Unit- III ,VI sem, Urban culture notes

Urban culture

What is Urban culture

Urban culture is the culture of towns and cities. The defining theme is the presence of a great number of very different people in a very limited space - most of them are strangers to each other. This makes it possible to build up a vast array of subcultures close to each other, exposed to each other's influence, but without necessarily intruding into people's private lives.

Urban culture means the architecture, attitudes of the people, customs, beliefs, and overall atmosphere and sense of connection you get when you go into the main city or town area of the city you visit. There are many different types of cultures and usually by assessing an area's culture you can tell things like the temperament of the people in that area, the overall vibe, mood and setting, including how open the people are to change and the types of change that they are aiming for. All of these things can affect or exhibit how well educated they are, how healthy they are and usually have a strong correlation to what they value.

EMERGING PATTERNS OF URBAN CULTURES

Well into the 20th century conceptions of the city often proceeded as if there were only one authentic or typical form. From his research on the city in Europe's Middle Ages,

Henri Pirenne, for example, argued in *Medieval Cities*(1925) that two characteristics were fundamental to the development of an urban culture: a bourgeoisie, or middle class, that depends on trade for both wealth and political autonomy from nonurban feudal power holders; and a communal organization of the urban citizen that creates the municipal integration necessary to free the city from control by local feudal lords or religious authorities. Although it has often been taken as a general definition of the city and urban culture (whence the commonsense notion that cities must fulfill commercial functions), Pirenne's

formulation was deficient because only the European medieval city and its urban culture were taken as typical of the "true" city.

Max Weber in *The City* (1920) provided another definition of the city, similar to Pirenne's, when he contrasted "Occidental" with "Oriental" urbanism. According to Weber, five attributes define an urban community: it must possess (1) a fortification, (2) a market, (3) a law code and court system of its own, (4) an association of urban citizenry creating a sense of municipal corporateness, and (5) sufficient political autonomy for urban citizens to choose the city's governors. Weber believed that Oriental cities rarely achieved these essential characteristics because familial, tribal, or sectarian identities prevented urban residents from forming a unified urban citizen able to resist state control. Even with regard to the Occident Weber's definition would exclude almost all premodern cities, for the urban autonomy he required existed only in northern Europe and Italy and, even there, for very short periods of time at the end of the Middle Ages. The result was an overly limited conception of urban cultures, from which it was extremely difficult to generate a cross-culturally valid understanding.

SIMILAR TOPICS

In the 1940s Robert Redfield, strongly influenced by Louis Wirth and other members of the Chicago school of urban ecology, conceived of the urban as invariably impersonal, heterogeneous, secular, and disorganizing. In the folk-urban model, as set forth in his article "The Folk Society," Redfield contrasted this image of city life with an image of the folk community, which he characterized as small, sacred, highly personality, and homogeneous. He presumed that as individuals moved from folk community to city or as an entire society moved toward a more urbanized culture, there would be a breakdown in cultural traditions.

Urbanizing individuals and societies would suffer from cultural disorganization and would have higher incidence of social problems like divorce, alcoholism, crime, and loneliness.

Redfield's conception of the city depended on the urban research carried on by sociologists in American industrial cities, predominantly Chicago. He ethnocentrically assumed that their findings could be generalized to all urban cultures. Subsequent research indicated that this conception was in many

respects wrong even for American industrial cities. In spite of being generally ethnocentric and specifically inadequate for American cities, this conception still holds sway over much popular thinking, which conceives of cities, in all cultures and all times, as centres of bohemianism, social experimentation, dissent, anomie, crime, and similar conditions—whether for good or bad—created by social breakdown.

Gideon Sjoberg (*The Preindustrial City, Past and Present*, 1960), in the next step toward a cross-culturally valid understanding of cities, challenged this conception of urban culture as ethnocentric and historically narrow. He divided the world's urban centers into two types, the preindustrial city and the industrial city, which he distinguished on the basis of differences in the society's technological level.
Preindustrial cities, according to Sjoberg, are to be found in societies without difficult machine technology, where human and animal labour form the basis for economic production.
Industrial cities be in the majority in the modernized nations of western Europe and America where energy sources from fossil fuels and atomic power phenomenally expand economic productivity.

preindustrial urban culture differed markedly from its industrial counterpart: the preindustrial city's neighborhood were strongly integrated by personality ties of ethnicity and sectarian allegiance; it maintained strong family connections, and social disorganization was little in evidence; churches or other sacred institutions dominated the skyline as well as the cultural beliefs of the urban place; and the major urban function was imperial administration rather than industrial production.

Although Sjoberg's conception of a preindustrial urban type was a major improvement over previous urban definitions, it too suffered from overgeneralization. Sjoberg collapsed urban cultures of strikingly different sorts into a single undifferentiated preindustrial city type—for example, the cities of ancient empires were conflated with present-day urban places in the Third World. Past urban cultures that did not readily fit the Sjoberg conception, such as the

autocephalous (self-governing) cities of early modern Europe, were disposed of as temporary and unusual variants of his preindustrial type rather than important varieties of urban culture.

Robert Redfield and Milton Singer

In "The Cultural Role of Cities," Robert Redfield and Milton Singer tried to improve on all previous conceptions of the city, including the one Redfield had himself used in his folk-urban model, by emphasizing the variable cultural roles played by cities in societies.

Redfield and Singer delineated two cultural roles for cities that all urban places perform, although with varying degrees of intensity and elaboration. Cities whose predominant cultural role is the construction and codification of the society's traditions perform "orthogenetic" functions. In such urban cultures, cadres of literati rationalize a "Great Tradition" of culture for the society at large.

The cultural message emanating from Delhi, Paris, Washington, D.C., and other capitals of classic empires or modern nation-states functions to elaborate and safeguard cultural tradition. By contrast, cities whose primary cultural role is "heterogenetic," as Redfield and Singer defined it, are centers of technical and economic change, and they function to create and introduce new ideas, cosmologies, and social practices into the society. In cities like London, Marseille, or New York, the intelligentsia challenge old methods, question established traditions, and help make such cities innovative cultural centers.

TYPES OF URBAN CULTURES

The following typology of urban cultures depends on a conception of cities as centers for the

performance of cultural roles found only in state-level societies. Such societies, in contrast to the nonurban cultures previously discussed, have inequalities in economic wealth and political power, the former usually evidenced by class divisions, the latter by specialized institutions of social control (ruling elites, government bureaucracies). Because cities do not occur in societies without state organization, the terms "urban cultures" and "state-level societies" are closely

linked—the former emphasizing belief patterns, the latter stressing social organization in such societies.

State-level societies differ in the nature and extent of economic and political inequalities, and this variability accounts for the different types of urban cultures and cultural roles adduced below. The labels for the types of urban cultures denote the predominant cultural role played by cities in this urban culture—thus, "ritual city" or "administrative city." Obviously, cities in any society combine some amount of ritual role with administrative functions. The rationale for the labels used below, however, is that given particular constellations of inequalities, certain urban cultures come to exist and certain cultural roles of cities come to characterize or typify them. Thus, the label "administrative city" typifies the major (but not exclusive) cultural role played by cities in agrarian empires, whereas "industrial cities" represents the dominant urban cultural role in capitalist nation-states.

The typology below draws a major distinction between urban cultures that existed before the development of the world capitalist system in the 16th century and those that came after. Before the world capitalist system developed, state-level societies were not integrated in an economically unequal relationship. The advent of the capitalist world system led to a specialized world economy, in which some state-level societies represented the core and others represented the economically, and often politically, subservient periphery. Before the world system, urban cultures differed mainly on the basis of internal differences in political and economic inequality. After the world system, urban cultures, in addition, differed according to their placement in either the core or the periphery.

Urban cultures before the capitalist world system
The ritual city

Ritual cities represented the earliest form of urban centre, in which the city served as a centre for the performance of ritual and for the orthogenetic constitution and conservation of the society's traditions. Ritual was the major cultural role of such cities, and through the enactment of ritual in the urban locale, rural regions were bound together by ties of common belief and cultural performance.

The early forms of urbanism in the pristine civilizations of the Old World and Mesoamerica, which Wheatley refers to as "cult centres," conform to the ritual city type. Other examples of ritual cities can be drawn from ethnographies of the urban culture of the Swazi in southeast Africa, Dahomey in West Africa, and Bali before the Dutch conquest. In most areas of the world this form of urban culture was quickly succeeded by more complex types.

Ritual cities were found in urban cultures that have been called "segmentary states" or "primitive states." Such states had minimal development of class stratification and political coercion. Although segmentary states had rulers, such as a chiefly lineage or a priesthood, control over land and other means of production remained with clans, lineages, or other kin-based groups outside the rulers' domination. Political authority and economic wealth were therefore widely dispersed.

Limited political centralism and economic coordination meant that the ritual, prestige, and status functions of the state loomed large. Segmentary state rulers were symbolic embodiments of supernatural royal cults or sacred ritual ones. They—their courts and temples—provided a model of the proper political order and status hierarchy that was adhered to throughout the otherwise weakly cohered segmentary state. Through the awe they inspired, they extracted gifts from the rural populace with which to sustain their royal or priestly election.

The cultural forms of ritual cities centered on the cult centres, temple complexes, or royal courts that dominated their physical space and defined their urban role. As the rulers' habitation, the ritual city spatially embodied the role of the sacred and ceremonial in defining the urban culture. The everyday population of the city consisted of those bound to court or temple by family, official duties, or craft and ritual specializations; at ceremonial times, people from the surrounding rural areas temporarily swelled the urban area. Therefore, rather than individualism, secularism, or impersonality, the calendrical round of state rituals, kingly ceremonies, divine sacrifices, sacred celebrations, feasts, funerals, and installations defined urban life, rendering it sacred, corporate, and personalistic.

The city as ritual centre made for strong rural–urban solidarity. Because in the segmentary state power and wealth were dispersed rather than concentrated in the city, there existed no intrinsic antagonism between country and city. Consequently the orthogenetic message of tradition and sacredness broadcast

from the city throughout the urban culture had a unifying effect, forging a solid rural–urban bond.

The administrative city

Like ritual cities, administrative cities were the habitations of the state rulers. Their major cultural role was to serve as the locus of state administration. State offices and officers had an urban location, from which they exercised a political control and economic exploitation of the surrounding rural areas quite unknown in ritual cities. Administrative cities also had a qualitatively different demographic and social complexity. They contained large populations, densely settled, often ethnically varied, with heterogeneous occupations. Such cities were nodes of communication and transportation and centres of commerce, crafts, and other economic functions for the surrounding countryside.

Administrative cities occurred in agrarian empires, state-level societies associated with the early civilizations of Hindu and Muslim India, China, and Egypt, as well as the Mamlūk Middle East, Tokugawa Japan, Alexandrine Greece, and other expansive territorial states before the advent of the world capitalist system. These states had rulers with great powers of political coercion, which they used to maintain a high level of inequality in wealth between the state ruling elite and the primary producers, the peasantry. This type of urban culture rested on how effectively the state could exploitatively control peasant agricultural productivity for maintaining the elite. The urban administrative cultural role was the major means to this end.

The administrative city brought together the political, economic, transport, and communications functions and institutions necessary for this rural rapine. For just as the state elite preyed on the peasant, so the administrative city's flamboyant architecture and monumental public works ultimately rested on what could be taken from the rice paddies of the Japanese cultivator or the wheat field of the Indian peasant. There also grew up urban populations that converted the wealth taxed from the rural area into a sumptuous life-style for the urban-resident state elite: artisans and artists, of various levels of reputation. This gave rise to the poor of the city and, often, institutions to help govern and subdue them, such as municipal governments. Merchants also were necessary to convert the peasant's grain payments into cash. Administrative cities commonly tried to restrain the

wealth of urban merchants from fear that such riches might be converted into political power.

As the links between coercive state and oppressed peasant grew stronger (that is, as the two became more unequal), the urban cultural practices (for the elite) became more separated from those of the countryside. The urban area concentrated a sophistication, an elaboration of custom and ideology that marked it off from the rural, which now was defined as rustic. Alongside the elaborate, the monumental, and the beautiful, which distinguished the administrative city's architecture, elite entertainments, and general cultural forms from those of the countryside, however, there was also an overwhelming poverty in the city's artisan and servant wards.

The administrative city had some of the properties commonly attributed to cities: it was a locale for cultural elaboration and monumental building, a repository of great wealth but also of extensive poverty, and a heterogeneous locale, both occupationally and in terms of ascriptive identities based on ethnicity, religion, caste, or race. But it was not disorganized or impersonal. Family, guild, and ethnic group framed the allegiances that defined the basic unit of urban cultural practice, the city quarter, which for the urban nonelite functioned with many of the characteristic cohesions of the peasant village.

The mercantile city

Mercantile cities appeared at the geographic margins or at times of dissolution of agrarian empires—for example, in medieval and early modern Europe, after a decentralized feudalism had fully replaced the Roman Empire. This urban type is thus a variant form that appeared, under particular conditions, in the urban cultures that also contained administrative cities. The mercantile city's links with the wider culture were disjunctive rather than, as with the administrative city, supportive. A class of powerful and wealthy merchants not completely beholden to the state rulers grew up in such cities and, left unchecked, could grow strong enough to effectively challenge the state rulers. This merchant class, and the mercantile cities it occupied, depended for their wealth and political autonomy on the profits of international trade, money lending, or investment in cash cropping of export agricultural commodities (as, for example, vineyards and olive groves in the Mediterranean). The city produced wealth and capital in its own right rather than simply sucking it from rural agriculture. Such wealth provided an avenue for

political power separate from that offered by the revenues derived from the peasantry. Often, therefore, urban magnates and state power holders or rural gentry stood in strong opposition, each trying to control—or absorb—the wealth and power of the other.

Mercantile cities varied in the extent of legal, fiscal, and martial autonomy they enjoyed. At their most developed, they conformed to the definitions of "true" cities provided by Weber and Pirenne. They enjoyed independent municipal government, sported urban fortifications, fielded citizen armies, and even subdued surrounding rural magnates. In less developed (generally earlier) mercantile cities, urban independence was not so great: for example, urban trading capital depended on intermarriage with rural magnates or came from rural moneylending. Even in such cases, however, rural resources were put to novel uses in the urban setting.

The cultural role of mercantile cities grew out of their independent economic productivity and their political autonomy. They played a very strong heterogenetic role. They were strongholds of a merchant class and other social strata based on acquired wealth, against the landed aristocracy of the agrarian empire. Because they were often under attack from the aristocracy, these cities came to symbolize freedom and social mobility: "city air makes one free." Being embattled, mercantile cities also became bastions of cultural innovation. Urban cultural form emphasized achievement, and urban politics involved shifting factional alignments. Given the volatility of commercial operations, leading families rose and fell rapidly, and plutocracies, quite fluid in membership, came to rule these cities. The poor artisans and small traders too were more independent than in administrative cities, and through occupational or sectarian associations, like guilds, they demanded and won political concessions.

Although places of innovation, achievement, freedom, and mobility—traits that they share with industrial cities—mercantile cities were neither impersonal nor secular. The extended family was the major institution organizing business firms, political coalitions, and much elite social life. Other corporate institutions, like guilds and religious fraternities, joined city dwellers into highly personalized, ritualized associations that downplayed individualism and secularism in the city.

Given the commercial conditions and the difficult class oppositions that set the cultural context for mercantile cities, they proved evanescent and fragile, usually

reverting under state intervention to administrative cities, in which the merchant magnates and their wealth came under the control of state rulers.

Urban cultures since the capitalist world system

Beginning in the 15th century, the Age of Discovery, Europeans carried the capitalist system burgeoning at home to distant places, whose labour and productivity were harnessed to the European core in an unequal, colonial relationship. The result was the capitalist world system, as Immanuel M. Wallerstein in *The Modern World-System* (1974) terms it. There was increasing economic and productive specialization among the world's regions, as a pattern of unequal exchange developed between the industrial commodities of the advanced European nations (at the world system's core) and the raw materials from underdeveloped Asia, Africa, and the New World (at the world system's periphery). By the 18th century a worldwide urban culture had come into existence. It took variant forms of economic, political, and urban organization in the colonizing core and in the colonized periphery. Although the following discussion treats urban cultures in the core and in the periphery separately, it must be remembered that they—and the urban cultural roles that typify them—form an interactive unit.

The industrial city

Industrial cities appeared after the full development of industrial capitalism in the core nation-states of the late 18th-century world system. Their urban cultural role fit well with the capitalist economic order that came to dominate all other social institutions. Capitalism depended on the production of commodities through wage labour in the interests of capital accumulation. The city became a centre of such production processes and the location for the industrial factories in which this production most typically took place. It was also the residence for the other "commodity" necessary to its productivity, wage labourers. Ancillary urban functions—banking, wholesale and retail trade, transportation and communications nodality—grew up to expedite the factory production or the provisioning of the labour force.

Rapid population increase through in-migration characterized the growth of the industrial city. The most salient aspects of urban cultural forms grew up in the neighbourhoods that housed the newly urbanized labour. Populations with very different cultural characteristics came together in the city, such as the Irish in the British Midlands or the many ethnic groups that formed the urban American melting pot. Ethnic and racial ties often provided the links for migration chains, and they helped recent migrants find jobs, housing, and friendship in a new environment. These ties often resulted in ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods among the working class.

Two contradictory patterns of organization and conflict characterized this urban population. One pattern grew out of the dense settlement of the working class in the industrial city. Residential aggregation helped organize large-scale working-class protest in the interests of better working conditions and wages. The other, contradictory, pattern consisted of ethnic or racial exclusiveness and competition within the working class. Ethnic or racial residential segregation often provided the base for competition among members of the working class for jobs and urban locations convenient to the workplace. Characteristically, one ethnic population in the industrial city guarded its neighbourhood against invasion by another—or, in times of rapid economic growth and social mobility, ethnic succession, wherein an upwardly mobile ethnic population would leave its neighbourhood to a newly urbanizing ethnic grouping, would occur. The retention or strengthening of ethnic or racial identities in industrial cities commonly took place under these conditions.

The industrial city is the terminus for two conflicting processes emanating from the capitalist character of the wider society: capitalist investment in urban property for profit making, and class conflict. The former process subjects the human and natural environment to the interests of capital accumulation; the latter makes for the formation of urban neighbourhood associations, ethnic associations, and other sorts of class alliances that organize local resistance to this profit taking. The city then becomes a battleground for these opposing forces. Castells in *The City and the Grassroots* (1983) has studied a range of social movements in present-day American and European industrial cities that arose in resistance to capitalist rationalization of the urban environment. The resistance can take different forms but includes attempts to preserve public services or public spaces for their use value against a capitalist rationality that would privatize and put a price tag on them—that is, this resistance aims at making

municipalities rather than private enterprise responsible for provisioning good schools, recreational facilities, museums, and parks. Other forms of resistance consist of attempts to preserve the cultural identity of neighbourhoods and subcultures against residential blockbusting and attempts to develop neighbourhood decentralization so that the urban population takes control over its own living environment.

The mass-communications city

The industrial city, consonant with the rise and consolidation of capitalism in the western European and North American core nations, appears to be rapidly giving way to what has been termed the mass-communications city in the advanced industrial nations. Cities such as New York, London, Tokyo, and other metropoles increasingly perform a primary cultural role as centres of managerial control, based on high-technology mass communication and data processing, over far-flung manufacturing activities. Old urban manufacturing centres in the core of the capitalist system, like Birmingham, Eng., Detroit, and Glasgow, have declined as their role in industrial production has become less important.

The movement toward the mass-communications city has to do with changes in the urban culture of the core brought on by changes in the world system since the 20th century began. This development of "late capitalism," "monopoly capitalism," or the "welfare state," as it is usually labeled, depended on the investment of capital from the core to generate industrial production in the periphery, usually through the institution of multinational corporations. The cultural role of core cities is shifting away from manufacturing as they come to house the advanced means of communication and data analysis necessary to manage this worldwide industrial production.

The mass-communications city ceases to be primarily a habitation of the industrial working class. Instead, those working mainly in high technology industry and service (the middle class) define urban cultural forms. For example, suburbanization and gentrification, two characteristic urban residential patterns of the middle class, become important cultural forms in such cities. Both show the emerging importance of the new social class and the provisioning of new urban spaces (the suburbs) or the renovation of old ones (gentrified inner cities) for it. Again, these new urban locales represent the larger capitalist society, in that they are locales for profit making as well as arenas of class

resistance. Harvey in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience* (1985) argues, for example, that the suburbanization process typical of American cities, especially after World War II, was motivated by the need to foster a new life-style of consumption to negate problems of capitalist overproduction. It also minimized class violence by spreading population out from the old, dense, inner-city neighborhoods. These suburbs, however, once created in the service of capitalist profit making, can become the locales for resistance against further capitalist rationalization of urban space and against the inroads of welfare statism on local decision making.

As the mass-communications urban cultural role further develops in the advanced industrial societies and industrial production is exported, whatever urban manufacturing continues must meet the competition of imported commodities. Various new means of urban labour use develop to make production cost-effective. For example, manufacturing is left to the lowest strata of the urban population, either illegal migrants, such as Mexicans or Haitians in the United States, or the most underprivileged of the national population, such as American blacks, or foreign workers, such as eastern Europeans or Turks in France, who do not have full citizen rights. Often, manufacturing that once was done in factories is now done in homes as a way of minimizing costs, especially by avoiding government regulations and taxation. Thus, because they work at home or because they are illegal migrants or because they are subject to racial prejudice, the labourers have little legal protection and welfare support. In the face of this massive insecurity they depend on extensive mutual-aid networks, in which the poor share the risks of poverty among themselves. Their abject condition—and their attempts at security—mirror the practices of poor shanty-town dwellers in neocolonial cities, as described below.

Colonial and neocolonial urban cultures
The colonial city

Colonial cities arose in societies that fell under the domination of Europe and North America in the early expansion of the capitalist world system. Thecolonial relationship required altering the productivity of the colonial society in order that its wealth could be exported to the core nations, and colonial cities centralized this function. Their major cultural role was to house the agencies of this unequal relationship: the colonial political institutions—bureaucracies, police, and the military—by which the core ruled the colony, and the economic

structure—banks, merchants, and moneylenders—through which wealth drained from colony to core.

Bombay and Calcutta under the British, the European trading cities in China and West Africa, the British East African and Dutch East Indian urban centres for the collection of plantation crops—from the 18th through the mid-20th centuries—represent this urban type. The core capitalist nations implanted colonial cities as new growths into preexisting precapitalist state societies in many world regions, just as they altered the societies by making them unequal participants in world capitalism. The resulting urban culture represented a novel amalgam of the core and the periphery, with qualities not found in either parent culture.

This new combination was most in evidence in the elite population of the colonial city and its cultural forms. For example, new classes and urban lifeways appeared among the indigenous population. Most of the time the cultural role of the colonial city required the creation of an indigenous urban lower-middle class of merchants, moneylenders, civil servants, and others who were educated to serve the colonial political and economic establishment. For instance, Thomas Babington Macauley, a British Indian administrator in the mid-19th century, hoped to create an elite through Western-style education that was "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect." The colonial educated lower-middle class often attempted to reform its culture in line with that of the colonizing power, most often through new urban institutions like schools, welfare associations, and sectarian or secular reform groups. A generation or so later, this class transformed by these urban institutions, commonly formed the leadership of nationalist, anticolonial movements. Thus, the colonial city, which began as an instrument of colonial exploitation, became a vehicle of anticolonial protest through this lower middle class and the cultural institutions, schools, newspapers, and other urban cultural forms it had constructed.

After World War II many new nations in Asia and Africa gained independence. Although no longer the direct political colonies of Western countries, these urban cultures and their cities continued in a dependent economic relationship with the advanced industrial nations.

The neocolonial city: The latest type of urban development in the periphery of the capitalist world system, or what is often called the Third World, is the neocolonial

city. This urban type has arisen in relation to the development of monopoly capitalism and the mass-communications city in the core. Export capital from advanced industrial nations has created enclaves of industrial production in Third World cities, thus replicating in these urban places many of the cultural roles played by the industrial city in the core. There are urban factories and urban-resident wage labourers. There is a developing infrastructure of urban transport and communication by which these commodities and labourers are allocated. There is massive urban-ward migration from neighbouring rural areas.

The neocolonial city, however, does not exactly duplicate the cultural role of the industrial urban type precisely because of its dependent relationship with the core. One major difference is that the commodities produced in neocolonial cities generally are destined for export rather than for home consumption, except perhaps by a small home elite. The neocolonial city does not serve an indigenous hinterland; it serves the wider world economy. Its rural environs are important only because they provide a large and readily available labour supply.

The large-scale urbanization in the neocolonial city differs from the urbanization that characterized the industrial city earlier. It gives rise to what has been called the informal economy in these cities. The informal economy consists of urban services and products provided by the neocolonial city's poorest denizens, the petty hawkers, the shoeshine boys, the household help, the rag pickers, and others who form a class of petty commodity producers and sellers. The common image of these people is highly pejorative: they are marginal to the city, usually unemployed and often criminal, unmotivated and dysfunctional to urban life, characterized by a "culture of poverty" that, at the same time, makes them accept their wretched condition and keeps them in it. Their marginality is often said to be exemplified in theshantytowns, tin can cities, or squatter settlements that they build at the borders of the city and that blight it. This "myth of marginality" as Janice Perlman calls it (*The Myth of Marginality*, 1976) obscures the importance of shantytown inhabitants in defining the nature of the neocolonial city.

To compete successfully in the world market, commodities manufactured in Third World cities have to be less expensive than the comparable items produced in the core. Wage labour in the industrial sector of these cities is considerably cheapened because many services and small commodities that wage labourers require are supplied through the informal economy. AsLarissa Lomnitz indicates in *Networks and Marginality: Life in a Mexican Shantytown* (1977), recent rural

migrants and shantytown dwellers act as maids, gardeners, and handymen to the industrial workers and the middle class at costs well below what would be charged if the formal sector supplied these services (comparable to domestic labour and baby-sitting supplied well below minimum wage in the core nations).

The informal urban economy never provides security, and the inhabitants of shantytowns in neocolonial cities have had to develop cultural means of survival over the hard times that commonly befall them. Rather than being places of anomie, shantytowns are made up of highly intimate webs of relationship and mutual dependence, based on carefully fostered kinship, ethnic, sectarian, or friendship networks. These networks succor those temporarily out of money and provide some security for those otherwise economically unprotected, who have neither job security nor welfare institutions to fall back on, given the informal sector work that they do.

These networks, which are in fact adaptations to the exigencies of neocolonial cities, often appear as survivals from the peasant or rural backgrounds of the shantytown dwellers—they are said to be "peasant urbanites" rather than truly urbanized, and this image incorrectly strengthens the notion of their marginality. The tribal identities found among recent urban migrants in African cities are actually instances of "retribalization," a strengthening or redefinition of tribal identity to form networks among urban migrants for mutual aid. Similarly, extended family networks may not disappear in the city; they became wider and stronger among Mexican shantytown inhabitants, for example. New sectarian identities can play an equivalent role: Bryan Roberts in *Cities of Peasants*(1978) shows that the growth of Pentecostal and other Protestant sects in Guatemala fulfills needs for mutual support networks in poor neighbourhoods and for those without kin ties.

Although shantytown inhabitants in the informal economy are impoverished and insecure, it is not certain that they can organize and struggle for better urban living conditions, as did wage labourers in industrial cities. Whereas some scholars have argued for the revolutionary potential of this class, others are persuaded that it does not form a proletariat and will not engage in revolutionary confrontation. The fact that the people who live in shantytowns are "self-employed" and do not enter a wage relationship with the urbanites whom they provide with services apparently limits class antagonisms. Furthermore, both the middle class and shantytown dwellers often perceive their real enemies as the

Western imperialist nations or the national government said to be in league with international capital. This perception recognizes that the travails of all classes in the neocolonial city have more to do with external economic relationships in the world economy than class exploitation within the city.

Ethics of consumerism in India.

Introduction.

Over the last ten or twenty years, more and more people around the world. Primarily in industrialized countries, have become better informed and ore aware of the origins of the goods they purchase on a day-to-day basis, the buying policies and practices of the shops they visit and the policies and principles of the services they buy. In a growing number of cases, this increased awareness and knowledge is affecting consumer practices and may be the difference between someone buying a particular product or service or not. There are number of reasons for this development, which is commonly referred to as " ethical consumerism", or also "ethical consumption ", "ethical purchasing", "moral purchasing", " ethical sourcing", "ethical shopping:, "green consumerism". Fundamentally, ethical consumerism is a form of consumer activism, in other words , consumers taking responsibility for their decision in p purchasing goods and services.

Two key elements that have contributed to this developed and that are interrelated are the significant and rapid progress in Information and Communications Technologies, particularly internet-based , and the role of the media in exposing bad practices in global supply chains of goods and service . if consumers log on to the internet today and carry out a search on : ethical consumerism" or " ethical trade", they will get thousands of hits of web sites with information on these issues or specialized retail goods and services advertised as either "ethical" or " fair trade". In addition, there are articles nearly every day in many newspapers and magazines on life stories of exploited workers,

sometimes children, who make products which are eventually sold in the west at many times the small amount of money they are paid in wages. All of which contributes to a very confusing picture for the average consumer, who is bombarded
With messages of what to do or not to do. Trade unions. Charities and other civil society organizations the world over run regular campaigns to inform consumers of how the products and service they buy are manufactured, farmed or otherwise provided and produced . the aim is to highlight the significant profits made by companies and others on the backs of workers in developing countries, pointing out that a very obvious way to tackle poverty and inequality around the world would be to ensure that everyone enjoys decent working conditions and benefits from a living wage, access to adequate public services, particularly education, health and social protection, and a fulfilled and meaningful life. In this way, the fundamental principles of ethical consumerism are directly linked to the need for companies to be socially responsible in all aspects of their business activities and for governments to apply and monitor the application of international convention relating to human rights and appropriate labour, social and environmental standards.

In essence, therefore, "ethical consumerism" applies to the intentional purchase by a consumer of products and services that have been manufactured, processed or provided through ethical means, in other words, with minimal harm to or exploitation of humans, animals and or the natural environment. Put simply, it is about buying products and services that are made and distributed under ethical conditions by companies that behave in an ethical and socially responsible manner, Ethical consumerism is practiced through "positive buying" in that ethical products , for example, those branded "fair trade", are favoured over others.

Decisions Model Of Ethical Consumers

According to Rob Harrsion, (founding director of the Ethical Consumer Reached association) there are four factors which are regarded to be most important when influencing the purchasing decisions of ethical consumers. As shown in figure 1.1 Decision Model of Ethical Consumer below, are the identified four factors;

- Governments : inform ethical consumers by certifying, creating legislation and publishing related information, and data of the relevant research to the public.
- Campaign Groups: can provide useful tools for ethical consumers, such as labels to assist in identifying ethical products, while updating information and data necessary
- Private Sector: influence s consumers by both alternative companies and mainstream companies. Alternative companies can provide identity to ethical consumers while the mainstream companies can create a fashion or trend to attract more consumers to the ethical market.
- Specialist Ethical Consumer Publications: informs ethical consumers according to three main sources which are campaign group publication, specialist ethical consumer organizations and mainstream consumer's association.
Culture is often defied as " the essential character of a society that distinguishes it from another".

Trompenaars (1994) stated culture operates within a group, is learned (often through generations). Influences the basic thinking process of groups of people. And describes common behaviors and values that groups of people may exhibit under certain conditions. Consequently, a fourth cultural dimension above the national culture can be identified, which represents the " supra" level. The highest level of culture comprises nationalities sharing political systems , ethnic roots, religious values, and economic standards. It distinguishes four level of culture : on the "macro" – level is located national culture, "supra culture" – shared by nations with similar economic systems and development, ethnicity, religion, "Mesoculture" shared by groups or communities , example a professional group or industry, with in a macro culture and on the "micro" – level the organizational culture is referenced. Consequently, a fourth cultural dimension that is above the national culture can be identified. This "supra" – level of culture comprises nations sharing economic standards, ethnic roots, religious values, etc. Therefore, national culture can not be understood independently from the economic system, stage of economic development, religion etc. while supra – and macro cultural factors represent the wider cultural environment, meso and micro cultural forces

constitute the closer cultural environment. This distinction is significant because the two cultural environments differ in the way in which values are learned, as well as in value endurance and their impact on behavior . the various cultural levels, which can not be seen isolated from each other but influence each other.

The modern conception of culture focuses directly on observable behavior. It recognizes that culture not only predisposes the individual towards certain behavior , but also eliminates other behavior. Consequently, culture creates a repertoire on behavioral skills. Culture directly influences what people will do and what people can do. This interpretation of culture is more important for how managers should decide. Less for what the decision be. Cultural affects implementation and execution of strategies more than their formulation. In the case of the marketing department, culture and ethics have a direct influence in the implementation and execution of strategies. The marketers need to understand the culture of the foreign of the country in order to obtain success.

Personal values
The value of corporate social responsibility (CSR), particularly as it relates to the rise of " ethical consumers". These are shoppers who base purchasing decisions on whether a products social and ethical positioning – for example, its environmental impact or the labour practices used to manufacture it - aligns with their values.

The average consumer is demanding so called ethical products, such as fair trade – certified coffee and chocolate , fair labour – certified governments, cosmetics produced without animal testing, and products made through the use of sustainable technologies. Yet when companies offer such products, they are invariably met with indifference by all but a selective group of consumers.
All though many individuals bring their values and believes into purchasing decisions, when we examined actual consumer behavior, we found that percentage of shopping choices made on a truly ethical basis proved far smaller than most observers believe.

Challenges for Ethical Consumerism

Many areas of consumer concern are characterized by a lack of effective labeling and availability of alternatives in the market place. The national consumer council (NCC) identified a large amount of willing environmental consumers who could find, neither products nor the accurate information to guide their behavior. Consumers had insufficient information on company social and environmental behavior to make and informed purchasing decision. In such situation would be ethical consumers are forced to make choices based on imperfect information and the lack of an ideal alternative in keeping with their values. The notions of and ethical consumer effectively assisting in moving the society into sustainability inherently brought into question , given that consumerism tends to lead to unsustainability . Further more these tools may be misleading ; by solving one problem within sustainability sometimes another problem can be created. The lack of a whole system approach to sustainability by eco- labels can mislead consumers unbeknownst to them. An initial overview from a strategic sustainable development perspective, yield it some strengths and weakness in current ethical consumerism patterns

Conclusion

Ethical consumers want plausible guarantees about ethical attributes. Suppliers must address the quality challenges concerning certification and branding to promote their quality assure products. Third party accreditation assurance systems may be a more efficient and effective mechanism to formulate and communicate ethical attributes to consumers than through retailers labeling. Every consumer has to realize her multiple roles and the roles salience in an integrated manner. While business firms values her has a consumer of their product , targeting her myopically by blindly appealing to her values to increase product appeal and brand consumer relationship embeddedness will have a detrimental effect. Managing the negative effects of consumerism in terms of identity conflicts is a key issue that has not received much attention in existing literature. Firms as well as individuals need to make suitable adjustments to ensure that the while the quest for improved living condition.

Lifestyles in the urban society:

The chief aspects of social life are:
1. **Impersonality of social relations:**

The most striking features of the social aspect of urban social life is in its impersonality. The chief reason for this state of affairs is that people in cities do not regard affectionately other persons and do not have any respect for them. They love and respect goods and things in preference to human beings. Every commodity and service in urban society is evaluated in terms of cash, therefore everything in city is for sale and purchase. Nothing has intrinsic value in the urban context: all can be measured in terms of cash. Even human beings are buyable. Every service rendered by someone to someone has its price. Due to the overwhelming influence of materialism every kind of commodity and every kind of human relation has its price. The cash nexus completely dominates the urban life. The most intimate of human relations, the man and woman relations has been made subject of money and cash by the profession of prostitutions. In cities it is possible to buy sexual pleasure: something not possible in villages.

Thus, money and cash govern the behavior of urban man. It is the cash and goods which matter, man plays a subsidiary role. A shopkeeper in city has no interest in the buyer as a human being, his only concern is to charge maximum price for his goods. Whoever pays the price, irrespective of his character and background, is welcome to him, morals are irrelevant to him. In the bazaars, parks, cinemas, theatres, and clubs of the city a human being is not a person having his distinctive character and appeal but its just a member of a crowd, who has no distinction, no uniqueness about him. All these factors give impetus to impersonality of the character. In cities very little social control is exercised by institutions like family, caste, community and society. The law courts, police and jail are the instrument of social control instead of family or caste. As long as man can escape these agencies he can be a respectable members of the society though in fact leading a corrupted life. In city the need of a man multiply in order to meet the need for money. Living in a urban environment one must have a furnished house, good clothes, membership of some society and schooling of children in a good school..etc. all these things required good money if a man in a city have a good money to meet the needs he is respected no matter how he has earned the money. Indeed, money can wash, clean innumerable wrong and the sin of a man in the urban society. Therefore people in the city are mad after money.

2. Mechanical social life as a sequences of impersonality of relations:

In the industrialization are widely spread because of modern technologies and gadgets of urban life have become mechanism. It makes to loose all the creativity of a human. What anyone has to do or not to do at any particular hours is determined by a clock. The decisions about various things are not deliberate and free but guided by the hours of the clock. One human is completely dedicated his life to the clock. For example: if the bus or a train to be taken from one place to the another they have to leave their duties at 9am the laborers or the office clerks must at the bus station or the railway station as the case may be on or before 9-30am. No matter what is mood or feeling is or whether he has eaten his food or not he can defy his timetable only at grave risk. Therefore his life guided by the clock and not by his will.

He even goes to his sleep, eat his food and play not when he is sleepy or hungry or playful but because the time for these activities is fixed and clocked in the guidance of time. In the cities, no one leaves as a human being, everyone wear a label. For example: someone is a doctor, someone is a professor, someone is rich, someone is poor, someone is industrialist and so on.

3. Secondary control :
Due to the impersonal social relations and the mechanical of a social life. Primary controls are not affective in urban context. There is a little control of family, caste, community upon the conduct and the behavior of the individual. An urban man under the control of law enforcing agencies of the government only. Therefore in cities, law and police assume a greater significance and play a very crucial role. In various clubs associations and societies formed in the city each is given its constitution which lays down the rules and regulations. Violation of which attacks with the punishments. These constitutions are registered with the government so that is recognizable often. Therefore as long as an individual remains a member of the society, association or the club he has bided by rules and regulations. Thus the constitution of the society controls the behavior of the individual. Often the relations among the members of such societies become so intimate that the controlled exercise by the primary control not possible.

4. Ostentation and show :
In the urban life there is too much emphasize on ostentation(modesty) enrich forum has elaborately depict a forceful picture of this urban life. The urban people are so addicted to the modesty that their values, things or more than their

modesty than what they use. It is not a utility of a thing which impress rather decorative neither respectful. It is just a glamorous. The rich try to advertise their richness by building a grand mansion shuffling them with so called art pieces and by hosting a lavish party with a wine flow like a water. The middle class person in spite of their limited resource only to anxiety to ape. They try to flow the rich for this purpose their they overstrain themselves. But however, in as much as it is not possible to get any recognition or attention without a show. The exhibition has become the lifestyle in the city. The middle class ladies put up an extreme show for themselves. Crazy as they are drawing an attention to what they are wearing, clothes of poor fabric, wearing artificial silks, ornaments and decorating themselves with cheap costumes and a strong perfume. Even the poor in the city try to throw not successfully to imitate the style and the mannerism of a rich. The office going clerks and the junior executive are out of money well before the month end. There are also perpetuating and a extravaganza the money spent oon the marriage and other festivals is innumerous.

5. **Fashion :**

As a sequence of the tendency towards modesty and show off , the fashion flourished and is the order of a day in the cities. The tendency in fashion are determined by popular leaders, film actor, actress. The ladies fashioning their hair, dress, clothing, ornaments and the mannerism follows the trend set by the film personality. Similarly young man follow very closely the fashion of their film heroes in the matter of dress, speech, even smoking. Whatever is the item of popular fashion naturally becomes a hot sell. Once a thing is out of fashioned the sale drops. Even if the thing is good and durable. Therefore, the shopkeepers also stock only those commodities and things which happen to be the latest fashion. The fashion keeps changing only that business man can succeed in the city who can sell fast and keep a track of everything in the latest fashion. The trends in the fashion are usually are set by leading metropolitans. People in the small town simply copy this. For example: in India, people of Bombay and Delhi leap in fashion and others follow it. In Europe, Paris, and USA, Newyork are trend in settling in fashion.

6. **Dynamism :**

Another feature in the urban social life is more dynamic and mobile than the life in the village. The dynamic and mobility of an urban life are many kinds. For example: we find frequent change of residencies in the cities. This people keep moving or shifting the residential for their better leaving conditions. Therefore they manage their affairs of shifting easily at a short notice. The change of

residences can be due to a number of factors like transfer in the job, quarrel between the tenants and the landlords, availability of better and cheap accommodations …etc. the social mobility of social life will affect the social relationships. Generally, an increase in social mobility is accomplished by impersonal social relationships. This leads to a social disorganization. Thus the urban atmosphere makes the people less connected to their family members.

7. **Lack of neighborhood feeling:**

In the city we find lack of feelings among neighbors. The social relations are motivated and calculated their total devotional and love and the sympathy. Generally, speaking the feeling of the neighborhood are not observed in the cities because of density in the population. In the cities, the residential and the industrial complex are usually separated by great distance. Therefore, people leave their home early morning and return fairly late in the evening. Utterly exhausted Sundays and other holidays are spent in doing household work. Thus they don't get time to meet or spent time with neighbors. Moreover, most of the people live in insufficient accommodation. It is a problem for them to entertain their guest. So this act remain isolated.

The clubs and the association often gives a better opportunity to fulfill all their psychological needs of friendship. Therefore the conduct with the friends and the neighbors are declined. Robert.M.Wasley have analyzed the decline in the feeling of neighborhood in his famous writing "THE CITY AND THE PRIMARY GROUPS".

8. **High conflict and competition:**

In urban life, we find the great deal of conflict and competition with the rise in the mechanical nature of urban life and its artificiality. The mental conflict are also on the rise in the life of city the man is a beset with so many desires some of which are at such variation that it is a small wonder which create a nervousness among common people in the city. As a sequence of a conflicting desire the life is full of discontent and sorrow that is why we find an abundance of psychotherapist and mental counseling in the city. Beside social and mental conflict there is also conflict in economic life. Everywhere we find a huge competition. As the need of a city dwellers are large in number in comparison to those villagers.

9. **Rapid in the formulation of association** :

Another special feature of a city life is abundant voluntary association. In the city, we find diversity of self interests, aptitudes, aspirations, aims, and purpose. In order to meet these diversity large variety of associations are gown up. Therefore this is a great demand of voluntary associations in the city. Some of the voluntary

associations are functions with family and the neighborhood. There are some of the associations which are classified into :

- Professional associations – ex: the lawyers, teachers, medicos...etc
- Religious associations – ex: arya samaj, brahmo samaj, moral rearrangement association, radha swamy sangh, divine life society...etc
- Political association – ex: BJP, congress, communist party of India...etc
- Entertainment association – ex: hostels, cricket clubs, Alexander clubs...etc
- Spiritual associations – ex: Ramakrishna mission, ruhani sangh,
- Art association – ex: kala Kendra, lalitha kala academy,...etc
- Welfare association – ex: sarvodaya, sevadal, ...etc
- Brotherhood association – ex: kshatriya sabha, bhramina mandali, ...etc
- Anti social organization – ex: group of pick pocketers, thieves, smugglers....etc

Emerging patterns of leisure:

The family has been, and continues to be, important to the study of leisure. Conversely, research on leisure provides valuable insights in understanding families and how they function, However, although *family leisure* is a concept studied around the world (Freysinger and Chen 1993; Dijk, Betuw, and Kloeze 1993; McCabe 1993; Samuel 1996; Wearing and McArthur 1988), there has long been controversy in defining the concept (Shaw 1997). This entry reviews the research on family and leisure focusing predominantly, but not solely, on scholarship conducted within the field of leisure studies in North America.

Meanings of Leisure

Leisure in Western cultures has been defined in many ways, most commonly as time, activity, and a state of mind (Kelly and Freysinger 2000). Central to each of these definitions is the concept of freedom or choice: leisure is *discretionary time* (time when one is free from obligation). Leisure is activity that is not required. As a state of mind, leisure is the perception of choice or of the freedom to choose. Concomitant with this freedom is the perception that leisure is positive or beneficial to the individual and/or society. This notion of leisure has its roots in ancient Greece, where leisure was seen as both freedom from the necessity of *ponos* (work or sorrow) and freedom for engagement with *paideia* (culture). Engagement in leisure would allow man to develop virtue or his full potential and

in so doing, prepare him to be a good citizen and wise and just leader. Ignored for the most part in discussions of the history of leisure was the fact that leisure as freedom was available primarily to a group of elite males and was possible only because of a slave economy and the subjugation of women.

Since the 1980s in the West, the notion of leisure as freedom has been continuously challenged by feminist, Marxist, cross-cultural, and critical sociological scholarship. Research in these areas suggests at least three problems with defining leisure as freedom of the individual:

1. This is a conceptualization that does not apply to most of the world but rather reflects a specific culture (Western) and its development, economy, and ideologies (industrial/post-industrial capitalism, individualism).
2. This notion of leisure is *androcentric* and ignores the gendered experience of leisure, everyday life, and aging across the life cycle.
3. This is a predominantly social psychological (and North American) conceptualization of leisure that emphasizes individual experience and ignores social relationships and structures, cultural practices, and historical context.

Thus, more recent scholarship defines leisure as *legitimated pleasure,* a social construction and means of social reproduction (Rojek 1996), but also as a place where individuals may resist, challenge, and even transform oppressive or constraining social relations (Henderson et al. 1996).

This changing understanding of leisure in Western scholarship was influenced by research in North America and Great Britain on family leisure and differences in girls', boys', women's, and men's experiences of family and leisure (e.g., Henderson et al. 1996; Wimbush and Talbot 1988; Lynd and Lynd 1929; Rapoport and Rapoport 1975). However, despite the fact that the family has always been the major context of leisure, leisure was predominantly studied and defined in relationship to paid employment or work. In the aftermath of the Civil Rights and Women's Rights movements in the United States in the 1960s, the social roles of females and males started to change (e.g., a broader spectrum of women pursued higher education and/or paid employment) and research began to be directed towards the lives of women and girls. Such changes in girls' and women's opportunities, and thus in their family roles and leisure activities, has occurred more recently in other cultures as well (e.g., India and Korea) (Robertson 1995), though hegemonic patriarchal patterns in family and leisure continue to dominate in some countries (e.g., Bangladesh) (Khan 1997), and continue to exist in all

countries. In countries where Women's Rights movements have altered educational and employment opportunities, sociology of leisure and leisure studies has increasingly focused on the family, and important insights have been gained about leisure, family, gender, and their interrelationships.

<u>patterns of leisure:</u>

<u>Early History of recreation and leisure.</u>

Introduction:

To provide a meaningful background for the study of recreation and leisure in modern society, it is helpful to have a clear understanding of it's role in the past. We can trace the origin of many of our contemporary views of leisure and related cultural customs to the traditions and practices of ancient cultures. The history of recreation and leisure is a rich tapestry of people , places , events and social forces , showing the role of religion, education, and government and the customs and values of different cultures, their arts, sport, past time. By becoming familiar with the evolution of our recreation and leisure, we are better able to understand and deal effectively with the present.

Tribal people do not make the same sharp distinction between work and leisure that more technologically advanced societies do. Whereas the latter set aside different periods of time for work and relaxation , a tribal pre technological society has no such precise separation. Instead , work is customarily done when it is available or necessary and it is often infused with rites and customs that lend it variety and pleasure. In such tribal societies, work tends to be varied and creative, rather than being narrow, specialized task demanding a sharply defined skill as in modern industry. Work is often accompanied by ritual that is regarded as essential to the success of the planting or harvesting or to the building or hunting expedition. The ritual may involve prayer, sacrifice, dance or feasting, which thus become part of the world of work.

<u>The play of early societies.</u>

One would expect a chronological study to begin by examining the play of pre historic peoples during the Paleolithic and Neolithic epochs. However, relatively little is known about the nature of leisure and play in these early periods.

Archaeologists have uncovered artifacts that provide some first hand evidence of the creative, athletic , and recreation activity of primitive people around the world. We also have extrapolated from the accounts of " primitive" societies written by missionaries and anthropologists in the 19th and early 20thc.

Origins of Games and sport.

In primitive societies , play may have had many sources. Popular games were often vestiges of warfare, practice as a form of sport. Musical instruments were likely created for the use in religious ritual, pottery, paintings, drawings, and other early art provided record of both daily life and cultural mythology. Beads and other types of jewelry were created as external symbols of individual status and group affiliations. When an activity was no longer useful in its original form , it became a form of sport offering individuals and groups the opportunity to prove physical skill and strategy, often, the origin was religious ritual, in which games were played to symbolize a continuing struggle between good and evil or life and death.

The game of tachtli, widely practiced in Central America centuries ago, is an example of such a contest. Tlachtli courts were about 200 feet long and 30 feet wide and were situated near temples. A stone ring was fixed about halfway up a wall at either end. The players struck a rubber ball with their knees or hips, the purpose being to drive it through one of the hoops, Blank writes.

The rubber ball used in the ancient game symbolized the sun, and by making it carom across the court, players hoped to perpetuate the daily are of the heavenly sphere…..

Mesoamerican ball was no schoolyard shoot – around . Win or lose, the athletes played for keeps….. PerColum games, members of the losing team were commonly pffered up for ritual sacrifice, their hearts cut out with blades of razor sharp obsidian. That's one way to shorten the post-game interviews.

Other Play Functions

On the North American continent. Play had similar functions among Native American tribes, helping to equip the young for adult life. Boys practiced warrior's skills and were taught to survive unarmed and unclothed in the wild mess. Girls

were taught the household crafts expected of mature women. Through dancing, singing, and storytelling, both sexes learned the history and religion of their cultures. Among such southwestern Native American tribes as the Navajo, Zuni or Hopi, shamans or medicine men practiced healing rites that made use of chanting storytelling, dancing sacred kachina dools, and elaborate, multicolored sand paintings.

A period ranging from May 1986 to June , archaeologists at the early Neolithic site of Jiahu in Henan province, China, uncovered 25 flutes between 7,000 and 9,000 years old. Most of the flutes were found at grave sites. Six of the instruments were intact and are now believed to be the earliest, playable multinote instruments. The flutes, which were made of bone, contain seven holes that correspond to a scale similar to the Western eight-note scale. This tone scale. This tone scale indicates that musicians living in 7000 B.C could compose and play music, Archaeologists cannot be certain of why so many flutes were located in this part of China. Some believe that the flutes were part of religious rituals, others believe that music was simply a part of community life. In any case, the disco very of these flutes helps us recognize the very old tradition of using music as means of personal expression and cultural celebration.

History of Leisure

Recreation And Leisure in Ancient Civilizations

As prehistoric societies advanced, they developed specialization of functions. Humans learned to domesticate plants and animals, which permitted them to shift from a nomadic existence based on hunting and food gathering to a largely stationary way of life based on grazing animals and planting crops. Ultimately, ruling classes developed, along with soldiers, craftsmen, peasants, and slaves. As villages and cities evolved and large estates were tilled and harvested by lower class workers, upper class societies gained power , wealth, and leisure. Thus in the aristocracy of the first civilizations that developed in the Middle East during the five millennia before the Christian era, we find for the first time in history a leisure class.

Ancient Egypt.

The Egyptian culture was a rich and diversified one: it achieved an advanced knowledge of astronomy, architecture, engineering, agriculture, and

construction. The Egyptians had a varied class structure, with powerful nobility, priesthood and military class and lesser classes of workers, artisans, peasants and slaves. This civilization, which lasted from about 5000 B.C. well into the Roman era, was richly recorded in paintings, statuary, and hieroglyphic records.

The ancient Egyptians led a colorful and pleasant life: it is said that their energies were directed to the arts of living and the arts of dying. They engaged in many sport as part of education and recreation, including wrestling, gymnastic exercises, lifting and swinging weights, and ball games. Bullfighting was a popular spectacle and at least at its inception was religiously motivated. Music, drama and dance were forms of religious worship as well as social entertainment. The Egyptians had complex orchestras that included various stringed and percussive instruments. Groups of female performers were attached to temples and the royal houses had troupes of entertainers who performed on sacred of social occasions.

Ancient Assyria and Babylonia

The land known as the "fertile crescent" between two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, was ruled by two powerful empires, Assyria in the north and Babylon in the south. These kingdoms were in power for approximately 26 centuries, from about 2900 B.C. until the invasion by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. Like the ancient Egyptians, the Assyrians and Babylonians had many popular recreation activities, such as boxing, wrestling, archery, and a variety of table games.

In addition to watching dancing, listening to music, and giving banquets, Assyrians were also devoted to hunting; the nobles of Assyria went lion hunting in chariots and on foot, using spears. The chase was daily occupation, recorded for history in numerous reliefs, sculptures, and inscriptions. As early as the ninth century B.C. parks were established as sites for royal hunting parties. They also provided settings for feasts, assemblies, and royal gatherings. On the estates of other monarchs during the ninth and tenth centuries B.C. Were vineyards, fishponds, and the hanging gardens of Babylon.

Ancient Israel

Among the ancient Israelites, music and dancing were performed for ritual purposes as well as for social activities and celebrations. The early Hebrews distinguished dances of a sacred or holy character from those that resembled pagan ceremonies. Although there are no wall reliefs or paintings to tell of dance as performed by the ancient Hebrews. There are abundant references to this practice in the Old Testaments. Dance was highly respected and was particularly used on occasions of celebration and triumph.

Like other ancient societies, the ancient Hebrews also engaged in hunting fishing, wrestling and the use of such weapons as the sword and javelin for both recreational and defensive purposes. As for leisure itself, their major contribution was to set aside the seventh day – the Sabbath – as a time for people to rest from work and to worship.

Ancient Greece

In the city states of ancient Greece particularly in Athens during the so-called Golden Age of Pericles from about 500 to 400 B.C. Humankind reached a new peak of philosophical and cultural development. The Athenians took great interest in the arts, in learning, and in athletics. These pursuits were generally restricted to wellborn aristocratic noblemen, who had full rights of citizenship including voting and participation in affairs of state. Craftsmen, farmers and trades people were also citizens but had limited rights and less prestige. Labor was performed by slaves and foreigners, who outnumbered citizens by as two or three to one.

The amenities of life were generally restricted to the most wealthy and powerful citizens who represented the Athenian ideal of the balanced man a combined soldier, athlete, artist, statesman, and philosopher. This ideal was furthered through education and the various religious festivals, which occupied about 70 days of the year. The arts of music, poetry theater, gymnastics, and athletic competition were combined in these sacred competitions.

Sport appears to have been part of daily life and to have occurred mainly when there were mass gatherings of people such as the assembly of an army for war or the wedding or funeral of some great personage. There were also bardic or musical events. Offering contests on the harp and flute, poetry and theatrical presentations. Physical prowess was celebrated in sculpture and poetry and strength and beauty were seen as gifts of the Gods.

From earliest childhood, Athenian citizens engaged in varied athletic and cultural activities. Young children enjoyed toys, dolls, carts skip ropes, kites, and seesaws. When boys reached the age of seven. They were intensively instructed in running and leaping, wrestling, throwing the javelin and discus, dancing, boxing, swimming and ball games.

Greek Philosophy of Recreation and leisure. The Athenian philosophers believed strongly in the unity of mind and body and in the strong relationship of all forms of human qualities and skills. They felt that play activity was essential to the healthy physical and social growth of children.

Plato believed that education should be compulsory and that it should provide natural modes of amusement for children:

Education should begin with the right direction of children's sports. The plays of childhood have a great deal to do with the maintenance or non maintenance of laws.

Women did not enjoy the leisurely pursuits of men in ancient Greece, although there are some historical accounts of women receiving modest education and young girls participated in some athletic competitions. Citizens were by definition, men.

Changes in the Greek approach to Leisure the ancient Greeks developed the art of town planning and customarily made extensive provisions for parks and gardens. Open air theaters and gymnasiums, baths, exercise grounds, and stadiums. During the time of Plato the gymnasium and the park were closely connected in beautiful natural settings, often including indoor halls, gardens and buildings for musical performances. Early Athens had many public baths and some public parks, which later gave way to privately owned estates.

A GRADUAL TRANSITION OCCURRED IN THE Greek approach to leisure and play. At first, all citizens were expected to participate in sports and games and the Olympic games were restricted to free born Greeks only. Gradually however the religious and cultural functions of the Olympic games and other festivals were weakened by athletic specialization, corruption and commercialism. In time sport and other forms of activity such as drama, singing and dance were performed only by highly skilled specialists who trained or perfected their skills throughout the year to appear before huge crowds of admiring spectators.

Ancient Rome

Like the Greek city states, the Roman republic during its early development was a vigorous and nationalistic state. The Roman citizen although he belonged to a privileged class was required to defend his society and fight in its wars. Citizens participated in sport and gymnastics, intended to keep the body strong and spirit courageous. Numerous games held in connection with the worship of various Roman gods later developed into annual festivals. Such games were carefully supervised by the priesthood and were supported by public funds, frequently at great cost. The most important of the Roman games were those that celebrated military triumphs, which were usually held in honor of the god Jupiter, the head of the Roman pantheon.

LIKE THE EARLY Greeks, young Roman children had toy carts, houses, dolls, hobbyhorses, stilts and tops and engaged in many sport and games. Young boys were taught various sport and exercises such as running and jumping, sword and spear play, wrestling, swimming, and horseback riding. The Romans, however, had a different concept of leisure than the Greeks. Although the Latin words for "leisure" and "business" are otium and negotium, suggesting the same view of leisure as a positive value, the Romans supported play for utilitarian rather than aesthetic or spiritual reasons. The Romans were much less interested than the Athenians in varied forms of cultural activity. Although they had many performing companies, usually composed of Greek and southern Italian slaves, the Romans themselves did not activity participate in the theater.

Even more than the Greeks the Romans were systematic planners and builders. Their towns generally included provisions for baths, open air theaters amphitheaters, and forums for public assemblies, stadiums and sometimes parks and gardens. They developed buildings for gymnastic sport modeled after the Greek palaestra and including wrestling rooms, conversation areas for philosophers and colonnades where games might be held in winter despite bad weather. Wealthier Romans often had private villas many with large gardens and hunting preserves.

As the empire grew more powerful, the simple agricultural democracy of the early years, in which all male Romans were citizens and free men, shifted to an urban life with sharply divided classes. There were four social levels; the

senators who were the richest holding most of the land and power the curiae, who owned more than 25 acres of land and were officeholders of tax collectors' the plebs or free common people, who owned small properties or were tradesmen or artisans and the coloni who were lower class tenants of the land.

The society became marked by the wealth and profiteering of businessmen and speculators, with the cooperating of the rulers and governing officials. In time a huge urban populating of plebs lived in semi idleness because most of the work was done by coloni and slaves brought to Rome. Gradually it became necessary for the roman emperors and senate to amuse and entertain the plebs, they did so with doles of grain and with punlic games in other words, " bread and circuses".

As early as the reign of the Emperor Claudius in the first century A.D. there were 159 public holidays during the years, 93 of which were devoted to games at public expense, including many new festivals in honor of national heroes and foreign victories. By a.D. 354, there were 200 public holidays each ear, including 175 days of games. Even on working days, the began at daybreak and ended shortly after noon during much of the year.

As leisure increased and the necessity for military service and other forms of physical effort declined for the roman citizens, entertainment became the central life activity of many citizens. The normal practice was for the citizen to be entertained or to follow a daily routine of exercise, bathing and eating. Men were no longer as active in sport as they once had been. They now sought to he amused and to entertain their guests with paid acrobats, musicians, dancers and other artists. Athletes now performed as member of a specialized profession with union, coaches and training schools and with conditions of service accepted and approved by the emperor himself.

Corruption of Entertainment Gradually, the focus on the traditional sports of running, throwing and jumping gave way to an emphasis on human combat first boxing and wrestling and then displays of cruelty in which gladiators fought to the death for the entertainment of mass audience. By the time of Emperor Tiberius, competitive sport in the Roman Empore had become completely commercialized. To maintain political popularity and placate the bored masses the emperors and the senate provided great parades, circuses and feasts.

The Roman games featured contests that were fought to the death between gladiators using various weapons, on foot of horseback or in chariots. Even sea battles were fought in artificially constructed lakes in the Roman arenas, Imported wild beasts, such as tigers and elephants, were pitted against each other or against human antagonists. Christians, in particular, were slaughtered in such games. Tacitus wrote that many were dressed in the skins of wild beasts and exposed to be torn to pieces by dogs in the public games were crucified or condemned to be burnt and at nightfall serve in place of lamps to light the darkness. Nero's own gardens being used for the purpose.

Both animals and humans were maimed and butchered in cruel and horrible was. Spectacles were often lewd and obscene, leading to mass debauchery, corruption and perversion that profoundly weakened the Roman state.

Early Christian Era : Dark and Middle Ages

Under attack by successive waves of nor them European tribes, the Roman Empire finally collapsed. For a period of several centuries, Europe was overrun with warring tribes and shifting alliances. The organized power of Rome which had built roads, extended commerce and provided civil order was at an end Gradually the Catholic Church emerged to provide a form of universal citizenship within Europe. Having suffered under the brutal persecutions of the Romans, the early Christians condemned all that their pagan oppressors had stood for especially their hedonistic way of life. Indeed the early church fathers believed in a fanatical asceticism which in the Byzantine or Eastern Empire was marked by the Anchorite movement with its idea of salvation through masochistic self deprivation.

Many aspects of Roman life were forbidden during the Dark and Middle Ages. The stadiums, amphitheaters and bathes that had characterized Roman life were destroyed. The Council of Elvira ruled that the rite of baptism could not be extended to those connected with the stage and in A.d. 398 the council of Carthage excommunicated those who attended the theater on holy day. The great spectacles and organized shows of imperial Rome were at an end. The Roman emphasis on leisure was replaced by a Christian emphasis on work. The influential Benedictine order in particular insisted on the dignity of labor. Their

rule read, idleness is the great enemy of the soul. Therefore, monks should always be occupied either in manual labor or in sacred readings.

It would be a mistake, however to assume that the catholic Chruch eliminated all forms of play. Man early Catholic religious practices were based on the rituals of earlier faiths. Priests built churches on existing shrines or temple sites set Christian holy days according to the dates of pagan festivals and used such elements of pagan worship as bells candles incense singing and dancing.

Pastimes in the Middle Ages

Despite disapproval from the church many forms of play continued during the Middle ages: Medieval society was marked by rigid class stratification : below the nobility and clergy were the peasants, who were divided into such ranks as freemen, villeins , serfs and slaves.

Life in the Middle Ages, even for the feudal nobility was crude and harsh. Manors and castles were little more than stone fortresses crowded, dark and damp. Knights were responsible for fighting in the service of their rulers; between wars, their favorite pastimes were hunting and hawking. Hunting skill was considered a virtue of medieval rulers and noblemen. The sport was thought to be helpful in keeping hunters from the sin of idleness. Hunting also served as a useful preparation for war . In a later era, the Italian Machiavelli pointed out that since the main concern of the prince must be war he must never cease thinking of it. In times of peace, thoughts of war should be directed to the sport of hunting.

As the chaos of the Dark Ages yielded to greater order and regularity, life became more stable. Travel in reasonable safety became possible, and by the eleventh century commerce was widespread. The custom of jousting emerged within the medieval courts, stemming from the tradition that only the nobility fought on horseback common men fought on foot. Thus, the term chivalry came into being. By the dawn of the twelfth century, the code of chivalry was developed, having originated in the profession of arms among feudal courtiers. An elaborate code of laws and regulations was drawn up for the combat, and no one below the rank of esquire was permitted to engage in tournaments or jousting.

Games of the common people Meanwhile, what of the life of the peasantry during the middle ages? Edward Hulme suggests that life was not all work for the lower classes. There were village feasts and sport, practical joking, throwing weights, cockfighting bull baiting and other lively games. " Ball games and wrestling, in which men of one village were pitted against men of another, sometimes resulted in bloodshed".

There was sometimes dancing on the green and on holidays there were miracle and morality plays. However, peasants usually went to bed at dark, reading was a rare accomplishment and there was much drinking and crude brawling. For peasants, hunting was more a means of obtaining food than a sport. Although the nobility usually rode through the hedges and trampled the fields of the peasantry, peasants were not allowed to defend their crops against such forays or even against wild animals. If peasants were caught poaching, they were often maimed or hanged as punishment.

Typically, certain games were classified as rich men's sport and others as poor men's sport sometimes a distinction was also made between urban and rural sport. As life in the Middle ages became somewhat easier, a number of pastimes emerged. Many modern fport were developed at this time in rudimentary form.

The people of the Middle Ages had an insatiable love of sightseeing and would travel great distances to see entertainments. There was no religious event, parish fair, municipal feast, or military parade that did not bring great crowds of people. When the kings of France assembled their principal retainers once or twice a year they distributed food and liquor among the common people and provided military displays, courts ceremonies and entertainment by jugglers tumblers and minstrels.

An illustration of the extent to which popular recreation expanded during the Middle Ages is found in the famous painting of Children's games by the Flemish artist Pieter Breughel. This painting depicts more than 90 forms of children's play, including marbles, stilts, sledding, bowling skating blind man's bluff, piggyback leapfrog, follow the leader archery tug of war, doll play, and dozens of others, many of which have lasted to the present day.

The Renaissance

Historians generally view the first half of the Middle Ages in Europe as the Dark Ages and the next 400 to 500 years as le haut moyen Age or high middle age. The renaissance is said to have begun in Italy about A.D. 1350, in France about 1450, and in England about 1500 . It marked a transition between the medieval world and the modern age. The term renaissance means rebirth and describes the revived interest in the scholarship, philosophy and arts of ancient Greece and Rome that developed at this time. More broadly, it also represented a new freedom of thought and expression a more rational and scientific view of life and the expansion of commerce and travel in European life.

As the major European nations stabilized during this period under solidly established monarchies, power shifted from the church to the kings and their noblemen. In Italy and France, particularly, the nobility became patrons of great painters,' sculptors', musicians,' dancers and dramatists. These artists were no longer dominated by the   ideals and values of the Catholic Church, but were free to serve secular goals. A great wave of music and   literature swept through the courts of Europe aided by the development of printing. Dance and theater became more complex and elaborate and increasingly lavish entertainments and spectacles were presented in the courts of Italy and France.

Play as a education

Varied forms of play became part of the education of the youth of the nobility at this time. The French essayist Michel de Montaigne, in discussing the education of children, wrote.

Our very exercises and recreations, running wrestling, music, dancing, hunting, riding and fencing will prove to be a good part of our study ….   It is not a soul, it is not a body that we are training up; it is a man and we ought not to divide him into two parts.

 The Athenian philosophy that had supported play as an important form of education was given fuller emphasis during the Renaissance by such educators and writers as Francois Rabela is advanced a number of revolutionary theories of education, emphasizing the need for physical exercises and games as well as singing, dancing, modeling and painting, nature study and manual training, his account of the education of Gargantuan describes play as an exercise for mind and body. Locke, an Englishman who lived from 1632 to 1704, was also concerned with play as a medium of learning. He recommended that children make their

own playthings and felt that games could contribute significantly to character development if they were properly supervised and directed . All the plays and diversions of children, he wrote, should be directed toward good and useful habits. Locke distinguished between the play of children and recreation for older youth and adults, Recreation, he said is not being idle…. But easing the wearied part by change of business.

Influence of the protestant reformation

The reformation was religious movement of the 1500s that resulted in the establishment of a number of Protestant sects whose leaders broke away from roman Catholicism. It was part of a broader stream that included economic social and political currents. In part it represented the influence of the growing middle classes, who allied with the nobility in the emerging nations of Europe, there was an aura of grim dedication to work and a determination to enforce old codes against play and idleness. The protestant work ethic that emerged during the Reformation led to periods of strict limitations of leisure and recreation throughout the history of many Christian cultures, including societies in north America. This same ethic has heavily influenced our contemporary Western views of the relative value of work and leisure.

The new protestant sects tended to be more solemn and austere than the Catholic Church. Cave in established an autocratic system of government in Geneva in 1541 that was directed by a group of presbyters morally upright men who controlled the social and cultural life of the community to the smallest detail. They ruthlessly suppressed heretics and burned dissenters at the stake. Miller and Robinson describe the unbending Puritanism in Geneva:

Purity of conduct was insisted upon, which meant the forbidding of gambling can playing, dancing, wearing of finery, singing of gay songs, feasting, drinking and the like. There were to be no more festivals no more theaters, no more ribaldry no more light and disrespectful poetry or display. Works of art and musical instruments were removed from the churches.

Puritanism in England

The English Puritans waged a constant battle to limit or condemn sport and other forms of entertainment during the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Maintaining strict observation of the Sabbath was a particular issue. Anglican clergy during the Elizabethan period bitterly attacked stage plays, church festival gatherings, dancing, gambling, bowling, and other "devilish pastimes" such as hawking and hunting, holding fairs and markets and reading "lascivious and wanton books".

James I, however recognized that the prohibition of harmless amusements such as dancing, archery, and the decorating of maypoles caused public anger. In 1618 he issued a Declaration on Lawful Sports, in which he asked, "When shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holy daies, James stressed the military value of sport and the danger of an increase in drinking and other vices as substitute activities if sport were denied to people.

Development of parks and recreation areas

During the middle ages, the need to enclose cities within protective walls necessitated building with in a compact area that left little space for public gardens or sports areas. As the walled city became more difficult to defend after the invention of gunpowder and cannon, residents began to move out of the central city. Satellite communities developed around the city, but usually with little definite planning.

As the Renaissance period began, European town planning was characterized by wide avenues, long approaches, handsome buildings, and similar monumental features. The nobility decorated their estates with elaborate gardens, some of which were open to public use as in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century. There were walks and public squares.. often decorated with statuary. In some cases, religious brotherhoods built clubhouses, gardens and shooting stands for archery practice that were used by townspeople for recreation and amusement.

Three major types of large parks came into existence during the late Renaissance.

The first were royal hunting preserves or parks, some of which have become famous public parks today, such as the 4,000 acre Prater in Vienna and the Tiergarten in Berlin. Second were the ornate and formal garden parks designed according to the so called French style of landscape architecture. Third were the English garden parks. This strove to produce naturalistic landscape effects. Third became the prevailing style in most European cities.

In England, efforts at city planning began during the eighteenth century. Business and residential streets were paved and street names posted. Because it was believed that overcrowding led to disease , an effort was made to convert open squares into gardens and to create more small parks. Deaths from contagious disease declined during each successive decade of the eighteenth century, and this improvement was believed to have been due to increased cleanliness and ventilation within the city.

Use of Private Estates

From 1500 to the latter part of the eighteenth century, the European nobility developed increasingly lavish private grounds. There often include topiary work, aviaries, fishponds, summer houses, water displays, outdoor theaters, hunting grounds and menageries and facilities for outdoor games. During this period such famed gardens as the Tuileries and the Luxembourg in Paris, as well as the estate of Versailles, were established by the French royalty; similar gardens and private estates were found all over Europe. Following the early Italian example, it became the custom to open these private parks and gardens to the public at first occasionally and then as regular practice.

Popular Diversions in England

Great outdoor gardens were established in England to provide entertainment and relaxation. Vauxhall, a pleasure resort founded during the reign of Charles II, was a densely wooded area with walks and dowers, lighting displays, water mills, fireworks, artificial caves and grottoes, entertainment, eating places, and tea gardens. The park was supported by the growing class of merchants and

tradesmen, and its admission charge and distance from London helped to "exclude the rabble".

Following the Restoration period in England, Hyde Park and St. James Park became fashionable centers for promenading by the upper classes during the early afternoon. Varied amusements were provided in the parks: wrestling matches, races, military displays, fireworks and illuminations on special occasions. Aristocrats, merchants, and tradesmen all rode, drove carriages, and strolled in the parks. Horse racing, lotteries, and other forms of gambling became the vogue.

Leisure at present

The sociology of leisure has made it possible, for the first time, to draw empirical comparisons between the working class culture of different or contrasting political and economic systems. In 1956 the first comparative study of leisure in Europe was launched, dealing with the leisure of workers in six European cities, each in a different country. The countries included in the survey were Yugoslavia, Poland, France, Finland, Denmark, and the German Federal Republic.

The vitality of the sociology of leisure has given rise to a number of problem-oriented approaches. Leisure has been studied in its relation to work (Friedmann 1958; Riesman 1964), the family (Scheuch I960; Anderson 1961), religion (Pieper 1948), politics (Upset et al. 1956), and culture (Kaplan I960; Dumazedier 1962; Wilensky 1964). It has been treated as a temporal framework (Prudenskii 1964; Petrosian 1965; Szalai 1966), a complex of activities (Littiinen 1962), a system of values (de Grazia 1962), and in several other ways.

The sociology of leisure also exhibits great methodological variety; it is not marked by adherence to any particular method, but by use of any and all available methods. Thus, although empirical studies are more common, we find a strong historical tradition, from Veblen to Riesman and de Grazia. The most important project now in progress concerns time budgets; it is a comparative study, using national samples from the German Federal Republic, Belgium, Austria, France, Hungary, Poland, and the U.S.S.R., directed by Alexander Szalai, a Hungarian scholar, under the auspices of the European Center for Coordination of Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences.

It is to be expected that in the future the different industrial and preindustrial societies will stand in increasing need of research, especially in order to: (1) measure the effective limitations of time, distance, money, and so on, that are preventing the transformation of free time into genuine leisure in the life of numerous classes and categories of workers; (2) evaluate the resources available for leisure in the cultural development of whole societies.

In the postindustrial societies now entering the phase of mass consumption, specific problems have arisen, and will continue to arise with even greater intensity. It is the ambivalence of leisure values in popular culture that will pose

the greatest problems to sociologists. Will commitment to leisure values be balanced by commitment to occupational, associational, political, and spiritual values, or will leisure threaten all these other values, thus placing in jeopardy the active participation of citizens in directing the future of their society? Finally, since leisure values are themselves diverse, will the values of entertainment and unfettered personal development join forces to create a new ideal of individual happiness and social well-being? Or, on the contrary, will the values of entertainment, artificially hypertrophied by an irresponsible commercial system, come to play, in certain countries, the role of a new "opiate of the people," while in certain other countries a unilateral and oppressive government policy for leisure activities risks truncating the complex phenomenon of leisure, encouraging boredom and malingering by way of reaction? In the last analysis, the whole future of man in industrial and postindustrial civilization is bound up with the answers to these questions. Today, they are the most important questions facing the sociology of leisure.

Leisure's Influences on urban Family

In addition to investigating the impact that the family has on children's and adults' experiences of play, recreation and leisure, researchers have also examined the impact that leisure interests and participation has on family satisfaction, family interaction, and family stability or cohesion. Although a popular belief is that "the family that plays together stays together," the research in this area indicates that leisure can serve to both facilitate and undermine family satisfaction, interaction, and cohesion.

Leisure is a way through which the parental role is enacted. Although mothers and fathers do not enact the parental role in the same way, both mothers and fathers report that leisure is an important context for the development of children. By teaching their children how to use free time constructively or by providing challenging and stimulating recreational activities, parents feel that they are facilitating the learning and growth of their children (Freysinger 1995). Further, leisure is seen as a context for the affirmation of family. Leisure with one's children and/or spouse provides a common interest and a context for interaction and is perceived by adults to strengthen bonds between family members and to provide a sense of family (Freysinger 1995; Orthner and Mancini 1990). At the same time, leisure interaction with children has been found to have a different impact on mothers' and fathers' satisfaction with being a parent. A

study by Valeria Freysinger (1994) in the United States found that although mothers had more leisure interactions with their children than fathers, these had no effect on mothers' parental satisfaction. Other research (e.g., McClanahan and Adams 1987) indicates that mothers report both greater satisfaction with and stress from being a parent than fathers, which is one possible explanation for Freysinger's findings. On the other hand, leisure interaction with children was positively related to fathers' parental satisfaction. For both, however, marital satisfaction was the strongest and a positive predictor of parental satisfaction.

Indeed leisure has been found to positively related to marital satisfaction and stability and these relationships seem to be true across cultures (Orthner and Mancini 1990). Although preferences for joint or shared, parallel, and individual leisure vary over the marital career and differ somewhat by gender, in general the research suggests that the time spent in joint or shared activities is positively related to marital satisfaction for both husbands and wives. However, it is not just spending time together that is important to marital satisfaction. Rather, it seems to be the amount of communication that occurs during time together that is positively related to marital satisfaction.

Children affect the amount of leisure interaction spouses have with one another. Couples with children in the home tend to have less leisure interaction and that negatively affects satisfaction with the spousal/couple relationship. At the same time, children's effect on parental leisure is not uniformly negative. Children may provide new leisure interests and social networks for their parents. For example, adults with children involved in sport and physical activity are more likely than adults with no children or non physically active children to stay involved in recreational physical activity.

As suggested above, leisure may also be a source of tension or conflict within families. This may be because leisure connotes a freedom of choice that may contradict expectations that family members have of one another or that may challenge authority relations in some families. For example, in her study of the leisure of mid-life women and men, Valeria Freysinger (1995) found that leisure was a source of dissatisfaction with one's spouse and marriage when different leisure interests limited time for interaction. Some of the divorced men in this study reported that the different leisure interests they and their ex-wives had contributed to the dissolution of their marriages. Other reasons leisure may be a source of family conflict include inappropriate use of leisure or free time,

changing leisure patterns, and conflicting circadian rhythms (i.e., a *night person* and a *morning person*) (Orthner and Mancini 1990).

In summary, leisure is both a source of family satisfaction and cohesion as well as dissatisfaction and instability. The relationship between leisure and family satisfaction, interaction, and cohesion is complex. A number of other factors (e.g., presence, number, and age of children, educational and employment status, stage of the marital career) likely mediate these relationships. For example, Deborah Bialeschki (1994) found that although *leisure interruption* was a common experience of U.S. women with children at home, once children left the home and active mothering demands decreased, a focus on self through leisure re-emerged in a process she called *full-circle leisure.* Stephen Goff, Daniel Fick, and Robert Oppliger (1997), in a study of "serious runners" and their spouses, found that leisure-family conflict was moderated by spouses' level of support for running. Such factors must be considered when seeking to understand the significance of leisure to family.

Types of leisure activities in modern society

How do older persons spend their free time? In what types of activities do they participate? What forms of leisure pursuits are most popular? Data from a variety of sources give us a good glimpse into the daily lives of older persons and the types of leisure activities in which they are currently involved.

Contrary to images of older people spending the bulk of their later years in a rocking chair kind of existence, evidence points to a far more active lifestyle. The 1995 National Health Interview Survey, for example, queried persons about their participation in leisure-time physical activity (exercises, sports, physically active hobbies). By this measure, only 34 percent of Americans sixty-five years of age and older reported not being engaged in any of these types of activities during the previous two weeks, as having what might be termed a "sedentary" lifestyle, and this figure represented a decline from 40 percent in 1985 (Federal Interagency Forum on Aging Related Statistics, Table 20). Similarly, viewing older persons as "engaged" in social activities would be an apt characterization. Findings from the Second Supplement on Aging to the 1994 National Health Interview Survey showed that in the previous two weeks 88 percent of persons seventy years of age and older had contact with friends or neighbors; 92 percent had contact with relatives not living in the household; 50 percent had attended a

religious service, 27 percent had attended a movie, sports event, club, or group event; 64 percent had gone to a restaurant. And over the previous twelve months, 16 percent reported performing volunteer work. The majority of older Americans also appear to be quite satisfied with their level of social activity; only 21 percent reported they would like to be more active than they are presently (Federal Interagency Forum on Aging Related Statistics, Tables 19A and 19B).

A different and more in-depth glimpse into the daily activities of older persons is provided by examination of "time budgets." These studies ask persons to keep detailed records of how they spend their time during a given interval, for example, during the previous twenty-four hours. Employing this approach, Robinson, Werner, and Godbey have estimated the average number of hours men and women ages sixty-five and older spend weekly in a variety of activities. TV viewing leads the list for both men and women (26.7 hours/week for men; 26.6 for women). Substantial amounts of time are spent traveling (8.8 hours/week for men; 6.6 for women), communicating (7.8 hours for men; 8.0 for women), reading (7.2 and 6.8 hours, respectively), visiting (6.5 hours for both), and in pursuing various hobbies (3.7 and 4.4 hours). Men are more involved in sports than women (3.7 vs. 1.2 hours), women spend more time in religious activities (1.4 hours for men; 1.9 for women), and both spend about the same amount of time participating in organizations (1.6 and 1.5 hours per week, respectively). Other activities, such as education, attending events, and listening to the radio or stereo took up an additional 2.5 hours per week for men and 1.5 hours for women.

Comparable data from a German study (Horgas, Wilms, and Baltes) using a "yesterday interview" approach confirm the contention that older persons spend a greater portion of their day engaged in leisure pursuits than in resting or doing nothing. Among these respondents seventy years of age and older, more than seven hours a day were devoted to a range of discretionary activities such as watching TV, reading, socializing, and "other" leisure activities (e.g., cultural, educational, creative, church, and political activities; sports; gardening; walking; excursions; writing; playing; listening to radio/tape/record). Time spent resting averaged less than three hours a day, although this varied considerably by age— less than two hours a day among persons in their seventies compared to four and a half hours a day for those in their nineties.

Urban space:

The difficulty of defining urban space is enhanced if one considers that urban space is an artifact of urbanization – a social process that describes the manner in which cities grow and societies become more complex. For example, a synergistic perspective of space situates the location of "urban" as an outcome of social and institutional forces associated with urbanization. In contrast, a structural perspective of space identifies "urban" as the product of social structures and relationships that typify urbanization. Combining the synergistic and structural perspectives results in the identification of social features associated with urban space: (1) diversity of social roles and relationships, and (2) institutional arrangements and social networks necessary for efficient social order. No matter which perspective one adopts, one thing is clear: urban space is a dynamic aspect of urbanization. Urban space involves synergistic and structural aspects. From a synergistic perspective, urbanization is fueled by population growth and institutional expansion. In a simplistic scenario, in order for urbanization to occur, people must come together in large enough numbers that they are situated in a space that makes them noticeably

Public culture:

public culture is traditionally linked to the formation of civil society. It encompasses processes that range from the individual expression of viewpoints, the formation of collective value systems, the shifts in everyday life, to the consolidation of social practices into public institutions. It is seen as the collective expression of ideas and their realization into public institutions through the multiple channels of political participation. In contemporary society, these voices and emergent structures are formed through a complex interplay of media, cultural perspectives and social practices. Hence, public culture is no longer formed by values and practices that arise from and remain bound to a homogenous group. It has multiple origins, addresses diverse communities and flows across territorial boundaries. It is a dynamic process rather than a fixed entity. Hence we prefer the term public cultures. In this plural form it also provides a conceptual framework that can integrate the knowledge generated by different academic disciplines and cultural practices. It acknowledges that in contemporary society public culture is pluralistic and volatile. Multiple forms of

media, diverse modes of local agency and fluid exchanges across numerous global networks are now shaping public culture.

Urban Elite

Urban Elite (from late 18th century French élite), is a term that originates from Latin eligere ("to choose, elect"). In political and sociological theory for a small group of powerful people that controls a disproportionate amount of wealth, privilege or political power in a society.

Identity and social structure

American sociologist C. Wright Mills wrote in his 1957 book *The Power Elite* of the "elite" as: "those political, economic, and military circles, which as an intricate set of overlapping small but dominant groups share decisions having at least national consequences. Insofar as national events are decided, the power elite are those who decide them". Mills states that the power elite members recognize other members' mutual exalted position in society "As a rule, 'they accept one another, understand one another, marry one another, tend to work and to think, if not together at least alike'. "It is a well-regulated existence where education plays a critical role. Youthful upper-class members attend prominent preparatory schools, which not only open doors to such elite universities as Harvard, Yale, and Princeton but also to the universities' highly exclusive clubs. These memberships in turn pave the way to the prominent social clubs located in all major cities and serving as sites for important business contacts".

Elitist privilege

The men who receive the education necessary for elitist privilege obtain the background and contacts that allow them to enter three branches of the power elite, which are;

- The Political Leadership: Mills contended that since the end of World War II corporate leaders had become more prominent in the political process, with a decline in central decision-making for professional politicians.
- The Military Circle: In Mills' time a heightened concern about warfare existed, making top military leaders and such issues as defense funding and personnel

recruitment very important. Most prominent corporate leaders and politicians were strong proponents of military spending.

- The Corporate Elite: According to Mills, in the 1950s when the military emphasis was pronounced, it was corporate leaders working with prominent military officers who dominated the development of policies. These two groups tended to be mutually supportive".

According to Mills, the governing elite in the United States primarily draws its members from political leaders, including the president, and a handful of key cabinet members and close advisers, major corporate owners and directors, and high-ranking military officers These groups overlap, and elites tend to circulate from one sector to another, consolidating power in the process.

Unlike the ruling class, a social formation based on heritage and social ties, the power elite is characterized by the organizational structures through which its wealth is acquired. According to Mills, the power elite rose from "the managerial reorganization of the propertied classes into the more or less unified stratum of the corporate rich". Domhoff further clarified the differences in the two terms: "The upper class as a whole does not do the ruling. Instead, class rule is manifested through the activities of a wide variety of organizations and institutions...Leaders within the upper class join with high-level employees in the organizations they control to make up what will be called the power elite".

The Marxist theoretician Nikolai Bukharin anticipated the power-elite theory in his 1929 work, *Imperialism and World Economy:* "present-day state power is nothing but an entrepreneurs' company of tremendous power, headed even by the same persons that occupy the leading positions in the banking and syndicate offices".

Power élites

Power elite is a term used by American sociologist C. Wright Mills to describe a relatively small, loosely connected group of individuals who dominate American policymaking. This group includes bureaucratic, corporate, intellectual, military, media, and government elites who control the principal institutions in the United States and whose opinions and actions influence the decisions of the policymakers.

The basis for membership of a power élite is institutional power, namely an influential position within a prominent private or public organization. One study (published in 2002) of power élites in the United States under President George

W. Bush (in office 2001-2009) identified 7,314 institutional positions of power encompassing 5,778 individuals. A later study of U.S. society noted demographic characteristics of this élite group as follows:

- Age

Corporate leaders aged about 60; heads of foundations, law, education, and civic organizations aged around 62; government employees aged about 56

- Gender

Men contribute roughly 80% in the political realm
whereas women contribute roughly only 20% in the political realm.

- Ethnicity

White Anglo-Saxons dominate in the power élite, with Protestants representing about 80 percent of the top business leaders and about 73% of members of Congress.

- Education

Nearly all the leaders have a college education, with almost half graduating with advanced degrees. About 54 percent of the big-business leaders and 42% of the government élite graduated from just 12 prestigious universities with large endowments.

- Social clubs

Most holders of top positions in the power élite possess exclusive membership in one or more social clubs. About a third belong to a small number of especially prestigious clubs in major cities like London, New York City, Chicago, Boston, and Washington, D.C.[17]

Impacts on economy

In the 1970s an organized set of policies promoted reduced taxes, especially for the wealthy, and a steady erosion of the welfare safety net. Starting with legislation in the 1980s, the wealthy banking community successfully lobbied for reduced regulation. The wide range of financial and social capital accessible to the power elite gives their members heavy influence in economic and political decision making, allowing them to move toward attaining desired outcomes. Sociologist Christopher Doob gives a hypothetical alternative stating that these

elite individuals would consider themselves the overseers of the national economy, appreciating that it is not only a moral but a practical necessity to focus beyond their group interests. Doing so would hopefully alleviate various destructive conditions affecting large numbers of less affluent citizens

Global politics and hegemony

Mills determined that there is an "inner core" of the power elite involving individuals that are able to move from one seat of institutional power to another. They therefore have a wide range of knowledge and interests in many influential organizations, and are, as Mills describes, "professional go-betweens of economic, political, and military affairs". Relentless expansion of capitalism and the globalizing of economic and military power binds leaders of the power elite into complex relationships with nation states that generate global-scale class divisions. Sociologist Manuel Castells writes in *The Rise of the Network Society* that contemporary globalization does not mean that "everything in the global economy is global". So, a global economy becomes characterized by fundamental social inequalities with respect to the "level of integration, competitive potential and share of the benefits from economic growth". Castells cites a kind of "double movement" where on one hand, "valuable segments of territories and people" become "linked in the global networks of value making and wealth appropriation", while, on the other, "everything and everyone" that is not valued by established networks gets "switched off...and ultimately discarded".The wide-ranging effects of global capitalism ultimately affect everyone on the planet as economies around the world come to depend on the functioning of global financial markets, technologies, trade and labor.