lewis, and Douglas Beauchamp. (front row, left to right) Sharon Morgan, Elizabeth Hoffman and Alice Parman.

Not pictured: George Thorn, Kassia Dellabough

The Arts & Administration Advisory Board is comprised of eight arts management professionals, who work in leadership roles throughout the state of Oregon. The purpose of the Advisory Board is to provide a direct connection for students and faculty in the Arts & Administration graduate program to the larger professional arts management arena. The primary goal of the board is to provide professional guidance and support to master's degree candidates in the University of Oregon's Arts & Administration Program.

The 1999 Mentor Catalog was designed to present information about board members in order to facilitate communication between graduate students and the board. The contents of this Catalog are confidential. It is only distributed to current AAD students, faculty and board members.

Contents:

Douglas Beauchamp

Executive Director
Lane Arts Council

Phone: 541.485.2278
Fax: 541.485.2478
email: lanearts@efn.org

Mentor Interests: Available for appointments, assistance in internships in the area of arts management; provide references/connections to others in the field.

Douglas Beauchamp received a B.A. in visual art and an M.A. in photography/visual arts from California State University at Humboldt. Presently, he is the Executive Director of the Lane Arts Council, a regional arts agency that is responsible for supporting the diversity of artists and art programs that exist in Lane County. Douglas supervises financial management and database systems and acts as a liaison for the arts, providing training and consulting services for artists and arts organizations. He also oversees program development (i.e. arts education programs in the schools), fundraising and public information regarding advocacy for the arts.

Kassia Dellabough

Executive Director
Institute for Creative Learning

Phone: 541-744-6215
email: icl@earthlink.net

Mentor Interests: Real-world skills in administration, marketing, design and general management. She can work directly with students to clarify career goals.

Kassia Dellabough received her master's degree in Arts Administration and a Certificate in Women's Studies from the UO, and an Art Therapy certificate from the NWICAT. In 1998 she became a Certified Career Development Facilitator (CDF). Kassia worked at the University of Oregon Continuation Center from 1987 until 1998. She started a new company The Institute for Creative Learning in 1998. Her specialty is program development, consulting and training in her favorite content areas: Schmoozing, Creativity, Design, Career Development and Teaching Skills.

Bill Flood

Community Development and Arts Education Coordinator
Oregon Arts Commission

Phone: 503.986.0083
Fax: 503.986.0260
email: Bill.Flood@state.or.us

Mentor Interests: Community Cultural Development and how we as cultural workers can help to create better places.

Bill Flood has worked as a consultant in the area of community cultural development for the past twelve years. In 1996, he took the position as the Community Development and Arts Education Coordinator of the Oregon Arts Commission (OAC). The program serves the entire state; therefore Bill is often on the road visiting community arts organizations throughout Oregon. Bill's formal education consists of a B.A. in social work from the University of Missouri and an M.A. in Community Systems Planning and Developing from Pennsylvania State University. Bill hobbies include dance, research, folk cultures and gardening. He is a member of the Alliance for Cultural Democracy and is a strong advocate of cultural right as human right.

Elizabeth Hoffman

Textile Specialist, Educator

Phone: 541.752.6648
email: ehoffman@oregon.uoregon.edu

Mentor Interests: art education curriculum development, teaching and evaluation, independent projects in fiber art, visionary arts, art and gender and art of place.

Elizabeth Hoffman was educated at the University of Oregon as an art educator and completed her dissertation in 1991. The focus of her work was "The Murder Quilt" that was made in Yamhill County in 1915. Elizabeth makes quilts and is active in the Mary's River Quilt Guild and is a OCH Chautauqua speaker about quilt history. She has been an educator for the past 20 years with high school and university teaching experience. Her research focuses on how place influences who we are and how we learn. Elizabeth was born and raised in Oregon and is convinced that this is the best place in the world to live.

Carrie Matsushita

Marketing and Public Relations Manager
City of Eugene Library, Recreation and Cultural Services

Phone: 541.682.5310
Fax: 541.682.6834
E-mail: carrie.s.matsushita@ci.eugene.or.us

Mentor Interests: Marketing, communications and public relations; media relations, promotions and sponsorship development of special events. Available to discuss internships designed to meet professional development, recreation/leisure and special events.

Carrie Matsushita received a B.S. in Community Service and Public Affairs and a master's degree in Public Affairs and Administration and Education from the University of Oregon. She has extensive experience working for the public sector in both government and education. She currently works for the City of Eugene as a marketing and public relations manager for the department of Library, Recreation and Cultural Services and oversees marketing and media communications for department events and activities. She has also supervised and been involved in major community events such as the Eugene Celebration and the Oregon Asian Celebration, plus many other community festivals. She is very active in the Asian-American community and serves on the board of the Asian American Foundation of Oregon

David Cohen

Executive Director
Salem Art Association/Salem Art Fair & Festival

Phone: 503.581.2228
Fax: 503.371.3342
E-mail: not available

Mentor Interests: Community arts programs, museum careers, non-profit management, creative programming, fund-raising

David Cohen received a B.F.A. in Painting from the Pacific Northwest College of Art in Portland, which followed his first degree, a B.A. in Anthropology from the State University of New York at Binghamton. For the past 5 ½ years, David has held the position of executive director of the Salem Art Association, one of the largest cultural organizations in the mid-Willamette Valley. The Association has experienced tremendous growth during that time and now has a budget of $1.1 million. He is responsible for producing Salem's largest and longest running community event – the annual Salem Art Fair & Festival. David has worked as gallery director at the Elizabeth Leach Gallery in Portland; public art manager with the Oregon Arts Commission; and exhibitions coordinator at the Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburgh. He is currently on the boards of the Oregon Festival & Events Association and the Salem Convention and Visitors Association.

Bill Lewis

Director

Benton County Historical Museum

Phone: 503.929.6230
Fax: 503.929.6261
email: lewisb@peak.org

Mentor Interests: Museum field in Oregon

As Director, Bill Lewis is responsible to the Board of Directors for the overall management of the programs of the Benton County Historical Society, including the County Museum. He supervises staff, volunteers, temporary help and contractual services. Bill received his B.A. in art history from Rutgers University and a M.A.I.S. in Museum Studies, Business Management and Art History from Oregon State University. In order to remain a vital participant in the museum field, Bill is very active in professional and community-based organizations and attends numerous workshops and seminars on a variety of museum topics. He is currently President of the Oregon Museum Association after serving as a board member for six years. In addition, he is the Oregon State Representative to the Board of Directors of the Western Museums Association.

Sharon Morgan

Executive Director

Oregon Coast Council for the Arts

Phone: 541.265.9231
Fax: 541.265.9464
email: smorgan@onlinemac.com

Mentor Interests: Helping students in the development of programs that are community based, ones that incorporate various components of community infrastructure.

Sharon Morgan received her B.A. in comparative literature and modern languages from Linfield College. She has experience in developing and operating the Newport Visual and Performing Arts Center facilities. Her strengths are seeing and developing the linkages between arts and everything else that happens in the community. Sharon's professional focus is community arts and development opportunities for artists. She is always figuring out how to get the arts to the table.

George Thorn

Consultant

Arts Action Research

Phone: 503.222.4214
Fax: 503.222.3587
email: gthorn4292@aol.com

Mentor Interests: To assist in training and making the transition into the arts administration profession.

George Thorn is an arts consultant working nationally with not-for-profit arts organizations. He focuses on the area of mission, planning,, board structure and organizations in transition. He has worked with over 450 arts organizations and has made presentations at over 225 conferences and workshops. George is co-author with Nello McDaniel of FEDAPT's *The Challenge of Change Workpapers 1, Rethinking and Restructuring the Arts Organization, Workpapers 2 , Arts Boards*, and Arts Action Issues' *The Quiet Crisis in the Arts* and *Toward a New Arts Order*. In parallel with his consulting activities, he directed the graduate program in arts administration at Virginia Tech for eighteen years. Prior to that, he was the Executive Vice President of the Eugene O'Neill Theater Center and spent sixteen years in New York as a stage manager and a manager of Broadway, Off-Broadway and touring companies.

Alice Parman

Exhibit Planner/Writer

Formations, Inc.

Phone: 541.484.6633
Fax: 541.484.6633 (call first)
email: aparman@darkwing.uoregon.edu

Mentor Interests: Expertise in interpretive exhibits, museum education, and museum management; nonprofit organization, fundraising, grantwriting, board development. Also she has a lot of personal contacts regionally and nationally in the museum profession

Alice Parman was an undergraduate French major (including a year in Paris), spent three years as a high school French teacher, then earned a Ph.D. in Education at the University of Chicago (1972).. Shortly afterward, she discovered the world of museums, where she has worked almost continually ever since. Alice began at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; and was director of the UO Museum of Natural History (1978-82) and WISTEC (1982-88). Since 1989, she has worked for Formations Inc., an exhibit design firm in Portland, and works out of her home in Eugene. Alice develops concepts for exhibits, writes exhibit outlines and text, manages graphics and artifacts, and also develops interpretive master plans for museums. In addition, she consults and volunteers with nonprofit organizations in Eugene in the areas of fundraising, grantwriting, and board development.

Arts & Administration Graduate Students

First-Year Students	Concentration	Email Address
Katherine Almy	Community Arts	[redacted]
Heather Baugus	Community Arts	[redacted]
David Bretz	Performing Arts	[redacted]
Becky Couch-Goodling	Performing Arts	[redacted]
Staci Golar	Community Arts	[redacted]
Kelly Lillis	Museum Studies	[redacted]
Carlton Oakes	Performing Arts/Community	[redacted]
Jessica Osland	Community Arts/Museum	[redacted]
Kim Ruthardt-Knowles	Community Arts	[redacted]
Amy Schoeffler	Performing Arts	[redacted]
Carolyn Stock	Performing Arts	[redacted]
Pei-Yin Wen	Museum Studies	[redacted]
Heather White	Community Arts	[redacted]

Continuing Students	Concentration	Email Address
Cara Baldridge	Museum/Community Arts	[redacted]
Richard Bear	Community Arts	[redacted]
Geary Buxton	Performing Arts	[redacted]
Sara Clippard	Events Management	[redacted]
Ann Fuller	Community Arts	[redacted]
Gwynn Hamilton	Community Arts	[redacted]
Megan Kagel	Museum Studies	[redacted]
Jeffrey Kaye	Performing Arts	[redacted]
Natasha Klein	Museum Studies	[redacted]
Wei-Fen Lee	Museum Studies	[redacted]
Yvonne Lever	Museum Studies	[redacted]
Tara Papandrew	Performing Arts	[redacted]
David Riley	Performing Arts	[redacted]
Laura Sampson	Community Arts	[redacted]
Delta Smith	Community Arts	[redacted]
Celine Vandervlugt	Community Arts	[redacted]
Vanessa Ward	Museum Studies	[redacted]
Shannon Wright	Community Arts	[redacted]

Arts & Administration Faculty and Staff

Name	Position	Email Address
Doug Blandy	Program Director	dblandy@darkwing.uoregon.edu
Gaylene Carpenter	Senior Instructor	gcarpent@oregon.uoregon.edu
Rogena Degge	Professor	rdegge@laz.uoregon.edu
Linda Ettinger	Associate Professor	lindae@oregon.uoregon.edu
Beverly Jones	Professor Emerita	bjones@darkwing.uoregon.ed
Jane Maitland-Gholson	Associate Professor	
Eric Schiff	Adjunct Faculty	ejschiff@oregon.uoregon.edu
Deborah Snider	Office Coordinator	dsnider@darkwing.uoregon.edu

Leverage Lost

The Nonprofit Arts in the Post-Ford Era

http://www.cts.com/browse/publish/lost.html#anchor1193347

by John Kreidler
San Francisco, California

Publishers Note: *The following article is a draft of an in-depth study of the history of the funding of the arts in the U.S. Because of the length (approx. 28 pages) of the article it is divided into sections with separate links (see below).*

John Kriedler *is Senior Program Executive at the San Francisco Foundation and oversees distribution of 100 grants a year valued at $2 million in a five county area around San Francisco.*

As the Twentieth Century approaches a finale, the arts in America exist in vast array of styles, disciplines and organizational structures. The purpose here is to examine one major organizational component of the American arts scene, the nonprofit sector, as an organic system that has progressed through three distinct stages over the past century. Although the nonprofit arts world contains thousands of organizations populated by tens of thousands of artists, administrators, technicians, trustees and donors, few within it are aware of its systemic features, nor are there many knowledgeable about its origins and the influences that have shaped its evolution.

As with participants in most large organizational systems, the citizens of the nonprofit arts world find it difficult to perceive changes, even massive developments, that occur gradually. The natural tendency is to assume that the arts firmament is a fixed tableau, marked by an occasional meteor that leaves a momentary trace. At present, it is widely believed within the arts that nonprofit organizations are experiencing extreme financial pressure due to governmental funding reductions and a momentary downturn in the American economy. These pressures are often described as temporary hardships that will soon fade, thereby enabling arts organizations to return to more normal conditions. Current government funding patterns and economic trends are certainly of consequence to nonprofit arts organizations, but by themselves these pressures do not adequately account for the deep

changes that are now becoming discernible in the nonprofit arts ecosystem.

Early in the twentieth century, astrophysicists learned that the universe is not static, but rather is expanding in every direction and subject to the interplay of immense forces. The nonprofit arts are also a complex and changing system, and as this system has gradually evolved, the defining trends and influences, like planets in a solar system, have occasionally aligned in ways that have produced striking new directions. The onset of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, and the Ford Foundation's major arts initiatives, beginning in the late 1950s, will be cited in this essay as decisive moments in the subsequent progression of the arts.

In any complex system, a variety of plausible interpretations are possible of the most potent influences and the precise moments when major new directions have emerged. In the analysis that follows, the author's personal interpretation is offered of the evolution of the arts ecosystem over the past century. While this interpretation is sometimes supported by factual and anecdotal evidence, no effort is made to back every assertion with data. The point is to demonstrate that the unique history of American nonprofit arts organizations can and should be understood within a systemic context, and that an appreciation of systemic properties is useful to any thoughtful discourse on the possible courses of future evolution.

The Pre-Ford Era: Industrial Revolution to 1957

Classic economic theory predicts that, at a given price, consumers will demand a set amount of a good or service, which will be supplied by producers. The marketplace, then, is an ecosystem constantly seeking an equilibrium that embraces prices, supply, demand, and a host of other influences. Throughout the past century, the dynamics of the marketplace have had a fundamental influence on the development of commercial and nonprofit organizations that produce art in the United States.

Today, in part due to a movement that was set in motion by the Ford Foundation, the great majority of arts organizations operate as nonprofit corporations. As a result, it is easy to forget that the earlier prevalent model for arts organizations in the U.S. was that of the individual proprietorship. In the nineteenth century, most theaters, orchestras, opera companies, performing arts impresarios, and even some museums, operated as for-profit enterprises managed by an individual owner. As with other commercial ventures, these proprietorships had to meet the test of the marketplace: to provide services responsive to market demand at a competitive price, or cease to exist. This seemingly straightforward and endlessly studied relationship of marketplace influences has always been complicated in the arts, however, by the willingness of American artists and other arts workers to accept deeply discounted compensation for their labor.

An illustration of this point is provided by Horace Lewis, a journeyman actor of the late nineteenth century. Horace's father, the assistant tax assessor for the City of Boston, did his best to dissuade his son from a career in theater, and even sent him to Europe for a year to find a higher calling. Upon his return, however, Horace took to acting as a full time profession. At this juncture, the elder Lewis legally disinherited his son, but Horace nevertheless remained an actor for the rest of his life.

Lewis' specialty was pantomime and character roles. In the early years of his career, he often appeared in touring productions with Edwin Booth, one of the leading actors of that time, though Booth's popular appeal had been damaged by his brother's assassination of President Lincoln. In 1878, Lewis played Rosencrantz to Booth's Hamlet, and the Drunken Porter to Booth's MacBeth at the Pittsburgh Opera House. Lewis married the actress Portia Albee in 1880, and thereafter formed a proprietary theater company, The Lewis Dramatic Party of Professional Artists, which toured New England, the upper Midwest, and the maritime provinces of Canada. Their three children, Walter, Harriet and Elise, grew up on stage.

Life for the Lewis family was arduous. Theater touring entailed true hardships, and the pay and occupational status were low. Whereas an actor of Booth's renown made a comfortable living, the Lewis family had to be exceptionally resourceful to get by. On their small town touring circuit, urbane intellectual plays did not sell tickets, so many of their productions were melodramas and morality plays performed in churches, union halls, and other makeshift venues. Besides acting, they had to conduct much of their own publicity, backstage technical work and financial management. Ultimately, if audiences failed to materialize, there was no income.

In 1889, Lewis' son Walter, then a five year old child actor, fell into a canal in Redmond, Michigan and was rescued by a local bypasser, Mr. Carey. The next day, the Lewis company's production of The Count of Monte Cristo was dedicated to Mr. Carey, and much of the town attended the performance to pay homage to their home town hero. Little Walter Lewis began the evening by reciting the "Fouyar" scene from this play, which he had never before performed in public, in gratitude for his deliverance from certain death. Although there is no definitive evidence, subsequent legend has it that Horace Lewis staged his son's mishap as a publicity stunt to assure a full house.

At the core of Horace Lewis' life as an actor is a characteristic persistence, often bordering on compulsion, shared by the majority of American artists and arts workers up to current times. Few artists, working in either the commercial or nonprofit arts sectors, achieve compensation or social status commensurate with their skills and levels of educational attainment. In many respects, the training and practice required of a professional musician, painter or actor are comparable to those of a physician, engineer or banker, and yet the disparity in income and status is enormous. Granted, some artists do attain high levels of income and prestige, but these are a very small fraction of the total profession. Throughout American history, most artistic occupations have been viewed with suspicion, and even in current times, art is often regarded as a form of self-indulgent recreation rather than real work.

In their pioneering 1966 book, The Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma, economists William Baumol and William Bowen noted, "At the first recorded theatrical performance in the American colonies, the performers were arrested." With regard to the position of the American performing artist in the mid-1960s, they went on to say,

In many ways...the working conditions of the performer fall below what might be considered reasonable standards. His exhausting tours, high professional expenses, frequent unemployment with its accompanying uncertainty, the rarity of paid vacations and the frequent lack of provision for retirement all add up to what most of us would consider a

nightmare world were we suddenly plunged into it. This applies with special force to those associated with the dance, where earnings are lower and economic insecurity far greater than in the other performing arts.

Most performing artists are unlikely to starve, but society has not been overly generous in the compensation it has provided the artist in exchange for his contribution to the living arts. We have relied heavily on the willingness of the performer to perform, no matter what it costs him.

During his time, Horace Lewis, a religiously sincere man, understood his second class status. In 1879, he founded the "Church and Stage" movement, which sought to demonstrate that religion and drama were "...not antagonistic to each other, but working harmoniously together for the public welfare and moral improvement." The Lewis company mounted a touring production of The Village Blacksmith by W.S. Gilbert, which was designed to illustrate this new harmony. The production was widely endorsed by Boston's leading clerics and opened at the Union Hall on Boylston Street, following an address by a minister. A review of this play noted, "The pecuniary results were not encouraging, but if Mr. Lewis takes this company on the road, the public will be sure of a good performance, well mounted, of a play both pure and lively."

Given Horace Lewis' good fortune to have been born into a fairly prominent family, he could have easily chosen a profession that would have maintained his social and economic standing. Lewis, along with many thousands of artists throughout U.S. history, elected to become an actor in full knowledge of the likely sacrifices, but his choice was not illogical. Surely he sensed, perhaps subconsciously, that the combined monetary and intangible rewards of acting were, from his perspective, adequate compensation, even if he envied the income earned by his peers in other skilled professions. Certainly he must have believed that acting yielded greater financial and personal rewards than a career in tax assessing, or whatever line of work his father might have preferred.

In comparison to most occupations, artists and other arts workers (technical and management personnel) tend to accept a high measure of nonmonetary rewards, that is, the gratification of producing art, as compensation for their work. By accepting these nonmonetary rewards, artistic workers, in effect, discount the cash price of their labor. One way to conceive of the value of this discount is to estimate it as the difference between the wages that artists typically earn and the wages earned by workers with comparable skill levels.

In any attempt to understand the artistic ecosystem of the United States, it is of paramount importance to grasp the significance of discounted labor. Market prices and consumer demand have never fully accounted for the output of artistic goods and services produced by American artists and arts organizations. Indeed, artists and arts organizations often give little consideration to market demand and prices in their determinations of how much and what kinds of art they produce. Even chronic indifference of the market may not induce an artist to change the amount or character of the produced art. This behavior usually would be catastrophic for a farmer or manufacturer, but it is commonplace among artists and arts organizations.

In addition to discounted labor, several other factors were significant in the evolution of the

arts in the pre-Ford era:

Education: Many recent studies of arts attendance at performances and exhibitions have found a high correlation between individual educational attainment and engagement in the arts. Indeed, educational attainment may be the strongest predictor of an individual's likelihood of becoming an arts consumer or an artist, and this correlation was probably as forceful in the pre-Ford epoch as it is today. The rise of public education during the industrial revolution surely contributed much to the development of both artistic labor and arts consumerism during that time.

The studies that link education to arts participation usually use grade levels as the measure of educational attainment. Thus, college graduates are far more likely to attend museums or become poets than high school dropouts. It is quite likely, however, that nonformal educational attainment also correlates closely with arts participation. For example, children who are encouraged to sing in the home are probably more inclined to sing or attend choral concerts as adults . In the 19th century, amateur choral societies flourished, and it is likely that this movement helped to stimulate public demand for the services of professional orchestras that were beginning to form in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

Prosperity: Next to educational attainment, individual financial well-being may be the most potent predictor of high arts participation. The transition of the United States from an agrarian to an industrial economy greatly increased the number of wealthy and middle class people. A larger proportion of the population became arts consumers, and some of the new wealth was used to amass unprecedented collections of art, which later became the basis for many American museums.

Societal Values: The values imbedded in any society have much to do with the nature of artistic expression and the manner in which art is presented in public settings. The transition from an agrarian to an industrial society, coupled with new waves of immigration, opened the United States to broader world influences that moderated the tight strictures against public expressiveness characteristic of 17-18th century American society. Although at least some artistic professions remained on the edge of social respectability (dancing and acting remained notorious into the 20th century), artists gradually improved their standing over the course of the pre-Ford epoch. By the end of the 19th century, for example, Horace Lewis' theater company was performing plays in Protestant churches in New England: a venue that would have been off-limits in the early 1800's.

Population Change: As the U.S. population increased as a result of fertility and immigration during the industrial revolution, it is not surprising that the number of artists and arts consumers also increased. In addition, the size and concentration of the American population had highly significant qualitative implications for the arts. The massing of populations of artists and arts consumers in emerging metropolitan areas supported an intensity and quality of creative expression that could not have been sustained in the nation's more agrarian past. By the end of the 19th century, Philadelphia, for example, had well-established fine arts academies, music conservatories, a lively theater district and a prominent community of writers, whereas at the beginning of the century, the spectrum of artistic production had been narrower. A gradual concentration of artistic resources in metropolitan areas occurred throughout the pre-Ford era in the United States, and many would argue that the most

populous city, New York, attained a critical mass of an altogether higher order. Throughout history, similar concentrations of artistic resources in developing urban areas, accompanied by significant qualitative developments in literature, architecture, visual arts and performing arts, have been apparent. Periclean Athens, Mayan Mexico, Elizabethan London, and Ming Dynasty China are examples of this phenomenon.

Leisure Time: Participation in the arts tends to vary, in some measure, according to the availability of leisure time. Progressively shorter work weeks were a pattern throughout the pre-Ford era and contributed to the founding of libraries, parks, museums, music halls, professional athletic leagues and a host of similar leisure time resources. According to economist Juliet Schor, shorter work weeks became almost as important as higher wages during the heyday of the American labor movement.

Implications of the Pre-Ford Era:

The cumulative result of the changes in education, prosperity, population growth, societal values and leisure time that occurred in the latter half of the 19th century was an overall increase in the output, variety and quality of artistic goods and services. America began to produce more of its own art, and proportionally imported less. The economic model for producing this art, however, was quite distinct from the patterns of royal patronage and governmental sponsorship that were prevalent in Europe during this period. Unlike Europe, there was very little governmental support of the arts, and little tradition of upper-class patronage. So for professional artists, there was no choice but to work for a profit and to accept deeply discounted wages, given the price and demand conditions of the prevailing American economy.

The experience of American symphony orchestras provides one illustration of the development of arts organizations during the pre-Ford period. By the mid 19th century, musical literacy was relatively high among Americans. Children learned to sing and play instruments at an early age, and performance within families was a popular form of entertainment. Amateur choruses began to form, and some of these hired musicians for accompaniment. The musicians, in turn, formed themselves into orchestras, hired conductors and produced public concerts as proprietary organizations. Many orchestras continued to operate in this manner until the end of the 19th century and early 20th century when a transition gradually was made to nonprofit organizations as the primary organizational model. In the nonprofit model, the orchestra became controlled by a lay board of directors, usually prominent citizens, which employed a professional conductor and manager. The conductor was given responsibility for hiring the musicians. Whereas the musicians had often controlled orchestras in the earlier phases of the pre-Ford era, under the nonprofit model, they usually became employees. Whether operating as proprietary or nonprofit organizations, however, all orchestras remained heavily dependent on ticket sales in the marketplace for the majority of their income.

With the arrival of the twentieth century, proprietary arts organizations began to wane. According to Baumol and Bowen, the number of touring theater companies stood at 327 at the turn of the century, but declined to less than 100 by 1915. After 1932, the number never rose above 25. The traditional commercial forms of theater, vaudeville and circus declined or vanished in the face of the new medium of movies. Other performing arts forms were also

affected by the new technologies of recorded music and radio, and ultimately by television. Some observers viewed these developments as the death of the live performing arts, and while it is evident that many proprietary performing arts organizations dissolved, it is not so clear that the overall output of arts goods and services was declining at all.

The upward trends in education, prosperity, leisure, societal acceptance and population continued in the early 20th century, all of which favored strong demand for artistic goods and services, and growth in the number of artists. The new technologies of film, audio recording, radio and television, however, began to strip away from the old proprietary arts world the most popular and lucrative forms of production. Vaudeville became The Ed Sullivan Show and the custom easel painting became the mass produced offset print. Whereas broad-based audiences, comprised of both commoners and educated, well-to-do elites had once attended proprietary productions of Shakespeare, even in small towns and mining camps across the nation, in the twentieth century the commoners began to gravitate toward the movie houses and other new technologies, leaving the educated and affluent elite to patronize an assortment of proprietary high art.

Given this substantially smaller base of customers, the laws of supply and demand would allow only one outcome: the proprietary high art sector had to diminish substantially in rough proportion to the diversion of demand toward the popularized new forms of art and entertainment. Prior to the arrival of the new technologies, the basic model of the proprietary arts organization had served reasonably well. At this juncture in history, however, popular art continued to follow the proprietary pattern, while high art, cut off from much of its consumer base, started to adopt a new model: the nonprofit organization.

The nonprofit model remained at its core, however, a money-making enterprise. To this day, American nonprofit arts organizations derive, on average, about half of their income from sales revenues. The remainder of the necessary income, however, began to come from individual contributors, the majority of whom were well-educated, upper income connoisseurs who had an artistic, familial or social stake in the continuation of particular arts organizations. Also during the early 20th century, a few foundations, beginning with the Carnegie Foundation, began to award a scattering of grants to nonprofit arts organizations, and local governments directed increasing support to publicly operated museums and performing arts halls.

By the end of the pre-Ford epoch (the late 1950s), the American arts ecosystem was characterized by a significantly reduced and still declining cadre of high art proprietorships, a small but steadily growing group of nonprofit and civic arts organizations, and a booming popular arts and entertainment sector operating commercially and reaping the advantages of a variety of technologies. More consumers were being served by these commercial and nonprofit systems of arts delivery than at any previous time in American history. In some artistic disciplines, notably the abstract expressionist painting movement that began in the late 1940s , the United States was at the forefront of international high art.

The Ford Era (1957-1990): Leverage Gained

Despite the ample progress of the pre-Ford epoch in the production of both high and popular art, America had a hefty cultural inferiority complex by the late 1950s, by no means a new phenomenon in the nation's history. Our high art, in at least some circles, was not high enough, and too much of the artistic initiative had been conceded to the new populist technologies. The vigor of American culture was plainly visible and audible in its popular music, dance and television, but less evident in many high art disciplines.

In the 1960 presidential election, a strong undercurrent was the rejection of the low-brow 1950s style personified by Richard Nixon, in favor of the high-culture style epitomized by John Kennedy. During his presidency, Kennedy would distinguish his administration through widely publicized appearances by internationally renowned artists at the White House, and Mrs. Kennedy became the symbol of high international fashion. With the emergence of America as the world's post-war economic dynamo, there was an increasing mandate for comparable supremacy in the arts and culture, including cuisine and fashion.

Just as the mood of American culture was changing, a startling new invention appeared on the art scene: the arts grant. Invented by the Ford Foundation in the late 1950s, the arts grant was a vehicle for the long term advancement of individual nonprofit arts organizations, as well as a means for the strategic development of the entire nonprofit arts sector. As created by Ford, these grants were national in their distribution, and seen as a form of highly leveraged investment, rather than simple personalized charity.

Until the arrival of the Ford Foundation's broad vision of arts funding, virtually all cultural philanthropy had been vested with individuals, and generally lacking in any strategic intent. Most cultural philanthropy in the pre-Ford era consisted of individual patrons providing gifts to their favorite nonprofit arts organization, motivated by their love of art or sense of civic pride. While these gifts were often significant in the life of a given institution, they were rarely associated with a formally constructed plan for that institution's progression, and even less often with a grand scheme for systemic advancement of the entire arts field.

If anyone deserves credit for inventing the arts grant it is W. McNeil Lowry, the Ford Foundation's Vice President for the Arts from 1957 to 1976. Over a span of twenty years the Ford Foundation invested more than $400 million in:

· The financial revitalization of existing major nonprofit arts institutions including elimination of debt, establishment of endowments and operating reserves, and support of building campaigns;

·The establishment of new regional nonprofit arts organizations, especially theater and dance companies, to decentralize the arts beyond the city limits of New York;

·The formation and advancement of a battery of arts service organizations, such as the Theater Communications Group, to promote broad sectors of the arts, and;

·The enhancement of conservatories and visual art schools to generate a labor supply to complement the emergence of stronger, more decentralized and numerous arts institutions.

In addition to the already noted strategic goals of the Ford, it is highly significant that the Foundation viewed itself as a catalyst for these major developments, but not as the perpetual funder. The majority of Ford's grants were limited to less than five years duration and required matching support two to four times greater than the amount awarded by the Foundation. So, while Ford was attempting to increase the capacity of arts organizations to manage themselves on a fiscally sound basis and increase program output, the assumption was that other sources of money, both contributed and earned, would support long term maintenance. The concept of the matching grant, accordingly, was not merely to assemble additional funds to accomplish a specific purpose, such as a cash reserve for a museum; it was also a tactic intended to recruit new donors, who would continue a pattern of support long after Ford had moved on to other projects. This extended pattern of support was the most important form of leverage that Ford was seeking.

The leverage element of the Ford strategy succeeded brilliantly. Whereas only a few foundations had entered the realm of arts philanthropy in the pre-Ford era (notably Carnegie, Rockefeller and Mellon), a virtual cascade of foundations, corporations and governmental agencies now became active, and many of them, knowingly or unknowingly, emulated Ford's approach to institutional advancement and high leverage funding. The evolution of this new and highly pluralistic funding system for the arts had no precedent in the U.S. or any other nation. Even today, this institutional funding system, involving many hundreds of foundations, corporations and governmental agencies, remains unique in the world. Nor was this approach in any way limited to the domain of nonprofit arts organizations. Similarly vigorous applications of funding leverage were to be found in the urban renewal programs of the Johnson Administration's monumental "War on Poverty", which often required matching contributions from state and local government.

Borrowing from physics, Ford's influence on arts funding can be likened to a chain reaction. Ford's leadership, both by the example of its grants and through direct political advocacy, was highly instrumental in the formation of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA): a federal agency conceived during the Kennedy Administration and inaugurated in 1965 by the Johnson Administration. Major initiatives of the NEA, including its Treasury Funds, state block grants, and Challenge and Advancement programs, owe much to the Ford strategy of leverage, decentralization and institutional expansion. Moreover, from the beginning, the preponderance of NEA grants were made on a matching basis. The logic was, and remains, that the NEA would stimulate a broad and ever-expanding base of funding from individuals and institutional funders that would carry most of the weight of sustaining contributed income for the nonprofit arts economy.

The NEA's original legislation contained provisions for block grants to state arts agencies. Prior to 1965, only four states operated arts funding agencies. With the stimulus of the NEA's block grants, all states and territories had founded arts agencies by 1980. This growing snowball of state and federal arts funding, in turn, led to the formation of more than 3,000 local arts councils, a quarter of which were organized as units of local government while the remaining three quarters were formed as nonprofit organizations, often with some formal link to local government.

Aside from this pyramidal evolution of governmental funding, two other philanthropic

branches grew from the Ford roots: foundation and corporate support of the arts. Foundation and corporate funding for the arts had been miniscule prior to the Ford era, and that which did exist was mostly motivated by the same drives that stimulated individual arts patrons: love of art and civic pride. The first to follow the Ford example were some of the large national foundations, but even greater numbers of regional and local foundations were to join the cultural funding movement by the mid 1970s. Many of these foundations would employ specialized staff to formulate funding strategies and analyze grant applications, again taking a cue from Ford, which was the first foundation to utilize professional staff for these purposes. By the end of the Ford era, the aggregate arts funding from foundations would surpass $1 billion per year, more than three times the amount spent by state and national governmental arts agencies.

The corporate arts funding movement started somewhat later than the foundations and was spearheaded by a few national leaders including Exxon, Dayton Hudson, Philip Morris and AT & T. Although corporate funding did not attain the same level as foundations and government, and was more immersed in marketing agendas (and therefore less concerned with the strategic advancement of the arts), corporate funding was considered the fastest growing source of contributed income for the arts in the early 1980s.

The result of the entry of governmental, foundation and corporate funding sources into the arts economy during the Ford era was quite dramatic. According to 1980 data collected on 218 nonprofit arts organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area, 45% of total income was earned and 55% came from all contributed sources. Of the contributed funds, 25% was provided by individual patrons, 18% by government, 7% by foundations and 4% by corporations. One of the notable features of the governmental support in 1980 was that a significant portion of it was still derived from Federal CETA funds (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act), which were allocated to state and local jurisdictions for public service jobs for unemployed workers. According to figures compiled by the U.S. Department of Labor and the National Endowment for the Arts, approximately 10,000 artists and related workers received CETA jobs, at an annual cost of more than $60 million. Economic recovery in the early 1980s, along with the agenda of the newly elected Reagan administration, brought an immediate end to this source of funding.

Although similar figures are not available for the comparatively small sector of nonprofit arts groups in the pre-Ford era, it is evident that a strikingly different pattern must have prevailed. The preponderance of funds in that time were either earned through sales or donated by individuals. For the dominant sector of proprietary arts organizations in the pre-Ford era, as personified by the Lewis Dramatic Party of Professional Artists, virtually all income, by definition, had to be earned.

Besides helping to fuel expansion of the population of artists and arts organizations, the most significant effect of Ford era institutional funding was that it channelled the formation of new high art organizations into a nonprofit mode, rather than the proprietary mode that characterized the pre-Ford era. In the San Francisco Bay area, only 20-30 nonprofit arts organizations were in existence in the late 1950s, while a far greater number of theaters, musical ensembles, performing arts presenters and galleries were operating on a for-profit basis. By the late 1980s, at the end of the Ford era, the Bay Area contained approximately 1,000 nonprofit arts organizations, and far fewer proprietary arts organizations continued to operate.

Commercial art galleries remained significant, though much of the vigor in contemporary visual art had gravitated to nonprofit galleries and artist-run spaces. Virtually no commercial theaters were operating, and almost all commercial performing arts presenting had ceased. The arts organization profile evident in the San Francisco Bay Area may be somewhat atypical, but high growth in the number of nonprofits combined with a decline in the commercial high art sector appears to have been the pattern in virtually all metropolitan regions in the U.S.

While the Ford Foundation and NEA deserve much credit for their early support of the nonprofit arts movement, by far the most significant factor in this movement's origin was the sudden arrival, in the 1960s, of a huge generation of Horace Lewis-style artists, technicians and administrators, driven not by funding or economic gain, but rather by their own desire to produce art. This generation of arts workers founded an unprecedented number of arts organizations, not because of consumer demand or arts grants, but rather because they had the training and desire to produce art as a result of several broad influences that coincided at roughly the same moment: significant shifts in societal values, a peak in economic prosperity, the arrival of the massive baby-boom generation on American college campuses, the momentary ascendancy of liberal arts education, and the high water mark in leisure time.

Population Change: American fertility during and after World War II had much to do with the genesis of the Ford era. The era had truly arrived when the baby boom generation appeared in vast numbers on college campuses throughout the nation. This large, mostly white, and relatively affluent generation not only provided most of the discounted labor for the surge of arts production and formation of new nonprofit arts organizations, but also contributed substantially to the enlargement of consumer demand for the arts. In addition, this generation formed the bedrock labor supply for the massive expansion of the entire nonprofit sector of health, environmental, educational and social service organizations that were being founded concurrently.

Societal Values: Just as a shift toward more permissive and tolerant values had favored greater public expressiveness in the pre-Ford epoch, an even more pronounced shift developed in the late 1950's and early 1960s in reaction to the widely held perception of cultural inferiority that marked the post war years. This shift in favor of open expression (free speech, free art, free love) was accompanied by a complementary change in attitudes toward public service. The notion that work in public service was virtuous, in comparison to work in private enterprise, gained currency. John Kennedy's 1961 inaugural invocation to work for one's country was greeted with enthusiasm by many Americans, especially the young, who signed up for the Peace Corps, Vista or other public service work in government, the nonprofit sector, or volunteer groups.

Prosperity: In taking stock of this shift in values favoring public service and expressiveness, the influence of the exceptionally strong U.S. economy deserves much of the credit. While the Kennedy challenge of public service galvanized new idealism, it was easier to respond to this challenge in an economy in which multiple career options were available in the event that public service proved to be too much of a sacrifice. This general aura of prosperity may have also contributed to the willingness of large numbers of Americans to become consumers of the arts.

Education: Another planet that aligned at the beginning of the Ford era was the pinnacle of

the American public education system, and a heightened emphasis on the liberal arts. A greater proportion of the population was enrolled in higher education than at any previous time and, according to some authorities, the quality of the public educational system reached its peak. It is also significant that, given the values and prosperity of this time, unprecedented numbers of college students chose to study the liberal arts. Comparative literature, drama, fine arts, art history, music and a host of other arts-related disciplines flourished.

Probably the majority of liberal arts students had no particular career ambition in these fields. The number of drama graduates in any given year, for example, substantially exceeded the supply of full time acting jobs in the entire nation. Still, at the time it was widely believed by students that any college degree, even in the arts, was a passport to an entry level job in some reasonably well-paid profession. Until the early 1970s, a seller's market prevailed for holders of undergraduate degrees, so one could afford to obtain a college degree for its own sake rather than committing oneself as an undergraduate to a business or technical degree. Thus, institutions of higher learning were producing legions of students, many of whom, whether they realized it or not, were becoming prepared to work in the nonprofit arts or to become arts consumers.

Leisure Time: Many books and articles in the late 1960's and early 1970s announced the arrival of a new era of leisure. Expectations were widespread that the U.S. would soon adopt a four day work week and concern was voiced for how Americans would utilize their expanded spare time: passively, in front of a television, or in more active, enlightening pursuits. According to economist Juliet Schor, leisure for the average working American reached an apogee in 1971. In some measure, this additional leisure probably contributed to the ability of people to engage in artistic endeavors and to become arts consumers.

Implications of the Ford Era:

In summary, then, it was the sheer number of inspired and educated youth that provided the main fuel for the Ford Era. In an earlier time, this labor force probably would have founded a wave of new arts enterprises using the proprietary model that had been the only choice for Horace Lewis' generation. In the 1960's, however, the nonprofit model was available and convenient, besides fitting the contemporary anti-business ethos. Moreover, the nonprofit model had the benefit of heavy backing from the new circle of institutional arts funders led by the Ford Foundation, though many, probably the majority, of start-up nonprofit arts organizations began without the prior commitment of a grant.

Although this period was largely driven by discounted labor, and secondarily by institutional funders, it could never afford to entirely ignore consumer demand. As in all eras, much art was produced for its own sake with no concern for its consumer appeal. Nevertheless, the high arts in America, even with the advent of institutional funding and nonprofit organizations, continued to depend far more heavily on earned revenues than their counterparts in virtually all industrialized nations. In some European countries, government subsidies alone account for 80% or more of a typical organization's budget, and in some cases critics have argued that the incentive for attracting a large clientele base may have been eroded by over-subsidization.

In the U.S., by contrast, client-based revenues have been critical to the survival of most

nonprofit arts organizations, so as these groups proliferated in the Ford era, they tended to devote considerable energy to sales. Indeed, many government, foundation and corporate funding sources insisted on the development of a paying client base and often provided grants toward that end. Even without pressure from the funders and economic necessity, many arts organizations were imbued with the ethic of public service and willingly did their best to attract large followings. Thus, the Ford era was more than a partnership between nonprofit arts organizations and friendly funding sources that appreciated "high art." It was also a period when the clientele of the high arts rebounded, in part driven by increased supply, but also by advances in education, societal values, economic prosperity and leisure time, the same factors that spawned the new generation of arts workers.

As the Ford Era evolved, however, it could be fairly said that most of the new consumer demand came from a relatively well-defined segment of the population: persons with high levels of formal education. This point has been confirmed by virtually all surveys of performing arts and museum audiences over the past three decades. Thus, though the nonprofit movement in the arts was partially founded on the ideal of public service, an unintentional result was that most of the beneficiaries came from a narrow band of society. What was true at the outset of the Ford Era was at least as true at the end. Most of the public obtained its arts and entertainment from commercial sources. While the nonprofit arts were expanding in organizational numbers and output, the big money and most of the technological innovation continued to reside in commercial broadcasting, musical recording, movie production, and a host of new home electronic media.

In 1993, McNeil Lowry, age 79, passed away in New York City. More than any other single individual of his time, he saw the potential and conceived the strategy for this three decade era. The arts and the nation benefited greatly from his leadership and skillful application of resources. While the history of the Ford era is too fresh to evaluate its lasting imprint, there has been no period of the arts in America that has surpassed its intensity.

The Post-Ford Era (1990 to Present): Leverage Lost

Just as abundant cheap labor and institutional funding were the defining elements of the Ford era, reversals in these two resources are now defining the Post-Ford Era. Despite the Ford era's remarkable successes in preserving and advancing American high art under the nonprofit banner, it was not an era that could be sustained.

The most obvious, though rarely acknowledged, reason that it could not last indefinitely was that the institutional money supply could not continue to grow. An early assumption of many arts funders, including Ford, was that high leverage funding would stimulate other sources of contributed income for the arts, most notably from government, that would provide a steady and expanding flow of revenues: the so-called "pump priming" or "seed funding" strategy. Meanwhile, government was using the same logic to justify its arts funding. Each year, the National Endowment for the Arts would partially argue the case for its appropriation bill in Congress by pointing out that each dollar of Federal funding of the arts would stimulate a manyfold return in arts support from private sector funders. Similarly, state arts agencies

would employ this same rationale in their annual appropriation processes. Over the years, many public funding agencies would commission economic impact studies that would attempt to demonstrate not only the leverage of governmental dollars on private sector contributions, but also the affects of public arts spending on commercial sector revenues and on the generation of sales and income tax revenues.

Today, the funding leverage concept continues to be advanced by many governmental arts agencies as a primary rationale for public support of the arts, even though much private sector and governmental arts funding has been on a downward trajectory for several years. Some private funders, as well, continue to operate matching grant and challenge grant programs that assume the potential for high leverage.

Any student of biological, physical or economic systems would immediately recognize the flaw in the logic of funding leverage, as it has been practiced not only in the arts, but also throughout the nonprofit sector. One of the fundamental tenets of systems studies is the "free lunch" principle: no system can depend on the unlimited growth of resources. The leveraged funding strategy of the Ford Era can be likened to a chain letter, a Ponzi scheme, or any other pyramidal growth system. The initiators of chain letters and Ponzi schemes often claim that, for a small effort or investment, a virtually limitless return will be realized, and though initially this prophecy may appear to be feasible, inevitably all such arrangements must fail because resources are finite. In other words, there is no perpetual free lunch. Ultimately, leverage will become unsustainable.

Although reduced or stagnant funding from governmental and private sources is now a pervasive topic in the nonprofit arts world, the emergence of this trend has been fairly gradual, and it is commonly believed that the reductions are a temporary aberration of the economy. The state of the economy certainly does influence the resources available to many funders, as well as the buying power of arts consumers. Nevertheless, to singularly blame the economy for the substantial pressures now bearing on the nonprofit arts sector ignores the hard reality that for three decades the arts were able to rely on exponential growth in financial and labor resources, and now the chain reaction started in part by the Ford Foundation, with the best intentions and spectacular results, has arrived at a point of systemic purgatory.

While the loss of funding leverage may appear to be an overwhelming problem for nonprofit arts organizations, an even bigger, though less acknowledged, issue is the loss of labor leverage. The most elemental force in the massive growth of arts organizations in the early Ford years was the arrival of a large new generation of artists and other arts workers who were willing to support their work through discounted wages. The continuation of Ford Era nonprofit organizations is, therefore, fundamentally tied to the ongoing availability of this core resource. For two reasons, the outlook is not good for the sustainability of discounted labor: a significant portion of the veteran generation that founded the Ford Era organizations is departing, and it is not being adequately replaced by a new generation of discounted labor.

The departure of the veterans is principally due to a simple axiom of aging: as one becomes older, the expectation of earning more increases. During the early Ford years in particular, tens of thousands of young people entered the arts with little thought of it being a career that would bring adequate compensation. The 1960's economy was so robust, the cost of living was so low, and job opportunities so abundant, that a young person with a college degree could

easily become a writer, curator, dancer or lighting technician, often by holding a supplementary non-arts job, and still have the option of entering another profession if the arts proved to be unsatisfactory. As this generation of arts workers has aged, however, the expectation of making money has increased. In part, this higher expectation can be viewed as a natural characteristic of becoming older and desiring increased material comfort. In the case of the highly educated baby boom generation, however, this natural expectation may have been accentuated for arts workers by the exceptional financial success that has been achieved by many of their non-arts peers who have used their college educations to obtain high incomes.

As expectations of making money have been escalating for veteran arts workers, their actual wages have been increasing as well. The problem is that the expectations have increased at a faster rate than the actual levels of compensation. One of the common stories among young performing artists of the 1960s was their pilgrimage to a large city, usually New York, where they worked for almost no wages for some theater or dance company. In those years, an entry level job for a college graduate might be $5-8,000 for a position in teaching, accounting or management. For these young performing artists, however, survival was a matter of living in shared housing, earning money in a menial part time job, and maybe receiving assistance from parents. So, while these young performers were usually aware that their worth on the open job market was $5-8,000, they might accept little or no compensation with few regrets. In effect, they were donating all or most of the value of their labor to the dance or theater company in which they worked.

Today, these same arts workers are in their forties and fifties. At this point in their careers, they may be earning annual wages of $25-40,000, no longer living in shared housing, and almost certainly receiving no help from their parents. Moreover, the open job market has far fewer opportunities for their skills, and the time for developing the qualifications to enter a new career is past or becoming short. For many of these veterans, the realities of acquiring equity in a house, saving for retirement, obtaining medical insurance, or helping their children through college have become grim. Given their levels of education, advanced skills and seniority, these veterans feel entitled to incomes more in the range of $50-75,000, and yet only a small fraction of them, especially in small and medium size arts organizations, are able to reach this expectation. The net effect, then, is that the veterans are giving up more income to work in the arts today than they were in the early years of the Ford era, and the pressure of their need for increased income is a major cause of their exodus from the field.

In the bygone days of the early Ford Era, labor exerted its own form of leverage. Artists would start new organizations, which became magnets for yet other arts workers, even without strong economic incentives. As long as labor was inexpensive, new nonprofit organizations provided a platform for artistic labor to pursue its need to produce work. In the post-Ford era, however, it appears that this leverage has been lost, or at least diminished, with respect to a younger generation of arts workers. Fewer in this generation are majoring in the liberal arts, and for those who do, there is less often the desire to take a chance on a low paying career with minimal long term security. A more typical strategy among undergraduates is to prepare for highly paid occupations, and to work hard at getting an entry level position with good prospects for advancement. A corollary of this change in career perspective is that within the relatively small pool of young college graduates who are willing to work in the nonprofit arts sector, there is often a demand for higher starting wages. Ironically, it is not unusual to find cases in which veteran arts workers are leaving the field, and being replaced by younger, less

experienced workers, who start at wages comparable to those of the departing veterans.

A problem that compounds the dual trends of reduced discounted labor and reductions in grant funding is the apparent slippage in public demand for the services of many nonprofit arts organizations. In recent years, much of the performing arts industry (operas, symphonies, theaters and dance companies) has reported lower audience results. Here is an instance in which the recession of the early 1990s may have had a significant impact; but it is also likely that several other trends, all of them likely to last well beyond the recession, are significant. In essence, these longer lasting trends are reversals in the very factors that gave rise to the Ford era:

Societal Values: The 1980s are widely viewed as a time when personal gain triumphed over the public good, and there is little doubt that the one-time credibility, if not prestige, of a career in public service was set back by the political scandals and campaign invective of the last two decades. While the ethic of volunteerism remains a strong element in American life, it is now more often practiced as an adjunct to an otherwise successful career, rather than as a way of life that diminishes one's earnings.

The nonprofit arts sector has also received a public relations body blow from the spectacle of Congressional muckraking over the various controversial grants awarded by the National Endowment for the Arts. At a time when "family values" are in ascendancy, it has become increasingly difficult to justify public spending on art that challenges the societal mainstream. In some ways, the arts have become discredited in the way that they were in Horace Lewis' day: not a place for virtuous people.

Prosperity: The erosion of favorable sentiments toward art and public service may also be related to long lasting changes in prosperity. In the post-Ford era, the average American no longer enjoys the premier standard of living in the world economy. Not only has total real income declined for Americans, but also disposable income: the money available for spending beyond the necessities of food, shelter and taxes. Less disposable income has obvious and direct implications for consumer demand for all forms of arts and entertainment.

Education: The pressures of a less bountiful economy and the retrenchment in attitudes toward the arts are compounded by changes in American public education. According to many authorities, overall literacy and educational attainment have slipped, and many arts education programs have been reduced or eliminated. Various campaigns have been mounted over the past 20 years, including those by the National Endowment for the Arts and the Rockefeller and Getty Foundations, to improve arts education curricula and convince school districts of the fundamental place of the arts in a balanced education. These efforts have often been pitted, however, against the realities of less money for public education and greater emphasis on so-called "basic" subjects that are viewed as essential preparation for employment. The newly promulgated "Contract with America" proposes even greater emphasis within public education on employment skills.

These trends in general education and arts education are particularly worrisome for the arts because of their exceedingly long term impact. Whereas societal values and economic prosperity may shift over spans of several years, changes in the educational system tend to be more glacial, and the impact on individuals can be lifelong. Thus, if a child establishes no arts

literacy, especially during the early primary school years, the likelihood of that child becoming an artist or an active participant in the arts may be significantly diminished.

Given that much of the baby boom generation graduated from the educational system at or near its pinnacle, one might suppose that this relatively affluent group would be a prime source of new and stable audience support for the arts in the 1990s, even if the participation of subsequent generations is being dampened by a weakened educational system. The book Megatrends 2000 predicts a strong upward trend in arts audiences in the 1990s resulting from the well-educated baby boom generation's arrival at its prime income earning years. Unfortunately, there is little evidence that this trend is materializing, and it is even possible that the baby boom generation will be less engaged in the arts than their parents' generation.

Leisure Time: The problem of low arts demand within the baby boom generation, and subsequent generations as well, may be due, in part, to the decline in leisure time that began to appear in the early 1970s, but became more evident toward the end of the 1980s. Overall, leisure time in the U.S. has declined by about one-third for working individuals since 1971, with both men and women spending more time engaged in work. According to Juliet Schor, the U.S. and Japan are the only industrialized nations in which a decline in leisure has occurred over this period. Not only does this decline have implications for arts audiences, but also for the volunteer activity that artists and nonartists invest in arts organizations.

Judith Huggins Balfe examines this issue one step further in an article about the baby boom generation's audience patterns. She suggests that this generation is approaching its limited leisure time in a manner different from its parents' generation. Given the pressure of work, Ms. Balfe sees a reluctance within the baby boom generation to commit itself in advance to a schedule of leisure time activities. Thus, this generation is less likely to buy season tickets because it wants to retain freedom of choice and the opportunity to choose activities spontaneously. This generation also may be reluctant to purchase even a single ticket to a high art event that requires arrival at a set time, and constrains the audience to a silent, passive posture until the performance ends. Rather, the increasing preference may be shifting to forms of performance, such as comedy, literary salons and jazz, that are more interactive, flexible with regard to arrival and departure times, and less constraining on one's behavior during the course of the performance.

Population Change: Whereas the sheer size of the baby boom generation had an influence on the number of artists and audience members available to support the nonprofit arts build-up of the Ford era, population dynamics of a different sort are shaping the post-Ford era. Post-Ford is a more racially diverse time, and many nonprofit organizations based on the high art perspectives of an educated elite are finding it difficult to adapt to a more multi-hued audience. Moreover, governmental funding sources, which are necessarily sensitive to the broad racial and gender landscape of the electorate, are also exerting pressure for greater diversity among nonprofit arts organizations.

Technology: Throughout the pre-Ford and Ford eras, new technologies exerted a constant pressure on the high arts, capturing through electronic media any art form and audience that might be commercially successful. This pattern has continued in the post-Ford era as the new wave of CD recordings, home video, and specialized cable broadcasting has competed with the old guard of performing, visual and literary high art.

Implications of the Post-Ford Era:

From our present vantage point in the mid-1990s, it can now be seen that the Ford era was the result of a coincidence of several disparate factors: the idealism of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, increased leisure, high prosperity, the genius of McNeil Lowry (combined with the plentiful resources of the Ford Foundation), trends on college campuses, and several other influences. In the past three decades, each of these trends has followed its own course. Is it any wonder, then, that the nonprofit arts sector, which boomed during the brief intersection of these trends, cannot comfortably assume that the status quo will prevail? There are numerous examples of far larger sectors of the American economy that ignored major systemic trends to their lasting detriment. Most forms of manufacturing, health care organizations and railroads are a few among the many cases. While it is likely that the various trends affecting the nonprofit arts sector will oscillate, for better and for worse, in the future, they may never again coincide in the fashion that launched the Ford Era.

The main point of this paper has been to examine the nonprofit arts sector as a complex organic system that has been shaped by at least a half dozen major trends over the past century. While in retrospect it may be possible to trace the confluent forces that led to the bounty of the Ford era, it is another matter entirely to predict how the ecosystem will evolve into the future. Any system affected by large-scale external influences must necessarily adjust its behavior or become extinct. Systems tend to be so complex, however, that prediction of their behavior is impossible. In recognition of the chaotic behavior of social, economic and environmental systems, an emerging view among planning authorities is that the best approach is to prepare for alternative futures, rather than betting everything on any single projection of the future.

There is, perhaps, one reasonably safe assertion that can be made about the near term direction of the nonprofit arts ecosystem: that for the present, the arts will have no choice but to adapt to the circumstances of less discounted labor and contributed income, and in some instances, flat or declining consumer demand as well. The most likely result will be an overall decline in the number of nonprofit arts organizations, along with a reduction in the production of program services: exhibitions, performances, and so forth. This near term prediction does not imply that every nonprofit arts organization will follow a declining course, but rather that the nonprofit arts system as a whole will have to come into equilibrium with reductions in these resources.

Surely, the most vulnerable organizations are the small and medium size groups that have had the highest reliance on inexpensive labor and grants. In the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, more than 95% of the nonprofit arts groups fall into the small or medium size range using, as a rough standard, organizations with annual operating budgets of less than $1.5 million. Many, though by no means all, larger institutions have buffered themselves from some of the exigencies of the post-Ford environment through enhanced capitalization (buildings, cash reserves, equipment and endowments), reasonably adequate employee compensation, and multiple streams of contributed income from individual donors and institutional grants, complemented by dependable flows of earned revenues based on loyal audiences. For many of the major arts institutions, especially in the performing arts, audiences have tailed off in recent years, but given their diverse resource bases, large institutions can

often manage their way through this hardship. Cuts are made in various cost categories, emphasis is devoted to increased earned and contributed income, and the ship stays afloat.

For many small and medium size arts organizations, fine tuning of costs and income sources may not be enough. The departure of the founding generation of artists and administrators, and the subsequent inability of organizations to recruit employees of comparable skill and commitment, may be fatal. The loss of one or two key funding sources, usually in the form of previously reliable governmental or foundation grants, may have the same effect.

In a few instances, small, weakly capitalized arts organizations eventually declare legal bankruptcy, though the more common pattern is to retreat from a position of operating as a year-around organization, and instead operate from project to project as resources permit. Another tactic is to abandon operation as an independent nonprofit organization, and to function thereafter under the aegis of a nonprofit fiscal sponsor. Some attempts at merger are also in evidence, but examples of success are few in number. Of late, occasional cases of nonprofits dissolving and then reconstituting as individual proprietorships have been in evidence.

All of these tactics for reducing fixed costs have in common one feature: a continued need for a supply of discounted labor, without which existence in any organizational structure is not possible. With the possible exceptions of the top echelon of orchestral musicians and a handful of superstars scattered throughout the performing, visual and literary arts, the compensation and status of the American artist are not substantially different from the pre-Ford days of the Lewis Dramatic Party of Professional Artists.

For those who came of age in the Ford era and became acclimatized to its nonprofit mode of operation, the realities of the post-Ford era may seem harsh or even hostile. For artists, administrators and board members, the operation of nonprofit arts organizations has become a thoroughly learned culture with deeply ingrained assumptions about values, ways of conducting business and sources of support. As with any established culture, it will not be an easy task to adapt to new circumstances. From an historical perspective, it can be seen that the American nonprofit model was always built upon the foundation of the earlier proprietary system, which required of arts workers a combination of personal economic sacrifice and the ability to attract paying customers. If the post-Ford era comes to resemble an earlier time when entrepreneurial skills were essential to survival, it is likely that many organizations founded in the Ford era will experience trouble making the necessary adjustments, or even discontinue operations rather than accept any compromise of refined artistic standards that cannot be supported, at least partially, in the marketplace.

In the long worldwide history of the arts, artists have always found ways to pursue their work and audiences have found ways to see, hear and read it. The issue today is whether and how the model of the nonprofit arts organization, which has flourished for only a brief moment in the history of the arts, will continue to be a viable, versatile and publicly useful instrument for artistic production.

In considering this issue, those workers involved with the day-to-day operations of nonprofit arts organizations will increasingly have to ask a personally difficult, but fundamental, question, "How long will we be willing to carry on our work in the nonprofit arts in full

knowledge of the ongoing necessity of sacrificing personal income?" In effect, an audit of the human resources of an arts organization, which revealed the likely career trajectories of current staffs and volunteers, along with an appraisal of the likely flow of new recruits, would provide a clearer understanding of sustainability than a financial audit.

Arts funders who have an abiding interest in the advancement of nonprofit arts organizations should be equally interested in the arts labor supply. In most instances, grant funding will not be sufficient to offset the value lost to arts organizations through labor attrition. Given the fragility of many nonprofit arts organizations, funders who pursue their usual role of using grants to influence production quality, audience size and composition, fundraising capacity, and financial stability may find that their interventions exert little positive influence. Worse yet, interventions made in the absence of a thorough understanding of the new systemic realities of nonprofit arts organizations, including the key issue waning of labor resources, may result in what systems experts call, "unintended consequences." Trying to boost audiences, for example, may push an already stressed organization, that should be focused on reducing fixed costs, over the brink.

Although funders are sometimes potent enough to award grants that make a material difference in an organization's long term advancement, it is an open question whether any foundation, corporation or governmental agency, even a coalition of funders working together, could succeed in an intervention that would change the course of the entire arts ecosystem, in a fashion comparable to the Ford Foundation in the 1960s. The post-Ford environment has no single funding institution that could muster the singular impact of the Ford Foundation's ventures into national dispersal of the arts and building up entire sectors of the arts, such as regional theater and ballet companies. The post-Ford landscape of funders is so decentralized and pluralistic that any plausible cooperative effort would seem to have little chance of influence.

Even in European countries in which governments have long been endowed with financial resources and statutory authority that have enabled them to engineer the dynamics of their arts ecosystem, this unilateral position of control is now eroding in the face of new trends in technology, population diversity, societal values and the global economy. For decades, many American arts leaders advocated quantum increases in governmental appropriations to follow the European example of heavy per capita subsidization. More often today, the Europeans are looking to the U.S. for clues about supporting the arts in a more pleuralistic mileau of cultures and funding sources. A new wave of nongovernmental foundations, some of which are funding the arts, are presently growing in several western European countries.

Assuming that governmental and private arts funders could marshall resources comparable to those of the Ford Foundation in its heyday, there is no obvious leverage point in the post-Ford environment. Some funders are fond of the idea that massive improvements in arts education would help to reverse declines in audiences, but would enhanced education by itself be enough to offset negative public attitudes toward public service and artistic expression, declining leisure time, slippage in middle class prosperity, and the constant pressure of new entertainment technologies? Each of these trends is driven by massive forces in the American economy, society and political order that surround and dwarf the nonprofit arts. So, for those with the ambition of rivaling the legacy of McNeil Lowry, there may be no choice but to await a more favorable alignment of the planets, when a leverage point, once again, becomes

manifest.

Although the moment may not be fertile for grand strategies, there is no cause to abandon all that arose during the Ford era. In comparison to the last years of the pre-Ford era (the decade following World War II), the high arts sector of the post-Ford era appears to be much larger and more robust. Enough nutrient remains in the nonprofit arts system to support the conviction that many Ford era organizations will make the necessary adjustments to the new conditions, and thereafter prosper and mature. Even in cases wherein nonprofit organizations cease operation, their resident artists may well continue to find other organizational structures to support their work, whether it is under the auspices of alternative nonprofits or the other voluntary and proprietary organizations that will continue to be available.

And who knows? A new planetary alignment could arise at any moment and define an era beyond post-Ford. While it is highly unlikely that the next age will be shaped by the same coincidence of forces that unleashed the boom of the Ford era, there is no reason to expect that the presently prevailing trends in resources, societal values, population dynamics, technology, education and leisure will become stuck in a permanent position. Complex systems, whether natural or human, inevitably evolve.

Footnotes:

1. Throughout this paper, an effort is made to describe the nonprofit arts world as a complex system. The approach used in this analysis owes much to the work of two noted systems authorities: Barry Richmond, President of High Performance Systems in Hanover, New Hampshire, publisher of a systems modelling program entitled "i think"; and MIT professor Peter Senge, author of The Fifth Discipline: The Art & Practice of the Learning Organization (New York: Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1990)

2. Baumol, William J. and William G. Bowen. Performing Arts, The Economic Dilemma (New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1966), p.18. The performance was of a play entitled, "Ye Bare and Ye Cubb", performed in Accomac, Virginia in 1665.

3. Ibid. p.81-83.

4. Quote from a playbill, circa 1879.

5. American Art Journal, June 7, 1879.

6. Classic microeconomic theory would take a different perspective. The value of artistic labor would be seen as the market price, that is, the price that buyers would be willing to pay.

7. Schuster, J. Mark Davidson. The Audience for American Art Museums (Washington: Seven Locks Press, 1991)

8. The term "high art" is used throughout this paper to denote forms of artistic expression that require formal education to acquire a degree of connoiseurship. The obverse would be

"popular art" or "low art" forms that appeal to masses of people who acquire connoiseurship through their immersion in culture rather than through formal education.

9. Schor, Juliet. The Overworked American: the Unexpected Decline of Leisure (New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 1991)

10. Op.cit p.28

11. One brief, but at moments illustrious, break in this pattern occurred during a time of supreme national emergency: the Great Depression of the 1930s. In this period of crisis, the Federal Government's Works Progress Administration (WPA) hired 44,000 artists in all disciplines and used them to establish hundreds of orchestras, theater companies and community music schools. Many of these artists were also put to work, either individually or in groups, to write local histories, create sculptures or easel paintings, and paint frescoes in public buildings. One of the most noteworthy features of this enormous project was that it not only absorbed the labor of a large number of unemployed artists, but also attempted to link the output of these artists to a broader, more populist, audience. The WPA made a point of bringing art into settings, including small towns and public buildings, where the arts were rarely seen. Hundreds of symphonies, theaters and arts schools were formed in locales that had little previous history of such institutions. However, in an episode that was to anticipate the harsh attacks on the National Endowment for the Arts more than 50 years later, the Congress abolished the WPA Theater Project in late 1938 in response to the Dies Committee's (U.S. House of Representatives) findings of communist influence, and the remainder of the WPA arts program quickly faded, until World War II brought its final demise.

12. In must industrialized nations, earned income forms a far smaller fraction of the total income needed to operate arts organizations. In some instances, government subsidies provide the majority of the operating income. See Milton C. Cummings, Jr. and J. Mark Davidson Schuster, eds. Who's To Pay for the Arts? The International Search for Models of Arts Support (New York, N.Y.: ACA Books, 1989)

13. Ironically, President Nixon, in the 1970s, was to become a strong supporter of high art through his approval of quantum budget increases for the National Endowment for the Arts. Throughout his administration, Mr. Nixon made a point of attending performing arts events and inviting artists to the White House.

14. Weber, Nathan and Loren Renz. Arts Funding: A Report on Foundation and Corporate Grantmaking Trends (New York, N.Y.: Foundation Center, 1993)

15. San Francisco Foundation. Artsfax 1981 (San Francisco, CA, 1981). 1991 data are used for this chart because that year falls in the middle years of the Ford era when broad diversification of contributed funding sources had already become a well established pattern.

16. Ibid

17. Myllyluoma, Jaana and Lester M. Salamon. The San Francisco Bay Area Nonprofit Sector: An Update (Baltimore, MD.: Institute for Policy Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, 1992).

18. Op. cit

19. Milton C. Cummings, Jr. and Richard S. Katz, eds. The Patron State: Government and the Arts in Europe, North America, and Japan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

20. Ibid.

21. A recent news release of the NEA claims that each dollar of Federal arts funding yields $11 of private sector contributions.

22. A Ponzi Scheme is an illegal form of fraud in which investors are promised high rates of return that are achieved in the short run by paying early investors with funds derived from later investors. The seemingly high rates of return achieved by the early investors serve as a magnate for later investors who believe that they too can become rich. Inevitably, many investors lose all or much of their committed resources. Systems theorists would use the term "positive feedback" to describe pyrimidal growth schemes. Positive feedback is an inherently destabilizing characteristic of some systems.

23. Naisbitt, John and Patricia Aburdene. Megatrends 2000: Ten New Directions for the 1990's (New York: William Morrow and Co.,1990)

24. Op, cit

25. Balfe, Judith Huggins. "The Baby-Boom Generation: Lost Patrons, Lost Audience?"from Wyszomirski, Margaret Jane and Pat Clubb, eds. The Cost of Culture: Patterns and Prospects of Private Arts Patronage (New York, NY: ACA Books, 1989)

26. See, for example, Stacey, Ralph D. Managing the Unknowable: Strategic Boundaries Between Order and Chaos in Organizations (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1992)

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SIAP

Social Impact of the
Arts Project

University of Pennsylvania
School of Social Work
http://www.ssw.upenn.edu/SIAP

Summary of Findings

July 1999

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The Social Impact of the Arts Project (SIAP) was founded in 1994 to gather systematic data on the role of arts and cultural activity in the social life of Philadelphia. During its first three years, the Project developed:

- an inventory of nonprofit arts and cultural providers in the five-county area that included tax-exempt nonprofits, "informal" arts and cultural groups, and non-arts organizations that offer arts and cultural activities to their communities
- an inventory of non-arts social organizations, including houses of worship, neighborhood improvement groups, youth and social service organizations, social and fraternal organizations, and special interest groups; and
- a geographic database (census block groups) of regional cultural participation.

In addition, the Project carried out a series of community case studies in six neighborhoods which included surveys of community participation, inventories of traces of attention and neglect, a geographic database of community cultural participation, and interviews with the leaders of cultural and non-arts community groups.

Since 1997, SIAP has expanded its work in two ways:

- we developed a "first approximation" of our Philadelphia databases in three additional cities: Chicago, Atlanta, and San Francisco; and

- in association with the William Penn Foundation's *Culture Builds Community* initiative, we tracked the organizational and neighborhood life-histories of approximately fifty community arts and cultural providers in the metropolitan area

This handout reports selected findings from our research since 1994. Those interested in a more in-depth presentation of the findings should consult the SIAP website (http://www.ssw.upenn.edu/SIAP) and the appropriate working papers.

Diverse neighborhoods and cultural engagement are strongly linked.

Percent of residents, by diversity status and metropolitan status, selected metropolitan areas, 1990

Metropolitan status		*Philadelphia*	*Chicago*	*Atlanta*	*San Francisco*
Suburbs	Economically & ethnically diverse	.6%	.6%	1.3%	1.4%
	Economically diverse only	.6%	.7%	.5%	.8%
	Ethnically diverse only	7.2%	13.6%	24.9%	46.9%
	Not diverse	91.5%	85.1%	73.3%	50.9%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Central city	Economically & ethnically diverse	6.9%	5.7%	4.5%	14.4%
	Economically diverse only	10.3%	7.6%	8.8%	2.0%
	Ethnically diverse only	14.9%	14.5%	12.2%	65.2%
	Not diverse	67.9%	72.2%	74.6%	18.5%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

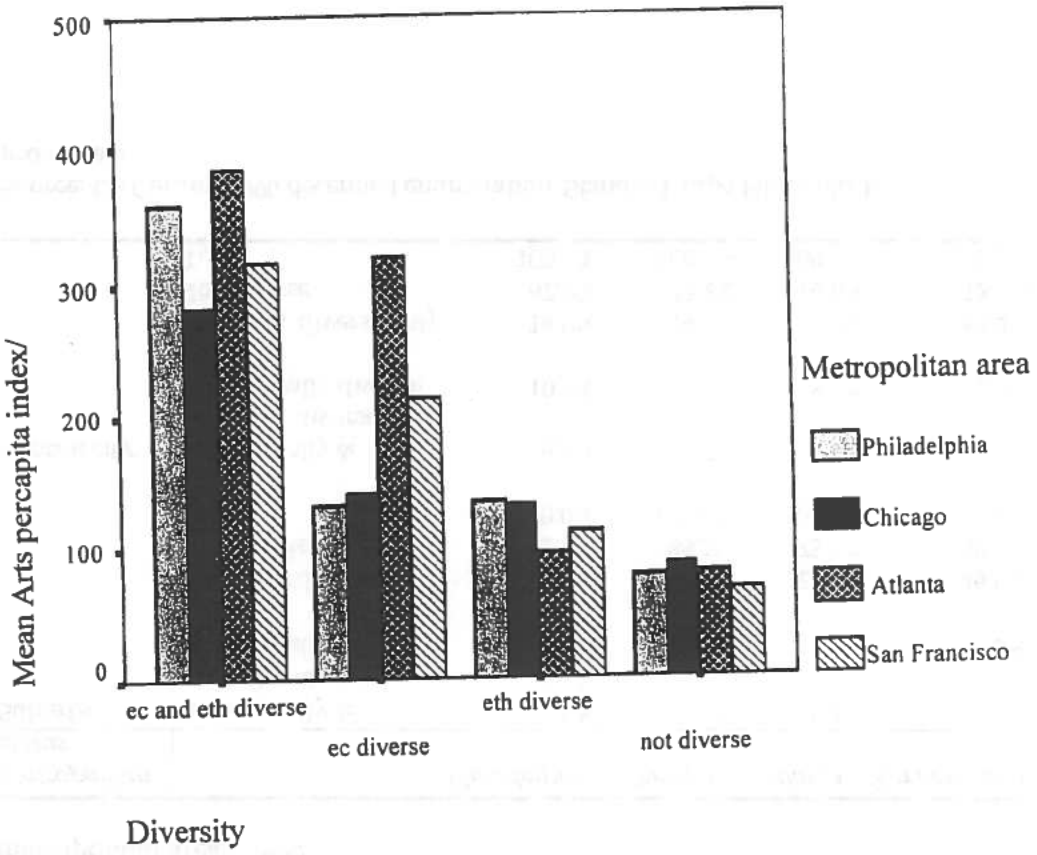
Source: US Census, 1990 decennial enumeration, Standard Tape File 3, block group data

One of SIAP's most consistent findings is the relationship between neighborhood diversity and arts and cultural activities. We've operationalized diversity in two ways:

- A block group is defined as *economically diverse* if its poverty rate and the percent of professionals and managers in the labor force are both above the average for the metropolitan area as a whole.
- A block group is defined as *ethnically diverse* if the largest ethnic group in the area makes up less than 80 percent of the population.

Using these definitions, we identified those sections of Philadelphia and other metropolitan areas that were diverse on one or both of these dimensions. Between 25 and 91 percent of the residents of the central cities examined lived in diverse neighborhoods.

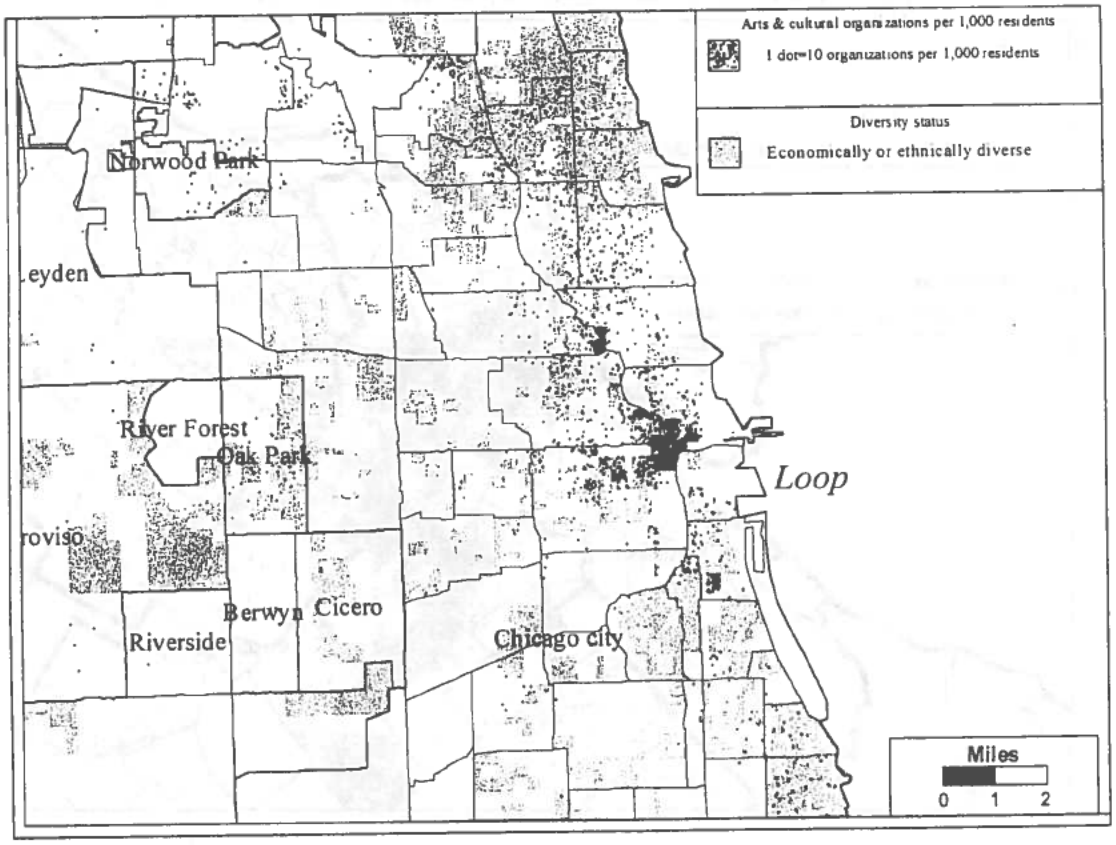
Arts and cultural organizations per 1,000 residents, by diversity status of block group, selected metropolitan areas, 1999



Note: metropolitan regional average=100
Source: U.S. Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, master file of exempt-organizations, March 1999; U.S. Census, Standard Tape Files, block group counts, 1990

Across the four cities examined, diversity has been a strong predictor of the concentration of arts and cultural organizations. Neighborhoods that were both ethnically and economically diverse had nearly three times more groups located near them than the average block group. In most cities, neighborhoods that were either ethnically or economically diverse also had substantially more organizations located near them than the average block group.

Arts and cultural organizations per 1,000 residents and diversity status, Chicago, 1999

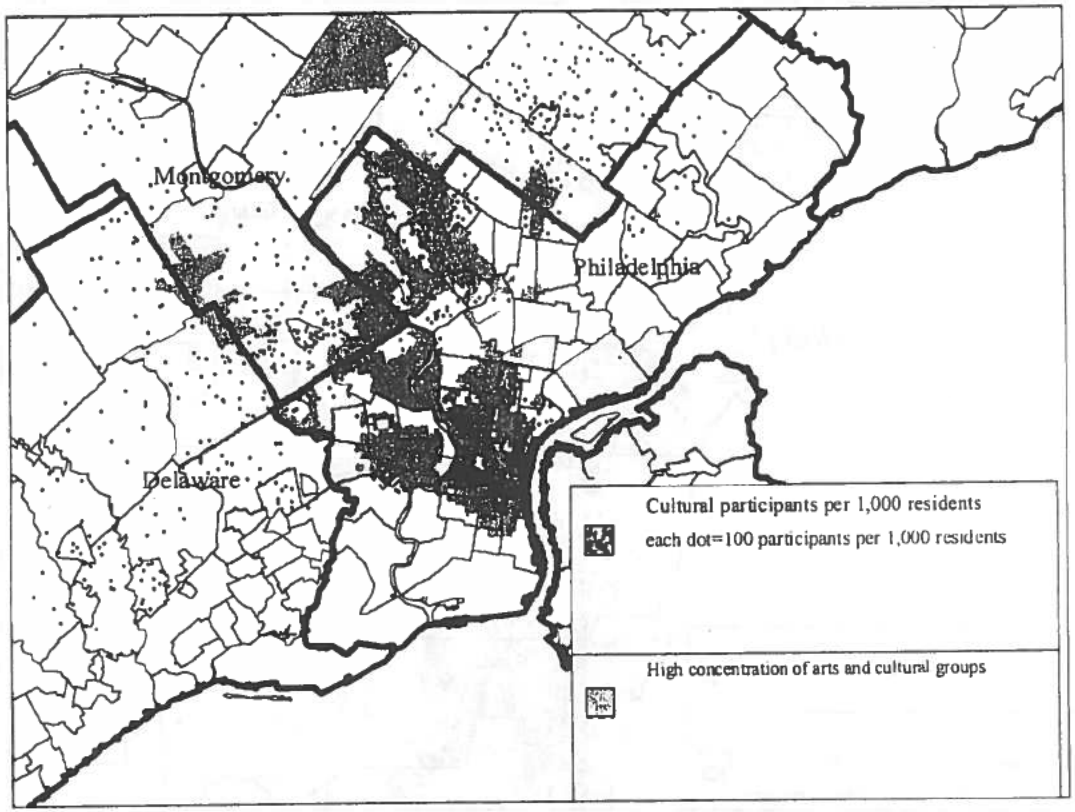


In Chicago, for example, arts and cultural organizations are concentrated in diverse neighborhoods north and west of the Loop, Lincoln Park, Uptown, Hyde Park, and in suburban Oak Park.

Source: U.S. Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, master file of exempt-organizations, March 1999; U.S. Census, Standard Tape Files, block group counts, 1990

Neighborhoods with a high concentration of community arts and cultural providers have higher rates of regional cultural participation.

Arts and cultural participants per 1,000 residents and concentration of arts and cultural providers, metropolitan Philadelphia, 1996-97

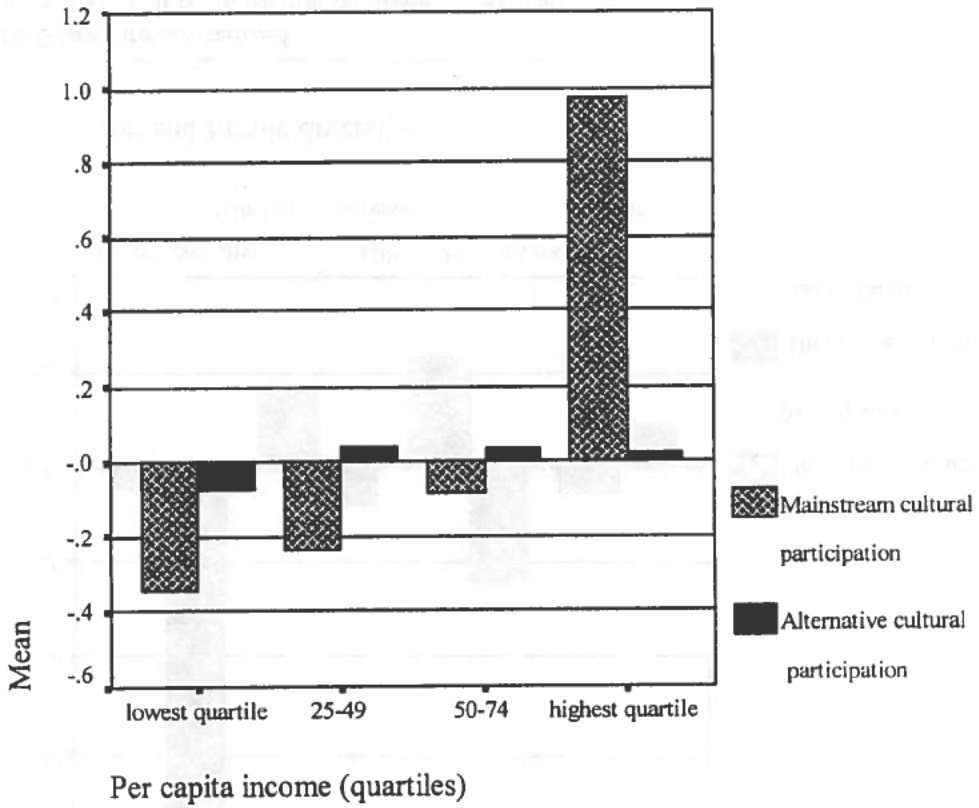


Source: Regional participation database; inventory of arts and cultural providers, US Census, 1990 decennial enumeration, STF3.

SIAP identified the address of over 200,000 participants in regional arts organizations and calculated a *regional cultural participation rate* for each block group in metropolitan Philadelphia.

The number of arts and cultural organizations in a neighborhood is a strong predictor of the area's cultural participation rate. The concentration of arts and cultural organizations in a neighborhood explains more variance in participation rates than income or education.

Factor scores for "mainstream" and "alternative" cultural participation, by per capita income of block group, metropolitan Philadelphia, 1996-97



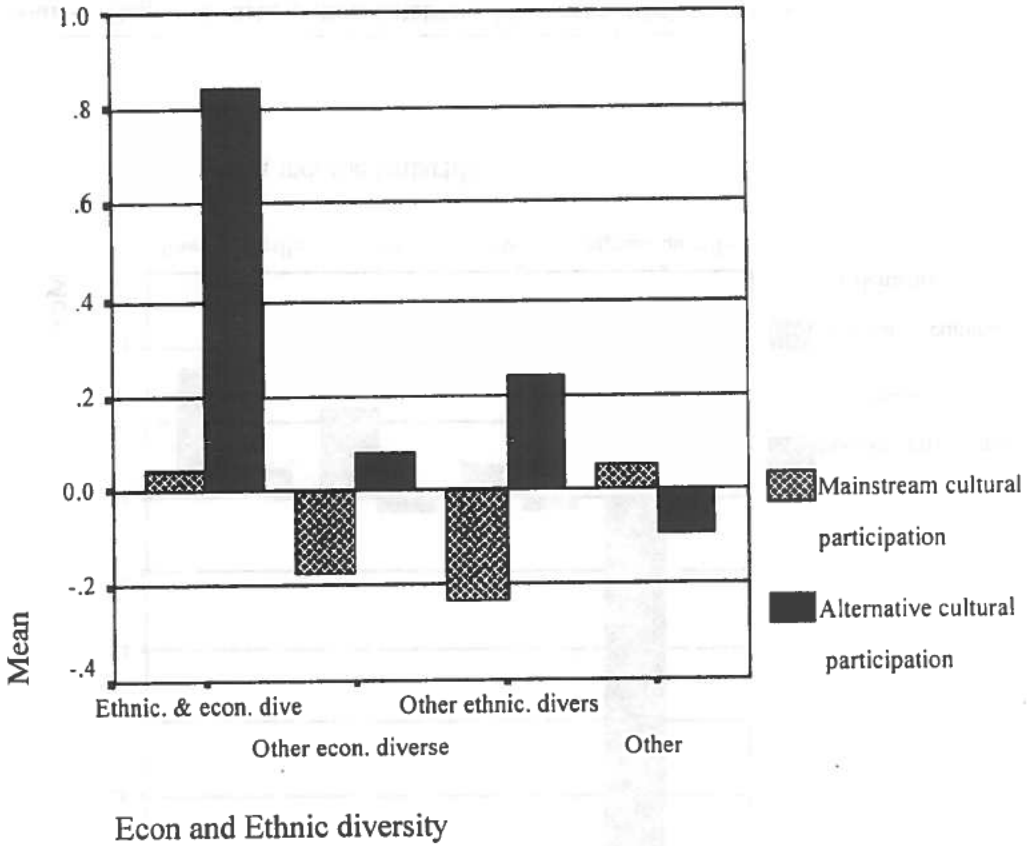
Sources: Regional participation database, US census, 1990 decennial enumeration, STF 3.

Note: Scores are normalized with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

SIAP was able to isolate two-dimensions of participation: a "mainstream" participation factor which reflected participation in organizations like the Philadelphia Orchestra and the Museum of Art, and an "alternative" cultural factor, which was related to organizations like the Painted Bride Art Center and folk music programs. Each factor was strongly related to the concentration of arts and cultural programs in the area.

Well-off neighborhoods were more likely to have higher "mainstream" participation than poorer neighborhoods. Socio-economic status was not strongly related to "alternative" cultural participation.

Factor scores for "mainstream" and "alternative" cultural participation, by diversity status of block group, metropolitan Philadelphia, 1996-97



Note: Scores are normalized
Sources: Regional participation database, US census, 1990 decennial enumeration, STF 3

Diverse neighborhoods were more likely to have higher "alternative" participation than homogeneous sections of the Philadelphia metropolitan area. "Mainstream" participation was not statistically related to a neighborhood's diversity.

Neighborhood effects are a powerful influence on cultural participation

Correlation coefficients (zero-order),neighborhood and individual characteristics with level of cultural and community participation. Five Philadelphia neighborhoods, 1996-1997

	Frequency of community participation	*Number of cultural events attended*
Neighborhood effects		
Regional participation rate	***.243***	***.307***
Per capita income	***.201***	***.225***
Number of arts and cultural groups within 1/2 mile	.073	***.136***
Number of social organizations within 1/2 mile	-.102	-.024
Houses of worship as percent of all organizations	***-.265***	***-.321***
Arts and cultural organizations as a percent of all organizations	***.349***	***.337***
Index of alternative cultural participation	***.134***	***.235***
Individual effects		
Income of respondent	***.218***	***.301***
Educational attainment of respondent	***.320***	***.318***

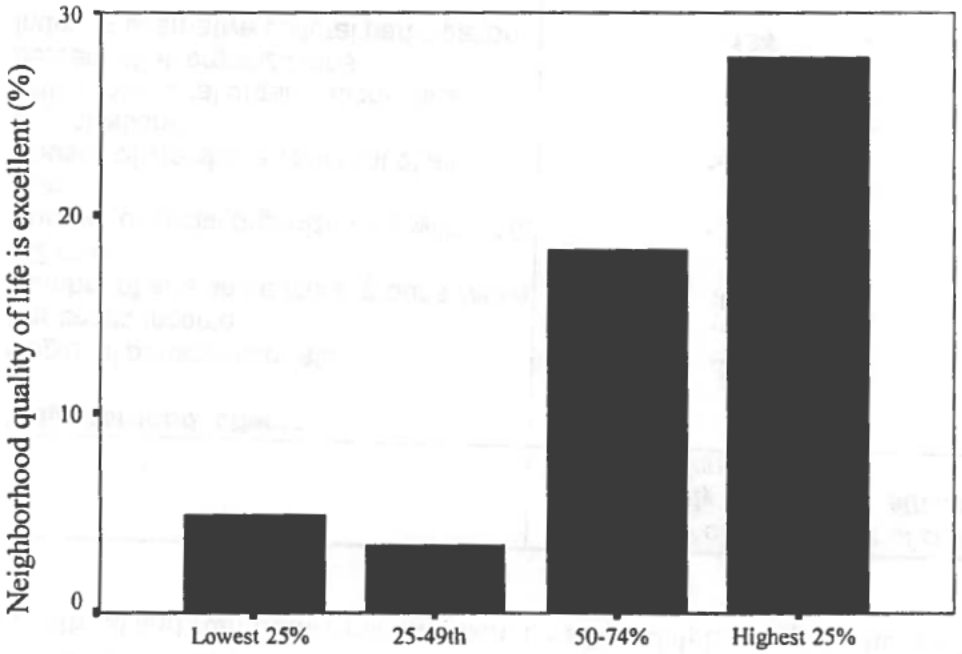
Source: Survey of Community Participation, 1996-97
Note: Coefficients italicized are significant at the .01 level. The five neighborhoods are Point Breeze, Powelton, Mantua/West Powelton, East Mount Airy, and West Mount Airy.

We conducted a survey of community participation in five Philadelphia neighborhoods. Characteristics of the block group in which a respondent lived--including its regional cultural participation rate, arts and cultural providers as a proportion of all social organizations, and our index of "alternative" participation--influenced cultural participation as much as individual respondents' income or educational attainment.

Individuals in neighborhoods with a high proportion of houses of worship were significantly less likely to be involved in cultural activities and other forms of community participation.

Our research makes a strong case for the community-building capacity of arts and cultural activities

Percent of respondents who reported that the quality of life in their neighborhood was "excellent," by frequency of cultural participation, five Philadelphia neighborhoods

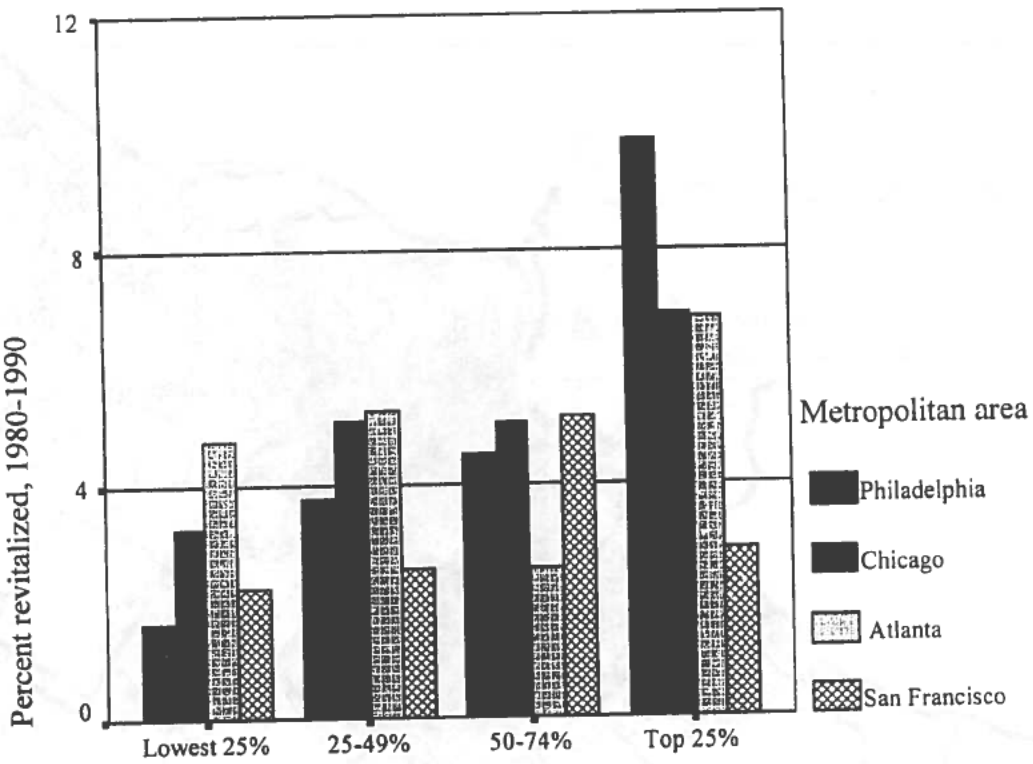


Source: SIAP Community participation survey, case study neighborhoods

Individuals who are most involved in arts and cultural activities are much more likely to rate the quality of life in their neighborhood as "excellent."

Furthermore, there is a clear spill-over effect between arts and cultural activities and other forms of community engagement. Respondents who reported frequent cultural participation were also more engaged in other neighborhood activities.

Percent of block groups that revitalized during the 1980s, by concentration of arts and cultural organizations, selected metropolitan areas



Sources: US Census 1980, 1990, IRS master file of tax exempt organizations 1999.

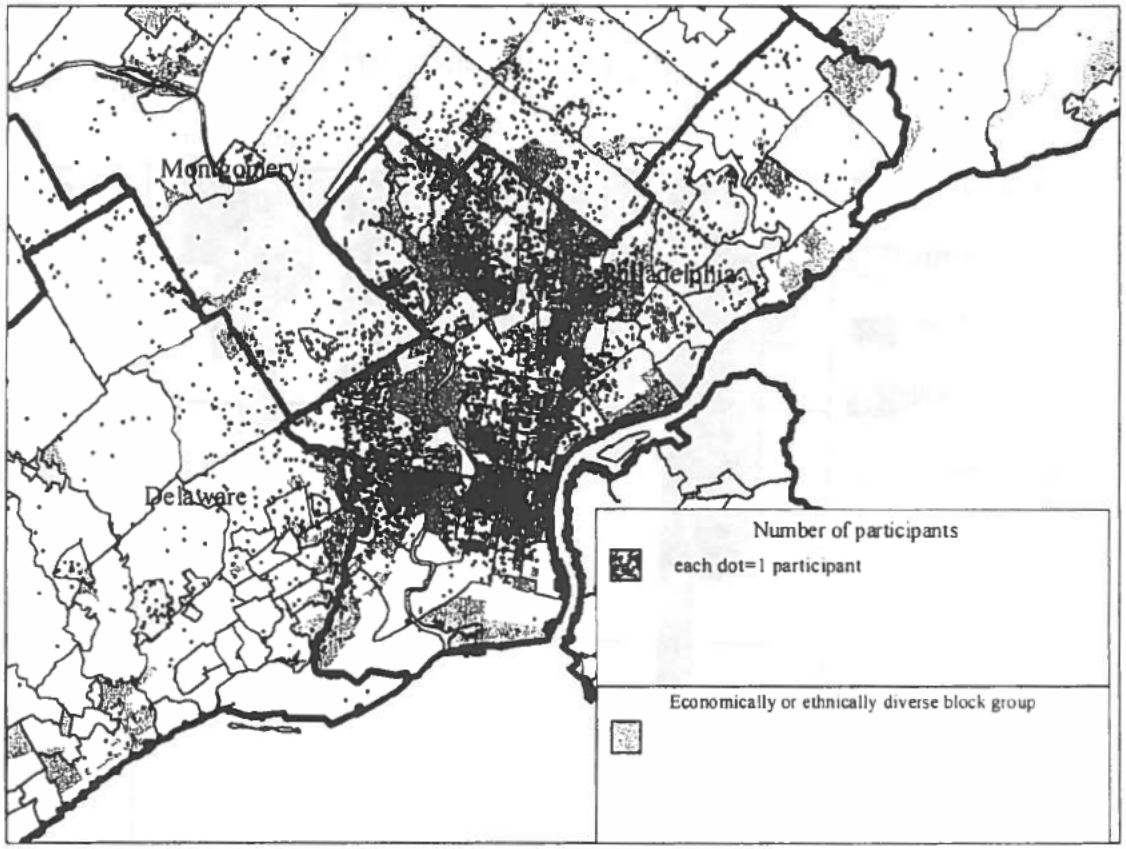
SIAP examined the relationship of arts and cultural activity to community revitalization. We defined a block group as revitalized if the decline in its poverty rate during the 1980s was greater than the citywide average and it did not lose population.

In Philadelphia, the historical presence of arts and cultural providers, levels of regional cultural participation, and economic and ethnic diversity were all related to the chances that a block group would undergo revitalization.

Revitalization was correlated with the concentration of arts and cultural organizations in Chicago and Atlanta as well.

From another perspective, we found that diverse neighborhoods with many arts and cultural providers were more likely to remain diverse. In other words, arts and cultural institutions provide one means of moving a neighborhood from "accidental" to "intentional" diversity.

Participants in community arts activities outside of one's neighborhood and diversity status of block group, metropolitan Philadelphia, 1996-97



Source: Community cultural participation database

Arts and cultural engagement stimulate revitalization through the *regional audience for community arts.*

We discovered that more than 80 percent of the participants in "community" arts and cultural programs examined came from outside the neighborhood in which the program was located. Diverse neighborhoods and those with many arts and cultural programs provided a large share of these "outside" participants in community arts.

Arts and cultural providers facilitate the creation of "non-geographic" communities which serve as a counter-balance to the barriers that separate rich and poor neighborhoods. By fostering participation across the divides of social class and ethnicity, cultural activities make a unique contribution to overcoming exclusion and fostering revitalization.

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What is Cultural Policy? A Dialogue for an Emerging Field

Princeton University
Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies Faculty and Student Affiliates
April 29, 1999

Stan Katz introduced the session by noting that our central question - "What is Cultural Policy?" - was first raised during a faculty advisory meeting in the fall. In fact, even more basic, one faculty member had asked, "What do we mean by 'policy'?" To help focus the April 29th discussion, Paul DiMaggio agreed to circulate a paper he wrote in 1983 on the topic, "What are Cultural Policy Studies: And Why Do We Need Them?"

Paul DiMaggio noted the context in which the paper was written and summarized its main arguments. First, he suggested that it is useful to think about cultural policy across many different fields, comparing public and private policy in the arts with communications policy, debates about education curricula and other areas of cultural production and reception. Second, it is useful to think about cultural policy as having to do with decisions about cultural goods when those decisions are, in some way, contested. In other words, if there is broad public consensus about the public value of a cultural good, then policy is principally about how best to distribute or allocate the good in question. This is social policy, not cultural policy. Perhaps, cultural policy requires conflict over the value of the good itself. A third idea in the paper is that there is a distinction between direct policies that are intended to shape cultural fields and indirect policies that do so unintentionally. The cultural policy enterprise needs to pay attention to state and non-state actions that impact cultural outcomes without intending to do so. Finally, the fourth point in the article, which is less relevant today, is that policy means actions by the government and ignores policy made by foundations, corporations and nonprofits. Today, most academics and practitioners would instinctively include non-government actors as critical players in cultural policy discussions.

As further background, Stan Katz mentioned an essay he wrote for the American Assembly publication in 1984 that criticized the notion that because America lacks a centrally administered culture, as compared to Europe, that we don't have a cultural policy. In his essay, Katz disputes this claim by showing how a variety of government policies, from immigration to urban renewal, create environments that affect which cultural goods and practices are carried forward. Katz pointed to the Lincoln Center as an example of an institution whose practices have been greatly influenced by unintended public policies. In this regard, the U.S. does not have a singular cultural policy; it has cultural "policies."

One participant pointed out the value of thinking about the "always, already" of cultural policy. In other words, there is never a condition when cultural policies are not at work; nonetheless, in many contexts, foundations, nonprofits and governments are reluctant to avow the practice of cultural policy. However, the DiMaggio article helps us account for shifts that allow cultural policy to become salient and legitimate for such institutions to discuss. It is basically in "the presence of cultural conflict and uncertainty" - when certain cultural domains are being challenged - that the question of cultural policy arises.

Additionally, an implicit model of cultural practice derives from America's tradition of democratic consensus. Unlike European cultural policy that supports projects that are deeply avant-garde, politically critical, and analytical, America's need for a broad consensus leads to cultural practices that produce art as an opiate for the masses. Thus, the democratic market place of ideas in the U.S. imposes a model of cultural practice (cultural policy) that tends to support innocuous art.

An objection was raised regarding the assumption that U.S. cultural policy is inherently biased against avant-garde art. First, the NEA and NEH had a great deal of autonomy in the early days of their existence and often supported very provocative works. Second, if we look at places like SECCA (South Eastern Center for Contemporary Art), we see that avant-garde art is often funded through indirect means, e.g., through a circuitous route of grants and accounting practices. Thus, the government is often able to fund provocative work without its hand being detected. So, we have to look at the indirect as well as the explicit and direct.

One participant cautioned against taking an "Arnoldian" approach to culture - e.g., viewing culture as an "extra-rational" force that is administered and organized by some "governing body." In this way, our approach to culture is often too "economic," as in the case of GATT and the U.S. defending the export of Hollywood films primarily on economic grounds, although for the French it was an issue of cultural chauvinism. Another example is the failure of international organizations to balance economic

models of development with sensitivity to local and indigenous cultures. We also need to think about cultural policy outside the framework of just one state - policies affect "culture" across national boundaries.

It was suggested that we narrow our definition of "cultural policy" and distinguish between policies that have effects on institutional areas of cultural production versus "cultural analysis" of policies in other sectors such as health or human services. For example, most policies - whether debates over welfare or the sale of human organs- have an important cultural component, such as the language used to frame debates, assumptions about sacred and non-sacred goods, beliefs about the value of the market, etc.. And researchers should employ the tools of cultural analysis in order to expose the non-rational, non-functional components of such policies. If the Center's research net were cast this broadly, however, it would be called "the Center for Policy Studies," not the "Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies." But, if you ask the same questions of the film industry, which is in the business of producing cultural goods, then we are closer to the notion of "cultural policy studies."

One respondent felt that the term "culture" itself is often misused and misappropriated. They directed the groups attention to the work of Roslyn Deutche (architecture) who has written about the way in which corporations use "cultural projects" - i.e., public art- to make a claim on public space, and in the process, often exclude marginal groups from that space. Thus, we need to pay attention to the political side of "cultural policies" - the way in which they can be used to legitimate certain groups and disempower others.

Another participant felt that an important project for cultural policy studies is to investigate how different groups - government, foundations, corporations - define "culture" or define the object of their support/policies. These definitions are influenced by norms and values that we need to understand in order to study cultural policy decisions. For example, a dominant norm in the history of cultural policy making has been to equate "culture" with cultivation. Another person noted, however, that the goal of cultivation (the appreciation of "high" culture) is just one of many possible policy goals, and we should not assume that elitism is at the core of all cultural policies.

It was suggested that instead of concerning ourselves with the normative goals of cultural policy, perhaps it's more fruitful to examine how cultural policies are constantly negotiated and contested, regardless of their explicit objectives. For example, during the 1950s there was a U.S. policy of cultural exchange with Soviet Union where films, books and exhibits were shared between the two nations. The underlying policy objective was to sell American capitalism abroad in an effort to undermine communism. But actual policy outcomes were much more complex. For example, the exchange helped to open up a space for dialogue, understanding and appreciation of Soviet culture - an unintended consequence that had many right wing groups, like the American Legions, up in arms. Again, this reinforces the need to look at unintended consequences of cultural policy and to realize that regardless of the implicit norms or "interests" of a policy, its practice is always contested and redefined; and thus an important subject for policy research.

Disagreement arose over whether public policy should be restricted to only actions carried out by the government. One participant noted that governments are empowered to make certain kinds of decisions, and when we study those decisions, we are studying public policy. This domain of policy making is important enough in its own right, without bringing in corporate policy, philanthropic policy, etc.. Others disagreed, and felt that just as NGOs (non-governmental organizations) play a critical role in many international policy debates, so do the actions of major philanthropies affect, in very public ways, cultural practices and activities. One possible solution is to use cultural policy to describe what foundations and non-government organizations do, and to use public policy to describe what governments do.

One respondent summarized the conversation, noting two important themes. The first deals with definitional issues. And, from an instrumental standpoint, researchers can define cultural policy as they wish, as long as they are clear about their definition from the beginning. Nonetheless, definitions are important if, for no other reason, then to decide what is the most useful and practical domain of research for a Center like this to undertake.

The other strand in the conversation deals with questions of legitimacy. Is cultural policy legitimate? Some seem to suggest that because of its normative overtones, cultural policy is not a legitimate exercise. And, in fact, there are constitutional limitations, such as the first amendment, that restrict a whole range of possible cultural policies, such as favoring certain practices over others or regulating speech in movies. And there are issues involving the heterogeneity of American society and the fact that widespread disagreements and populist impulses cut against public expenditures and support for the arts. These are fundamentally political questions, different from other more academic issues of how to define cultural policy.

One participant asked, "To what extent are we just talking about the production of cultural products or

artifacts?" And, if so, "What makes this a policy issue? Why is this not just a history of how culture gets created?"

One discussant thought the issue of "non-activity, or "non-regulation" was a useful approach to studying certain types of indirect policies, but wondered, from a methodological perspective, how one goes about studying this.

It was suggested that in teaching American law, an important maxim is that a failure to act *is* a type of action that has consequences. And, the same approach should be taken with cultural policy. For example, one could study the effects in the UK of not having a tax regime that favors deductions and its implication for the private support of culture. This is a policy - even though the members of Parliament who passed these tax laws may not have been aware of their consequences on the shape of culture in England.

However, the point was raised that including non-purposive and indirect actions in our definition may make the study of cultural policy too unwieldy, especially if we want to include the actions of non-profits, corporations and foundations. It is not that difficult to study the unintended and indirect effects of a limited range of state policies, but when we open up our definition of the field, it becomes much harder to track all of the unintended and indirect effects of non-government actors.

Additionally, it was noted that if cultural policy analysis is partly about identifying sites of possible intervention, then focusing on state policies could be more sensible. There may be little room for policy intervention, for example, when we talk about the unintentional effects of decisions made by the publishing industry on the evolution of a certain genre of novels.

Another participant raised the point that in DiMaggio's article, and throughout the discussion, the metaphor of the marketplace (cultural industry, regulation, market place of ideas, etc.) serves as the dominant frame for understanding cultural policy. It was noted that maybe the marketplace is not the only, or even the most proper, way to look at cultural practices.

One speaker connected this point to questions of legitimacy. For example, debates about public education are often couched in economic or market terms. By focusing on the economic benefits of school choice, policy makers often fail to engage in the larger question about whether the state has a legitimate interest in promoting national, standardized education or certain civic values. As in the case of education, when the legitimacy of the government's role in regulating culture is at stake, people avoid talking about cultural policy in anything but rational, economic terms (thus, often leaving aside questions of values and norms).

Attention was focused on the fact that the Center's name - arts and cultural policy studies - suggests that these are two different things. And, the arts side of the equation is much easier to think about in terms of production of cultural goods. However, the notion of production is less useful when it comes to other forms of culture - say the humanities or language where the "product" might just be an idea or an experience. For example, the graduate student exchanges between the U.S. and Soviet Union in 1959 were certainly an example of cultural policy making and the opening up of cultural relations, but there is no tangible cultural product at stake, as in the case of most arts policies.

It was noted that in the humanities, policy making is often more ambiguous and parceled together by multiple actors; actors who generally lack the authority to make and enforce binding policies. Take for example the current discussions between the Association of Research Libraries, the Copyright Clearance Center and the Association of American Universities. The groups are meeting with the hope of producing a joint statement on the implementation of the fair-use doctrine in the new digital environment. This is cultural policy and a joint statement could have significant consequences in the area of intellectual property. However, the nature of the policy making process is quite different, but equally important and relevant to what the Center is studying.

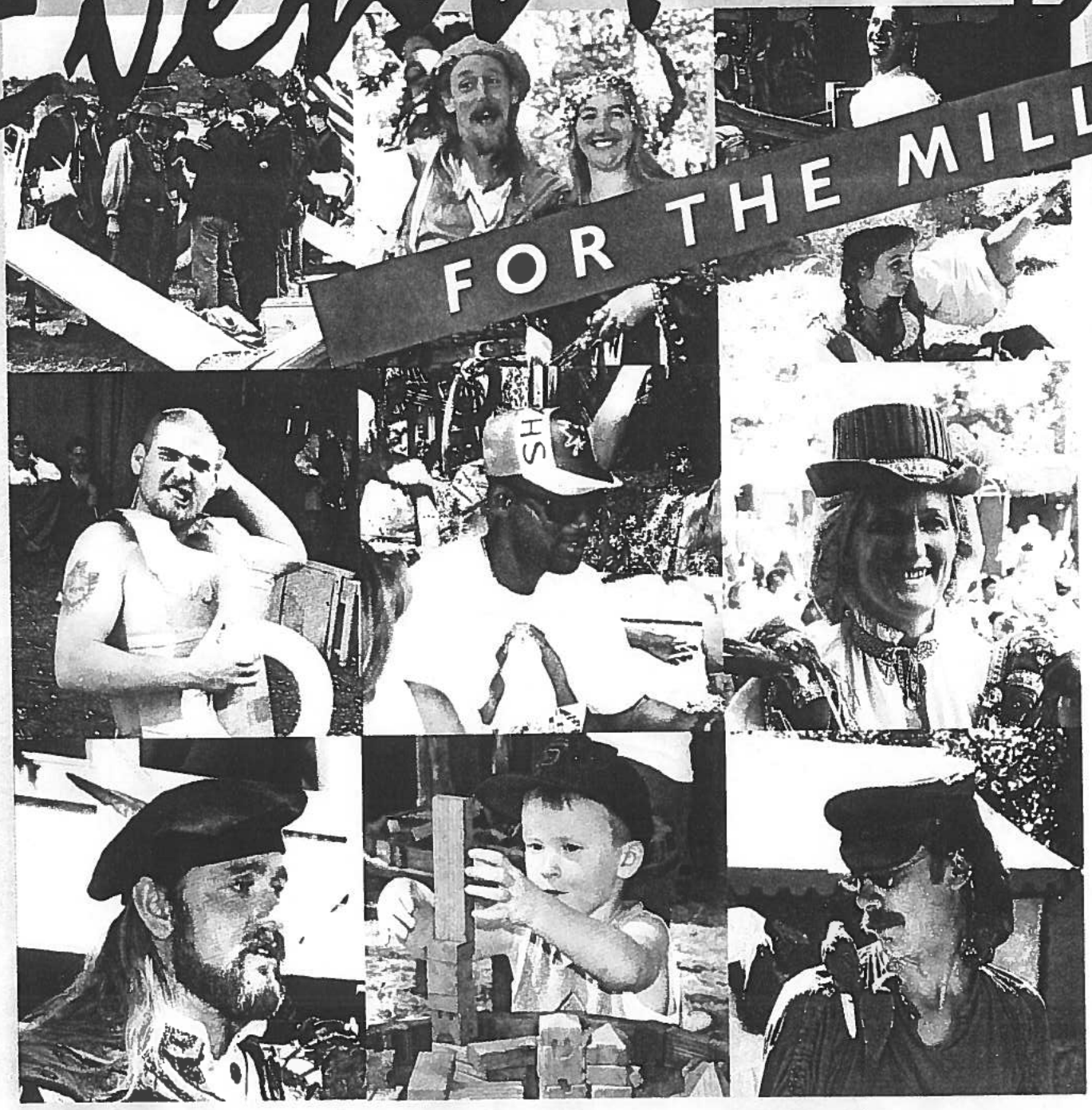
Intellectual property, according to one participant, is a good example of how Western notions of cultural policy are often selectively imported into cultural policies in the East. For example, the Chinese government enforces intellectual property rights by requiring users to sign an official form every time they make a photocopy. However, the government ignores property rights when it chooses to allow the sale of bootlegged videos and cassettes.

One participant noted the distinction between cultural production (Hollywood), cultural expression (language policy; headscarves for Muslims in France), and cultural analysis of policy (the cultural dimensions of welfare or health policy). The cultural production part clearly falls into the "arts" mission of the Center, and the cultural analysis part seems to fall outside the Center's interests partly because it is too broad (just about all areas of public policy have a cultural component). So, perhaps the bulk of attention should be placed on figuring out how to define or categorize policies related to cultural expression.

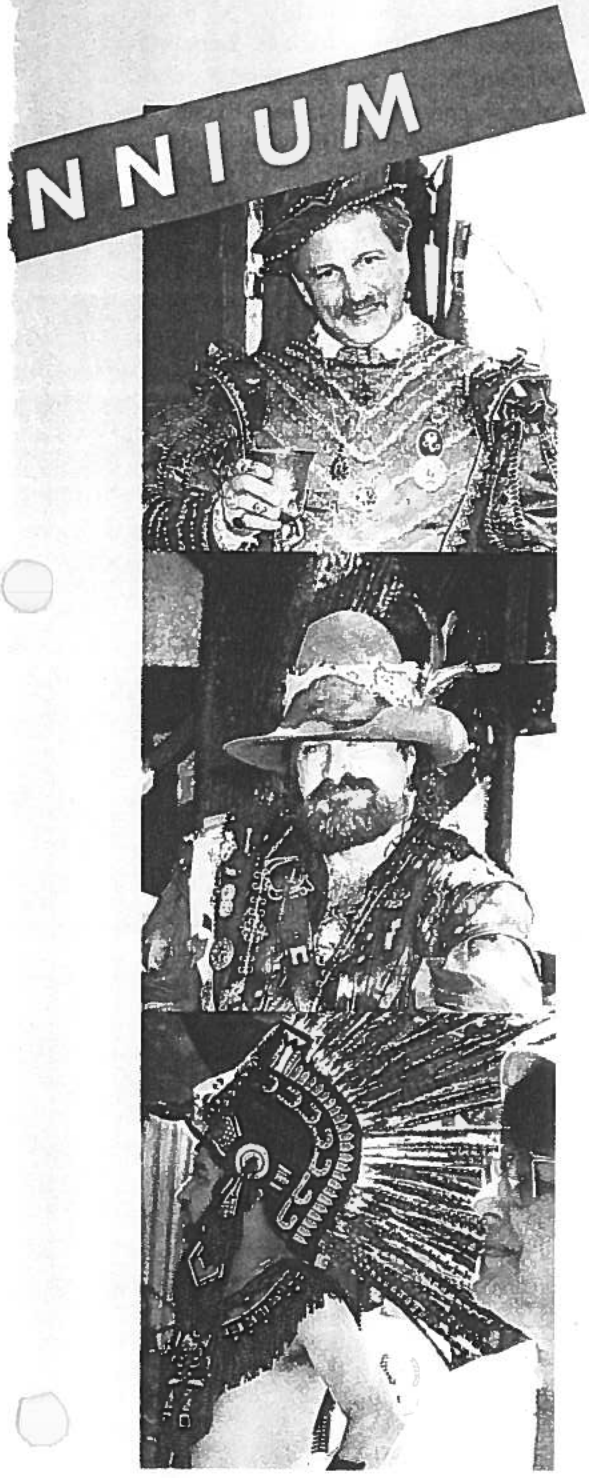
Finally, it was suggested that we think of cultural policy as being situated some where in a 3 dimensional box. One dimension is state vs. non-state policies; a second dimension is whether policies are aimed at products verses practices; and a third is whether these products or practices are primarily symbolic or material (i.e., arts policies vs. welfare policies). State actions about symbolic products are in one corner of the box, and such policies are unambiguously "cultural policies." However, as we move out from this category, ambiguity is introduced. The further out we go, the more ambiguity.

By Gaylene Carpenter, Ed.D., CLP; Maureen Glancy, Ph.D. and Christine Z. Howe, Ph.D.

Event Pros FOR THE MILLE



Planning



As we approach the new millennium, it is an obvious understatement to suggest that the world is vastly different today from what it was nearly one thousand years ago. One very major difference is the popularity of event tourism. As the new millennium draws near, expect thousands of celebrations and festivals, visual and literary performance-art events, and culturally historical reenactments to take place.

A recent look on the Internet revealed thousands of millennial events in the planning process worldwide. These include planning efforts managed by a wide variety of event organizers and hundreds of park and recreation professionals. Millennial events will undoubtedly celebrate, commemorate, and create playfully oriented leisure experiences for public consumption. And the public will be all too willing to consume, as is demonstrated by the growing number of people participating in recreation and tourism-related events.

The number and variety of events have steadily increased this decade. Bruce Skinner (1998), executive director for the International Festivals & Events Association (IFEA), reported that his group's professional membership has grown from 400 to more that 2,400 since 1991. IFEA's event figures show that there are 10 times more events today than there were 15 years ago.

Event managers are at the forefront of planning and providing these millennial events, which will often be offered in partnership with park and recreation and other community-based organizations, private and public groups in collaboration with one another, and sponsors representing local and national businesses. Many millennial events are anticipated to be mega-events that will draw large crowds. Thus, they can be viewed as destination events that will attract visitors from worlds both far and near.

Park and recreation professionals are well positioned to play an important role in event design and implementation. Our knowledge to plan and provide the "recreation experience" — along with the sheer magnitude of this event — has prompted many professionals to take the initiative in coordinating these special community, regional, and national events. Expectations are particularly high for these marker events to contribute to economic and community well-being. In addition, there is a special understanding that these events will serve as celebrations of hope for the future.

Millennial Opportunity

History shows that people have — and *will* have — diverse reactions to the turning of a new millennium. Reports cluster around negative and positive expectations that are supported by a variety of beliefs and folklore. Predictions include everything from hysteria, doomsday scenarios, and catastrophes to opportunities for personal and institutional reflection and reassessment (Lorie, 1995).

Park and recreation professionals, whose primary responsibility is leisure programming, appear to exhibit more examples of positive responses to the approaching millennium. Not only are people seeking greater personal development and fulfillment through their leisure activities, they are looking to professionals to create opportunities and activities to express and experience their passions. Local, national, and international organizations are part of a team that produces and advocates the benefits of recreation programs and services dedicated to bringing health, well-being, happiness, and the personally meaningful use of free time to a rewarding quality of life. In addition, leisure professionals bring their own unique interpretation of what the millennium means to them when they consider ways to create and produce millennial leisure experiences for others.

Economic and Social Benefits

The new millennium offers people the recreational opportunity to engage in the right for the pursuit of happiness. Given the increased interest in event programming, watch for an even greater frequency of special events, festivals, and celebrations. Not only will such events enable and encourage social interaction, it is projected that revenues generated from millennial events will soar. The Great American Duck Races raise more than $8 million each season. The economic benefits of events increase because well-planned and promoted events encourage people to travel in order to attend. These types of destination events provide more money to local economies, while simultaneously providing an opportunity to build community. For example, the annual Philadelphia Flower Show is a $15 million economic boon for the city. The economic benefits of the Jubilee CityFest in Montgomery, Alabama, include visitor spending; the creation of new jobs; and wages, salaries, and tax receipts collected by local and state governments. Park and recreation professionals, through the provision of events, will be adding to the sense of community — both economically and socially.

Today, destination travel figures show that more visitors are attracted to community and cultural events than in the past (Getz, 1997). The positive impact of events on community life is well documented in research journals. Increased demand for such events requires leaders in park and recreation departments to spend time and resources on event development and in collaborative efforts with other event organizers in their communities. The millennial effect is expected to last anywhere from three to five years and will be characterized by events that will surpass previous financial and social gains. The increased interest in event tourism, along with the potential impact of the turn of the century, has created a historically unique context for leisure programming.

Event Tourism and Contemporary Social Factors

Throughout history, events have served as the mirrors of society. Today, there are contemporary factors at work that are expected to influence event programming. This means that events will be a reflection of the present-day sociohistorical context, perhaps even the image we hold for ourselves in the future. It could be argued that because of the number of events offered, competition for attendees will be fierce. As always, it will be important for event programmers to engage in market research. Identifying both potential visitors and competitors will be essential in designing program and promotional strategies. In addition, good event managers will realize that events do not occur free of present-day social conditions. As a result, event market research requires identifying social and behavioral patterns rooted in cultural groups. These contemporary patterns influence decisions that event managers

make regarding the event and how it is managed.

There are identifiable factors that indicate the existence of fewer traditional patterns in many social contexts. Behavioral patterns associated with family, work, religion, community, culture, and education continue to change as civilization evolves. Because these patterns influence leisure behavior, event managers need to consider them when designing events.

Family, Work and Religion

Family and work are less stereotypical today than ever before. More than 50 percent of families today are considered *nontraditional* by past standards, and more than 60 percent of our children have a single parent or both parents working outside the home. Furthermore, discrepancies between the salaries of upper-level management and the general workforce, between those with opportunity for employment and the chronically unemployed and underemployed, continue to grow. Because of organizational restructuring and downsizing, there is a decreased sense of progress and job security for many in the workplace. At the same time, more people are seeking greater meaning and spiritual expression in their free time, experiencing Eastern philosophies, native cultures, and folklore practices.

Culture and Community

Cultural diversity and integration is less a prediction and more a reality as we near the millennium, prompting efforts to eliminate racial categories used in the United States. Who we are is fast becoming a matter of self-definition, not categorical labels. Urbanization within growing communities demands solutions to problems related to the availability of food and housing, institutional accessibility, economic well-being, and resource preservation. Many concern themselves with building community, while others question if standards for civility are being lessened.

Education

Education is no longer thought of as a process that begins with kindergarten and ends with graduation from high school. Rather, education is lifelong and occurs in a wider variety of settings than ever before. Educational opportunity includes schools, recreation centers, and the information superhighway, with distance education and the World Wide Web providing a variety of learning and communications opportunities.

In addition to contemporary social factors, we have identified four conditions,

which we call millennial influences: cyberspace, multiculturalism, the media, and time and resource constraint. Each of these influences has the potential to alter peoples' leisure interests, tastes, and preferences during the millennial season (Figure 1).

Influences on Event Tourism

Millennial influences represent both human conditions (i.e., human differences and issues regarding time and resources) and human reactions (i.e., cyberspace and media). In designing and planning events, it is essential that park and recreation professionals address these influences because they impact peoples' choices about how they spend their free time. Considering these factors in the early stages of event development will not only help shape the event but will clarify its relevance to local and visiting clientele.

• Cyberspace and its highly structured technologies are already influencing how people spend their free time. The importance of social recreation opportunities has led people to seek new forms of socializing in cyberspace, albeit with anonymity. People commonly turn to their computers for recreation (e.g., surfing, gameplaying, seeking partnerships, and engaging in cybertalk). The recreation and park movement has historically valued

Figure 1. Millennial Influences on Event Programming

Cyberspace

Multiculturalism

The media

Time and resource constraint

and encouraged human interaction. Events are characterized by face-to-face social interaction, and many already believe that festivals and events offer excellent opportunities for social recreation: that is, the high-touch approach.

• The multicultural mosaic in America offers golden opportunities to enrich the experiences of people who attend events. Human differences and subsequent behavioral expressions have the potential to distance us or bring us together, and well-managed events are designed so that perceived boundaries are less apparent, prompting social interaction to occur more easily. We can expect events that emphasize the rich cultural heritage of our population to flourish during the millennium season.

• The media exerts a lot of influence upon events. Not only does the media stimulate event interest and attendance, it is also persuasive in determining behavior. Event managers need to work with the media on event promotion and monitor media coverage for reporting to sponsors and boards. Event managers know that journalistic interpretations have tremendous potential for making or

breaking events. For some events, the line between the actual and staged recreation experience is often obscured. It will get harder during the millennium season to encourage people to come out from behind the screen (either television or computer). If a particularly good program is on TV, it may serve as a barrier to event participation. Many of the issues people have with the lack of free time are exacerbated by spending too much time in front of the screen. The extent to which media influences people and, therefore, their leisure choices and behaviors becomes important to event managers.

• Concerns about nonrenewable resources also have an impact on event programming. Time is finite, and many individuals struggle, seeming to either have too little or too much of it. Man-made and natural resources and spaces and venues for events are not endless. Neither is the environment; it, too, has limits. Since we have not figured out how to buy more time or make more natural spaces, we need to design experiences that are sensitive to both.

Modifying Events to Increase Benefits

While not wanting to oversimplify the

point, events that are responsive and designed with the realities of people's contemporary lives in mind are likely to attract more attendees. Successful events like these will enable the realization of more social and economic benefits for visitors, local participants, and sponsoring communities.

As time and technology continue to carry us toward the millennium, events that incorporate the four components shown in Figure 2 will increase the opportunity for success. We are presenting them in comment-and-question form in order to challenge event organizers to think creatively about their application. We contend that the look and feel of millennial events will be enhanced when existing events are modified and new events are designed to include virtual-reality recreation, socializing opportunities, leisure episodes, and sustainable recreation.

Figure 2. Components for Millennial Event Planning

Virtual-reality recreation
Socializing opportunities
Leisure episodes
Sustainable programming

To keep pace with technology, virtual-reality recreation and distance recreation are available for busy, time-deprived people. How can we use technology to create virtual events by the millennium? Is it reasonable to assume that "attendees" at our events needn't be on-site to attend? If people are unable to attend the event, can event managers ensure the experience by way of virtual forms? And how can the

virtual event be presented in ways that really involve participants? Media coverage of our events presently minimizes feelings of engagement and are, as such, not the same as virtual-reality recreation.

As technology grows, are there creative ways for individuals to realize social connectedness through event participation? What can we add to our events that will encourage people to socially engage one another rather than merely graze by one another like sheep? Surely the benefits of social recreation could be increased as programming decisions go beyond the concept of social proximity. Approaches that create opportunities to lessen the sense of isolation or fear of one's safety and provide face-to-face human interaction in leisure settings; a reemphasis of social recreation for the new millennium, serving to reduce the anonymity that so many say exists today, would be timely. New forms of interactive programming are being envisioned and implemented, and both the public and sponsors are responding to these efforts (Griffith, 1997).

Episodic Leisure

The scarcity of free time is often a constraint to event participation. One of the attractive things about festivals and events is that participation seldom requires serious commitment. This means people with minimal free time can come and go as they please in the time that they have available. Called leisure episodes (Carpenter, 1995), these experiences are short, easily accessible, and do not require regular attendance. Yet they are also enjoyable, and people find them worthwhile. How can event managers better design and promote events in ways that address the time availability of busy people? Does part of the attraction to an event hinge on the fact that participants

can pick and choose from a variety of activities and experiences?

Sustainable Programming

Sustainability has as much to do with human resources as non-human resources. Park and recreation professionals know that positive leisure experience is good for people. It sustains them in important ways, helping them to define who they are and providing them ways to obtain joy and well-being. In addition to the human connection, we have come to realize that responsible leisure pursuit must tread lightly on the environment. While we are convinced that program participants require the freedom and control inherent in leisure, we are not interested in destroying the environment in which the

experience occurs. Some of the most successful events have also shown that, given well-designed plans, attendees will willingly recycle. Event organizers affiliated with the Cherry Creek Arts Festival in Denver were among the first to demonstrate the compatibility of human and non-human resource management in relationship to a major event. They have been credited with showing other event managers how to produce an earth-friendly event. The question that remains is, When will more event managers take the necessary steps to encourage more

understanding of the fragile relationship between human enjoyment and non-human resources?

Summary

The social and economic benefits continue to be felt by individuals and communities that are engaged in promoting the wide variety of events that exist today.

The enormity of the forthcoming millennium establishes its positive benefits for individuals and communities. The sheer magnitude of this particular event presents an opportunity for park and recreation professionals to showcase their value and signal new directions to their clientele.

In reviewing contemporary social factors that influence programming and planning, we have suggested that it is important for event managers to pay attention to how cyberspace, multiculturalism, the media, and time and resource constraints affect people's leisure interests, tastes, and preferences. We also feel that programmers can influence the outcome of events by developing and modifying events to address millennial influences.

Because of this, we put forth comments and questions related to how virtual-reality recreation, socializing opportunities, leisure episodes, and sustainable programming can be integrated into event planning. We believe that what distinguishes an excellent event from a good event is that excellence is a planned outcome that has been designed for social and economic benefits at the personal and community levels.

**This paper was in the process of development at the time of Dr. Howe's death. Her contribution was essential.*

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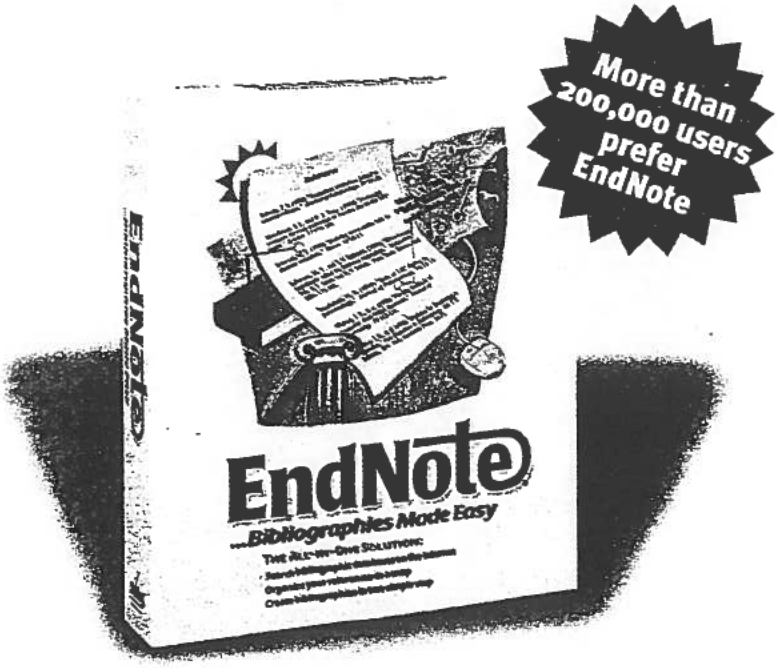

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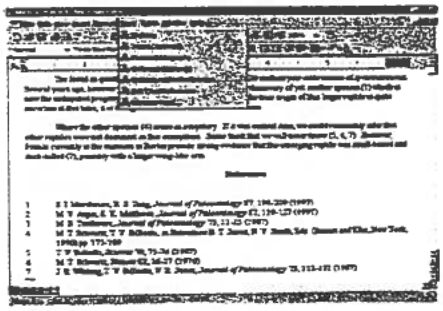

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The Institute for Community Arts Studies (ICAS) was established in 1965 by Dr. June McFee with a founding gift from the Lila A. Wallace Foundation as a research and public service organization in the School of Architecture & Allied Arts. Institute projects have involved studies of the relations between communities and the arts. The focus of the Institute has been how issues of environment and setting/place relate to a broad spectrum of the arts.

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In this Issue:

Economic and Leisure Factors Impacting Participation in the Arts by Middle Aged Adults

Gaylene Carpenter, Ed.D.

Introduction

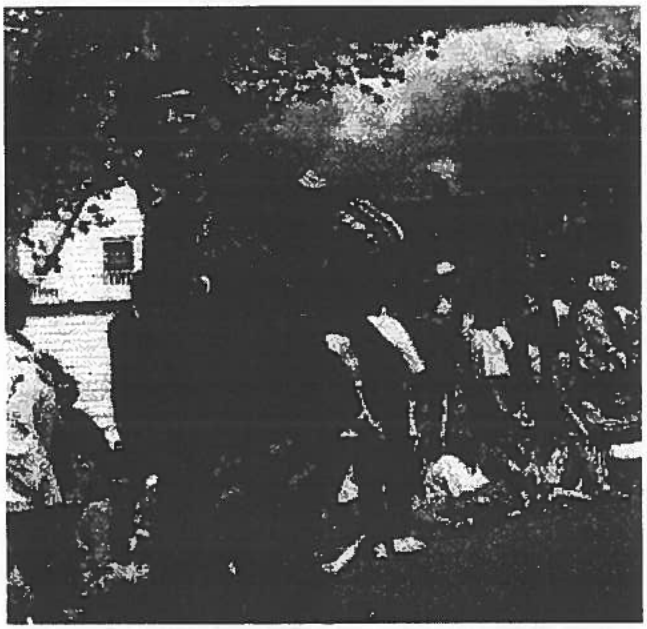
IT is widely accepted that participation in the arts is a popular leisure pursuit for adults. Hundreds of thousands of adults annually attend a variety of performance arts presentations, visit museums and galleries, and spend time at arts fairs and festivals. Their participation is partly motivated by their available discretionary time, existing art opportunities, and the personal and social benefits they know they will receive through experiencing the arts. Such behavioral patterns not only have significant economic impact to arts organizations, but to the community in general. The purpose of this paper is to explore economic issues seen as having relevance in the leisure choices made by adults during their middle years. Knowing how leisure is viewed or experienced is useful information for arts managers engaged in identifying potential market segments of the adult population. Of particular interest in this paper is how leisure is experienced within the context of economic factors associated with middle aged individuals, as well as how those individuals might influence economic change in America.

In examining economic and leisure factors influencing arts participation for this population, it is important to mention that it is done within a socio-historical perspective. For the purposes of this paper, that socio-historical perspective includes adults who make up the large post World War II era in America. Historians and developmental psychologists have produced volumes of information on this socio-historical group and will no doubt continue their interest in them. This paper will limit itself to considering ways these middle aged adults potentially impact American economics given this population's demographic trends, their availability of discretionary money, and their patterns

associated with adult work. This discussion will be followed by findings related to leisure and economic implications as evidenced in the lives of middle aged adults.

Demographic Trends

The middle age population in America represents a vast number of persons between the ages 30 to 60. They make up some 38% of the total population according to USA census information. Their numbers are 95,196,632 of the total US population of 248,709,873. Within in this group are those middle aged adults called "baby boomers," the largest segment of the adult population in America. Approximately 84 million, born between 1946 and 1964, make this the biggest population bulge to date in American society.



Clown, parade, Kentville, Nova Scotia, May 1994.

True to the previous impacts that this segment of the population has exerted, moving through middle age to older adulthood will likely carry with it the same level of attention that these post war "babies" have had since birth. We can expect that their influence will continue to be noticeable in most aspects of American life, including upon its economic climate. In fact, those in the "baby boomer" generation are expected to live longer, be better educated, be healthier, better off financially, get more dollars from their parents, own more stocks and bonds, and not be a burden on the economy (Business Week, 1994) than previous generations. As such, they remain an important factor contributing to the economic well-being of society.

Some see "doomsday scenarios" which portend a rapidly escalating economic burden on members of the labor force brought on by aging societies struggling to meet the income-maintenance and health-care needs (Schulz, Borowski, & Crown, 1990). The concern centers around the economic impact that will result as this huge number of individuals grow older and need more services. However, this concern is of less importance at the turn of the new Millennium because the vast numbers of middle aged adults who are contributing to the economic stability of the country are relatively free from illnesses or physical impairments which often inflict persons who are older. But because their numbers alone make them the most economically powerful generation affecting every industry (Yesawich, Pepperdine, & Brown/Yankelovich Partners, 1998), their income and health issues could be factors in the future.

Discretionary Money

As a subset of the larger American adult population, those in middle age are better off financially than were their parents. Figures show that their real median household income and wealth is higher than their parents' at comparable ages (Business Week, 1994). They are more likely than their parents to have employer-based pensions (Lewis, 1994), especially those in the age range of 45 to 60 (Stepanek, 1994). Many are dual income families with 25% earning more than $75,000 per year (Yesawich, Pepperdine, & Brown/Yankelovich Partners, 1998).

Their sheer numbers and the corresponding discretionary money have American retailers marketing to this segment of the population more vigorously than ever before. Often, product designs are altered to more appropriately meet the needs of diminishing eyesight, taste, hearing, and dexterity (Young, 1994). Merchandisers are mass-marketing everything from clothing and parking accommodations, to hair coloring and vacation homes based upon knowledge gained in surveys

undertaken to identify the purchasing interests of this segment of the American population.

Clown, parade, Kentville, Nova Scotia, May 1994.

Americans spend billions of dollars each year on non-discretionary purchases such as food, housing, and other essential products and services. Discretionary spending has also been in the billions of dollars annually for years. This trend is reflected in leisure product expenditures, in purchasing of public and private or commercial leisure experiences, and in travel to destination points of interest. And the trend is expected to continue.

Patterns of Work

Though the American economy has been expanding and unemployment has been going down, not all adults have the full time work that they desire. This has been partly initiated by employers and partly by those in the work force. Organizational restructuring has eliminated thousands of full time positions, and among the hardest hit for job loses as been persons in middle age. Often, the newer jobs that are taken tend to offer lower wages, benefits, and security (Lawrence, 1994).

There are also more instances of adults retiring earlier than previous generations. Many retire in their 50's rather than 60's. Positive or negative reactions to employment changes at mid-life will vary by whether the change was self-initiated or employer-initiated. Securing seasonal or part time employment opportunities has been of more interest to those middle aged adults who purposefully decided to downsize their lifestyles and belongings. When traditional work patterns change in these ways, leisure choices are impacted.

Quantitative measures such as the large number of middle aged adults, leisure spending in the billions of dollars, and non-traditional work patterns, contribute to a better understanding mid-life. However, besides looking at these trends, what about individual life stories? If we examine leisure within the context of a person's life, rather than in comparison to quantifiable factors, what patterns might be identified? The next portion of this paper will take a closer look at associations linking economics with leisure values and behaviors of middle aged adults.

A Study of Leisure During Adulthood

For several years, researchers at the University of Oregon have been investigating change and continuity with respect to leisure across the life span with particular interest during middle age (Carpenter, 1997; Carpenter, 1994; Carpenter 1992). Beginning in 1987, 84 middle aged adults agreed to participate in longitudinal study *(A Study of Leisure During Adulthood)*. The primary approach for data collection was in the form of a yearly self-report questionnaire completed by the same study participants each year for ten years. Variables associated with participants' leisure (e.g.s leisure attitudes, leisure values, perceived freedom in leisure) and life perceptions (e.g.s. life structure, life events, wants out of life) were tracked over time.

Beginning in 1994, extensive interviews were conducted. The findings from 34 study participants were reviewed for this paper. Adding this qualitative component to the database, enabled researchers to examine a person's life in more depth. While the intent of this study was not specifically centered on economics and leisure, there are some interesting findings that have economic implications. Using interview data as the basis of information, a number of things can be mentioned. For the purposes of discussion, emergent themes suggesting economically based leisure contexts will be identified.

Leisure and Economics Implications During Middle Age

As a group, study participants earned middle to upper range incomes and therefore, are not representative of the American population for all persons in middle age when all income levels are considered. In addition, study participants were largely of European descent and thus, did not represent the multi-cultural pattern of American society. However, study participants did represent a segment of the middle age population that is likely to have an effect on leisure economics and change. Themes which were identified from the interviews are presented as contexts for understanding leisure and economics during middle adulthood.

Leisure Astuteness. When the data were examined case by case, it became noticeable that individuals tended to be somewhat astute regarding the role of leisure in their lives. Middle aged individuals in America had the good fortune to grow up in a country whose organized park and recreation system was evolving and growing with great strides during their childhood and youth In addition, the public schools offered a number and variety of classes specifically related to arts education and development. As adults, those in middle adulthood continue to have choices from amongst many, many public institutions and private and commercial enterprises. They may well be the most well educated yet in terms of recreation, arts, and leisure options when compared any other socio-historic age group before them. We can expect that they use this knowledge and propensity for leisure when making choices about everything from how to spend their time, to how to spend their money.

Self-Determination in Leisure. The data also suggested that individuals in the study group were particularly adept at directing their lives during times of recreation and leisure. The self-directedness of adults, a tendency which has been long noted by adult developmental theorists as an adult characteristic (Knox, 1977), might partly explain this factor, as might their leisure astuteness. This tendency would suggest that choices made for spending leisure time or money would be done so thoughtfully and in a discriminating fashion by an adult experienced in making such life decisions. The middle aged adults in the study did not report boredom or frustration with their leisure during the interviews. Rather, they seemed to know what they wanted do for leisure, in doing so, reinforced the choice and freedom inherent in the leisure experience (Iso-Ahola, 1980, Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). They were, however, frustrated with the lack of time they had available for pursuing leisure. Most all longed for more free time for leisure than they presently had; usually from one-third to one-half more time per week for leisure. In their leisure, individuals reported it provided them an opportunity for gaining control over their lives, and suggested that kind of control was often missing in other aspects of their lives (i.e. work, relationships).

Drummer, parade, Kentville, Nova Scotia, May 1994.

Leisure As Spirituality. There appeared to be a subtle trend amongst women in particular, to seek relevant spiritual or religious connections through leisure. One's mid-life leisure was often viewed as somewhat of a leisure-quest, of sorts, which provided enormous portions of freedom. Leisure was described as a conduit for experiencing a sense of meaning in one's life in relationship to a 'higher order'. There was some indication that exploring Eastern religions and Native American beliefs were leisure pursuits in which middle aged adults found great meaning and solace. It, more than exercise and fitness activities, was viewed as a source of well-being. In addition, when this notion of leisure-quest was combined with other pre-selected portions of an individual's life which were less free, it provided a kind of emotional satisfaction which complimented other mid-life roles.

Defining Leisure. Verbal descriptors of leisure did not always include leisure in relationship to activity or work. Typically, the indication was that leisure was more apt to be viewed in the context of time (free to and free from) and once in that context, leisure was experience. Activity was not a particularly relevant descriptor. Leisure tended to represent control to a person in middle age; or an opportunity in which to gain control over one's life. For individuals living non-traditional life patterns, the line between what they viewed as work and leisure was blurred or non-existent.

Conclusions

The emergence of these contexts for understanding leisure during mid-life offer insight into choices the middle aged adults in this study made during their discretionary time. If leisure astuteness, self-determination in leisure, spirituality in leisure, and leisure viewed as both time and experience are characteristic of the broader population of mid-life adults, then the ways these adults spend their money to express their leisure choices will likely fall within those contexts. Patterns of leisure spending in arts participation by middle aged adults is relatively unexplored. And yet, it is in the best interest of arts organizations to be well positioned to serve those in middle age because their numbers are many and finances are sound. Their leisure purchases and spending patterns can make a positive impact to arts organizations along with the general economic impact associated with leisure spending in general. By combining this information with all that we know about this generation, arts administrators can make the programming and marketing decisions necessary to serve this population. Offering art experiences that take advantage of their leisure astuteness and their tendency toward self-determination to make meaningful leisure choices about how they spend their time and their money, will likely yield economic benefits to those arts organizations that provide programs and services designed for this age group.

NOTE: Portions of this paper were originally presented at the World Leisure and Recreation Association's Research Commission Workshop on Economic Change: The Leisure Implications.

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WESTAF Launches www.artjob.org, Searchable Arts Employment and Opportunities Web Site

Finding a good job in the arts online will now be a reality for many job seekers with today's introduction of ArtJob Online. Launched by WESTAF, the Western States Arts Federation, ArtJob Online is the first employment Web site dedicated to connecting individuals to jobs and opportunities in the arts. The Web site is located on the Internet at www.artjob.org. "Prior to the launch of ArtJob online, people using the Internet to search for jobs in the arts would typically find themselves sifting through massive job Web sites that are not specific to the arts and are generally lacking in arts content. WESTAF is thrilled to meet the need in the arts field for a comprehensive, highly-functional, arts employment Web site," said Anthony Radich, Executive Director for WESTAF. ArtJob Online features a national database of job listings in all arts disciplines in the nonprofit, commercial, academic, and public sectors. The Web site also features information about fellowships, grants, residencies, and other artist and art-related opportunities.

Job seekers using ArtJob Online can search the job listings database by several criteria, including discipline, type of organization, type of employment (such as full-time, part-time, or consulting), geographic region or state, and salary range. Job seekers also have access to an employer database that includes background and contact information about employers in the arts.

The ArtJob Web site allows job seekers to market themselves online by posting their resume, which is accessible to organizations and companies that are registered users of the Web site. Access to timely information is the most critical factor in any job search and is a key feature of the ArtJob Web site. The site is constantly updated with real-time job postings, and makes information about opportunities available as soon as they are announced. The ArtJob Web site is the online extension of WESTAF's print publication, ArtJob, which has been the arts employment publication of record in the arts for over twenty years. WESTAF continues to publish the print edition of ArtJob. WESTAF is dedicated to the creative advancement and preservation of the arts. The organization is currently programmatically engaged in the areas of visual arts, presenting, literature, Native American arts, and folk arts. In addition, WESTAF is involved in a variety of research and technology-development projects, including studies on the economic impact of the arts. You may visit the WESTAF Web site at www.westaf.org.

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CultureWork is an electronic publication of the University of Oregon Institute for Community Arts Studies. Its mission is to provide timely workplace-oriented information on culture, the arts, education, and community. For links to other sites of interest, see the ICAS Forum.

CultureWork seeks submissions of concise (500-1500 words) critiques and advisories on community arts and the preparation of community arts workers. Graphics that express the spirit of community arts are welcome, to be published with attribution. Manuscripts should be sent in plain text format (i.e., **not** MS Word .doc format), via email, on Macintosh or Intel high-density 3.5 inch floppies or zip disks. Do not send as attachments. Use American Psychological Association guidelines for style and citations. Send submissions to Richard Bear at <culturwk@laz.uoregon.edu> or via snailmail: care of Arts & Administration Program, School of Architecture and Allied Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene Oregon 97403. If accepted for publication, authors may be asked to make revisions.

Opinions expressed by authors of **CultureWork** broadsides do not necessarily express those of the editors, the Institute for Community Arts Studies, or the University of Oregon.

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>From Netsurfer Digest:

Stumpers If a question stumps you, there's hardly a better place to check for an answer than Stumpers. Stumpers originated as a listserv with (mostly) librarians turning to other librarians for help in answering those pesky "why is the sky blue" sorts of questions that have become the bane of all public researchers. Rather than re-inventing the wheel every time a thousand teachers assign the same project, the Stumperers created this wonderful, searchable database filled with answers to hundreds of such questions. If you'd rather, you can subscribe to the e-mail list, but be forewarned that the volume of questions might at times overwhelm you.
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FULL-TEXT ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION LIBRARY ONLINE

The ERIC Clearinghouse on Assessment and Evaluation (ERIC/AE) announced the opening of its Full Text Internet Library containing links to more than 250 of the best online books, reports, journal articles, newsletter articles, and papers that address educational measurement, evaluation, and learning theory. The collection currently includes titles from nine online journals and 29 organizations. The library is at http://ericae.net/ftlib.htm

ERIC/AE is part of the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), a national information system designed to provide users with ready access to an extensive body of education-related literature. ERIC is supported by the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, and the National Library of Education. ERIC/AE seeks to provide balanced information concerning educational assessment and resources to encourage responsible test use. For more information about ERIC/AE, contact ERIC Clearinghouse on Assessment and Evaluation, 1129 Shriver Laboratory, College of Library and Information Services, University of Maryland, College Park, College Park, MD 20742 USA; tel: 800-464-3742; email: feedback@ericae.net;
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NEW GOVERNMENT INFORMATION RESOURCE

In July StartSpot Mediaworks, Inc., headquartered in the Northwestern University/Evanston Research Park in Evanston, IL, offered a new addition in its collection of free information Websites. GovSpot links to a variety of government Websites and documents, facts and figures, news, and political information from federal, state, local, and world government and non-governmental sources. GovSpot is located at http://www.govspot.com/

For more information, contact Stephanie Meismer, StartSpot Mediaworks, Inc., 1840 Oak Avenue, Evanston, IL 60201 USA; tel: 303-455-5223; email: stephanie@startspot.com; Web: http://www.startspot.com/

Other StartSpot Mediaworks Websites of interest to educators include LibrarySpot and BookSpot. See INFOBITS #59 [http://www.unc.edu/cit/infobits/bitmay98.html#6] for details on these resources.

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The Institute for Learning and Research Technology (ILRT) at the University of Bristol has released a second edition of the Internet Detective, an interactive online tutorial on evaluating the quality of Internet resources. The tutorial can be used for self-directed learning, classroom or distance learning, or hands-on workshops. A PowerPoint Slide presentation is available to introduce the Internet Detective tutorial to students. Free registration is required to allow users to return to the site as necessary and work through the tutorial at their own pace. The Internet Detective is located at http://www.sosig.ac.uk/desire/internet-detective.html

ILRT also sponsors the Social Science Information Gateway (SOSIG) which helps users locate high quality sites on the Internet that are relevant to social science education and research. SOSIG is available at http://www.sosig.ac.uk/ and http://scout18.cs.wisc.edu/sosig_mirror/ (for North American users).

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Websites recommended by Gaylene Carpenter

Marketing the Arts Annotated Bibliography
http://darkwing.uoregon.edu~buxtong/artsmark

National Recreation and Park Association
http://www.nrpa.org/

International Festivals and Events Association
http://www.ifea.com/

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www.traveloregon.com

Compiled by Geary Buxton
Arts & Administration Program
Class of 1999

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Public relations (PR) professionals can improve their performance by applying the Golden Public Relations Dictum, getting clients to lead for results. Effective leaders are not those who get things done themselves but those who can get other people to lead others to achieve results. The challenge for PR professionals is getting their clients to motivate their subordinates to take responsibility for their organizations' success. The first rule of the Golden Dictum is motivating organizational members through convincing leadership talks and not simply through presentations. The second rule is evaluating leadership effectiveness based on one's ability to motivate others to lead for results. The third and final rule is getting others to lead for results through concrete actions.

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Trust is an important ingredient in the leadership of organizations. Without trust, the organization suffers from weak relationships, reduced innovation and risk-taking, and poor decision-making process. The indications that there is no trust or only a low level of trust in an organization are high turnover, rumor-mongering, low productivity and increased absenteeism. To earn the trust of their subordinates, leaders should close the gap between their intentions and their behavior, express their intentions to others and request for feedback regarding progress or performance, search for solutions when problems emerge instead of blaming others, retain the confidentiality of personal information, state their positions and values, and show their competence and commitment. They should also have a high level of integrity and credibility.

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Mission - To foster global business practices which promote equitable economic development, resource sustainability and democratic forms of government.

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Developing the ability to be a leader at work may be easier with some attention paid to a few important principles. Leaders find people who are willing to be mentors and who will tell them honestly how others see them. They find sponsors who will speak on their behalf who may or may not be the same people as their mentors. Leaders reciprocate to those who help them and consider what they have to offer to their employers. Most important, leaders realize that they must honestly care about people in order to be successful.

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Leaders must know how to communicate and demonstrate trust in order to create a high-performing environment for their organization. Leaders must be willing to develop junior staff, to address their availability and accessibility and to exhibit candor in addressing employees. In addition to practicing these behavior traits, it is more important that employees experience them personally.

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for The National Art Education Association

Histories of Community-Based Art Education

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Histories of Community-Based Art Education

Introduction

In 1998 we issued a call for manuscripts for a National Art Education Association (NAEA) anthology on "invisible" histories of art education. In response we received an astonishing one hundred chapter proposals. Twenty-one were developed into chapters and testimonials for Remembering Others: Making Invisible Histories of Art Education Visible (Bolin, Congdon, & Blandy, in press). Divided into three sections, this first volume includes chapters on formal education settings; community arts and museum settings; and folk groups.

Because of the large and unexpected number of proposals received, the NAEA invited us to edit this second volume. This anthology concentrates on histories of community-based art education. Like the first volume, Histories of Community-Based Art Education brings to the fore stories, experiences, teaching methods, and cultural groups whose histories have not been fully explored, documented, or appreciated. This second anthology, like the first, is a joint effort of the NAEA, the NAEA Research Commission Task Force on Contexts, and the National Task Force on Folk Arts in Education. Its content reflects recent changes in historical writing that include a broadening of what is considered worthy of historical study, moving beyond the study of written documents, a receptivity to multiple responses to historical questions, and an acknowledgement of the subjectivity of historical writing (Burke, 1991).

Many of the histories included in this anthology have not been adequately, or previously, documented in print. They have existed primarily through stories told among family members, in neighborhoods, cultural

organizations, special interest groups, ethnic groupings, and at professional meetings. We chose many of the chapters for this anthology because of their author's use of oral history. This editorial strategy demonstrates our belief in the importance of art education history that is representative of many and varied points of view. As one elderly Nookta woman said: "Kill a memorizer and you kill a whole hunk'a history, and if your're gonna kill someone's history, well, your own might not last long, and when that's gone, you just killed all your people who were here before you, all over again" (Nookta woman cited in Cameron, 1981, p. 78).

Oral history, as remembered truth, differs from written narratives because it continually exists in the present and is often reshaped (unlike the printed word) and made flexible to accommodate the present (Lowenthal, 1985). This fluid and semisimultaneous perspective contributes to the understanding of the past as ever present and relevant. The past is witnessed and appreciated in today's practices. It is also important to note that in oral history facts are less important than the reputation and credibility of the storyteller. We are pleased that many chapters in this anthology incorporate this kind of integrative interpretation of art education, where a relative or family member is viewed as a historian.

Our concentration on community-based art education history in this second volume is also motivated by an absence of a comprehensive history of community-based arts initiatives in the United States. Currently there is no consensus on when such a history begins. Goldbard (1993) posits that what we now think of as community arts began in the 1960s with programs like the San Francisco Neighborhood Arts Program (NAP). Dreeszen (1994) sees a much

longer historical trajectory. His history begins with the inception of the Village Improvement Movement in 1853 through the City Beautiful Movement (1893), Outdoor Art Movement (1899), Community Theatre Movement (1915), Cooperative Extension Service (1937), Works Progress Administration (1933), Civil Rights Movement (1960s), Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) (1970s), to the present day. While Goldbard and Dreeszen's contributions to the history of community arts are important for providing points of reference and areas of debate, detailed studies of events, programs, people, purposes, and places are needed to support, supplement, and elaborate their points-of-view toward a comprehensive historical perspective.

The contributors to Histories of Community-Based Art Education affirm that the history of community-based art education and community arts is associated with people coming together in local arts centers, museums, schools, religious facilities, social clubs, recreation facilities, and civic associations among other settings, both formal and informal. Viewed from this perspective, art education incorporates a broad range of art objects and practices. This includes the traditional and popular arts. These diverse art objects and practices function, in part, as catalysts for dialogue about individual and group identity, local and national concerns, and ultimately the pursuit of democracy. Contributors to this anthology encourage an understanding of the richness, diversity, and complexity associated with community-based art education within democracy and civil society.

Civil society has as its purpose the facilitation of, "space for public discourse, for the development of public values and public language, for the formation of the public self [the citizen], a space separate from the formal

political sphere dominated by the state power and political parties that aim to control that power"(Lummis, 1996, p. 31). The pursuit of democracy and civil society is a project that requires a life long commitment exercised within multiple and diverse venues. West (1999) reminds us that the "roots of democracy are fundamentally grounded in mutual respect, personal responsibility, and social accountability" (p. 10). Community-based arts education settings have been, and continue to be, among those informal and formal enclaves in which people assemble, work, and act together for a variety of political, cultural, economic, and educational purposes. These purposes are ultimately directed towards debating and creating the common good. In this regard, art education that is community-based has the potential to encourage "good" citizenship. Good citizens are those "who make a life commitment to maintaining and sharing with other fellow citizens those material conditions that enable political participation" (Batstone & Mendieta, 1999, p. 2). Good citizens also stand for "autonomy, self-legislation, and sense of civic solidarity that members of a group extend to one another" Batestone & Mendieta, 1999, p. 3).

Fostering civil society requires constant vigilance and cultivation. As a society we are currently witnessing some disturbing trends that affirm the importance of such vigilance and cultivation. Putnam (1995) includes among such trends voter apathy and a drop in attendance at public meetings. Many of the chapters in this book illustrate successes at creating spaces and programs that bring people together and then engage them in the arts as a part of the discourse required by democracy and that nourishes civil society. Research confirms that communities with a lively and engaged constituency are more likely to successfully identify and solve problems of mutual concern (Putnam, 1997).

Civic health can be measured by people's participation in the community (Shudson, 1999).

Contributors to Histories of Community-Based Art Education confirm personal and communal identity as they describe aesthetic orientations, problem solving approaches, and ways of living. Traditions of the past are recreated in the present. Documenting this process in print encourages our understanding and appreciation of how this happens and enables us to make choices about who we are and who we want to become. Authors also document community-based arts initiatives that encourage and model civic engagement in a variety of ways involving diverse participants and myriad venues. Over time such initiatives have fostered the coordination and communication of discussions associated with important social issues. They have encouraged people to collectively act on matters of mutual concern. At times they have provided a "free space" in which people learn to articulate what they believe in, appreciate the power of collective action, and find support for their struggle to bring about positive social change.

Ultimately, as editors, we concur with Berger's (1972) belief that a narrowly interpreted history usually serves an elite and is unjustifiable and nonsensical in modern times (p. 11). We are grateful to the contributors' important work in providing an expanded view or our past and present by giving voice to histories that have not been previously well documented or even documented at all.

Kristin G. Congdon, Doug Blandy, and Paul E. Bolin

Editors

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Histories of Community-Based Art Education

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Toward an Art Education of Place

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Eco-theory is shaping contemporary scholarship across academic areas. This shared discussion filters through the knowledge base of each discipline and field of study as scholars seek to link research and pedagogy with current environmental issues and concerns. Art educators are not unfamiliar with the relationships among art, art education, and the environment. This article continues to explore these relationships through a consideration of environment as imagined by contemporary ecotheorists. From this discussion emerges an expanded view of the concepts of community in relation to concepts of place. The authors project ramifications of this view as it relates to artmaking and art criticism.

Environmental impact studies demonstrate that the Earth[1] is on the threshold of irreversibly damaging ecological change. For example, ecologists have collected evidence that shows deforestation is a leading cause of soil erosion, watershed destruction, and ozone depletion. Brown (1990) reported that there are more environmental refugees than political refugees as inhabitants of the world abandon their homes and flee from nuclear testing sites, toxic waste areas, contaminated water supplies, and human-made deserts. Since 1990, military actions in Eastern Europe and Kuwait have exacerbated environmental degradation. The current situation is such that the Kogi, of Columbia's high Sierra Nevada who perceive themselves as guardians of the Earth, their mother, have emerged from isolation to proclaim to an international audience that

> The mother is suffering.
> They have broken her teeth
> and taken out her eyes and ears
> She vomits,
> she has diarrhea,
> she is ill. (The Kogi cited in *Ereira,* 1992, p. 45)

Gablik's (1991) assessment that at the present time "The basic metaphor of human presence on earth is the bulldozer" (p. 77) is congruent with the Kogi's proclamation.

Brown and Postel (1987) demonstrate that the Earth is rapidly losing its capacity to sustain life. What is curious is the seeming inability of people and their governments to acknowledge and respond to this crisis. In 1985, 1986, and 1987 then-President Reagan, in his State of the Union address, failed to mention to any great extent, the environmental crisis (Spretnak, 1990). Former President Bush's 1988 election platform promised to attend to environmental problems. He did not keep the promise. The current presidential administration may be more attentive to environmental problems because of the Vice President's stated commitment to environmental issues. Among international leaders, former Premier Gorbachev's (1990) support for the establishment of an International Green Cross (now the International Green Circle) is a rare example of a political leader taking a pro-active stance. (While the International Red Cross helps victims of natural disasters, the International Green Circle would help repair the damage people inflict on the Earth.)

Author Notes: We wish to acknowledge Paul Bolin for making comments on an earlier draft of this article.

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[1]Earth is capitalized in this manuscript because we believe the word connotes more than soil and that its use as a proper noun better conveys our respect and reverence for the complex ecology

We do not mean to imply that all citizens are ignorant and inactive. The grass-roots activism of such groups as the Green Party, Earth Island Institute, The Sea Shepherds, the Nature Conservancy, and Earth First! demonstrate that some citizens do understand the enormity of the problem and the radical means that may be needed to halt widespread environmental destruction and restore the Earth's ability to sustain life. This activism is emerging from a modern environmental movement that is beginning to influence the way people perceive the world and its multitude of living and non-living forms.

Speculating on relationships among art, art education, and the environment is a familiar endeavor for art educators. As scholars in art education encounter new theories, they will change their conceptions of the environment and art. From conceptions of environment imagined by contemporary eco-theorists and eco-activists[2] we derive an "art education of place" with which art educators can imagine new relations among art, community, and environment.

Reasons for the consideration of an art education of place reflect environmental concerns that are globally imminent and personally felt.[3] We will include contributions to reconceptualizing and addressing environmental problems by selected art educators and eco-theorists who have pursued environmental problems. We will provide means to embody and manifest a sense of place into everyday action by encouraging art educators to be cognizant of their unique biotic and geologic communities, to promote language as a means to affirm life-sustaining relationships, and to suggest a critical analysis of taken-for-granted concepts within existing arts institutions that affect the environment. This article is not conclusive; rather it is explorative and initiates a much needed comprehensive discussion on the topic.

Contemporary Eco-Theory

April 22, 1970: Earth Day is widely accepted as the political birthday of the

[2]For the purpose of this article, "eco-theorists" refers to a loosely knit coterie of philosophers, political scientists, sociologists, literary theorists and artists who advocate fundamental change in the ways that humans interact with the environment. The prefix "eco" in the term should not be confused with the science of ecology. Ecotheorists move beyond scientific questions to also consider the relationship between society and ecosystems. "Eco-activists" refers to those individuals who apply the principles emerging from eco-theory in their efforts to stave off environmental degradation. Eco-activists are oftentimes, but not necessarily, associated with such groups as the Earth Island Institute, Earth First!, and the Sea Shepherds.

[3]Living in Oregon, we are inundated with the message of how clearly our "place" is tied to the economic well-being of our community. Timber receipts pay for education, and we share the highways with log trucks as well as tourists who come to view the landscape. The perceptual difference between "ancient forests" and "timber resources" is fraught with political, economic.

modern environmental movement. Hundreds of thousands of Americans associated with myriad national and regional groups marched and attended teach-ins to support protection for the environment. R. A. Smith (1970) proposed an art education response to the problem by publishing "On the Third Domain: Spaceship Earth and Aesthetic Education." He contended that individuals who value aesthetic experience can also be sensitive to the maintenance of a healthy environment. R. A. Smith and C. M. Smith (1970) speculated on the relationship of aesthetics to environmental education. They view aesthetics as able to inform the latter by promoting an aesthetic and "anticonsumptive life-style" (p. 125).

Earth Day 1970 followed a series of political successes such as the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and the Endangered Species Conservation Act of the same year (Manes, 1990). Unfortunately, the reforms celebrated on April 22, 1970 have not been fully realized, and the current environmental crisis is the resulting legacy. In response, groups such as Earth First! and the Earth Island Institute propose massive public education campaigns, international initiatives to curtail industrial development, initiatives to control human population growth, the demarcation of land reserves from which humans are excluded, and civil disobedience. These proposals are founded upon numerous eco-theoretical positions.

Eco-theory is not monolithic or homogenous. It offers no definitive theoretical or methological framework but is characterized by permeable disciplinary boundaries. Scholars incorporate multiple, fluctuating, and revised philosophical perspectives oftentimes borrowed from a multitude of sources including sacred texts, traditional science, folk wisdom, and perspectives of indigenous people.[4]

The purposes of eco-theoretical scholarship are ambitiously comprehensive. Eco-theorists have nothing less in mind than ending nature versus culture dichotomies, that is, rejecting the belief that people and their creations represent the antithesis of their natural surroundings. They also seek to end the androcentric (that is, man-centered) and anthropocentric (that is, human-centered) biases that they believe plague Western civilization. They repudiate human chauvinism, or the belief "that humans are the crown of creation, the source of all value, the measure of all things" (Seed, 1985, p. 243). They negate hierarchical classifications among and between people and other living and non-living forms (King, 1989). This critique is formed in part from critical theory and social ecology that takes its direction from dominance theory (Spretnak, 1990). For example, the domination of women is viewed by eco-feminists as the "original domination from which all other hierarchies . . . of rank, class, and political power flow" (King, 1989, p. 23).

Eco-theorists also strive to demonstrate the interdependence of all living and non-living things. Eco-theorists ask that we think about our relationships to the non-human world in a way that encourages interdependence, claiming that nothing less than this will sustain diversity of life on Earth. Their goal is to discover ways in which human culture can "harmonize with natural systems" or "be informed by, be aware of, be corrected by natural systems" (Snyder, 1990b, p. 13).

Eco-theoretical scholarship identifies art processes as critical to the understanding of interdependence. Orenstein (1990) claims that the arts are central to bringing attention to the socio-political changes that are necessary in order to sustain the environment. She envisions artists as healers and the artmaking process as a critical motivator for political action. Gablik (1991) describes this vision as the "re-enchantment of art." Issues of style are replaced with concerns for environmental and social responsibility. Gablik cautions that readers and viewers of art may be required to invest more than intellect. Emotional, psychological, ethical, and spiritual discomfort may result.

Ultimately eco-theorists ask us to radically revise the way in which we perceive the world. This revision will not only affect our understanding of world perspectives on environmental issues, but also our conception of the communities we call home. In turn we anticipate that conceptions of art and education will be revised. Art education will include critical models that are based on eco-theoretical scholarship that will allow us to take a fresh look at established genres (for example, landscape painting and site-specific sculpture) as well as provide a means to approach contemporary work based on eco-theory. Means and examples follow.

Art and Community

McFee (1961) in *Preparation for Art* introduced art educators to a socio-cultural view of art and art education. Her research, informed by the work of anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists, identifies art as a means through which children, youth, and adults communicate their values and beliefs to one another. McFee recognizes art and artmaking as integral to the discourse that shapes and defines community interactions and activities. In McFee's view, art education is a process through which students discover, recognize, and celebrate community values.

McFee's vision of what can constitute a community-based orientation to art education is described fully in *Preparation for Art,* in the subsequent 1970 edition, and later, writing with Degge, in *Art, Culture, and Environment: A Catalyst for Teaching* (1977). The objectives for art education delineated by McFee (1970) in *Preparation for Art* are still relevant in understanding what is meant by community-based art education. According to McFee, art education practice must be congruent with preparing citizens to participate in a democratic state. Although she sees art as a source of personal identity (p. 341) it is also part of a shared environment (p. 340). She imagines community as fluid, dynamic, and evolving and must be understood as such when art educators establish art objectives. A community-based art education necessitates that the values of all constituencies are considered.

Numerous art educators have subsequently supported and expanded upon specific aspects of a community-based orientation to art education. Marantz (1971) has directed our attention to "the public values of art" (p. 425). Some have described art as an agent and measure of community interdependence (Hart, 1991; Stokrocki, 1991; Stuhr, 1987). Others have proposed participatory

[4]The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro in June, 1992, provides a good example of ecotheorists with different agendas sharing knowledge and strategies to further environmental causes. Perhaps the most striking feature of the Global Forum (the concurrent conference for non-governmental organizations) was the number, variety, and sophistication of groups interested in sustainable development. Beyond the expected environmental groups, participants included representatives from religious groups, businesses, trade unions, universities, and groups giving voice to women, youth, and indigenous people (Haas & Levy, 1992, p. 29).

methods for developing community-based curricula (Anderson, 1985, Keifer-Boyd, 1989). Chalmers (1974, 1987) argues for the importance of cross-community understanding. Recently, others have made distinctions between what constitutes indigenous or local knowledge and expert knowledge (Blandy & Congdon, 1991; Congdon, 1986; Hamblen, 1990).

It is clear that art educators have recognized and are exploring the relationship of community to art education. This recognition permeates the field to such an extent that Baker (1990) in his presidential address to the 1990 National Art Education Association (NAEA) called upon the membership to remember that the environments in which students learn are shaped by the community and as such curricula should be based on "community norms." Such a pronouncement raises many important questions. As one anonymous reviewer of an earlier version of this article pointed out, community norms are not necessarily in the best interest of all who reside in the community. The reviewer reminds us of the pervasiveness of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan in some communities. There is obviously the continued need for serious speculation on the relationship between community and art education. We believe that this speculation must broaden beyond its current socio-cultural orientation. Art educators, for the most part, have embraced community as including humans but not the ground on which we walk, the other species with whom we share this ground, the atmosphere that sustains life, and the greater knowns and unknowns of the universe.

Currently art education that is community-based is largely confined to definitions of community that are anthropocentric. Baker's (1990) statement that human communities shape the environment is symptomatic of this anthropocentricity. Certainly they do, but ecologists have demonstrated that humans are only one of many factors that shape environments. Other biologic and geologic forms are only considered by art educators as they inform human artmaking or art appreciation processes. For example, York, Harris, and Herrington (1993) in suggesting to teachers art activities that can accompany their students' study of Albert Bierdtadt's *Looking Down Yosemite Valley, California* and Patrick Nagatani's *Contaminated Radioactive Sediment, Mortandad Canyon, Los Alamos Laboratory, New Mexico* concentrate on the manipulation of landscape to reflect "the student's personal attitude towards the environment" (p. 54). Larger issues related to the moral and ethical basis from which such an activity is derived are not an explicit part of the activity. A less anthropocentric orientation might have included a discussion of how such manipulation is symptomatic of the general manipulation of wilderness by humans for their own purposes and benefit. Such an approach would certainly be in keeping with Nagatani's purpose of raising "people's awareness of the consequences of nuclear power" (p. 27). The authors allude to such a possibility in their introduction to the activity, but the allusion is not fully developed within the activity itself. However, some art educators, like Adams (1990), Graff (1990), Hicks (1991), Jagodzinski (1987), and Marshalek (1989) have written about the close connections that exist between human communities and the interconnections between those communities and the biologic, geologic, and celestial worlds that permeate and surround them.

Eco-theorists like Leopold (1949), Carson (1962), Seed (1985), King (1989), and Diamond and Orenstein (1990) have taught us that conceiving of communi-

ramifications. Inherent within the community-based approach to art education is a basic recognition, albeit narrowly defined, of the concept of interdependency and interconnectedness that is central to eco-theoretical thought. The community-based approach to art education seems open to revision. The problem is how to revise the current anthropocentric conception of community-based art education with an eco-theoretical orientation. In our thinking this can be accomplished by infusing community-based approaches with a bioregional perspective. This expanded notion of community will ultimately encourage an art education of place. Place is constituted by an expanded sense of what Adams (1990) refers to as "belonging" or "possessing and being possessed by the environment" (p. 13).

Dodge (1990) proposes bioregionalism as a socio-cultural adjunct to those theories associated with natural systems. He sees connections between the health of natural systems and the physical and psychic well-being of humans. Dodge (1990) delineates six characteristics that have been used to define a bioregion. These include biotic shift (15-25% difference in plant and/or animal species indicates a new bioregion), watershed patterns, land forms, cultural, and phenomenological perception ("you are where you perceive you are"), spirit places, and elevation. Aberly (1990) proposes that bioregions can be delineated by demarcating boundaries associated with plant and animal communities, watersheds, physiologic regions, aboriginal territories, historic and current land use, psychophysical sites, cognitive homelands, and climate.

To further understand what Dodge (1990) and Aberly (1990) are suggesting, imagine a map of your region with specific biological, geological, geographic and cultural areas demarcated. Together, these demarcations contribute to a multilayered perspective composed of "interpenetrating bodies in semi-simultaneous spaces" (Cafard cited in Snyder, 1990). For example, the region that we are living in is dominated by the Douglas Fir. It is the prominent tree north of the Skeena River in British Columbia, south to the Big Sur River and the Sierras, and west of the crest in northern California, Washington, and Oregon (Snyder, 1990). The predominance of the Douglas Fir influences and is reflective of weather patterns, agricultural uses, wildlife, and clothing styles (Snyder, 1990a). Art in the region includes the carving of knotheads, chainsaw sculptures of regional wildlife, and regional landscapes painted on conks and sawblades. To be conscious of this simultaneity is as Snyder (1990a) states "To know the spirit of a place . . . to realize that you are a part of a part and that the whole is made of parts, each of which is whole" (p. 17).

Berry (1987) in his novel *A Place on Earth: Revision* describes through the lives of a group of farming families in Kentucky what it is like to live with a bioregional consciousness. His characters know their home less through arbitrary political boundaries of town and country and more through the effect of the seasons on their land, forestation patterns, flood plains, sites of important familial events, the making and trading of craftswork, relationships with wild and domestic animals, bird and insect migratory patterns, the changing character of the horizon as they move through the landscape, and the sky in its orientation to the Earth. All of this comprises community or place. Berry's characters do not doubt for one moment their interdependence with each other and the environment they inhabit. They do not talk about farming without all of these elements being an implicit part of their conversation. They craft objects

whom they learned their skills, and the impact of their work on community well-being.

We do not mean to suggest through our example that a person must live an agrarian or rural life-style in order to appreciate place. The literature on bioregionalism documents numerous urban projects that are contributing to an expanded sense of community as place. The Green City Program in New York City is one such example. This program is supported by a coalition of environmental groups working for the maintenance of public parks and gardens, air and water quality, energy conservation, waste management and sustainable development. A public education component for all ages (Berg, 1990) is integral to this program. Community School District One in Manhattan is planning to open "The Earth School" in the Fall, 1993. This school is an "ecological institute for young children, their families and community." Art is integral to the curriculum (Futterman, 1992, p. 8).

The relationship of the bioregionalistic perspective to art and culture is specifically suggested in the Culture and Arts Committee (1984) statement from the 1984 North American Bioregional Congress. This committee made up of artists, educators, eco-activists and interested others, proposes that artists should strive to "create those forms of art which affirm and deepen our understanding of our relation to the Earth and to each other" (p. 17). They further stated that they

> recognize the extreme importance of the support, continuation, and rediscovery of traditional cultures, and art forms of all species within each bioregion, emphasizing that to ensure the continuance of these traditional cultures and forms we must make possible the survival of the physical and cultural environments from which they arise, and to enter into a sense of community with them. (p. 18)

Applications: An Art Education of Place

In this article we have argued that the current environmental crisis can be remedied through a radical change in the way that people think about and interact with the environment. A holistic world view is required. We recommend that art educators become less anthropocentric in their conception of community by enlarging the idea of community to include a bioregional perspective. The result is an art education of place. The ultimate goal of such an art education will be to teach students about art in a way that promotes an understanding of the interdependence and interconnectedness of all things.

Understanding place will require art educators to ask for a high degree of self-investment and reflection from students. Changing lifestyle patterns, developing a pro-active stance, and challenging existing nonenvironmentally sound practices by family, friends, and colleagues will be required. Lopez (1991) states that "a sense of place must include, at the very least, knowledge of what is inviolate about the relationship between a people and the place they occupy" (p. 16).

Choices of art to study in art education contexts can work to reinforce an art education of place. We agree with Graff (1990) that "there are certain examples of art that are explicitly ecological, more directly evolved from an awareness of our place in nature, an art that derives from respect for the environment and the possibi[illegible]o learn from unity and continuity" (p. 88). Graff is affirming that art can sig[illegible]ntly contribute to how people live by influencing their perceptions and actions. Graff has recognized the special role art can play in "awaken-

ing" people to their surroundings. As such, art can be part of the creation and construction of environmentally responsible and holistic world views (Gablik, 1991). Art becomes a means to engage individuals in social and political issues in ways that empower them, create alliances, and establish community (Adams, 1990). Examples of such art follow.

Textile terminology, process, and the use of product have been used to facilitate a sense of place. The *Ribbon* and *Green Quilts* projects are two notable examples. The *Ribbon* consisted of segments of fabric constructed and embellished by people from around the world who responded to the theme: "What I cannot bear to think of as lost forever in nuclear war." These segments were sewn together to create a ribbon approximately ten miles long that was wrapped around the Pentagon on August 4, 1985 – the 40th anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Lark Books Staff & Philbin, 1985). The majority of panel creators addressed the interconnectedness of all living beings and the value of acknowledging those relationships for the purpose of promoting an anti-nuclear agenda. The process of sewing tens of thousands of people's art together into one length of cloth made manifest the concept of interconnectedness. The act of circling the Pentagon with a Peace Ribbon empowered the *Ribbon*'s makers by visually symbolizing the strength and beauty of diverse people working together for a common purpose.

Green Quilts is another ongoing project for people who desire to carry the message of the importance of place and relationships between and among all living things. *Green Quilt* makers work toward global healing by affirming through their quiltmaking that the Earth is strong and alive. They believe that they create positive energy that influences the actions of people as they interact with the Earth and its inhabitants. The use of a quilt as a vehicle for this message is significant. Quilts have a utilitarian purpose; warmth, comfort, and caring are part of the quilt metaphor. Although pamphlets, buttons, and bumper stickers will be discarded, quilts often become family hierlooms or part of collections. Their messages are maintained and enriched over time by their caretakers and users.

Some artists work in collaboration with the Earth itself to create their artwork. Their purpose, according to Gablik (1991), is to demonstrate "our symbolic relationship with nature" (p. 77). Nancy Holt, Dominique Mazeaud, and Mel Chin are three such artists. Holt creates site sculptures that require human interaction with celestial phenomena. "Sun Tunnels," for example, are not meant to be viewed as art objects but to be used as viewfinders for the location of stars and planets. Holt's art becomes a facilitator for understanding one's relationship with the geologic and celestial landscape (Slatkin, 1990).

Mazeaud goes into the Rio Grande every month to collect garbage. She does this not only to demonstrate her responsibility to the place in which she lives but to bring our attention to spoiled and reeking rivers from which we cannot drink safely. Mazeaud's art includes keeping a diary of her work as well as creating ritual activities around the cleaning process. To communicate the importance of her actions, she routinely takes other people with her into the water (Gablik cited in Ryan, 1990).

Chin works with hyperaccumulator plants. These are species of plants that absorb heavy metals such as zinc, cadmium, and lead. Chin, w[illegible]he help of a research agronomists, uses plant hyperaccumulators in toxic w[illegible] sites. Plant-

the soil (Chembalest, 1991, p. 43).

These types of art challenge the art market. Because there is often no product to be purchased or displayed by a private collector or museum, this art is often considered marginal. We disagree. Exploring and conveying relationships with the Earth; performing acts that cleanse the land, air, and water; and empowering people to act for a healthier environment are important and credible tasks for the artist and important and credible acts to be studied as art. The products of this art should not be devalued because they cannot be bought or sold. Their worth needs to be appreciated and discussed beyond the typical art market concerns of authenticity, ownership, and investment.[5]

Art educators can also assist students in cultivating an awareness of the metaphors and visual images associated with "place" as it is depicted in the popular media. For example, Oregon is known as the Beaver State. Beavers are commonly perceived as industrious home builders who fell trees to dam creeks. The beaver is anthropomorphized extensively by Oregon industry and in public and private marketing strategies for attracting tourists. Spotted owls are perceived as indicator species of the health of our forests by environmentalists and as a threat to job security by the timber industry. Images associated with these two animals allow for an examination of personal values. While the beaver has come to symbolize the exploitation of natural resources, the spotted owl signifies the preservation of such resources. Replacing the beaver with the spotted owl as Oregon's "mascot" would change many Oregonians' understanding of their relationship to place because these two animals have been associated with different economic and environmental interests.

We need critical models that direct students of art to questions concerning place, community, and the sustainability of life on Earth. Burgess (1991) states that it is important to "institutionalize" the concept of place in order to educate and encourage a pro-active environmental stance. Criticism provides one avenue for realizing this recommendation. Criticism models sensitive to the concept of place, how the surroundings influence viewing and understanding art, the integrity of materials (for example, Where did the materials come from? Are materials biodegradable? Were any species exploited in material production or art process?), and the degree to which the viewer is invited to take a proactive, ecological stance need to be developed. jagodzinski (1987, 1991) is providing the field of art education with a foundation for this endeavor by suggesting an ecological aesthetic from which a "green criticism" can emerge. In this regard he asks us to rethink our formalistic conceptions of color, shape, line, texture, scale, mass, and space as they are applied in art criticism (jagodzinski, 1991).

[5]Traditional concepts of the museum and gallery space will be challenged by art with a place focus. Jones (1986) presents an anecdote of a Tlingit woman's response to a museologist who wanted to take totem poles from the Tlingit woman's village and preserve them in a museum. The woman was shocked in the same way some find cryogenics or embalming unnatural. Appreciating the weathering of time and place on an object is antithetical to the disposition of most conservators. *The New York Times* (Suro, 1990) reported efforts by the Zuni to regain idols that are considered critical to the health of their nation. As part of a year-long cycle of protection, these idols stand on sacred, secluded sites deliberately exposed to weathering so they will degrade into dust, return to the Earth, and be replaced by newly carved idols. Again, what conservators see as deliberate destruction, others may see as a necessary step in the cycle of rebirth.

Conclusion

In this article we suggest what constitutes an art education of place. Our purpose is to reinforce awareness of the current environmental crisis, present a theoretical response, and consider the ramifications of this response for art education. There are precedents for guidance. For example, literature of place is a growing area within literary criticism. The University of Nevada at Reno has established an assistant professorship of literature-and-the-environment. Cheryl Burgess, the current holder of this position, is developing curricula that addresses the concept of place. She also communicates her commitment to safeguarding the environment by urging her students to recycle paper and print papers double-sided. She asks that student papers not include plastic covers or title pages. Burgess collects campus mail that has only been printed on one-side for her students to use for exams (personal communication, February 26, 1991). She connects eco-theory and practice and takes personal responsibility for her own actions to make the connections manifest. Her writing and speaking in the area of literary criticism is a part of this action (Burgess, 1991).

As art educators, we have opportunities to create learning environments that are sensitive to practices that promote the sustainability of the environment and attend to the concept of community as place. It is clear that art educators have and are contributing research that can support the idea of an art education of place. The 1992 National Art Education Association Convention theme was "the land, the people, the ecology of art education." We understand that theoretical discussion generally proceeds practice, but it was disappointing that conference organizers did not capitalize on the provocative theme the 1992 NAEA Convention offered by providing ecologically responsible alternatives to usual convention practice. It is critical that all people are aware of and take responsibility for actions that affect the environment. Simple practices at the individual level can make big differences at conferences that include several thousand attendees.[6]

The fragile nature of the desert landscape juxtaposed with the invasion of several thousand art educators into Phoenix prompted reflection and comments concerning how humans fit into an environment of such delicate beauty. One convention will not solve environmental problems or contribute significantly to what is required. This can only be accomplished with a careful, ongoing reconceptualization of the way that we think about, interact with, and teach about the world in art.

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[6]Pope (1992) reports on the eco-active procedures introduced to American Library Association Conferences. She suggests collecting and recycling plastic name badges; vendors providing options of no bag or paper bags instead of plastic; conference organizers publishing conference rates for railroad and bus lines as well as airlines; hotel and conference centers making recycling bins available; conference programs and related literature printed on recycled and recyclable

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Adult Perceptions of Leisure : Life Experiences and Life Structure

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Leisure researchers have considered recreation pursuits, patterns of leisure behavior, and the meanings associated with leisure during adulthood. In particular, the behavior and meanings have been examined from an individual or family life cycle or life stage perspective (Buchanan and Allen, 1985, Kelly, 1972 ; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975 ; Witt and Goodale, 1981) and by marital stages (Orthner, 1975, 1976).

Even though this perspective has helped to understand the role of leisure during adulthood, limitations may exist. For instance, developmental psychologists have noted a lack of uniformity of experience (Baltes *et al.*, 1988). That is, many adults in given life course stages do not fit the findings of that stage, thereby calling into question any claim of generalizability. Not only have researchers reported chronological age-related discrepancies, but social life patterns appear to be more varied than in previous times (Berardo, 1982). Thus, contemporary adults may well be less similar than life stage categorizations suggest.

This lack of uniformity of experience is particularly important during middle adulthood. For example, chronologically the midlife crisis is supposed to occur over a six-year span (between the ages 40 and 45), according to Levinson *et al.* (1978), and over a seven-year span (between ages 37 and 43) according to Gould (1978). Even though it is suggested that these developmental periods or crises are not simply derivatives of age, chronological age is often reported and used as a primary index of development.

Additionally, recent census data report greater diversity among adult behavioral patterns. There are now more divorced adults, single parent families,

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never married adults, childless couples, and couples delaying childbearing until middle adulthood. A pluralistic family pattern is emerging with a greater number of middle aged adults functioning outside of the "traditional" behavioral pattern (Fiske and Chiriboga, 1992 ; Gerber *et al.*, 1989 ; O'Sullivan, 1988 ; Warnick, 1987).

These issues lend support for investigating leisure during middle adulthood from other than the traditional life stage or life cycle perspective. Commonly experienced adult life experiences and adult life structure provide the theoretical framework for this investigation. Life events and experiences, occur to everyone throughout the life cycle. Often, but not always, adults encounter similar experiences during middle adulthood. More likely, adults experience similar events, but experience them differently. Life experiences may be objective, external occurrences or subjective, internal transitions (Hultsch and Plemons, 1979). Life structure, as defined by Levinson *et al.* (1978), refers to (a) the individual's sociocultural world – the importance of such social contexts as family, occupation, or religion, to the individual – ; (b) aspects of the self – one's wishes, anxieties, ways of resolving conflict, or experiencing feelings, or values – ; and (c) one's participation in the world – how one uses resources and experiences constraints in relationships and roles such as citizen, friend, spouse, boss or parent. The primary purpose of this exploratory study was to describe the extent to which middle aged adults (ages 30 to 60) value leisure and perceive freedom in leisure. A second purpose was to examine whether valuing leisure and perceived freedom in leisure were associated with life experiences and perceptions of life structure. The specific research questions addressed were : (a) to what extent do middle aged adults value leisure and perceive freedom in leisure ? and (b) what is the relationship between valuing leisure and perceived freedom in leisure and actual life experiences and perceptions of life structure during middle adulthood?

Related Literature

Interest in life events and experiences during adulthood has been demonstrated by researchers in the human services. These efforts include studies of life events as they relate to life stress during adulthood (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1974 ; Holmes and Rahe, 1967) ; to health and physical illness (Antonovsky, 1979 ; Holmes and Masuda, 1974 ; Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1982 ; Kobasa *et al.*, 1982) ; and psychosomatic and psychological disorders (Johnson and Sarason, 1978 ; Pancheri *et al.*, 1979 ; Vinokur and Selzer, 1975). Most often, findings indicated respondents' negatively perceived life events were significantly related to decreased levels of physical health and emotional well-being. Sarason *et al.* (1985) found that social support functioned as a moderator variable which reduced the effects of adverse events and experiences. Further, their research suggested that there may be other moderator variables not yet identified.

Though none of the above mentioned studies examined leisure, an interest in life events and experiences by some leisure researchers is emerging. Iso-Ahola (1988), for example, called for research to determine whether leisure motivation mediates the effects of stressful life events. Prior to this call, Orthner (1975, 1976) suggested that leisure may play a role in countering the negative impact of adult life transitions on marital relationships. Kleiber (1985) explored the notion that leisure is, or potentially may be, useful during role loss transitions such as early retirement. More recently, leisure researchers are reporting data which suggests that leisure may well be a type of moderator variable. It has been shown that adults maintain positive attitudes toward leisure inspite of life events that they perceive as either positive or negative (Carpenter, 1989). That is, leisure attitude appeared to have a quality or "resiliency" raising the possibility that certain aspects about leisure may enable leisure to act as a stabilizing value less subject to change during reassessment when compared to other values during middle adulthood. In a follow-up longitudinal investigation, it was found that positive attitudes about leisure acted as "buffers" against the impact of life events and remained relatively stable over time, regardless of perceived positive or negative life events (Delansky and Carpenter, 1992). Iso-Ahola (1992) purports leisure contributes to health in part because it has major qualities that mediate and buffer the effects of stressful life events. Coleman and Iso-Ahola (1992 in press) demonstrated that leisure participation facilitated coping with life stress in part because of the benefits of perceived social support and self-determination realized through leisure. The researchers concluded that leisure benefited health by buffering people against personal stress produced by life circumstances. Life experiences, or actual life events, that adults have throughout their lives provide researchers with a ideal context for examining leisure across the life span.

Returning to the concept of life structure, Daniel Levinson (1977) and other developmental psychologists (Levinson *et al.*, 1978) posited that the basic pattern or design of a person's life at any given time is referred to as one's individual life structure. An adult's life structure evolves through a sequence of alternating periods of stability and change referred to as structure-building and structure-changing respectively. The building of some aspect of one's life structure (structure-building) or the changing of some aspect of one's life structure (structure-changing) recurs throughout middle adulthood. These periods appear to last from four to eight years. During structure-building, individuals are reaffirming and giving meaning to choices and decisions previously made in order to maintain their life structure. During structure-changing, adults are reassessing and questioning previously made choices and decisions and exploring various possibilities for change in their present life structure. Thus, life

structure provides a framework through which questions about valuing leisure and perceived freedom in leisure can be explored apart from traditional life cycle or life stage theories.

Throughout middle age adults engage in the reassessment of traditionally held values and their life structure (Chiriboga, 1983 ; Gould, 1978 ; Levinson *et al.*, 1978 ; Lowenthal *et al.*, 1976 ; Vaillant, 1977). Values reassessment often determines an individual's life experiences (e.g. change in jobs, or a divorce), and alterations in life structure during adulthood. Leisure researchers and theorists have argued that leisure is a widely held value in and of itself in contemporary society (Best and Stern, 1976 ; Kaplan, 1975 ; Roberts, 1970). Yet developmental psychologists, by and large, have not regarded the value leisure as predominantly as they have considered the values family, work, and self. While this omission is unfortunate, it is mentioned in the context of this paper in order to reinforce the notion that leisure, like other values, is presumed to undergo the same reassessment process throughout adulthood as other values in contemporary society. Generally speaking, whether life events and experiences are viewed as gains (positive) or losses (negative) by the adult seems to have little bearing on their impact. What does appear to have a bearing is the reassessment process. According to Levinson *et al.* (1978), adults recurringly assess and reassess their individual life structures. It is often one's values that are reexamined during these times of reassessment. While we know that adults rather consistently tend to value leisure as demonstrated by positive attitudes toward leisure (Carpenter 1989, Carpenter and Delansky,1992), we do not know how leisure as a value may fluctuate during these times of structure-building and structure-changing.

The importance of freedom as a component of the leisure experience has been consistently documented (Bregha, 1980 ; Iso-Ahola, 1980 ; Kelly, 1972, 1983 ; Mannell, 1980 ; Neulinger, 1981 ; Tinsley and Tinsley, 1986). Existing literature, however, does not address whether perceived freedom in leisure is related to life events and experiences or life structure during middle age. Several of the life events experienced during middle adulthood are ones that individuals may feel minimal or no control over (e.g. death of a parent). Because the leisure construct is reported to be characterized in part by feelings of perceived control (Shary and Iso-Ahola, 1989), it would be useful to know the extent to which perceived freedom in leisure is influenced by actual life events and experiences (positive or negative) and perceptions of life structure (structure-building or structure-changing) during middle adulthood.

To summarize, this study was concerned with middle aged adults who, similar to all adults, experience positive and negative life events and experiences. While it was not crucial to the purposes of this study for respondents to share a particular age or transitional point, it was important that they self-report whether their present life structure was characterized by structure-building or structure-changing. Within this context, the extent to which respondents value leisure and perceive freedom in leisure are also of concern to this investigation.

Methodology

It is important to reiterate that the study was exploratory in nature and was part of an ongoing longitudinal research project focusing on leisure during middle adulthood. Data discussed herein were obtained from the first year only of a longitudinal study which is expected to run for ten years. The purpose of the larger project is to study leisure change and continuity in relationship to actual and perceived life events and experiences using longitudinal sequences in data gathering (Carpenter, 1992).

Subjects

Subjects were pooled from two first year data collections initiated as part of the aforementioned longitudinal study (Carpenter, 1988,1989). The first data collection (N = 224) included a sample of convenience : 100 employees from a major university in the northwest who had indicated interest in a health-fitness program. It also included 124 middle-aged subjects from across the U.S. who were purposefully invited to respond. One-hundred sixty-seven (75 %) of the total 224 subjects responded to a mailed questionnaire packet. The second data collection (N = 150) was conducted through a university-based class assignment. Students enrolled in a leisure studies course were required to personally invite two middle aged subjects (one female and one male) to participate in the data collection. This yielded a 99 % rate of return. One-hundred forty-nine of the 150 middle aged subjects solicited responded. The total subjects were 316. Readers are cautioned that the subject pool was obtained predominantly through purposeful (non-random) selection techniques. Therefore, no claim is made for the generalizability of the results. All standardized protocol for research with human subjects was followed. All potential respondents were assured that participation was by choice, all information provided would be kept confidential, and all results would be reported anonymously.

Respondent Characteristics

Three hundred and four middle aged adult subjects were ultimately suitable for inclusion in the analysis. They had an average age of 42.6 years (range 30-60, SD = 7.1). Seventy-five percent (n = 167) of those invited to participate from the first data collection did so. Twelve of these had to be eliminated because they were not between the ages of 30 and 60, leaving a final sample of 155 for the

first data collection. In the second data collection, 149 of the 150 subjects responded. All were between ages 30 and 60. There were more respondents between ages 41-50 (46.4 %, n = 136), followed by ages 30-40 (38.6 %, n = 113), followed by ages 51-60 (15 %, n = 44). Table 1 shows respondents' sex by age grouping. There were significantly more fem ale (n = 182) than male (n = 121) respondents (F = 10.94, df = 1, p = .001) because of the disproportionate number of females who had expressed interest in the health-fitness program. This was reflected in the respondent ratio of women to men (50 :8). In addition, females were significantly younger (M = 41.8) than males (M = 43.7), F = 5.17 ; df = 1 ; p<.05. Eleven respondents did not report age and/or sex.

TABLE 1

Respondents' Sex by Age Grouping

	Middle Adulthood Age Group					
Sex	early-middle 30-40		middle-middle 41-50		later-middle 51-60	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
males	36	31.9	62	45.6	19	43.2
females	77	68.1	74	54.4	25	56.2
Total	113	100.0	136	100.0	44	100.8

(11 missing cases)

Instrumentation

Four instruments were included in the mailed-out questionnaire packet : The Life Structure Assessment, The Life Experiences Survey, the Leisure Ethic Scale, and the Perceived Freedom in Leisure Scale. While the packet appeared time-consuming because of its number of pages, most respondents were able to complete it within 10 to 15 minutes unless they had experienced a particularly eventful year.

The Life Structure Assessment instrument (Carpenter, 1988) was specifically developed for this study. Based on Levinson *et al.* (1978) developmental theory, it was developed to assist respondents identify their perceptions regarding their individual life structure. Following a thorough description about the concept of life structure, respondents are asked to select one of two responses to designate which of the two aspects of life structure (structure-changing or structure-building) that they believe they are presently experiencing. Psychometric measures of instrument validity or reliability have not been performed to date. However, the instrument has been judged to demonstrate content validity by a panel of judges knowledgable of the findings regarding individual life

structure found in the literature. It was also pretested for clarity with middle aged adults prior to its usage in the study.

A second instrument used was a modified version of the Schedule of Recent Experiences instrument developed by Holmes and Rahe (1967). It was originally designed to measure stress. Later called the Life Experiences Survey (LES), it was modified by Sarason *et al.* (1978) in order to quantify the effects of life changes. The types of items on the instrument offer respondents event choices ranging from career and residential moves, to changes in one's recreation and family. Other events like experiencing divorce, deaths, raises, achievements, borrowing money are listed, and several spaces are left open for respondents to fill in events and experiences not on the survey. The LES contains a total of 47 life event items. Respondents are asked to select and rate the impact of those events they have experienced within the previous 12 months. This instrument not only enumerates the most typically experienced adulthood life events but also allows respondents to add life experiences which may be unique to the respondent. After identifying recently experienced life events, respondents rate the experience in terms of its positive or negative effect. In addition, respondents are asked to rate the degree of perceived control over the occurrence of the event.

Life events and experiences can be summarized in several ways for analyses. In this study, the total number of life events experienced was computed, along with the number of the positive life events and the number of negative life events. The sums of both the positive and negative life experiences were obtained. The overall impact of these life events and experiences was obtained by computing the sum of positively and negatively rated life events. The literature indicates that the LES has been viewed as a moderately reliable instrument, especially when the negative and impact scores are considered (Sarason *et al.*, 1978). Reported test-retest correlations (p<.0001) for the sum of positive experiences were .19 and .53 ; sum of negative experiences were .56 and .88 ; and were .63 and .64 for overall impact.

The Leisure Ethic Scale (Crandall and Slivken, 1980) was used to measure affinity towards leisure, or the extent to which respondents value leisure. According to the authors, those with scores higher than 25 (range = 10-40) are interpreted to have positive attitudes toward leisure and, therefore, to value leisure (see also Bem, 1970) . The Leisure Ethic Scale is a ten-item Likert type four-point scale. Respondents' choices are "completely agree," "moderately agree," "moderately disagree" and "completely disagree." Though the limited number of items raises some questions about the scale's psychometric qualities, it remains useful as a gross indicator of leisure affinity (Loesch and Wheeler, 1982) and demands less time and effort from respondents than other instruments which reportably measure leisure attitude (Howe, 1984). Crandall and Slivken (1980) reported test-retest reliability coefficients of .82, .59, .87, .85. Internal

consistency tested by Cronbach's alpha was .76 (Slivken, 1978). Additionally, their Leisure Ethic Scale has correlated significantly with other leisure affinity measures (correlations of .54 and .50 with Burdge's scale, and .55 with Neulinger's subscale of satisfaction with leisure).

The fourth instrument used in the study is the Perceived Freedom in Leisure Scale (Ellis and Witt, 1984). The scale's originators developed and tested a modified adult version of their instrument (Witt and Ellis, 1985). This version quantifies respondents' perceptions of freedom in leisure on 25 items using a five-point scale of responses ranging from 1 = "completely agree" to 5 = "strongly disagree." Mean scores are computed for the 25 items and higher scores indicate greater perceptions of freedom in leisure. Alpha reliability coefficients for the Perceived Freedom in Leisure Scale reported by Ellis and Witt (1986) ranged from .89 to .94. Significant correlations of .90 were found for a sample of middle aged adults. More recently, research with persons being treated for substance abuse and/or depression revealed significant alpha reliability coefficients for theoretically related measures of intrinsic motivation (.89), social desirability (.80), self as entertainment (.87) and perceived freedom in leisure (Ellis and Yessick, 1989). Previous studies show evidence of validity with measures of self concept and self esteem in nonpsychiatric populations (Witt and Ellis, 1985).

Chi-square, t-tests, analysis of variance, and hierarchical multiple regression analysis were used to detect differences in life structure, life experiences, the value of leisure, and perceived freedom in leisure among the subjects. Analyses were conducted using the SPSS-X statistical package.

Results

Life Structure Perceptions of Respondents

One-hundred sixty-eight subjects reported that they were structure-building and 129 responded that they were structure-changing. Seven subjects did not answered this question. A series of one-way ANOVAS was conducted using age as a continuous variable. These analyses indicated a significant difference between age and life structure ($F = 5.12$; $df = 2$; $p<.001$). The average age of structure-builders was 41.9, and structure-changers was 43.6 years. No significant differences between males and females and life structure were noted.

Life Event and Experiences of Respondents

Impact scores (the sum of positively and negatively rated events and experiences) were strongly associated with life structure in that respondents with positive impact scores were more likely to be structure-building and those with negative impact scores were more likely to be structure-changing [$F = (1.289)$; $df = 14.19$; $p<.0001$]. Structure-changers indicated a significantly higher sum of negative life experiences and also indicated a greater number of negative life experiences. Though nonsignificant, trends are shown in Table 2 regarding the F-ratios for analyses of variance, significance levels, percent variance explained using the eta squared statistic, and the mean scores for the life structure variable. In contrast, structure-builders had a significantly higher sum of positive life experiences and a nonsignificant tendency to indicate a greater number of positive life events.

TABLE 2

Analysis of Variance of Life Experiences and Life Structure

Variance	F-Ratio	n*	Significance and % Variance Explained	Means Structure Building	Means Structure Changing
Impact of Life Experiences	14.19	295	.05 %***	2.27	-1.47
Sum of Negative Experiences	6.61	289	.02 %**	-5.24	-7.39
Sum of Positive Experiences	4.40	295	.01 %*	7.46	5.95
Number of Negative Experiences	3.12	289	NS	—	—
Number of Positive Experiences	2.10	289	NS	—	—
Total Number of Experiences	1.85	289	NS	—	—

Note : The discrepancy in n's may be accounted for by the fact that a greater number of participants rated at least one life experience as positive.

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Leisure Variables

Valuing leisure was operationalized by using responses to the Leisure Ethic Scale. Respondents' scores ranged from 10 to 40 with an average respondent score of 25, thus reflecting the mid-point on the scale and affinity to leisure. The extent to which respondents valued leisure was moderately correlated with subjects' perceived freedom in leisure ($r = .28$, $p<.001$). However, no significant differences were noted between valuing leisure and life structure, sex, or age group. A significant difference between life structure and perceived freedom in leisure was found, as depicted in Table 3. Respondents who said they were

structure-building scored significantly higher in perceived freedom in leisure than did those who said they were structure-changing [F(1,287) = 7.42 ; p<.01 ; eta = .16].

TABLE 3

Differences Between Perceived Freedom in Leisure and Life Structure

Life Structure	Mean (SD)	F
Structure-Builders	3.8 (.50)	7.61*
Structure-Changers	3.6 (.47)	

*p<.01

Multiple regression analyses were conducted to predict subjects' levels of perceived freedom in leisure and valuing of leisure by using life experiences and demographic variables. Preliminary analyses to determine the extent of colinearity among predictor variables revealed that the sum of negative and the sum of positive experiences and the number of negative/positive experiences were substantially intercorrelated (correlations between these measures ranged from .17 to .95). Therefore, the *sum* of negative and positive events was chosen for entry in the multiple regression because it was of greater theoretical interest than the number of negative and positive events. A hierarchical multiple regression analysis was then conducted for the two leisure variables. In both analyses, two demographic variables, (age and sex), were entered first. This was followed by four life events and experiences variables (sum of negative experiences ; sum of positive experiences ; the total number of experiences occurring in prior year ; and a rating of negative or positive impact of each event).

The two demographic variables consistently predicted both perceived freedom and valuing of leisure. The predictability of perceived freedom in leisure was increased by the addition of the life events and experiences variables, with the multiple R increasing to .23 from .15 accounted for by demographic variables alone. In contrast, while the demographic variables predicted the leisure value variable significantly, adding the life events and experiences variable did not significantly increase the multiple R

Even though differences between the leisure value scores and age groups were nonsignificant in this study, the scores tended to decline with age. That is, those in the early middle age group valued leisure more than did the other age groups. Descending scores by age were also noted with perceived freedom in leisure scores. Again, while these findings were nonsignificant, a trend was for those in early middle age to perceive more freedom in leisure than did those in the older age group. Differences in the scores between groups are found in Table 5.

TABLE 4

Results of Hierarchical Multiple Regression to Predict Level of Perceived Freedom in Leisure and Leisure Value From Demographic and Life Experiences Variables

Dependent Variable	Multiple R	Step/ Variables Entered	Significance of Change in R^2	Semi-Bivariate Correlation	Partial Correlation
Perceived Freedom in Leisure (N=288)	.15	**Demographics**	p<.04		
		Age		-.14*	-.05
		Sex		-.03	-.15
	.23	**Life Experiences**	p<.056		
		Sum of Neg. Exp.		.05	..09
		Sum of Pos. Exp.		.11	.03
		Total Number Exp.		.15**	.11
Leisure Value (N=288)	.16	Demographics	p<.03		
		Age		-.12*	.10
		Sex		.11*	-.12
	.21	**Life Experiences**	p<.10		
		Sum of Neg. Exp.		.09	-.03
		Sum of Pos. Exp.		.01	.13
		Total Number Exp.		-.06	-.13

*p<.05 **p<.01

TABLE 5

Mean Leisure Variable Scores by Age Groups

Age Group	n	Leisure Variable: Leisure Ethic mean (SD)	Leisure Variable: Perceived Freedom in Leisure mean (SD)
early-middle (30-40)	113	25.3 (3.0)	3.8 (.55)
middle-middle (41-50)	136	24.9 (2.9)	3.7 (.46)
later-middle (51-60)	44	24.5 (2.6)	3.6 (.41)

11 Missing Cases

This finding suggests the importance of cohort and the value of socio-historical approaches in future research of this nature. Research methods which are directed toward cohort or intracohort variation analysis (Elder, 1979 ; Rosow, 1978) have been used in previous gerontological studies by researchers interested in the relation between social history and life history.

Conclusion

This study illustrated the degree to which middle aged adults value leisure and perceive freedom in leisure in light of their life events and experiences and their life structure. Results indicated that adults tended to both value leisure and perceive freedom in leisure. It was not surprising to find these two leisure variables moderately correlated as researchers have noted such a relationship among leisure variables in other studies. This study also examined whether these leisure variables were associated with actual life events and experiences, and self-report perceptions regarding individual life structure. Perceptions of freedom in leisure were found to be statistically related to perceptions of life structure.

Adults who were structure-building perceived greater freedom in leisure than adults who were structure-changing. This finding can be partly supported by the occurrences which take place during this process. When structure-building, an individual is making choices which reaffirm acceptance and commitment to one's life structure. The individual is feeling directed, confident, generally good, and freer than when structure-changing. In structure-changing, the individual is questioning previously made choices and decisions and one's present life structure in general. The individual is in a fluid, less committed state, engaged in examining one's life structure with the intent or expectation of making changes in it. The energy required and expended during structure-changing and the nature and importance of the search may act as inhibitors, thereby lowering perception of freedom in leisure scores. Levinson *et al.* (1978) stressed that in a transition period (structure-changing), the individual must terminate the existing structure, explore possibilities out of which new choices can be formed, and make the initial choices that provide the basis for a new structure. While individuals react differently to developmental transitions, it may be that the degree of involvement required of oneself during structure-changing is so great that the individual perceives less freedom in other life components (i.e. family, work), as well as leisure. This finding may also be masking individual differences in that data in this study were grouped for analysis. There is every reason to expect that case study analysis of individual subject's perceptions of freedom in leisure over time would show individual variability.

Perceptions of freedom in leisure were also shown to be affected by life events and experiences. Common adult experiences lack elements of freedom, choice, and control (such as the death of a parent due to illness, or the loss of a job due to layoffs). While one may conclude that this finding "makes sense," caution is called for because relationships are minimal, and earlier studies (Carpenter, 1988) found no significant relationship between perceived freedom in leisure and life experiences. It is not appropriate to assume that negative perceptions create constraints for individuals which result in lowering the sense of freedom or choice in leisure. Nor is it appropriate to assume that individuals

experiencing high degrees of negativity in life events and experiences would correspondingly perceive greater freedom in leisure. At this point, it does not appear that perceptual-realization of freedom in leisure can either be "weighed down" or "inflated" by the type or the impact of life events and experiences.

Future Research

It is important for leisure researchers to continue investigation efforts in search of what Osgood and Howe (1984) imply are patterns of leisure meanings and motivations across the life span. This exploratory investigation raises three issues which need to be addressed in future research. First, there is a need to develop longitudinal data sources in lifespan research related to the leisure experience during adulthood. Potentially important relationships can be obscured by cross-sectional studies examining variables related to change. Further, examining perceptions of freedom in leisure and leisure value in relationship to life structure and life events and experiences longitudinally is warranted because little is known about leisure as it functions within the unique fabric of individuals' lives over time.

A second issue concerns the concept of life structure as one which enables a better understanding of leisure during middle adulthood. Age and sex were persuasive in predicting both perceived freedom in leisure and leisure value. This finding may suggest support for age-linked developmental theory. Because age and sex were combined for analysis, age as a single variable having impact was not considered. Additionally, this study sought to explore leisure outside traditional age-linked theories, not to deny their importance to the body of knowledge, but to consider other theoretical options. It appears that the life structure construct has provided a useful framework because it has not only demonstrated differences between perceptions of freedom in leisure for adults, but it has also indicated adults value leisure about the same when engaged in either structure-building or structure-changing.

Third, researchers need to remain attentive to indications that leisure has the potential to act as a moderator variable to life experiences. There may be a resiliency or a consistency about leisure leisure that may set it apart from other life dimensions. In reviewing Levinson *et al.* (1978) and Gould's (1978) works, Iso-Ahola (1980) concluded that leisure experiences may "alleviate transitional problems" (p. 168) during adulthood. Since that time, his own work (Iso-Ahola,1992) and others' (Carpenter, 1989 ; Coleman and Iso-Ahola,1992 in press ; Delansky and Carpenter, 1992 ; Kleiber, 1985 ; Orthner,1975, 1976) are finding that leisure is helpful in coping with stress and adult developmental transitions. Leisure then, as a stabilizing component during periods of real or perceived change, becomes a rather important and positive aspect in adults' lives. If so, and in terms of this investigation, what is it about valuing leisure or

perceiving freedom in leisure that keeps it from being influenced by life events and experiences during middle adulthood?

It may be useful to develop a working profile of structure-builders and structure-changers. In doing so, the exploratory nature of this research must be taken into account, and the reader is reminded that these descriptions may not remain consistent with data collected longitudinally from the same subjects. Both structure-builders and structure-changers would tend to value leisure. The profile of the structure-building adult would include positive sums and impact ratings for the previous years' life experiences, and greater perceptions of freedom in leisure than the structure-changing adult. The structure-changing adult's profile would include a number of negative life experiences, more negatively rated, and thus having a greater negative impact upon the individuals. In addition, the structure-changing adult would perceive significantly less freedom in leisure when compared to the structure-building adult. The existence of these profiles and their accuracy in describing middle aged adults is worthy of future research effort.

Using the concepts of life structure and life experiences when examining leisure during middle adulthood allows researchers to consider leisure separate from life stages or age-related contexts. In doing so, the researcher becomes more interested in the "fluidity" of adult growth and development. Adulthood is viewed as a process, rather than by specific age related phases or stages. And the adult life process is one in which the adult's life structure evolves and changes through life experience. Within this context of life structure and life experience, how perceptions regarding leisure are effected becomes important in understanding adult leisure.

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Gaylene CARPENTER
Perceptions du loisir des adultes : expériences et structure de vie

RÉSUMÉ

La présente étude soulève deux questions. Premièrement, dans quelle mesure les adultes d'âge moyen accordent-ils de l'importance au loisir et lui associent-ils un sentiment de liberté ? Deuxièmement, quelle relation existe-t-il entre ces deux dimensions et les expériences de vie réelles ainsi que la perception de la structure de vie à cet âge ? Pour répondre à ces questions, un échantillon d'hommes et de femmes de 30 à 60 ans (N = 304) a été constitué. Ces sujets devaient remplir un ensemble de questionnaires composé des instruments suivants : L'évaluation de la structure de vie (Life Structure Assessment), l'enquête sur les expériences de vie (Life Experiences Survey), l'échelle de l'éthique du loisir (Leisure Ethic Scale) et l'échelle de la perception de la liberté en situation de loisir (Perceived Freedom in Leisure Scale). Les résultats indiquent que les sujets ont tendance à valoriser le loisir et à lui associer un sentiment de liberté. Ils révèlent également que la perception de la liberté associée au loisir – sans valorisation du loisir –, varie en fonction des expériences de vie et des perceptions de la structure de vie.

Gaylene CARPENTER
Adult Perceptions of Leisure : Life Experiences and Life Structure

ABSTRACT

This study examined two questions. First, to what extent did middle aged adults value leisure and perceive freedom in leisure ? Second, what was the relationship between valuing leisure, perceived freedom in leisure, and actual life experiences and perceptions of life structure during middle adulthood ? Male and female adults between ages 30 and 60 (N = 304) participated in the study by completing a questionnaire packet which contained the following instruments : The Life Structure Assessment , The Life Experiences Survey, The Leisure Ethic Scale, and The Perceived Freedom in Leisure Scale. Respondents tended to value leisure and to perceive freedom in leisure. Findings revealed that perceived freedom in leisure (but not valuing leisure) was associated with both life experiences and perceptions of life structure.

Gaylene CARPENTER
Percepciónes del tiempo libre de los adultos : experiencias y estructuras de vida

RESUMEN

El presente estudio resalta dos preguntas. Primera, ¿en qué media los adultos de edad mediana dan importancia al tiempo libre y la asocian a un sentimiento de libertad ? Secundo, ¿qué relación existe entre esas dos dimensiones y las experiencias de vida reales asi que la percepción de la estructura de vida a esta edad ? Para responder a estas preguntas, una muestra de hombres y mujeres de 30 a 60 años (N = 304) ha sido hecha. Estas personas debian rellenar un conjunto de cuestionarios compuestos de los instrumentos siguientes : La evaluación de la structura de vida (Life Structure Assessment), la encuesta sobre las experiencias de vida (Life Experiences Survey), la escala de la ética del tiempo libre (Leisure Ethic Scale) y la escala de la percepción de la libertad en situación de tiempo libre (Perceived Freedom in Leisure Scale). Los resultados indican que las personas tienen tendencia a valorizar el tiempo libre asociandolo a un sentimiento de libertad. Revelan igualmente que la percepción de la libertad asociada al tiempo libre – sin valor de placer – varia en función de las experiencias de vida y de las percepciones de la estructura de vida.

A Longitudinal Investigation of Mid-Life Men who hold Leisure in Higher Regard than Work

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Introduction

Work is an important value in contemporary society. The significant role which work has historically played in peoples' lives shows little, if any, decline in recent years. Major shifts in work patterns for the masses have not been realized. The so called four-day work week, presumed in the 1950's to be close at hand, has also yet to evolve (Schor, 1991). Historically, worker protests often centered around the lack of time left over for leisure after time expended for work (Hunnicutt, 1988). While time away from work does not guarantee that leisure will be realized, Shaw (1990) noted that the lack of free time or the presence of time stress were barriers to leisure. And without social restructuring of work time, free time for leisure becomes increasingly unavailable.

The work ethic continues to prevail as an important social value. Though it is argued that the work ethic is in crisis, no known society has lacked values relating to work (Rose, 1985). The work ethic is a reflection of values and of the meaning of work in a socio-historical context. Bryne (1990) sees the work ethic as a simplistic rationale for extremely complex human behavior that, when taken seriously, becomes a contractarian basis for obligation in a just society. As such, it can be questioned whether work is considered obligatory

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for all or only for some. Not all rational, responsible, knowledgeable persons would recognize or agree to an obligation to work (Byrne, 1990, p. 53). However it is true that while the debate goes on, most adults view working as a worthwhile lifetime activity.

The Centrality of Work

Few argue the centrality of work in contemporary industrial society (Byrne, 1990; Kelly, 1983; Meaning of Working International Research Team [MOWIRT], 1987; Parker, 1983). Not only is work an essential component of maintaining societies, it contributes to individual well-being across the life span. Self-esteem, goal accomplishment, sense of worth, and personal achievement are examples of some of the personal benefits obtained from working (Wigfield & Braskamp, 1985).

The centrality of work can also be seen in the amount of time it consumes. The average amount of time that people spend working is about one-third of their waking hours (MOWIRT, 1987). People often value work less for its own sake than for the sake of something else. Byrne (1987) found the reasons for working ranged from *for one's children* to *earning a living*. Whether individuals' goals are altruistic or pragmatic, working is an important fact of adult life experience. Both the activity of working and the outcomes received from working are considered of fundamental importance to most adults (MOWIRT, 1987). Generally speaking, work outcomes revolve around meaning and money.

The meanings individuals associate with working have relevance to the work experience. One way to identify meanings associated with working is to examine patterns of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Parker (1983) noted contrasting opinions by workers regarding their satisfaction with work. His work identified themes which portrayed a range of opinions. Themes associated with work satisfaction included feelings of creating something, using skill, working wholeheartedly, using initiative and having responsibility, mixing with people, and working with people who know their job. Dissatisfactions included doing repetitive work, making only a small part of something, doing useless tasks, feeling of insecurity, and being too closely supervised.

Most definitions of work include direct references to the economic significance of working. With an interest in economic well-being as well as other outcomes, extensive international research was conducted to examine the meaning of working (MOWIRT, 1987). Researchers defined working as paid employment, including self-employment. Common work referents such as housework, volunteer work, school work, and other services not involving the exchange of money were excluded. Guided by their primary research

question, what was the meaning of working for human beings in modern society, researchers gathered information about outcomes individuals seek from working and the functions that are served for the individual through the process of working. Noting that understanding working was a consequence of historical and contemporary influences, they were able to demonstrate patterns of work meanings for various groups within several industrialized countries (Belgium, Britain, Germany, Israel, Japan, Netherlands, United States, and Yugoslavia). What they found can be helpful in explaining why adults may be satisfied with some jobs and not with others. Of the functions or outcomes of working they identified, income-producing was perceived as the most important function by the labor force in every country studied. The other functions in order of importance were the intrinsic or self-expressive function of working; the time-occupying function of working; and the status and prestige-producing function of working (p. 112).

The research further validated the relative importance of working, that is *work centrality*, by asking study respondents to assess the significance of working and the general importance of working with other major life areas. Work centrality was obtained by using a seven-point Likert scale to gather responses to the question, "How important and significant is working in your total life?" Respondents were asked to assign a total of 100 points to the following areas in order to obtain the importance of work with other aspects of life:

- Leisure (like hobbies, sports, recreation and contacts with friends)
- Community (like voluntary organizations, union and political organizations)
- Work
- Religion (like religious activities and beliefs)
- Family (MOWIRT, 1987, p. 83)

In combining findings for analyses, the MOWIRT researchers found that patterns of work meanings were definable evidenced by the concepts of work centrality, entitlement, obligation, intrinsic or expressive, and interpersonal contact. To elaborate, respondents could be grouped according to patterns in their responses. The researchers named the largest group the *instrumental pattern* and it included people who placed importance on the income provided by working. Though work did not occupy a very central place in their lives, it was the means for acquiring income. These people placed a low value on intrinsic aspects of their work. The next group in terms of size was called the *expressive work centrality pattern.* These people stressed the importance of working where they could express themselves. Work was central in their lives and income or pay was not stressed as an important outcome of working to them. The third group, *entitlement and contact orientation pattern* were high

on the right to work as opposed to the duty to work and they placed a high value on the social contact dimension of working. The last group, the *low entitlement pattern,* was made up of people scoring extremely low entitlement orientation to working and a medium obligation orientation.

The researchers indicated that these patterns provided a parsimonious set of hypothetical models for the assignment of meaning to working. They also acknowledged that there was a great deal of diversity in the distribution of these models in different countries and for different groups. For example, and of relevance to the present study, those in the US sample showed low entitlement orientation pattern. The researchers further acknowledged that important antecedents to the identification of the MOWIRT patterns would include such things as biographical variables, work history, and present job situation. Certainly the differences and influences would vary greatly among the various national samples in their study. But their research in this area provides a framework by which studies about the meaning of work can be applied and in particular, to the study discussed in this paper.

In examining contemporary claims regarding the salience of the work ethic, Rose (1985) found evidence of other patterns which have relevance to this investigation. He noted signs of lower work commitment amongst white-collar professional workers. It was his belief that this reflected a redistribution of value priorities relevant to work, a long-term re-negotiation of such value-stresses as *achievement* or *success*, and a shift in responsiveness to various rewards of types of control in the workplace.

Work, Leisure and Mid-life Adults

The work-leisure relationship remains one of the more important relationships to study (Parker, 1983). Work has played an important role in cultural and social evolution (Rose, 1985). Parker noted the work-leisure link positions work over leisure, thus setting an hierarchy which likely influences values orientation.

Even with the prominence of work, some workers at certain points in their lives may value leisure to the extent that they will abandon work for leisure. Popular literature and the media have recently cited numerous examples of middle aged adults who at mid-life have chosen to "down-shift" or "disengage" from full time work. Citing various reasons, most of which revolve around personal reassessment of one's values at mid-life, these individuals have been able to voluntarily change the pattern of their lives to fit their lifestyle preferences in spite of the predominant and long standing social pattern. Yet their numbers are very few and little empirical data exist for studying their lives more closely. In characterizing amateurs in his work on serious leisure, for example, Stebbins (1992) indicated that they would avoid jobs that

interfered with their leisure. Making this choice suggests that some adults are willing to live outside the norm in order to gain leisure.

Adulthood is often referred to as the *establishment period* and is that time in a person's life when roles and identities associated with work, family, and leisure are defined (Kelly, 1983). Family and economic production are central roles and experiences during adulthood. Kelly noted that while leisure is an important role during this time period, it was viewed as complementary to work and family. Most men and women participating in a longitudinal study of leisure across the life span during middle adulthood ranked leisure second or third to family and work every year for ten years (Carpenter, 1997). Others have noted similar findings with respect to the importance of work and leisure. Parker (1983) noted that when workers were asked to choose between more income and more leisure, they chose more income in their desire to work more hours through overtime. Work is identified with the means for earning a living. Work is income-producing activity; leisure is not. Increasing one's standard of living contributes to the family role of which adults typically have responsibility. Attempts to segment components in people's lives can be difficult at best. The domains of work, leisure, popular culture, and productive activity in every day life overlap (Calagione, Francis, & Nugent, 1992; Samdahl, 1988; Samdahl & Kleiber, 1989).

However studies show that adults frequently make changes during mid-life based partly upon reassessment of their traditionally held values related to family, work, self, and leisure (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978). MOWIRT (1987) found that a lessened desire to work was one of the best predictors of early retirement. The meanings adults associate with their work and leisure are in large part unique to their life situation and defined by their life experiences. Researchers must be willing to examine relevant values within the context of adults' lives over time especially when those individual's values do not fit the norm.

Theorists have yet to closely examine this phenomenon of adults who value leisure more than work. Instead, their research has focused on the more likely occurrence for adults, and in particular men, of making mid-life career changes (Filene, 1981; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978; Mayer, 1978; Vaillant, 1977), rather than men who leave their careers specifically for leisure. The choice of using one's work as a means to pursue one's leisure, or of retiring at mid-life rather than changing careers, remains relatively unexplored. These choices, made with little regard for the social predominance of the work value, brings with it a kind of "time windfall" for leisure during mid-life which is somewhat comparable to the free time during one's childhood or adolescence. In making the choice, the individual clearly shows evidence of valuing leisure and its outcomes over the importance of work and its outcomes. It therefore becomes salient to examine such

life choices in order to more fully understand how leisure can be valued and experienced during mid-life.

The purpose of this study was to examine the choice to disengage in work in order to pursue leisure. More specifically, the study identified perceptions associated with leisure and work in order to examine these perceptions in terms of their meaningfulness and importance. The exploration took place within a life span context which placed importance on perceptions about life experiences and individual life structure. In addition, the choice of disengagement was viewed over time with the adults in the study, thus enabling researchers to consider how the choice might have evolved. Of importance in this exploratory study was to gain insight into why and how such non-normative choices were made, in hopes of shedding light on how adults actualize life decisions regarding important life values.

Method

Data necessary to complete this investigation were acquired from a longitudinal research project called *A Study of Leisure During Adulthood* (*ASOLDA*). This is a ten-year study which began in 1987. It is designed to examine change and continuity in leisure and life perceptions of middle aged adults (Carpenter, 1992a; 1992b). Study participants included 84 middle aged adults who originally agreed to participate in the long term research project (male = 33; female = 51). Participation involved completing a lengthy questionnaire each year for the duration of the study. Participants were also invited to have an interview with the Principal Investigator. To date, 81 remain in the study and 66 of these agreed to participate in the interview phase of the study. Two participants died during the study period and one asked to be excluded from the study for lack of interest. Primary variables in the study include leisure attitude; valuing leisure; perceived freedom in leisure; life experiences; wants out of life; ranking family, work, and leisure; and life structure. Data obtained in the interviews were expressive in nature and used to clarify or highlight emerging quantitative patterns.

The case-study approach was used for this study. Case-study is a general term that refers to the description and analysis of a particular entity (Bromley, 1986). The entity in this instance was a work-leisure situation and the focus was on work patterns and perceptions, and leisure values and perceptions. Often what constitutes a case is determined in part by a situation that deviates from the norm. Such is the case in this investigation. Bromley (1986) noted that studying people in situations necessarily included description and analysis of constraints and opportunities existing in those situations. Case studies are the preferred research strategy when "how" and "why" questions were being posed and when the focus was on a contemporary phenomenon

within a real-life context Yin (1984). The psychological case-study is a scientific reconstruction and interpretation of an episode (or set of related episodes) in a person's life (Bromley, 1986). This investigation focused on the incidents and life events associated with valuing leisure more than valuing one's work to the extent that work was either *used* in order to experience leisure, or work was *ceased* in order to experience leisure.

Research Questions

In general, the study sought to explore the meaning of work and leisure in men's lives by examining their long term perceptions of both concepts. Specifically the study addressed the following research questions:

(a). In what order do the men rank the important adult values of family, leisure and work?

(b). To what extent do the men value leisure and hold positive leisure attitudes?

(c). What are the men's most important wants out of life?

(d). Do the men feel they have the necessary time for leisure?

(e). To what extent do the positive or negative impacts of the men's life experiences include work and influence other perceptions?

(f). How do the men's perceptions of life structure influence their perceptions of leisure?

Study Participants

For this investigation it was essential to obtain study participants who valued leisure over work to the extent that they altered their work patterns and deviated from the norm displayed by others in their cohort. Two single men participating in *ASOLDA* met the criteria. The men were selected because a review of their longitudinal data indicated patterns of responses which showed they valued leisure over work. While not to be considered a representative sample of single men at mid-life, nor of the men (married or not married) in the larger study, the study participants did share a number of common characteristics felt to be relevant to this study. As a result, their life experiences and lifestyle choices could be reasonably compared as they shared a similar frame of reference. While they did not know each other, both had lived and worked in close geographic proximity for their entire lives. Both held professional employment positions that each had obtained shortly after college graduation. Both men had worked for the same employer for more than twenty-five years. Their salaries were somewhat similar. Neither had ever been married. Both were Caucasian.

Besides similarities in their demographic characteristics, both had striking similarities in a number of their perceptions regarding leisure and work, suggesting similar leisure lifestyles. However, they chose to disengage in work differently. The first man remained on the job while purposefully disengaging in his work and rearranging his work schedule in order to pursue leisure. The second man retired early at age 50. Unlike the other study participants, both men consistently held leisure in higher regard than work throughout the data collection period.

Instrumentation

Two means of data collection were used. First, quantitative data were collected for seven years (1987-1993) as part of the *ASOLDA* research project. Second, semi-structured, one-on-one interviews between study participants and the Principal Investigator were conducted in 1994. The interviews allowed clarification of accumulating quantitative data, solicitation of participants interpretation of longitudinal patterns of responses, and the gathering of additional respondent perceptions regarding the meanings associated with leisure and work during middle adulthood.

Data necessary to address the research questions were gathered over a seven year period using several means of measurement. All quantitative data were collected on the questionnaire used for *ASOLDA* during 1987 through 1993. This questionnaire was mailed to study participants each September. Included was a postage-paid envelope for returning the completed questionnaire. Both men participated in the interview phase of the study in 1994. Questions asked and areas of discussion were posed by the Principal Investigator for *ASOLDA* and based upon respondents sequentially collected data on the questionnaire for the preceding seven years.

The instruments used for this investigation were based upon the variables being explored (i.e. ranking leisure; valuing leisure; leisure attitude; wants out of life; time for leisure; life experiences; and life structure). Though the *ASOLDA* data provided data from seven years of the men's lives, not all variables used in this study were included on the questionnaire for all seven years. In the second year of *ASOLDA*, several items of measurement were added to the questionnaire. For the purpose of this study then, seven years of data is available for exploring the variables for leisure attitude, life experiences, and life structure; and six years of data is available for ranking leisure, valuing leisure, wants out of life, and time for leisure.

Ranking Leisure. Ranking the importance of three adult life values was obtained by simply asking the men to rank family, leisure, and work in order of importance (1st, 2nd, and 3rd).

Valuing Leisure. The extent to which the men valued leisure was assessed by using a globally stated question about valuing leisure developed for *ASOLDA* by Carpenter (1992a.). It asks, "Generally speaking, I value leisure this much". The respondent records a response along a continuum anchored by the words Low and High. Responses along this continuum are later placed on a four-point scale (1 = low; 4 = high) so that responses can be compared with scores obtained on the next measurement tool. Next, leisure attitude was measured using the *Leisure Ethic Scale* developed by Crandall and Slivken (1980). This instrument, a 10-item scale, measures affinity toward leisure, or the positivity of respondents' attitudes toward leisure. Questions on the scale consist of statements about leisure. Respondents are given higher points for agreeing with positive statements about leisure and fewer points for agreeing with negative statements about leisure. It is scored on a four-point scale enabling respondent perceptions of valuing leisure and leisure attitude to be easily compared. Researchers expect measurements of value and attitude to be closely correlated because personally held attitudes are a reflection of personal values (Bem, 1970).

Wants Out of Life. Respondents indicated their important life values using an instrument called *List of Values* (*LOV*) developed by Kahle (1983). The *LOV* asks respondents to rate, on a scale from one to nine (1 = very unimportant; 9 = very important) each of the following wants out of life: Sense of Belonging, Excitement, Warm Relationships With Others, Self-Fulfillment, Being Well-Respected, Fun and Enjoyment in Life, Security, Self-Respect, and A Sense of Accomplishment. Then the respondent circles the one want that is the most important to him in daily life.

Time for Leisure. Time for leisure was measured by asking respondents to complete these two sentences: (1) "On an average, how many hours of leisure per week do you presently experience?" and (2) "On the average, how many hours of leisure per week would you prefer to experience?" Hourly responses were computed for analysis.

Life Experiences. In order to compute the positive and negative impact of life experiences, respondents completed the *Life Experiences Survey* (*LES*) created by Sarason, Johnson, & Siegel (1978). The *LES* was developed to quantify the effects of life changes during adulthood. It is a modified version of an original instrument developed by Holmes and Rahe (1967) which was designed to measure stress. The instrument allows respondents: (1) to specify which life experiences listed on the survey occurred to them during the previous twelve months; (2) to add items (i.e. other life experiences) which may not be listed; and (3) to rate the positive or negative effect that experience had on them on a scale ranging from +3 to -3. The sum of positive and negative ratings can be computed to reflect the impact of life experiences.

Four of the 47 items on the *LES* specifically relate to work. Respondents would only check those experiences if they occurred that year and then, they rate the impact on the scale mentioned above. These items include a changed work situation; new job; trouble with employer; and retirement.

Life Structure. Participants perception of individual Life Structure was obtained by using the *Life Structure Assessment* (*LSA*) designed for *ASOLDA* (Carpenter, 1992b). Levinson *et al.* (1978) found the concept of life structure useful in understanding transitional periods during adulthood. They found that at any point in time, an adult's life has a unique structure, pattern or design to it that could be said to be the person's life structure. Throughout mid-life development, Levinson and his colleagues noted that adults move through alternating periods of time characterized by either questioning or not their life structure. When questioning occurred, it was usually around issues associated with personal values, previously made life decisions (such as jobs or relationships), and direction on personal journey through adulthood. They called these alternating periods of stability and change as *structure-changing* as those times individuals were questioning their life structure; and as *structure-building* as those times when individuals were not questioning their life structure. The *LSA* was developed in order to assess perceived change in one's life structure. Because it was felt that most adults were not familiar with the concept of life structure, the *LSA* contained a description of the process of life structure and its elements of structure-building and structure-changing. Following this description, study participants were asked to identify which life structure descriptor best reflected their present condition.

Data obtained for this study were quantified for analyses and comparisons. Interviews with the men were conducted independently in early spring 1994. At the time of the interviews, seven consecutive years of quantitative data for each man were available for discussion and reaction. Data gathered from the interviews were transcribed and later analyzed. Specific statements about work and leisure that the men made were noted as were comments made in responses to questions and topics of discussion during the interviews. Common themes were identified and categorized and held for further analysis and comparison with quantitative data generated from the questionnaire. Individual cases were developed prior to descriptive and comparative analysis.

Results

Pseudonyms will be used in reporting the results and discussion portions of this paper. Ronny will be used when referring to the study participant who disengaged in his work while on the job. Jeff will be used for the man who retired early at age 50. Ronny aged from 52 to 58, and Jeff from 45 to 51 during the study period. Both men had fully participated in all phases of data collection.

Ranking Leisure

Though their work played a major role in their single lives, more often than not, their leisure was held in higher regard as evidenced by the consistent pattern of their responses for to the importance of leisure. Both men ranked leisure well above work and family in terms of its importance to them for the six years that question was asked. The only exception was for Ronny. During the fourth year of data collection, he ranked family first, leisure second, and work third. Ronny's responses also showed that he ranked work second (and family third) during years two and three (see Figure 1). For him, work was always ranked after leisure in its importance. Figure 2 shows that Jeff rated leisure first, family second, and work third consecutively for every year of data collection. Jeff always ranked leisure first in its importance to him above family. He always rated work third.

Valuing Leisure and Leisure Attitude

Both men displayed high scores in valuing leisure and in leisure attitude. Average scores ranged from 3.6 to 3.8 on the 4-point scales. Figure 3 shows that Ronny's responses on leisure attitude for seven years averaged 3.6 (Range = 3.3 to 3.8) and for valuing leisure over six years averaged 3.8 (Range = 3.5 to 4.0). Jeff's responses, shown on Figure 4, on leisure attitude for seven years averaged 3.7 (Range = 3.0 to 3.9) and for valuing leisure over six years averaged 3.7 (Range = 3.5 to 4.0). Both men demonstrated a high valuing of leisure and very positive leisure attitude throughout the course of the study.

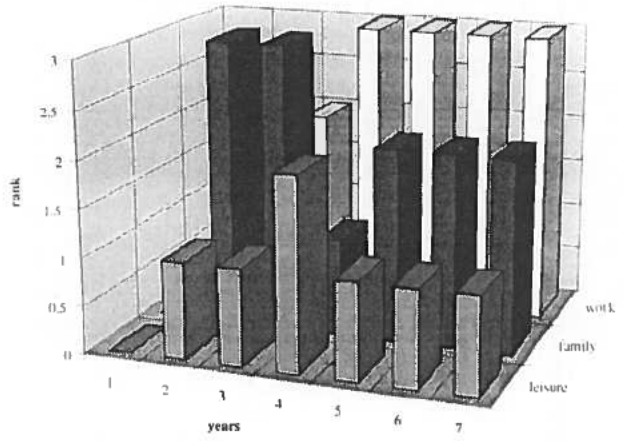
During the interview phase of data collection, the men reinforced their high regard for leisure. For example, Ronny expressed that "Work holds little meaning to me. The value of my leisure is getting away from work – it's an escape from the workplace." He also said that he found "that I can more easily engage in my leisure than my work". Jeff emphasized that he looked at "work as a way to pay for my toys". He talked about how leisure was "all of my own free will, rather than there being any restrictions on the freedom to do what I like and with whom I like", implying the latter feelings were associated with his work.

Wants Out of Life

Table 1 lists the three important wants out of life from the *LOV* for Ronny and Jeff over six years. It also shows the most important wants the men designated in the years they did so. The men differed somewhat in their responses to important life values. Ronny rated self-fulfillment, self-respect, and a sense of accomplishment highest over six years. When asked to circle the one most

FIGURE 1

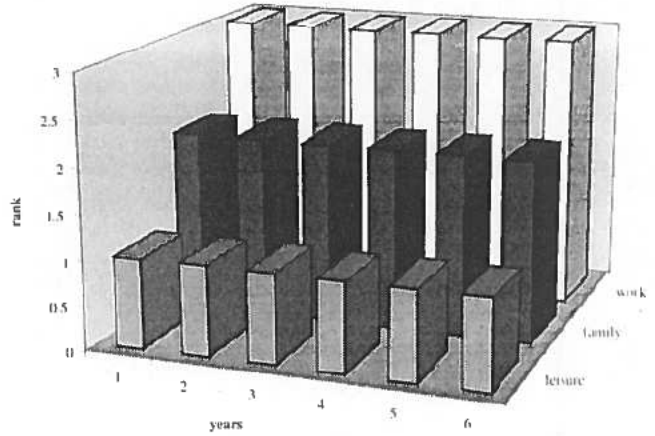
Ranking the values of family, work, and leisure for Ronny for years two through seven



Note: Data not collected in year one.

FIGURE 2

Ranking the values of family, work, and leisure for Jeff for years two through seven



Note: Data not collected in year one.

FIGURE 3

Leisure attitude scores for years one through seven and valuing leisure scores for years two through seven for Ronny

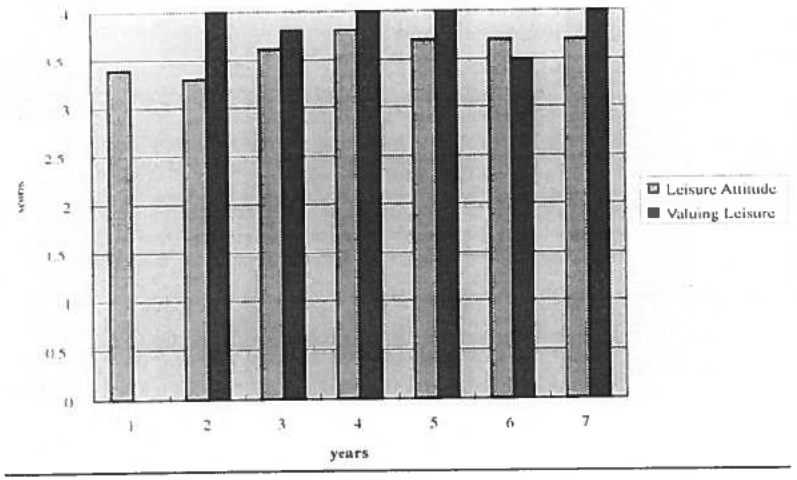
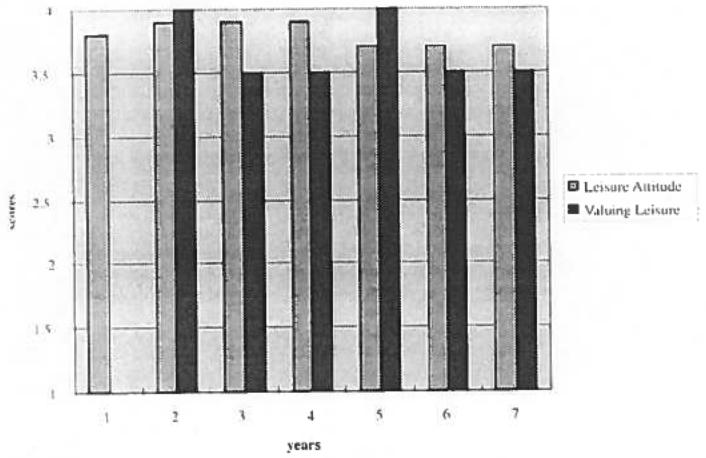


FIGURE 4

Leisure attitude scores for years one through seven and valuing leisure scores for years two through seven for Jeff



important want, he indicated security in year 2; self-respect in year 3; self-fulfillment in years 4 and 5; and did not select his most important in years 3 and 6. Jeff rated excitement, fun and enjoyment, and self-respect as his highest wants out of life over the six years. He indicated his most important wants were fun and enjoyment in years 5 and 7; self-respect in years 2 and 3; and did not choose in years 4 and 6.

TABLE 1

Important Wants Out of Life from the List of Values for Ronny and Jeff

	Ronny	*Jeff*
The Three Important Wants Out of Life (1988-1993)	self-fulfillment self-respect sense of accomplishment	excitement fun and enjoyment self-respect
The Most Important Want Out of Life	security-(1988) self-respect-(1989) self-fulfillment-(1990, 1991)	fun and enjoyment-(1991, 1993) self-respect-(1988, 1989)

Note: Respondents did not consistently single out their most important want in each year of data collection.

Time for Leisure

Though time for leisure does not necessarily result in leisure, both men would have preferred more time for leisure than either of them had at the time of the study. Ronny would have preferred one-quarter more time than he had. Jeff would have preferred one-third more time over six years than he had except in the seventh year, which was the first year in early retirement, when he felt that he had the same amount of time for leisure as he wanted.

Impact of Life Experiences

The men varied in terms of their scores with respect to the overall positive or negative impact of their life experiences. Ronny accumulated a total negative impact score of -35 by assigning more negative than positive points to his life experiences over seven years. Jeff accumulated a total positive impact score of 5 by assigning more positive than negative points to his life experiences over the same seven years.

When comparing life experience impact scores to valuing leisure and leisure attitudes, only minor changes were noted. It did not appear that valuing leisure or leisure attitude was influenced by positive or negative perceptions

regarding the impact of personal life experiences. Whether a man was perceiving that he was having a good year in terms of his life experiences, or a poor year, his feelings about leisure remained essentially the same. For example, Ronny scored 3.7 for years 5, 6, and 7 on leisure attitude. His valuing leisure scores were 4.0, 3.5, and 4.0 for the same three years. His life experience impact scores for the same three years were –14, 15, and 2. Looking at these same three years for Jeff showed that he scored 3.7, 3.7, and 3.7 on leisure attitude; 4.0, 3.5, and 3.5 on valuing leisure; and –4, –1, and 6 on life experience impact.

With respect to life experience impact ratings that were specifically related to work experiences, Ronny indicated an impact score of –13 just for work-related life experiences (a change at work rated 1 in year 2, and –3 in years 3, 4, 5, and 6; and trouble with employer rated -2 in year 1). This –13 accounted for about one-third of Ronny's overall life experience impact score. Jeff recorded an impact score of 4 on the same work-related life experiences (change at work rated 1 in year 1, rated –3 in year 5, and 3 in year 7; and retirement rated 3 in year 7). Table 2 depicts work-related life experiences impact scores for Ronny and Jeff over the study period. It also shows work-related life experiences impact ratings and sums.

TABLE 2

Work Related Life Experiences Impact Scores for Ronny and Jeff

Ronny		*Jeff*	
Positive Ratings		*Positive Ratings*	
change at work		change at work	
1988	1	1987	1
		1993	3
		retirement	
		1993	3
Negative Ratings		*Negative Ratings*	
trouble with employer		change at work	
1987	–2	1991	–3
change at work			
1989	–3		
1990	–3		
1991	–3		
1992	–3		
Impact Scores on Work Related Life Experiences	–13		4
Overall Impact Scores on All Life Experiences	–35		5

Life Structure

It was also noted that valuing leisure and leisure attitude scores were not influenced by the men's perceptions regarding their individual life structures. This was true even though both men fluctuated between believing they were structure-changing and structure-building their individual life structures at different times throughout the study period. Both men's perceptions of life experience varied a fair amount. In the first five years of data collection, Ronny indicated that he was structure-changing. Then in the last two years, he was first structure-building, then structure-changing. Jeff's pattern showed a degree of fluctuation, but with a pattern. Two years structure-building, followed by one year structure-changing, then two more years of structure-building, followed by one year of structure-changing. The seventh year showed Jeff in structure-building again.

Related Findings

The type of work each man performed may provide additional insight into meanings they attached to their leisure. When asked to describe when he was at leisure, Ronny mixed his responses even between when "I am doing something enjoyable" and when "I am performing". His motivation to seek leisure was more likely to "relieve stress" or to "escape work". He felt that much of his work had become meaningless over the years. Ronny's leisure activities were centered around his interest in performance and theater. Because the nature of his work enabled him to schedule work activities at any time, he was able to pursue his leisure interests during what would be considered traditional work hours. Thus, he could typically make day time auditions and rehearsals if necessary. All he had to do was rearrange his very flexible work schedule. Ronny is making plans to retire in the near future. It is of interest to note that prior to his present career, Ronny wanted a career in the performing arts. Now at mid-life, he had figured out how to do both.

Jeff's work required on-site attendance with little flexibility in arranging his work schedule. In describing when he was at leisure, Jeff was most likely to do so by distinguishing that from work. His job included traditional work hours, in shared office space, primarily sedentary in nature, following a long commute to the workplace. He said that he was at leisure when "I am not working", "not doing something related to my work", or "not working at my job". Work, he described, involved doing what "someone else wants me to do" and not "doing what I want to do". These non-work responses were mentioned in four out of six times the question was asked. Jeff would seek leisure when he was bored and he had many and varied leisure pursuits over the study period. These activities ranged from high-risk recreation to more passive and varied types of hobbies.

Summary and Discussion

Leisure was found to be important to the two single men described in this study, and more meaningful than their work. While not suggesting causal implications from the findings, there is evidence that the importance of leisure in some ways influenced these men's work situations and life experiences. One man retired well in advance (15 years) of the traditional retirement age for men (age 65) and the other was finding ways to pursue his leisure while disengaging in his work. The men demonstrated consistent, long-term patterns of valuing leisure over work even to the point of expressing their disdain over their work situation on occasion. Both men also demonstrated positive attitudes regarding leisure in their lives over the duration of the study.

The men differed in their opinions of other values of importance to them at mid-life. Both shared self-respect as an important value. Ronny valued self-fulfillment and sense of accomplishment, perhaps reflected in his leisure avocation and interest: the theater and performance. Having many of the qualities of serious leisure (Stebbins, 1992), Ronny recognized that if it weren't for the nature of work which allowed for flexible scheduling to accomplish work tasks, he would not have been able to pursue his leisure related passion for performance. The autonomy in Ronny's work place facilitated his ability to pursue leisure.

Jeff's work situation was constrained and lacking in the autonomy that Ronny's had, but he made up for that by retiring early. In retiring early, Jeff looked forward to a life of leisure. Jeff valued fun and enjoyment, and excitement in his life. Retirement held opportunities for him to maintain interest in hobbies and other forms of recreation. Early retirement assured him of having plenty of time in which to develop various competencies, awarenesses, and new leisure pursuits. He longed for a life far away from the restrictions inherent in the workplace, the long commute to work, and the tedious nature of his work itself. Pottick (1983) noted in her research that those who valued fun-enjoyment-excitement appeared to adapt least well to work and job roles. This would be true for Jeff. He didn't like his work or the workplace very much. Pottick also noted that those who valued accomplishment and self-fulfillment seemed particularly involved in their work. But, she went on to clarify that those who valued accomplishment, adapted particularly well to work roles and those who valued self-fulfillment seem to seek change in their personal work situation. Again, this appears to be the case for Ronny. He had both adapted well on the job and found ways to change and restructure aspects of his job in order to positively influence his leisure interests.

During the study, Jeff was finally able to realize all the time he wanted for leisure by retiring early. Ronny, even though he integrated leisure with

his work responsibilities, had yet to realize the time he desired for leisure. The notion that men who have worked all of their adult lives may have difficulty in adapting to lives of leisure as they grow older is challenged by the experiences of the men in this study.

It is also noteworthy that the importance of leisure for the men in this study was maintained over time and in light of positively and negatively rated life experiences. The findings of this study support the notion of resiliency which has received recent attention by leisure researchers. Perceptions regarding leisure appeared relatively unaltered by positive or negative life experiences. The men's ranking leisure, valuing leisure, and leisure attitudes remained consistent given Ronny's wider and Jeff's narrower range of negative and positive life experiences impact scores. This resiliency found in leisure may partly account for the buffering effects of leisure noted by other researchers (e.g. Carpenter & Delansky, 1992; Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993) in studying various factors associated with adult life experiences.

The view that leisure is a subjective experience, rather than leisure is activity pursued or available free time, was reinforced by the findings in this study. The variables under investigation required study participants to make judgments regarding the importance of leisure to them in their lives. That individuals would be willing to share their perceptions regarding leisure over seven years is further evidence to the value they place on leisure.

Asking adults at mid-life how important leisure is to them, and then how much they value it in relationship to other values in their lives, provides a way to explore the meanings they attach to leisure. Then to determine whether positively and negatively perceived life experiences, or whether perceived life structure has an impact on those meanings further enables researchers to clarify leisure's importance across the life span. The results of this study provide further evidence of the developmental nature of leisure during adulthood (Freysinger & Ray, 1994; Kleiber, 1985). Because leisure appeared to maintain its meaningfulness for the men in this study, there may be reason to suggest that leisure as subjective experience during middle adulthood may well lend a sense of continuity and stability to one's life experiences and perceptions.

Points for Additional Discussion

This study raises a number of points for discussion related to gender, economic advantage, and voluntary or involuntary restructuring. For example, as more and better opportunities for women have occurred, many mid-life women are now finding themselves at the point of reevaluating their lives (Morris, 1995). Critical to our understanding of ways in which shifts in social values influence contemporary adult lifestyles, will be the continuation of studies of women's

experiences. Because the social expectations and opportunities for women in the work force have historically been different, we can expect that findings with respect to their career and leisure perceptions and choices will differ. Of interest in this investigation was that only two men in *ASOLDA* consistently held leisure in higher regard than work. They were not the norm and thus, were singled out to study. The majority of women participants in *ASOLDA* have been more likely than men to hold leisure in higher regard than work. Factors related to life experiences and the meanings attached to leisure and work by women continue to hold keys to understanding leisure.

Another point for discussion is to question whether being ever single provides a lifestyle advantage to persons by mid-life in careers where they exercise a good degree of control over their work or life situation. Bromley (1986) purported that human behavior was a function of the interaction between personal characteristics and situational factors. As this study demonstrated, besides being single and having professional careers, both men consistently rated leisure in a positive light across time in this study. In addition to valuing leisure and being single, neither men had to spend the money that men married or divorced, or with children, spouses, or partners, would have to during mid-life. Thus, from an economic standpoint, it can be suggested that Jeff could afford to choose early retirement over full time work; and that Ronny could "afford" to disengage in work in order to pursue leisure both because the workplace afforded degrees of freedom and control over a more traditional 9-5 job.

This leads to considering whether a kind of "mid-life social privilege" operates for adults fortunate enough to have professional careers and few financial responsibilities other than for oneself. The many examples of adults at mid-life who *downshift* and *disengage* in work tend to be of those who have experienced successful careers in hi-tech or sales positions with high salaries (*Time*, 1991; *Utne Reader*, 1991). Less frequently are adults earning lower incomes and hourly wage positions able to "downshift". And many workers appear caught up in patterns or cycles of unemployment (Glyptis, 1994; Lobo & Watkins, 1994). Should this enforced leisure occur, then the so called *coming of the age of leisure* for middle-aged baby boomers will come only to the wealthiest among us. And should this downshifting luxury become the norm, questions regarding social equity issues and equalization of opportunity for education and employment will need to be addressed.

Although the men in this study voluntarily chose to disengage at work or retire early, those options do not exist for many others. Organizationally-initiated downsizing and restructuring has created a non-working life for a number of middle-aged workers. Some of these workers will begin new or altered careers, suggesting that the value and importance of work is essential to them. It can be presumed that others who also value work, might be unable

to remain in the work force because of a scarcity of jobs or lack of jobs suited to their skills. This situation will very likely be problematic in psychological adjustment during middle age for these persons. The men in this study greatly valued leisure, and at times even displayed a distaste or disdain for work. Valuing leisure and disliking work may be the pre-condition to disengaging in work or seeking early retirement for men at mid-life. If so, these conditions must be recognized as essential in the positive adjustment to not adhering to the primary social work pattern for middle-aged men. We might argue that the men, because they so greatly value and want leisure, would more easily adapt to organizationally-initiated downshifting had that happened.

In conclusion, it would seem that in addition to placing a high regard on leisure in their lives, the men in this study had additional benefits in their work situations which may be atypical for other men and women in mid-life. Whether these benefits may have contributed to their higher regard for leisure than work can not be fully determined given the data in this study. However the findings do suggest plausible explanations for why Ronny was able to disengage in his work in order to pursue leisure, and why Jeff was able to retire from work so early in mid-life.

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Gaylene CARPENTER

Recherche longitudinale sur la préférence accordée au loisir par rapport au travail par des hommes au milieu de leur parcours de vie

RÉSUMÉ

Cette recherche porte sur la perception à long terme qu'ont du loisir et du travail deux hommes d'âge moyen. Ces hommes ont été sélectionnés en raison de la stabilité de leur préférence pour le loisir pendant une longue période de temps. Les variables suivantes ont été analysées à partir de données longitudinales : le rang du loisir, la valeur du loisir, les attitudes de loisir, les attentes face à la vie, le temps de loisir, l'impact des expériences de vie et la perception d'une structure de vie individuelle. Cette étude visait à analyser le choix effectué par ces deux hommes de se retirer du marché du travail pour se consacrer à leur loisir au milieu de leur parcours de vie. Les résultats montrent que ces sujets ont préféré le loisir au travail pendant les années couvertes par l'étude, et que cette tendance s'est maintenue malgré les expériences positives et négatives de leur vie, les changements de perception de leur structure de vie et les modifications de leurs attentes face à la vie.

Gaylene CARPENTER

A Longitudinal Investigation of Mid-life Men Who Hold Leisure in Higher Regard Than Work

ABSTRACT

This study examines perceptions about leisure and work over time for two men at mid-life. The men were studied because they showed a consistent, long term pattern of valuing leisure more than work. Using longitudinal data, variables under investigation included ranking leisure, valuing leisure, leisure attitude, wants out of life, time for leisure, impact of life experiences, and perception of individual life structure. The purpose of the study was to explore the mid-life choice these two men made to disengage in work in order to pursue leisure. Findings demonstrated that the men held leisure in higher regard than work over the study period. This pattern was maintained through positive and negative life experiences, perceptual changes in life structure, and varying selections of most important wants out of life.

Gaylene CARPENTER

Investigación longitudinal sobre la preferencia otorgada a la recreación en relación al trabajo de los hombres a la mitad de su trayectoria de vida.

RESUMEN

Esta investigación trata sobre la percepción a largo término que tienen de la recreación y del trabajo dos hombre en edad media. Estos hombres fueron seleccionados a causa de la estabilidad en cuanto a su preferencia por la recreación, durante un largo período de tiempo. Las siguientes variables fueron analizadas a partir de datos longitudinales: el rango de la recreación, el valor de la recreación, las actitudes de recreación, las expectativas respecto a la vida, el tiempo de recreación, el impacto de las experiencias de vida y la percepción de una estructura de vida individual. Este estudio tenía como objeto analizar la escogencia efectuada por estos dos hombres de retirarse del mercado de trabajo para consagrarse a la recreación, a la mitad de su trayectoria de vida. Los resultados muestran que estos sujetos prefirieron la recreación en lugar del trabajo, durante los años que duró el estudio, y que esta tendencia se mantuvo a pesar de las experiencias positivas y negativas de su vida, los cambios de percepción de su estructura de vida y las modificaciones de sus expectativas, en relación a los aspectos de la vida.

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