ON THE EDGE: LEISURE, CONSUMPTION AND THE REPRESENTATION OF ADVENTURE SPORTS — EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Joan Ormrod and Belinda Wheaton

Lifestyle, eXtreme, whiz or adventure?

The chapters presented in this collection emerge from a symposium on adventure sports held in the United Kingdom which aimed to open up a debate on the significance of these sports through their representations in the mass media. These sports, as Bourdieu (1984) notes, tend to have originated in the contemporary forms from California, and much of the research surrounding adventure sports is centred on America (Wheaton, 2004). Interestingly, the symposium attracted scholars mainly from Europe and from diverse disciplinary backgrounds. Despite potentially disparate approaches to the topic, the issues presented in the papers constituted noteworthy crossovers in themes ranging from globalization, glocalization, identities and consumerism which suggested the dissemination of the materials to a wider audience.

Most edited collections on adventure sports begin by exploring the range of descriptions of these sports and rationalising the choice of term used. Midol (1993; 1995), for instance, notes the speed, transgression and vertiginous aspect of the sports, describing them as 'whiz'. Rinehart and Sydnor (2003) opt for 'extreme' which, they propose, tends to be used to appeal to notions of the radical, hip or cool in television and marketing. However, as they also note, participants of these sporting activities "are in it for the long haul. They see these activities as lifestyle choices, with style, fashion and aesthetics being just as important markers of participation as, for example, sponsorship and physical prowess" (Rinehart and Sydnor, 2003: p. 3). Clearly, therefore, a term needs to incorporate both hardcore, transient and 'weekend warrior' participants. Wheaton's preferred descriptor is 'lifestyle' (2004), reasoning that this is the term most favoured by participants who devote a great deal of time and money in their pursuit of these

activities. However, Wheaton (2004) too notes how contemporary participants adopt diverse attitudes to their sports performance and consumption. She proposes that they choose their activities from a range of possible "leisure options and experiences" (Wheaton, citing Rojek, 1995: p. 8). In this collection, activities such as street racing (as in Simpson's chapter) or indoor rock climbing (as in Hardwell's chapter), could not be described as 'lifestyles'. However, these vicarious activities express the participants' interest in an alternative means of seeking excitement or alternative leisure pursuits from

their everyday lifestyles. A possibility is suggested by L'Etang later in this collection, who notes: "I have chosen to use the term 'adventure sport' rather than that of 'lifestyle sport' since my understanding of this latter term is of those activities, specifically identified by alternative formations, ideologies and (often nomadic) lifestyles, such as surfing or climbing. In other words, all sports have their specific cultures, and adventure sports seek to distinguish themselves from more traditional sports cultures such as those of football or rugby, not only in terms of their attitudes to competitiveness, but also in terms of their approach to life in general or 'lifestyle'" (L'Etang, this volume: p. 44). L'Etang's definition rests upon the attitude of the participants to the sport and whether they consider the sport expresses a lifestyle or otherwise. This definition is similar to Wheaton's definition of 'lifestyle' sports in its reflection of "both the characteristics of these activities, and their wider socio-cultural significance" (Wheaton, 2004: p. 4) it is, therefore, apparent there is little difference between the two definitions. A reason for choosing the term 'adventure sports' is that the collection is not only predicated on participation in the sports, but also in the representations and commodification of the sports within consumer culture. 'Adventure' is used to describe these activities within the promotional and marketing process but it also encompasses contemporary individuals' search for adventure and the ways identities are constructed in a leisure society through such representations.

Adventure sports encompass board sports such as surfing, snowboarding, wakeboarding but also rock climbing, BASE jumping and *parkour*. These sports began as alternative activities that challenged traditional notions of sport; they were predicated on a dwelling upon hedonism, individuality, freedom from competition, aesthetics and embodiment. Many adventure sports such as snowboarding (Donnelly, 2006), surfing (Wheaton, 2005) and rock climbing (Varley, 2006) are practised by young, affluent individuals (Fletcher, 2008) and this makes them attractive to promotional culture and mass media representations. Indeed, contemporary culture is saturated with images of adventure sports. Magazines with titles evoking excitement such as such as *Snowboard UK, Skateboarder, On The Edge, Carve* and *Wavelength* fill newsagents' shelves. Films such as *Riding Giants, Stone Monkey,* and *Dogtown and Z-Boys* present the danger but also the vertigo inspired by the sport. National and global networks of adventure sports subcultures

are supported by the internet with enthusiasts and clubs setting up websites and chatrooms providing information about venues, news and local activities. Alongside these more mainstream (if they can be described as such) adventure sports a new type of activity such as *parkour* (freestyle running), BASE jumping, tombstoning (cliff jumping) have emerged predicated

upon similar values such as individuality, freedom and a maverick spirit. Although these activities do not rely on expensive equipment or specialised settings for their practice, they too are attractive to filmmakers, music video directors and advertisers. *Parkour*, for instance, attracts much interest in its spectacular stunts within the urban settings. Luc Besson's science fiction film, *District 13* (2004) featuring David Belle and Cyril Raffaeli uses *parkour* stunts as an integral plot device, Toyota features *parkour* in their 2006 advertising campaign and *Grand Theft Auto 4*, amongst a myriad of video games, features *parkour* moves.

One key issue of representations of adventure sports is whether they can express the emotions felt by participants during their play. Saville (2008), for instance, notes how emotions in *parkour* can restrict or encourage creativity in the play situation. Wheaton and Beal (2003) suggest that authenticities in adventure sports are predicated on action rather than reflection. Nevertheless participants and young people find representations whether in mass or subcultural media of continuing fascination and there is little doubt that mass media and subcultural representations do have some influences on participants' behaviours, styles and attitudes (Thornton, 1996; Wheaton and Beal, 2003).

A number of issues recur throughout the collection such as the nature and expression of subcultural identities and values; the impact of promotional culture, and its relationship with globalization, glocalization and local identities and issues of risk raised by the encounters between adventure sports and their representations in the media. The collection is divided into two sections: representing adventure sports, and mediating identities. The former discusses problems in the representations of adventure sports within a consumer culture; the latter discusses the formation of identities arising from the interplay between globalized, glocalized and localized media representations and identities. However, these categories are not discreet as issues overlap and recur throughout the collection. Indeed some of the ideas put forth raise intriguing questions about the tenuous connection between representations and the construction of identities within adventure sports subcultures, but also in broader societal perceptions of these activities. These issues are discussed below to frame the debates raised in the papers.

Representing adventure sports

The relationship between adventure sports and representations is ambiguous: on one hand it is difficult to escape advertising images and films in contemporary culture, but these images are often rejected by subcultural

participants who favour their own media production. Subcultural media texts in magazines and films have attracted much research and analysis (Henderson: 1999, 2001; Stratton, 1996; Stranger, 1999). However, adventure sports participants are also fascinated by mainstream media representations

in video games and extreme sports channels. Indeed, Wheaton notes the diverse and fragmented ways participants engage with these sports: "watching television, videos and live performances to playing the video games" (Wheaton, 2004: p. 8). This contemporary grazing of mass media and subcultural texts differs from earlier media representations up to the early 1980s when communications were more tenuous. In my [Wheaton's] research on surfing in the 1960s and '70s, surfers did not have much choice on surfing representations they could access in mass or subcultural media. When they did access media representations in films and magazines they used them to learn how to improve their surf technique. For instance, Bez Newton who surfed in the 1960s and 1970s noted that:

I suppose it must have taken me five years to get to the standard that most guys get to in six months now. There are reasons for that: we never saw a surfing magazine, and until they came along and we saw pictures of guys hanging ten … we didn't know that was something you could do on a surf board. (Newton, 1975: p. 10)

However, they too were fascinated by any imagery of their sport. Clearly then, although mass media representations may not possess the authenticity of the subcultural production, nevertheless they are relevant to subcultural participants as they articulate models of behaviour and values. This is noted by Thornton (1996) in her study of clubcultures and Wheaton and Beal (2003) in their analysis of skateboarding and windsurfing magazines.

The subcultural and mass media are crucial in the formation and 'authentication' of subcultural hierarchies and identities (Thornton, 1996: p. 9).

In her study on club cultures, Thornton (1996) draws upon Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural capital' as the basis of her argument (Bourdieu, 1984). 'Cultural capital' is not economic capital but is based upon one's *habitus* or social background which informs one's cultural tastes. To demonstrate an expertise or knowledge within a specific field or social *milieu* can result in achieving more cultural capital and *kudos*. For instance within sports, capital can be achieved by prizes or breaking records. Whilst not earning money, these achievements can earn cultural capital that can, in turn, attract funding and sponsorship. Thornton argues that subcultural capital, likewise, can be achieved by knowledge or the accumulation of commodities within a subcultural setting. In surfing, for instance, subcultural capital is achieved if one is a technically competent surfer rather than someone who can afford expensive surfing accessories, because, as in most adventure sports, authenticity is demonstrated through ability to do it (Wheaton and Beal, 2003).

Arising from the notion proposed above that 'buying' into adventure

sports is regarded less favourably than commitment to and participation in the subculture in time and effort (Wheaton and Beal, 2003), a key issue in the representation of adventure sports is in their relationship with consumer culture. Many of the representations prevalent in consumer culture arise from forms of promotional culture, whether they promote a film, video game or after-shave lotion. Moreover, media representations are encoded with stories. In his 'encoding/decoding' model Hall (1999) for instance argues that representations cannot transmit an exact record of events, they must always be translated within institutional discourses: "the event must become a 'story' before it can become a *communicative event"* (Hall, 1999: p. 52). In the translation and editing of the event producers encode ideological messages into the text. Adventure sports texts are often produced to appeal to youthful or marginalised audiences in their representations of exotic but also adrenalin-fuelled imagery. Campbell's notion of fantasy (1987) and the 'daydream' evoked by the media text through the effects of capitalism is useful to consider here. The notion of the romanticised and fantasy scenario is related to individual lifestyles in high capitalism in which "The individual is both actor and audience in his own drama … he constructed it, stars in it, and constitutes the sum total of the audience" (Campbell, 1987: p. 78). The fantasy lifestyle promoted by the sojourn or 'self departure' (Rosengren, 1971) in a number of activities which might include adventure sports is inspired by media representations. Rosengren argues that day-dreaming is an integral part of the sojourn or tourist experience and fantasy scenarios are constructed in promises of escape from the mundane everyday world to idealised destinations and experiences in magazines. This can be seen in Bruce Brown's film, *The Endless Summer* (1964) in which two surfers anticipate their 'surfari' around the world. Both read holiday brochures recommending shark repellent and spelling out the dangers and pleasures of travel. In this way the adventure sports participant enjoys a 'self departure' in mind in addition to a departure in body (Rosengren, 1971). That they are travelling around the world is significant as their encounter with the fantasy worlds of global travel enables them to construct 'imagined lives' (Wheaton, 2005: p. 146). A further issue of significance in this debate is the relationship between mass media representations, the desire to experience 'fantasy lifestyles' and risk — a thread recurring in many of the chapters in this collection.

Risk

The late 20th and the early 21st centuries seem to signal a major shift in leisure participation in industrialised countries. Representations of adventure sports in the mass media demonstrate what Beck (1992) describes as the importance of experiencing danger and 'living life to the full' in a 'risk society'.

Millions of people now apparently seek ‘danger’ and discomfort in unprex
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dictable or physically threatening settings in the performance of their leisure activities. In his study of adventure sports participants’ motivations, Fletcher (2008) notes that the risk posed by these sports appeals to middle-class audiences because it produces a release and deferred gratification from the demands of the workplace. In his study on skydiving, Lyng (1990) notes that, contrary to societal ‘norms’ of behaviour, some individuals enjoy the thrill of putting their bodies in danger: “…they all involve a clearly observable threat to one’s physical and mental well-being or one’s sense of an ordered existence” (Lyng 1990: p. 857). Lyng describes this type of action as ‘edgework’
and suggests this negotiating of the borders of life and death is a way of experiencing life in the raw. ‘Edgeworkers’, however, are not totally foolhardy as they have a level of expertise that provides them with a degree of control in a dangerous situation.
Risk and danger are also increasingly used in the promotion of adventure sports (Palmer, 2004). The ‘cool’ associations of these sports attract youth markets, but, more significantly, affluent youth markets, making adventure sports attractive to promotional culture but these representations carry with them problems in their transmission through promotional culture. The representation
and consumption of adventure sports is big business, and the association of ‘adventure’ with a product or service seems to lend a glamour and desirability formerly only achieved using sexual imagery as marketing gloss. While adventure sports often appeal through their promise of excitement, there are also a growing number of more dangerous pursuits that can lead to injury and deathfor those for whom the thrills of more recognised adventure sports are not adequate. Activities such as train surfing, sky surfing and ‘tombstoning’ (cliff jumping) can be viewed on YouTube. There are growing numbers of internet websites and networks supporting these activities but also a rise in reported accidents and fatalities when they go wrong. In the latter case, these types of activity blur the distinctions between sport and play through their appeal to elements of risk, danger and adventure.
A further issue associated with the representations of adventure sports is in their dissemination through globalized mediascapes and the relationships between global and local communities.
Mediating identities: the global, the local, and the glocal
In his seminal work on globalization Robertson (1992) argues that globalization is both a psychological perception of the world as a single entity and a physical phenomenon arising from better transport and communications systems. These phenomena have shrunk the world into what McLuhan

describes as a ‘global village’ (McLuhan and Powers, 1989). The development of the global as a homogenous phenomenon runs hand in hand with the growing development of national identities from the late eighteenth century. Anderson (1991) notes how, from the sixteenth century, these national iden
tities are produced from print media that construct notions of imagined identities. These imagined identities form perceptions of what it is to be English, French, etc. and respond to globalized phenomena at a local level. Much debate on the relationship between the global and the local is concerned with the unequal relationship between the West, usually America or trans global corporations, and the disempowered local (Hannerz, 1991: p. 87). Global culture, it is assumed, is promoted by global media corporations which produce deterritorialised, culturally disconnected, and homogenous texts. Relating this to sport, Wagner (1989) for instance, argues that Americanization
and blandness is implicated in the character of global sport.
However, this position has been contested as too simplistic by Robertson (1990) who describes the interplay between the global and local as ‘glocal’. Supporters of glocalization have argued for either an ‘adapt’ or ‘resist’ approach to glocalization; however, as Giulianotti and Robertson (2007) argue, the local is an integral component of the global and there are more complex reactions between the two states. Appadurai (1990), for instance, argues that Anderson’s notion of ‘imagined’ communities underpins a more complex relationship between global and local, facilitated by flows such as econoscapes (the flows of money), technoscapes (the flow of technology) and mediascapes. Using Scottish football fans who have migrated to North America as their case study, Giulianotti and Robertson (2007) identify four glocalized responses to the global and local interplay: relativization, accommodation, hybridization and transformation.
As noted above, the collection is organised in two sections: representing adventure sports and mediated identities. The purpose of the collection is to open up a debate into the meanings and issues arising from representations of adventure sports. The contributors’ backgrounds reflect the interdisciplinary nature of adventure sports’ research with chapters coming from fields such as law, sports sociology, marketing, film and media and sociology. The contributors have employed a range of empirical methodologies such as qualitative
and quantitative surveys and interviews, auto-ethnographic writing and analyses of legal and Parliamentary documents, marketing ephemera, films and magazines. All the chapters, in some ways, reflect upon the relationship
between representations and adventure sports whether relating them to globalization/ glocalization/ localization, risk or identities.

Representing adventure sports

Section 1, Representing adventure sports examines the relationship between mass media and subcultural representations and adventure sports. **Robin Canniford**'s chapter on the construction of surfing as primitive and exotic demonstrates how the process of encoding works, as he describes the results of an extended case study into the social construction of surfing culture. He identifies representations of surfing within an historical and

anthropological context from the primitive, sexualised and deviant tropes that have been associated with the South Seas and surfing since the 19th century. Whilst these features have led to disapproval and censure from religious and governmental authorities, they have also been instrumental in establishing the popularity of surfing as an iconic market phenomenon in Westernised societies from the 1950s onwards. Relating these early images to contemporary surfing discourses, Canniford's provocative thesis is that surfing has become a form of *contained illegality*: a deviant and risky cultural space that treads the boundaries between delinquency and productivity. This status has become an ordering principle around which the reconstruction of surfing has taken place. Canniford notes that these representations of transgression and deviance in surfing have thus become significant in identity construction, marketing and subcultural theory.

Canniford's chapter identifies issues of identity construction from outside the subculture. The following chapter examines socio-historic issues affecting surfing outside the subculture and how these issues could be identified within the narratives of 'pure' surfing films' (films produced by surfers to appeal to surfer audiences). In 'Representing 'authentic' surfer identities in "pure" surf films', **Joan Ormrod** examines wider cultural issues such as masculinity encoded in the behaviour and performance of the surfing hero in 'pure' surfing films. However, the surfing hero does not enact a homogenous

and essentialist notion of masculinity; rather he expresses a plurality of masculine identities (Kennedy 2000; Wheaton 2000) or as Mangan (1996) describes it, 'ubiquitous masculinity'. Dawson (1994) goes one step further, suggesting that the adventure hero, a creation of 'cultural activity', is constructed

in different forms depending upon the historic-cultural moment. Ormrod's chapter illuminates the masculinities revealed in 'pure' surfing films as fluid, changing from the carefree, laddish behaviour of the early 1960s Malibu surfers to the sensitive, hedonist soul surfers of the early 1970s and the rowdy, wave-ripping pro surfers of the late 1970s *Free Ride* generation. However, even with these seemingly diverse performances of surfer identities, values such as courage and risk were also promoted in the films' narratives. The chapter identifies how diegetic (narrative devices

within the film) and institutional devices produce surfing audiences' identification. In the film narratives, ideal audiences (young, male, white, surfers) were encouraged to model their behaviours and masculine performances
on that of the stars in the films. However, these behaviours were also reinforced through institutional strategies such as the distribution and screening of the films in small venues.

The following chapters explore the sometimes uneasy relationship between public relations and adventure sports. In her chapter, 'Public Relations and the promotion of adventure sport', **Jacquie L'Etang** argues that insufficient attention is given to source-media relations both in sports studies and media studies. Based on interviews with practitioners, editors and the

adventure sports community, she utilises concepts from public relations and cultural theory to understand critical dynamics behind the scenes of representation. She includes a discussion of the promotion and representation of risk through newspaper articles on specific sports: mountain biking, canoeing, adventure racing, kite-surfing and skating (skateboard-ing), largely, but not exclusively, within Scotland and in the context of sports tourism. She also notes the responses from subcultural media to alarmist articles concluding that some adventure sports need to generate income to survive. It is in the generation of income that the tenuous line between representations glamourising risk must be balanced with accusations of 'selling out'.

Where issues of risk and 'selling out' may be the concerns of subcultural participants (Wheaton, 2005), **Brian Simpson**'s chapter examines the discourses
constructing deviancy in legal and statutory documents. Simpson deconstructs Parliamentary and legal discourses surrounding 'hoons' (a term applied in Australia to a person who drives fast, although it has been applied in particular to those who participate in street racing) to expose the paradoxes of encoding within legal and Parliamentary institutions. He describes how a number of Australian State Parliaments have passed 'anti-hoon' laws which provide for the confiscation of hoons' ve-hicles. Usually such laws are debated in terms of the extent to which they effectively or fairly deal with the 'social problem' they aim to address. Simpson exposes the strategies used by lawmakers
who, he argues, define street racing as the social problem. Reading the law and parliamentary debates on these laws as a narrative poses questions as to whether the problem of street racing has more to do with the views of powerful groups as to what is 'appropriate' sport (with presumably acceptable
levels of risk) and what is 'inap-propriate behaviour' not worthy of the label 'sport'. Reading legal materials in this manner reveals other possible

explanations for the legal construction and representation of this activity.

Mediated identities

Section 2, Mediated identities explores globalized and marginalized identities in adventure sports. Global representations, as noted above, inspire dreams of fantasy lifestyles, dreams that can sometimes obfuscate issues of risk. So what happens in encounters between two cultures with entirely different attitudes towards risk? This is the basis for **Barbara Humberstone**'s chapter which examines risk and danger in adventure holiday promotion. Humberstone identifies the mismatch between encoded messages of exoticism and paradise in the homogenous packaging of adventure education. Adventure education is packaged in a homogenous manner to efface the risks and dangers of the adventure experience, 'consumers are encouraged to 'buy into' the product without fully understanding the skills and experience needed to participate with, on occasions, dire consequences'. Humberstone's chapter locates these debates within a glocalized framework, comparing

western attitudes towards danger with those of the indigenes in Mauritius. In her use of 'glocalization' Humberstone relates Robertson's notion of the glocal, the ways in which local texts react or adapt to global texts. For instance, Ritzer (2003, 2004) argues that global corporations such as MacDonald's adapt to local tastes in their production of commodities. So, as Humberstone notes, the packaging of the local through the global adventure experience is a type of 'adventure in a bun'.

An example of glocalized sporting identities transformation is made in the chapter by **Ugo Corte and Bob Edwards** which examines the development of the small city of Greenville, North Carolina as one of three or four internationally

significant hubs of BMX (bicycle motocross and freestyle) biking. Surprisingly Greenville's significance for BMX eclipses much larger metropolitan

areas in the Unit-ed States. Known by the BMX community as "Pro-Town USA", a large contingent of BMX professionals from the U.S., Australia and Europe have relocated to live and ride in Greenville. These athletes divide their time between Greenville, NC and touring the country to be filmed for videos, performing at demonstration shows during the weekends, and participating in a national contest circuit that consists of four major competitions,

most notably ESPN's X-Games and the Gravity Games. The most famous BMX pros appear in popular media (e.g. hosting MTV shows), promote video games that feature them, and juggle a busy schedule of commercial appearances for corporate sponsors. Drawing on Snow's concept of "theoretical extension" (Snow, 2004) Corte and Edwards explain how, and why, a group of people from different parts of the world has come together in a

peripheral place and constructed an alternative lifestyle around an extreme sport that has become the centre of their lives. The research also outlines the features of the collective/transformed identity and closed community that its members have created. A mix of factors congruent with a recent formulation of resource mobilization theory (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004), and collective identity (Taylor and Wittier, 1992), help to account for the relocation process and community construction that has been taking place in Greenville. Ultimately the research highlights the conditions and properties that create a special lifestyle community, and therefore aims at generalizing the findings to other subcultural communities centred on different professionalized sports and arts, and other forms of creative expression.

The following chapters scrutinize marginalised identities in adventure sports: Wheaton's chapter examines racialized 'others' in South African skate parks; Hardwell identifies the diverse values constructing indoor rock climbing. Taking her cue from Maguire (1999), **Belinda Wheaton** (2005), notes that in a globalized world although participants may enact, 'nomadic cosmopolitanisms',

or an open disposition to other cultures, the main participants in lifestyle sports tend to be Western white males. Indigenes are co-opted to work in tourist services such as cafes and hotels. Wheaton begins by reviewing current work around the cultural politics of lifestyle sport, focusing on the absence of 'race' and ethnicity. She suggests that although adventure sports have the potential to attract young people who are excluded from or disenfranchised by traditional institutional sport, in most activities the majority of participants are privileged white males. While it has been illustrated that extreme sport in North America has become an important contemporary site of whiteness, research exploring how participants in adventure sports activities *experience* such racial identities or how ethnicity is related to exclusion processes in these subcultures is limited. To explore this question Wheaton uses a case study of a skateboarding project based in and around Durban, South Africa, with an ethos of 'uniting people through skateboarding'. The paper therefore outlines an agenda for examining the construction of identity and difference in a global/local nexus in adventure sport cultures.

Wheaton challenges the issue of disempowerment and disaffection in such marginalised youth as it misunderstands the complexity of glocalized phenomena. Friedman (1991), for instance, uses Gongalese youths' consumption

of *La Sape* fashions to note that rather than resist hegemonic westernised culture, these youths appropriate and use these fashions as hierarchical markers of style in the Congo. Similarly, Wheaton shows how South African youths appropriated gangsta culture to enact transformed glocalized identities (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2007). In their use of spaces

and their skateboarding activities, Wheaton points out, “Lifestyle sport does have the *poten-tial* to include people of different backgrounds, including the least privileged like street kids. Aspects such as the lack of institutionalisation and adult control (more so in Europe than North America), the individualised and non-league based nature make it particularly open to the possibility of re-negotiated and self -generated identities and meanings” (Wheaton, this volume: p. 154).

A second area of negligence in adventure sports research is, according to Donnelly (2006), in its concerns over core members of a subculture and in their part in the construction of its values. Donnelly (2006) argues that research tends to ignore peripheral participants who take part in sports erratically or who are not core members of the subcultural elite: “the periphery has been there for as long as the subcultures, and their relationships to the extreme sports world are determined, defined, or developed in almost exclusively commercial ways; that is the sports and activities are purchased or, more accurately, consumed” (Donnelly, 2006: p. 219). Wheaton’s chapter, in analysing the behaviours of local disadvantaged black youth in Durban, South Africa responding to western culture, identifies a number of responses in Giulianotti and Robertson’s model, these are discussed below as they articulate some of the silenced voices at the peripheries of adventure sports cultures. These silent voices are also given voice in Hardwell’s research into indoor climbing cultures, and this chapter has implications for research into adventure sports subcultures as it traces the hierarchies between dominant and marginalised rock climbing forms.

Marginalised and silenced voices of a perceived ‘inauthentic’ form of rock climbing, indoor rock climbing, are examined in **Ashley Hardwell’s** chapter. Hardwell contends that UK rock climbing is a differentiated activity with easily rec-ognised sub-groups. Traditional climbing, sport climbing, bouldering and indoor climbing represent just four of these. Participants are able to choose the type of rock climbing they prefer. Heelas (1992: p. 2) sees this opening up of opportunity and choice as part of the way in which “capitalistic producers seek to increase sales” resulting in commodification and commercialisation of anything that can be sold. Hardwell’s chapter focuses specifically on research conducted with indoor-only climbers. It demonstrates the hierarchical construction of rock climbing through its various types, noting how subcultural values are expressed through the more traditional types of rock climbing and those with a longer heritage. Yet the appeal to indoor climbers differs from that of the more traditional outdoor climbers and this study raises the question of why a particular range of values is preferenced over others within subcultures.

Although the chapters are from diverse disciplinary backgrounds, they express many of the concerns of adventure sports in their interest in the

construction of identities and perceptions of adventure sports through representations.

In their underpinning research methods they have reached conclusions that develop or challenge issues surrounding globalization, risk and marginalised identities, mostly through the lens of media representations. Problems relating to adventure sports fetishization of danger and risk and their commodification in the mass media and globalized 'fantasy lifestyles' are identified in L'Etang and Humberstone's chapters. The complexities of representations in mass and subcultural media and institutional documents in Canniford and Simpson's chapters demonstrate the discursive constructions of transgression and exoticization in the "webs of significance" (Geertz, 1973: p. 5) that underpin perceptions of adventure sports outside the subcultures.

The importance of media representations in the construction of participants' collective values and hierarchies is identified in Ormrod, Corte and Edwards's chapters. Wheaton and Hardwell's chapters demonstrate both the diffuse nature of subcultures and the mutability of their values and hierarchies. While there remains much to do — for instance, in explorations of marginalised subcultural identities and in European globalized, glocalized and localized perspectives — this collection constitutes the basis for extending adventure sports research with a view to opening up new debates within this expanding discourse.

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