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The historical transformation of swimming into a modern leisure activity

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THE HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATION OF SWIMMING INTO A MODERN LEISURE ACTIVITY

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to trace the transformation of swimming from its earliest appearance in the literature to its contemporary form as a modern leisure activity. The processes of rationalization, legitimation and democratization are examined in pre-industrial, industrial, and post-industrial societies.

An investigation of the available literature disclosed negative attitudes toward swimming during the Middle Ages which caused a decrease in expressive uses of swimming. After this period, swimming's acceptance as a legitimate leisure activity continued to increase through the industrial and post-industrial eras. The democratization of swimming seemed limited to societies on the coasts of large bodies of water. But democratization widened as artificial pools were built, and changes occurred in economic conditions and social norms which allowed and even encouraged more groups of individuals to participate in aquatic activities.

Literary evidence has revealed that values and beliefs about leisure during the three time periods influenced those of swimming. It was also found that the condition of the work/leisure relationship had a profound affect upon the uses of swimming, and leisure in general.

Assumptions are made on the basis of the limitations of the literature. An unbiased perspective of swimming is absent in the early part of the pre-industrial period which may have

caused discrepancies in the analysis. Many contemporary authors have written of the aquatic and leisure activities of earlier societies based on records produced by the literate. Thus the activities of the elite are documented, but those of the "common rabble" often go unrecorded. Although reports of the socially accepted norms regarding swimming as dictated by the church and other institutes are available, they are not always reliable as indicators of actual behavior. Carl Degler suggests, even though certain behaviors are sanctioned by social authorities, public adherence does not necessarily follow. It is concluded that the instrumental uses, social acceptance, and social availability of swimming differed somewhat from what is reported in the literature.

THESIS DEDICATION

To (my father) the late Edward G. Haas, who provided for me the best that he could.

And to Jehovah, my heavenly Father, who gave me the best that there is, His Son, Jesus Christ.

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The preparation of this work included many moments

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Swimming Participation Today

Recent data indicate that swimming is a popular leisure activity. According to the 1992 American Red Cross Swimming and Diving Manual "an estimated 103 million people a year swim for survival, leisure, or competition..." (1992, p. 20). John Kelly (1987), reported that swimming attracted more interest and participation than any other activity. He found that although participation drops off with age, rates for those in their 40s, 50s, and 60s remain substantial. Recent growth trends have noted a "slight but consistent increase in swimming for those in Establishment and Pre-retirement periods of the life course" (Kelly, 1987, p. 119). Kelly also found a consistent correlation between educational attainment and monetary incomes and swimming participation. This indicates that those who are wealthier and better educated are somewhat more likely to include swimming in their leisure repertoire. The availability of access to aquatic facilities may be related to this finding.

Hicks-Hughes and Langendorfer (1986), reported that 5-10 million children under age six are enrolled in structured swimming classes. American Red Cross data show that there are 2,400 USS (United States Swimming) clubs enlisting 170,000

year-round athletes and 25,000 seasonal participants. Eight-hundred YMCAs offer competitive swim programs involving 50,000 boys and girls from the ages of ten to eighteen. The 8,000 member schools of the National Federation of State High School Associations have 170,000 swimming participants. Twenty-nine thousand college athletes compete on NCAA sanctioned intercollegiate swimming and diving teams. The U.S. Masters Program consists of 450 clubs with 28,000 swimmers. Two to three hundred thousand athletes participate in triathlons annually. And, the U.S. Synchronized Swimming organization reports 5,000 members while U.S. Water Polo, Inc. reports 11,000 members (American Red Cross, 1992).

The subscription rates of aquatic magazines also reflect the popularity of aquatic recreation. According to Ulrich's International Directory, the leading aquatic publication is Swimming Pools Today with 100,000 subscribers. Approximately 28,000 people receive Swimming World and 30,000 read Aquatics Magazine. In the United Kingdom, 17,000 households subscribe to Swimming Times, while 10,000 receive Swimming Pool. Four thousand Canadian subscribers read Swim Canada (Ulrich's International Directory Plus, 1989).

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that swimming as a leisure activity and/or sport is tremendously popular in contemporary western societies. But a broader historical perspective reveals that swimming has functioned differently, and been viewed differently, in previous cultures.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this investigation is to document the historical transformation of swimming from where the subject first appears in the literature, beginning in 55 BC, to its present status in order to assess how the activity arrived in its current condition. To this end, the processes of legitimation, rationalization, social distribution and democratization of swimming will be examined in various pre-industrial, industrial, and post-industrial societies.

Definition of Terms

Three terms borrowed from sociology--rationalization, legitimation, and democratization--have been applied to the historical analysis of swimming (McPherson, Curtis, & Loy, 1989).

Rationalization

The transformation of a leisure activity with non-utilitarian and expressive qualities into an instrumental and utilitarian endeavor is known as rationalization (McPherson, Curtis & Loy, 1989).

This concept is demonstrated in the film, The Two Ball Games (Devereux, 1976). The film documents the comparison of

the neighborhood drop-in ball game to the "little league" game. The neighborhood game is ruled more by play and spontaneity. Pleasurable social experiences with other children is the goal of this informal game. In contrast, specific rules, regulations, and form are highly valued in the "little league" game. The goal of this formal game is the determination of the winners and the losers at its outcome.

Legitimation

Legitimation is defined as the prevailing social thought within a particular society concerning the acceptability of participation in an activity in light of cultural norms and beliefs is defined as legitimation (McPherson, et.al., 1989).

Gambling can be used as an example of legitimation. Although some wagering is legal and utilized in the funding of building projects and community programs, "much of gambling associated with sport events is illegal" (McPherson, et.al., 1989, p. 138). In the past, Puritan religious beliefs dictated that card playing and betting were immoral activities. Wagering involving abuse to animals such as cock fighting is one example of gambling which is prohibited by law in the United States. Today, excessive gambling is considered an addictive, "pathological disease that can destroy an individual and [his/her] family" (McPherson,

et.al., 1989, p. 140) and is for the most part frowned upon.

Democratization

The democratization of a particular sport or activity reveals the gradual widening of accessibility and popularity of an activity to include those of different ages, genders, and races (McPherson et.al., 1989).

The racial history of American sports illustrates democratization. In the 1800s blacks participated in an array of sports, but by the turn of the century, they were discriminated against in nearly all sporting events. As a result, African-Americans were forced to form their own baseball and basketball leagues (Peterson, 1970). Today, blacks comprise large percentages of athletes in professional and collegiate sports. In NCAA Division I basketball alone, blacks make up 61% of male and 30% of female athletes (Berghorn, Yetman, and Hanna, 1988).

Swimming

Past societies did not have the technology of later periods, therefore we cannot describe swimming by certain specific strokes. But, we can generally refer to swimming as successful propulsion through the water by use of the arms and/or legs (Kidwell, 1968). For the purpose of this investigation, "swimming" will be viewed inclusively as

recreation, sport, exercise, and leisure as well as an instrument of utility. When swimming is used for recreational purposes it is a "voluntary, non-work activity organized for specific personal and social benefits" (Kelly, 1987). When the intent of engaging in swimming is to improve and maintain bodily function, feeling, and appearance it may be called exercise (Greer, 1986). Swimming will be described as sport when it is used to demonstrate physical skill and prowess in competition against an opponent or some other standard (McPherson, et.al., 1989). Practical uses of swimming will be discussed in detail in Chapter One. However, the development of swimming into a leisure activity, will be the focus of this study. Various concepts of leisure which will later be applied to swimming are presented below.

The Concept of Leisure

Aristotle and Plato

In Nichomachean Ethics, Book 2, Aristotle described leisure, (scholé), as the freedom to engage in a fulfilling activity for its own sake as opposed to its converse, work, (aschole'), which is activity of necessity. Aristotle believed that leisure was not dependent upon the activity itself, but on the individual's state or frame of mind while involved in the activity. Aristotle's definition of leisure

as activity for its own sake and as a state of mind or being has become known as the classical or traditional view of leisure.

Perceived Freedom

The element of freedom is an important theme in the concept of leisure. Kelly describes leisure as an "activity chosen in relative freedom for its qualities of satisfaction" (Kelly, 1982, p. 7). A similar, but fuller explanation of leisure has been given by Geoffrey Godbey: "Living in relative freedom from the external compulsive forces of one's culture and physical environment so as to be able to act from compelling love in ways that are personally pleasing, intuitively worthwhile, and provide a basis for faith" (Godbey, 1990, p. 9). Perceived freedom in a freely chosen activity is central in both the Kelly and the Godbey definition of leisure and is consistent with Aristotle. These definitions communicate the concept of internally felt freedom from outside constraints in an endeavor that was freely chosen for its enjoyable qualities. In other words, an individual becomes so engrossed in his/her self-determined activity chosen for the expectation of a pleasant experience that all sense of necessity is forgotten. A similar concept is that of "flow" by Csilkzentmihalyi (1971). The experience

of "flow" comes about when the challenge of the activity and the level of personal ability are matched. Although "flow" is not identical to leisure, it is an analogous concept and can be described it as an "autotelic... creative, expressive, exciting, emotionally enriching, or fulfilling...[activity which has] a direct meaning for the leisure actor" (Kelly, 1982, p. 166-67).

Leisure as a Reflection of Social Class

In his observations of the economic system, Thorstein Veblen (1899), defined leisure as a status symbol represented by a life style of idleness for those who could afford it.

> "Time is consumed non-productively (1) from a sense of the unworthiness of productive work, and (2) as an evidence of pecuniary ability to afford a life of idleness" (Veblen, 1899, p. 43).

Ladies and gentlemen of leisure avoided taking part in activities that would result in some product of labor like those produced by the servants and craftsmen in their employ. Instead, trophies, degrees and honorary decorations were used as evidence of "leisure class" status.

Free Time

The concept of leisure as "free time", meaning that which remains after the necessities of life have been fulfilled is included in various definitions of leisure by many authors. "Free time" has been termed residual, discretionary or unobligated time (Berger, 1963; Kaplan, 1975; Kraus, 1971; Murphy, 1981; Neulinger, 1981). The potential error of linking "free time" with leisure was pointed out by G.K. Chesterton. He wrote that although leisure may in fact occur in unobligated time, there was also the possibility that it may not. Chesterton found that the problem had resulted from the three ways in which leisure had been defined:

> "The first is being allowed to do something. The second is being allowed to do anything. And the third (and perhaps most rare and precious) is being allowed to do nothing" (Chesterton, 1928).

Chesterton saw the allowance to do something as the most popular and prevalent view of leisure in his time. Being free to create one's own leisure endeavor in one's personal free time, according to Chesterton was limited to artists and

other creative types. But, it was "allowed idleness" that Chesterton believed to be "the truest form of leisure" (Rybczynski, 1991, p. 15).

Instrumental Leisure

Therapeutic benefits of leisure have been considered from different aspects. Leisure has also been used as a means of personal recovery and growth and change in mental and physical ways. Beck-Ford and Brown, (1984), wrote that the "development of leisure skills, and participation in leisure pursuits, enhances personal growth, self image, fitness of body and mind and motivation" (p. 3).

Compensatory Leisure

Rybczynski (1991) touched on leisure as time used in compensation for labors. Kelly (1982), described this concept as leisure that is chosen in contrast to highly constrained working conditions in which individuals experience social limitations at their jobs. According to Marx, human beings have a need to be able to make decisions and create relationships in the community with others. Kelly wrote that "when [individuals are] cut off from opportunities for decision and community, they are "alienated" from their own natures and from others" (Kelly, 1987). Therefore, this form

of leisure is necessary as "a respite from productive roles [and] a context for social bonding" (Kelly, 1987).

Work, Leisure and Industrialization

In the preceding discussion, some descriptions of leisure involved its relation to work. The relationship of work and leisure has played an important role in the development of many leisure activities. The historical significance of this relationship will be discussed in the following chapters.

Work

Aschole', the Greek word for work, describes the necessary activities performed as a means to an end which results in the provision of the basic needs. Kelly (1982), defines work as a "productive activity that yields a result of economic or social value" (Kelly, 1982, p. 115). From a historical perspective, "labor" is the term used for this concept, which was performed by slaves and members of a working class (Murphy, 1981). Work has also been described as a "creative, intellectual expression engaged in by free citizens and the elite class" (Murphy, 1981, p. 55).

Others have seen work/labor as not only an avenue to economic subsistence, but to morality as well. Time not spent

in a useful manner was seen as slothfulness by some religeous leaders. The idea of idleness being an enemy to the soul may have begun in a sixth century monastery at Monte Cassino. St. Benedict believed that work was good for the soul. In this view, the quantity of time spent in labors was thought more important than the outcomes of the work itself (Fabun, 1967). These concepts of work are very likely to have been forerunners of the Puritan "work ethic" which asserts that godliness is achieved by living a sober life filled with diligent work (Kelly, 1982). Remnants of this belief so entrenched in the American psyche may explain the strong incentive workers seem to possess which causes them to engage in intensive labor.This may have lead to what Schor (1991), describes as the "Overworked American."

These understandings of the historical associations of work and leisure and their importance in pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial societies will form a basis for the analysis in chapters two through four.

CHAPTER 2

PRE-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

In his book Leisure (1982), John Kelly presented several features of pre-industrial societies. He wrote that "land, water, and produce" made up the economic base of most societies of this type (Kelly, 1982, p. 42). The home, the work place and the environmental surroundings were often integrated. The seasons of planting, harvesting, and hunting dictated the community schedule. Leisure was limited in these small, rural communities because of the usual isolation and was therefore "integrated into the work and survival patterns of life" (Kelly, 1982, p. 42). Holidays or "holy days" were also occasions for leisure in community-wide celebrations and social interactions.

Folk Societies

Murphy, (1981), named the earliest type of community life the "Folk Society." The American colonies of the early 1600s could exemplify this societal category. His description of these small, isolated, homogeneous groups which existed at a subsistence level is consistent with Kelly's explanation of pre-industrial societies in several ways. Murphy wrote that they were agrarian societies dependent upon the land and

subject to the elements. Their daily living routines relied upon nature's schedule. Labor and leisure tended to be fused in these societies. Stanley Parker wrote that the people of the Folk Society "approached many of their daily activities as if they were play" (Parker, 1971, p. 39). While writing of this type of society, Murphy referred to leisure as "a part of living, interwoven into the main fabric of life" (Murphy, 1981, p. 56).

A leisure activity which may have often taken place in Folk Societies at social gatherings and during work was storytelling (Murphy, 1981). The handing down of legends about the heros and heroines spoken of in Viking and Anglo Saxon literature may have occurred at this time. These legends included tales of super human feats of swimming. One such story told of a hero who for days engaged in battle with gigantic beasts on the ocean floor (Orme, 1983).

Swimming in Folk Societies had practical and utilitarian importance, especially in primitive communities of coastal regions which depended on aquatic abilities for the basic necessities of life that bordering bodies of water could provide. Anthropologist Margaret Mead lived among one such people, the Manus tribe of New Guinea. It was reported that this tribe literally lived on the water and therefore had multiple uses for swimming, from gathering food in the ocean to using it as a mode of transportation (Mead, 1956).

Other tribes, such as the Yokut of California (Gayton,

1936, 1948), and the Northern Pacific tribe of the Dyaks (Roth, 1893), used their diving and underwater skills in catching fish with their bare hands. Some North American Indian cultures viewed swimming as a method for acquiring courage and health (Goodwin & Basso, 1971), as well as spiritual cleanliness (Michelson, 1930). The Akikuyu of Africa were reported to have historically gained military advantage over their adversaries because of their swimming abilities (Routledge & Routledge, 1910).

Swimming was also used as a military advantage by Caesar Augustus. In writings of the conquests of Caesar appear tales of how great military victories were accomplished because of the swimming abilities of the soldiers and their specially trained war horses (Orme, 1983).

With leisure interspersed throughout the day, it seems likely that members of Folk Societies also engaged in swimming for non-utilitarian and non-instrumental uses during periods of work, perhaps while fishing or repairing a boat. Swimming could have been engaged in for enjoyment and pleasure, especially in the case of young children. The Aristotelian, Classical or Traditional view of leisure can be applied in this instance (Godbey, 1990; Murphy, 1981). In this context, swimming as leisure can be described as not related to work, but not used as an escape from it either. It was personally satisfying and expressive and as G.K. Chesterton wrote, a true form of leisure (Chesterton, 1928).

Pre-Modern Societies

In most pre-modern societies, a large mass of working class peasants co-existed with and served a small group of aristocratic and priestly elite. In this type of society leisure was available in religeous rituals, weddings and secular celebrations. Much like "folk societies", those of the working class enjoyed their leisure intermixed during work in their daily routines. These societies existed during medieval times with serfs representing the peasant class and lords being the elites.

Although the literature concerning swimming during this period is very limited, Kidwell (1968) has reported that Romans swam for the functions of cleansing, exercise and recreations. It was common for scholars to hold intellectual discussions while wading in garden pools.

Murphy (1981), suggests that the segregation of leisure and work had its beginnings in this type of society. While the working class labored away at the necessities of life, the elite engaged in culturally creative endeavors beyond those necessary for survival and economic productivity.

During the Middle Ages there is evidence of negative attitudes toward swimming that may have caused the reduction of its use as recreation, leisure, physical exercise, and sport (Kidwell, 1968). It is likely that swimming's popularity dwindled significantly due to several beliefs of

the period. Religious leaders professed negative views of swimming because of a particular Biblical reference to swimming; Isaiah 25:10-11. The dominant interpretation of this verse indirectly taught that swimming was engaged in only by drowning men unsuccessfully struggling to stay afloat, but only prolonging the agony of an impending death (Orme, 1983). Despite this, swimming skills were still perceived as essential for warriors (Kidwell, 1968). Epitoma Rei Militaris, written by Vegetius, was used as the basic text book which described how a knight should be properly trained to correctly engage in battle and conduct sieges. The Vegetius work included a...

> "chapter in which swimming was recommended to [a potential warrior] as a practical and necessary skill in war...[and a] valuable part of the education of any youth who wished to become a knight" (Orme, 1983, p. 27).

Johannes Rothe also reported on the chivalric education of young noblemen in Der Ritterspiegel (Knight's Mirror) which included...

> "...how to swim and dive into the water, [he] knows how to turn and twist on his

> back and on his belly" (Rothe as cited in Broekhoff, 1968).

Despite urgings from the Epitoma Rei Militaris and Der Ritterspiegel that swimming was a practical skill for knights to know, references in the literature of it actually being used are sparse. Orme (1983) explains;

> "The knights of literature went about their business in amour and on horseback, and authors and their audiences do not seem to have thought swimming either possible or proper in these circumstances. (when mentioned) knightly involvement with the water was a rare and indeed a ridiculous activity" (Orme, 1983, p. 30-33).

It would seem that evidence from the Middle Ages suggests that there were those who strongly believed that swimming as recreation was a useless and futile activity, while others felt to an equal degree from an instrumental perspective that it was an essential and noble skill.

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe

With the close of the Middle Ages came new influences on swimming. Aquatics again became attractive in this period as demonstrated by references from European literature. The first occurred when clergymen reanalyzed their ancestors' opinions of swimming as a futile activity of those condemned to die to a more positive concept of power, grace and nobility.

> "The tone is one of approval, even of admiration, and the old associations of weakness, frustration and failure are replaced by those of strength, skill and success" (Orme, 1983, p. 49).

A second positive influence was scholarly writing on the art of swimming that took an educational and scientific approach to the subject. Everard Digby's work, De Arte Natandi, published in the year of 1587, is perhaps the earliest and most complete source of information on swimming from that age. It describes and illustrates the positions and movements of swimming. The book's popularity can be noted in the many times it has been translated, abridged and even plagiarized by several authors. It was translated from eloquent Latin to English by Christopher Middleton in 1595.

William Percy used Digby's writings nearly a century later in The Complete Swimmer, (1658), while making no mention of the original author. Percy was able to translate Digby's elaborate Latin to English which allowed him to plagiarize the work so easily. Nearly fifty years later, a French author, Melchesidek Thevenot, translated Digby's book into French, L'Art de Nager. At least Thevenot mentioned Digby, 'of whom I have made use" (Thevenot, 1696).

During this period, bathing was believed to possess healing properties (Kidwell, 1968). Spas were developed at fresh water springs to provide "cures" for a number of ailments. A 1748 reference to therapeutic bathing in George Washington's diary concerned the "fam'd Warm Springs" (Kidwell, 1968, p. 6). A later reference in 1769, involves a trip to the same spring, now known as Berkeley Springs, West Virginia. George and Martha had taken their daughter, Patsy Custis, to the springs in an attempt to relieve a form of epilepsy from which she suffered (Kidwell, 1968).

Revolutionary America

Benjamin Franklin, the "American aquatic" as he was known, taught himself to swim from Thevenot's book (Franklin, 1790). As a boy young Ben experimented with assorted apparatuses and miscellaneous aquatic skills, such as allowing a kite in mid-breeze to pull him across a pond while

back floating. The famous statesman and ambassador to France taught many others to swim as well and considered opening his own aquatic school. Franklin spoke positively of swimming several times in his personal correspondences to friends.

> "The exercise of swimming is one of the most healthy and agreeable in the world. After havingswam for an hour or two in the evening, onesleeps coolly the whole night, even during themost ardent heat of summer" (Franklin, 1768, p.403).

In scholarly writings, Franklin strongly stated that swimming ought to be taught to boys in school. He make reference to the Romans who saw the skill as important as that of reading in a youth's education.

> "'Tis suppos'd that every Parent would beglad to have their Children skill'd in Swimming,if it might be learnt in a Place chosen for its Safety, and under the Eye of a careful Person. Mr. Locke says, p. 9. in his Treatiseof Education; 'Tis that saves many a Man's Life;and the Romans thought it so necessary, that they rank'd it with Letters; and it was the common

Phrase to mark one ill educated, andgood for nothing, that he neither learnt to read nor to swim." (Franklin, 1749-1769 p. 5).

CHAPTER 3

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND NEW LEISURE

Industrialization and Urbanization

Urban centers grew in size and social significance with the onset of industrialization. According to Rybcyzenski, as people were attracted in from the countryside, industrial cities expanded in concentric circles defined by economic class. At the center were the slums surrounding the factories which housed poor workers. The middle class lived in neat, tidy neighborhoods beyond the slums. Outside the city, inaccessible to the railways as well as to the masses were the embellished residences of the wealthy (Rybczynski, 1991).

Those who remained in rural areas experienced alienation as they felt the continual loss of control over their lives. Agrarian communities became dependent upon the railroads, which began to criss-cross the nation, to get produce to market. Individual livelihoods became reliant upon the prices decided by those in power so far away (Wiebe, 1967).

Many immigrated to the city from nearby rural areas and from across the ocean, drawn by the elusive "American Dream" of going from rags to riches by the sole means of determination and hard work. America became a capitalistic society, where the bourgeoisie class, a small group of

individuals owned "the means of production; the machines, buildings, land and materials used in the production of goods and services", while the working class, or the proletariat class, provided the labor power, trading both mental and physical capabilities and time to transform raw materials into consumable products for wages provided by the owners of the means of production (McPherson et.al., 1989).

Impact of Industrial Revolution on the Work/Leisure Relationship

Many scholars have observed that "work" and "leisure" were seemingly fused in the pre-industrial societies. The mixing of the necessary and the free was common in the daily routines of individuals in these rural, agrarian societies. Major revisions occurred in the work/leisure relationship at the onset of the industrial era. Schedules became ruled by the time clock. Work and leisure were segregated into specific and separate hours and places. Leisure became defined as time away from work as well as a compensation for work.

In this new arrangement, work and leisure seemingly became eternally divorced in the industrial age. The need for machines to be manned required a specific time and place for work, which was no longer dependent upon the season or the weather. Leisure became segregated into non-work slots of

time. "Work came to be done in a particular place, at a special, separate time, and under certain conditions" (Godbey, 1990, p. 27). Conflicts soon arose in bourgeoisie/proletariat relationships and were usually caused by the capitalistic desire to "keep wages low and productivity high" (McPherson, 1989, p. 173) which meant long working hours for the proletariat class. Workers strived to improve wages and working conditions as well as shorten labor hours so leisure time could be enjoyed. The nature of the work usually done in mass production may have involved performing the same task, the same way, perhaps hundreds of times per day, proved to be both dissatisfying and unfulfilling to workers because it did not allow for individuality, autonomy, or creativity. Deprived of their previous level of satisfaction in labor, workers began to search for self actualization in their time away from work (Murphy, 1981). Leisure, now increasingly associated with an identifiable period of time, became a valuable commodity to be fought for. "Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest and eight hours for what we will" (Norton, Katzman, Escott, Chudacoff, Paterson, Tuttle, 1990, p. 565) was the battle cry of workers who organized to demand their leisure rights.

Trade unions organized a movement in the 1860s which demanded an eight-hour work day to replace the prevailing average day of eleven hours. These union efforts reduced the work day to nine hours by 1900 and, after several major

strikes, the eight-hour work day became reality for some by 1907. Eventually, the five-day work week came into being not because of worker demands, but as a result of the need to spread job availability during the Great Depression. As the forty-hour week, eight-hour day became written law in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the "New Leisure" was created (Rybczynski, 1991).

Industrialized Leisure

Those who subscribed to the Puritan work ethic feared how the working man would choose to use his new leisure. Walter Lippmann wrote about this "problem of leisure" in a 1930 edition of Woman's Home Companion. He warned that this New Leisure "offered the individual difficult choices, choices for which a work-oriented society had not prepared him" (Lippmann, 1930). It was supposed that time, which could be better used in gainful toil, would be twiddled away on sinful indulgences like drinking, dancing, gambling and other immoralities. Cities responded to this need for alternative leisure activities as well as the need for areas designated especially for recreation by developing land into city parks.

The concept of leisure as discretionary or residual time first made its appearance during the industrial period (Kelly, 1982; Murphy, 1981). Leisure activities not related to work were engaged in by workers during time left over

after work obligations were completed.

Swimming In the Industrial Age

During, this era there is evidence that swimming was a frequently chosen leisure activity. It became popular and more widely available to all, especially when the weather was permitting. By the turn of the century, most cities possessed a free pool. In larger cities, such as New York, crowds amassed beside these pools in search for relief from the summer heat. A line of eager bathers patiently awaiting their turn to plunge into the cooling water was a common sight. Every twenty minutes the pool was emptied of swimmers and a new batch was ushered in. One author described the free pool in an article which appeared in Outing Magazine;

> "The free pool is not a place of games, but a scene of revelry where young and old,clean and dirty, employed and idle, dive and swim, and paddle and splash. There is no system of instruction, only the freest of freedom to rejoice in the thrill of the water that freshens and drives away thought of the pavement heat and the suffocating breath of crowded tenements"(Vandervort, 1885-1905, p.

419).

According to the same author, it is at the pay baths where the "real sport" was to be had.

> "Here one pays twenty-five cents and is unlimited as to time. Here, too, is an instructor, who for varying sums will guarantee to teach the least clever pupil to swim" (Vandervort, 1885-1905, p. 419).

Several articles and books were written on the subject of swimming by various authors of the day. In these writings the act of swimming was broken down and analyzed as a science for those wishing to acquire the skill themselves. Many people began to experiment with different methods of teaching and learning to swim. Swimming apparatuses that Thevenot theorized about and Franklin experimented with as a boy, were used as teaching aids by swim instructors (Beard, 1885-1905). These included an assortment of contrivances and accessories all designed to enhance the acquisition of aquatic skills. An article written by Dan Beard during the turn of the century described two of these such devices. A Chump's pole consisted of;

> "a sapling from which the branches have been trimmed and to which a short line is

> attached. From the end of the line the novice is suspended in a rope sling" (Beard, 1880-1905, p. 634-635).

The Chump's raft, a patented invention of the same author was constructed of;

> "four smooth planks nailed together in the form of a square, with the ends of each plank projecting a foot or more beyond the lines of the square... These rafts can be towed through the deep water by a canoe or rowboat, with the tenderfoot securely swung in a sling between the logs, where he may practice the hand and foot movements with a sense of security which only the certianty that he is surrounded by a wooden life-preserver will give him" (Beard, 1880-1905, p. 636).

A 1893 issue of the Scientific American contains an article featuring a new invention; the Swimming Apparatus. Mr. Divot's invention allowed the novice swimmer to learn primary swimming movements on dry land before entering the unfamiliar environment of water.

> "The apparatus consists of two parts. One is fixed and serves to sustain the head and chest. The other is movable and serves to guide the limbs in the accomplishment of their motions" (La Nature, 1893).

Patrick Curran of Hoquiam, Washington invented attachments which fitted;

> "the upper and lower limbs of a swimmer [and were] designed to facilitate the rapid propelling of the body through the water when the legs and arms are moved in the usual manner" (Scientific American, 1892).

These patented attachments were paddle-like applications fashioned out of thin metal which were fastened by bands to the hands and legs. Swimming fins worn on the feet and water wings worn on the upper arms were among the swimming aids experimented with during this time.

Many of the methods discovered at this time where valid and are still in existence in current swimming instruction. The stroke bench is an example of a modern version of an

apparatus that was invented during this period. A swimmer lays on the bench in the prone position. With hands extended forward and placed on paddles, each connected to a pulley system, the technique of any swimming stroke can be taught, analyzed and practiced on dry land. Hand paddles are also used today in the strength conditioning of the arms and in teaching proper hand placement in the water. Swim fins are still employed in the training of correct kicking methods of the butterfly, free style and back stroke. These apparatuses were proven effective during this period and are still valued in modern coaching and teaching of swimming.

However, some quackery did abound in articles authored by alleged "experts" of swimming. In an 1899 article entitled "What one should know about swimming", one author gives advice about what to do in the situation where one feels in danger of drowning.

> "The golden rule in these circumstances is to keep one's mouth closed and swallow no more water than can be helped. If there is no one to aid, all the rules ever formulated won't give you a particle of help. Try to paddle yourself to shore. If you cannot make progress, you are in serious trouble, to put it mildly" (Fletcher, 1899, p. 336).

A professor of swimming at a large womens' seminary believed that a there was a relationship between a girl's faith and her ability to learn to swim. He maintained that Baptists were by far quicker in acquiring swimming skills.

> "This was due, in the Professor's opinion,to the fact that Baptists are early taught that no one can breathe comfortably under water. The first impulse of any ordinary girl who finds herself under water is to draw in her breath with a view of remarking "Oh, my!" and as a result she instantly finds herself choking. The Baptists, in order to avoid unseemly disturbances when administering the rite of baptism, instruct their female converts that they must keep their mouths tightly closed when under water, and must on no account say "Oh, my!" (New York Times, 1881).

Although these entertaining accounts of swimming may not be accurate in their methods, the important fact is that people were writing about swimming.

Muscular Christianity

A religious movement known as "Muscular Christianity" had begun in England and gained prominence in America during the mid-nineteenth century. This movement focused on health and fitness involving activities such as gymnastics and swimming. Those who practiced this religion believed that the "perfection of the body was an essential part of Christian morality", promoting the idea that "human action could determine individual and social salvation" (Green, 1986, p. 182).

In his 1857 novel, Two Years Ago, Charles Kingsley had coined the phrase "muscular Christianity". By this Kingsley had simply meant to advocate "the divineness of whole manhood" (Kingsley as cited in Whorton, 1982, p. 272). But this was quickly taken out of context and distorted to imply that the best Christians were physically fit Christians. Judge Fairplay, an avid gymnast, pronounced the thinking behind the "muscular Christianity" movement best...

> "It is as truly a man's moral duty to have a good digestion, and sweet breath, and strong arms, and stalwart legs, and an erect bearing, as it is to read his Bible, or say his prayers, or love his

> neighbor as himself" (Fairplay as cited in Tyler, 1865 p. 162-163).

It was this idealogy that sent many God-fearing people to the waters in their quest to cultivate fit bodies via the exercise of swimming. The intent of swimming was for exercise, the improvement and maintenance of bodily function for feeling, appearance, and in this case, morality. The view of swimming by those involved in the Muscular Christianity movement was one of legitimation. Swimming was seen as one of the activities that could be used as an avenue to godliness.

The Early Twentieth Century

Swimming continued in its popularity as a leisure activity during this period and the democratization of swimming widened to include great numbers among the working class as well as women. Trains to the ocean gave workers access to traditionally elitist beaches at coastal resorts where swimming could be enjoyed by all (Rybczynski, 1991). Women joined the work force during the war and proved themselves quite capable of carrying heavy work loads. As a result, women were allowed and in some cases, even encouraged to participate in physical activities which included swimming. Of course, stringent rules were placed on females who wished to bathe and/or swim. At some beaches and pools

the genders were segregated to separate areas. Later, when it was acceptable for men and women to participate in aquatic activities together, women were to be covered from head to toe with heavy skirts and tights, which made swimming a life threatening endeavor (Kellerman, 1918; Kidwell, 1968).

For some, the acceptance of aquatics changed from a practical sense into a form of entertainment as they were able to use swimming's popularity as a means of turning a profit. Professional swimmers Annette Kellerman and Captain Matthew Web, among others, won cash prizes for swimming the English Channel and other tremendous feats. Miss Kellerman, Olympic champion, Johnny Weissmueller, and others, brought their expertise of swimming and diving to the silver screen (Kellerman, 1918). Because of this, it seems likely that swimming's growth as a leisure activity increased dramatically during the early 1900s.

The Structuring of Swimming

According to Weibe (1967), a major restructuring of many institutions transpired as a result of the industrial revolution. The organization of businesses, politics, and time was streamlined and regulated. This general restructuring and ordering brought on by the industrialization of America had its effect on swimming as well.

George Carson and Commodore Wilbert E. Longfellow were two of the most influential proponents of the structuring that took place in swimming. Carson, a famous competitive swimmer from Canada, introduced the new concept of a swim lesson involving one instructor teaching several students at a time. Employing the industrial idea of the mass assembly line method, Carson first taught the basic arm movements of the crawl stroke in land drills. With the aid of water wings, students gained confidence as they developed swimming skills. His method proved successful and launched the "Learn to Swim" campaign through the Y.M.C.A. (Hopkins, 1979). The goal of this 1909 movement was to "teach every boy and young man in North America ... to swim" (Johnson, 1979, p. 131).

Commodore Longfellow, working with the American Red Cross, developed a lifesaving program. He began by gathering a community's best swimmers, training them in lifesaving skills, organizing them into a volunteer corps and then asked them to supervise the community's aquatic activities. Longfellow also brought together a group of strong female swimmers who became Jacksonville, Florida's Red Cross Women's Lifesaving Corps. This program later evolved into a nationally recognized lifeguard certifying agency (American National Red Cross, 1992).

CHAPTER 4

CONTEMPORARY POST-INDUSTRIAL ERA

Work and Leisure in Post-Industrial Society

The Fair Labor Standards Act, which was passed by the United States Congress in the 1930s, combined with rising unemployment during the Great Depression caused the work week to be reduced in an attempt to "share the work." At this time, it seemed to many that the continual shrinkage of the work week was inevitable. In his book, A Guide to Civilized Loafing, H.A. Overstreet wrote;

> "The old world of oppressive toil is passing, and we enter now upon new freedom for ourselves...in an age of plenty, we can look forward to an increasing amount of time that is our own" (Overstreet, 1934).

Another author from this period penned,

> "It would be a rash prophet who denies the possibility that this generation may live to see a two-hour [work] day" (Pack,

1934).

Ironically, the opposite of this prophecy became reality. By 1948, thirteen percent of workers put in forty-nine plus hours per week. In 1979, this total increased to eighteen percent, and a decade later to twenty-four percent (Rybczynski, 1991). People were trading their free time for more spending power by taking second jobs and working longer hours (Business Month, 1988; Posner, 1991). Reports have shown that 6.2 percent of workers in 1989 held second part-time jobs, and that average overtime work hours increased by four hours per week in factories (Richard, 1988). And so, it would naturally follow that leisure time in America has decreased. The National Research Center reported a decline in American weekly leisure time by 9.6 hours since 1976 (Kilborn, 1990).

The Time Squeeze

Many Americans were noticing not only the reduction of leisure time, but one third said that they always felt rushed in the things they had to do (Robinson, 1990). In her book, The Overworked American, Juliet Schor describes this overall "time squeeze" as having specific symptoms; "an acceleration in the pace of life, a rise in time-saving innovations, increasing stress and role over-load" (Schor, 1991, p. 23).

According to Schor, there are two theories that may explain this condition. The first is the speed up of life caused by technology.

> "The computer introduces...a time frame in which the nanosecond is the primary temporal measurement. The nanosecond is a billionth of a second, and though it is possible to conceive theoretically of a nanosecond...it is not possible to experience it. Never before has time been organized at a speed beyond the realm of consciousness" (Rifkin, 1987, p. 14-15).

Schor postulates that people become acclimated to the accelerated pace of the computer and expect other aspects of their lives to keep up.

Schor's second theory is that individuals have become victims of their own aspirations. Higher demands are made on personal "activities, goals and achievements" (Schor, 1991, p. 23). This is in agreement with Chesterton's observation that even in the 1920s, "The freedom to do something has become the obligation to do something" (Chesterton, 1928). Godbey has commented that "we have become walking resumes. If you're not doing something, you're not creating and defining who you are" (Godbey as cited in Hall, 1988 p. 1).

Reversal of the Work Ethic

The belief that a traditional work ethic will provide for the fulfillment of the "American dream" still rings true in the hearts of many American workers (Pyszkowski, 1992). But, Schor (1991), notes a recent dismissal of the "work ethic" by many young people. Moving away from the "work-aholicism" of the 80s, more current values have been raised which have become known as "post-materialistic values". Social scholars have observed a "gradual, but real shift in values" (Kelly, 1982, p. 124). Personal leisure has been given a higher prioritized inclusion into the lifestyle than merely filling free time slots. Individuals "desire...personal fulfillment, self-expression, and meaning" from work and life in general (Schor, 1991, p. 160). Personal leisure has become quite serious and has even been termed "serious leisure."

Post-Industrial Leisure

Serious Leisure and the Leisure Industry

Activities that involve skill testing such as sailing and skiing have become quite popular. Other favored competitive sports among all ages are golf, tennis and

swimming. Our focus has become centered more on proper technique, equipment and training rather than just on having a good time (Rybczynski, 1991). "Serious Leisure" or "Amateurism" is a related concept devised by Robert Stebbins. Amateurism is described as leisure which is "highly disciplined, requires great effort, or becomes a central life interest" (Kelly, 1982, p. 251). Amateurs focus on one particular leisure pursuit and carry it to its "ultimate conclusion" (Kelly, 1982, p. 251). The activity has a high degree of intrinsic and social meaning to the individual that it becomes central to their personal identities. Amateurs become rock climbers who are bankers, swimmers who are lawyers, and skiers who are teachers (Stebbins, 1979).

In the pursuit of "serious leisure," individuals become consumers for the latest in training and equipment. Thus, the "leisure industry" has experienced steady growth (Rybczynski, 1991, p. 218). The stability of the leisure market was caused by the fact that in our contemporary society, leisure has become commercialized and consumerized. In a 1989 edition of Sports Illustrated, it was reported that in the U.S. alone $40 billion is spent on sporting goods annually (Ballard, 1989).

But, developing the correct skills, obtaining specialized equipment and wearing clothing designed especially for the particular activity costs money, and money requires time invested in work hours. This gives evidence of

what Schor has named the "work-and-spend cycle". Our society may be the "most consumer-oriented society in history" (Schor, 1991, p. 107). Three to four times as many hours are spent shopping in America than in Western Europe. Marx called this "commodity fetishism" and described it as an attachment to possessions (Marx, 1970). The media has focused more on the "commodification" of leisure to the point that the spending of money "itself is a central leisure activity" (Kelly, 1987, p. 3). Spending tends to extend to the limit of personal incomes and then beyond. And further,

> "The ability to buy without actually having money helped foster a climate of instant gratification, expanding expectations, and, ultimately, materialism" (Schor, 1991, p. 119).

Over Stimulated Lifestyles

This craving for instant gratification paired with the desire for self-fulfillment in personal leisure has contributed to a way of life which may well have become overly stimulated. As previously mentioned, instead of desiring to just do something during leisure time, several feel compelled to do everything. Godbey called this concept "time deepening" and defined it as the "ability to perform

activities more quickly than before or to undertake a number of activities concurrently" (Godbey, 1976, p. 17). A related concept about energy is "the more, the more" (Meyersohn, 1968) when "the more people do, the more they want to do" (Godbey, 1976, p. 17). Individuals become involved in a wide array of activities all compressed into an efficient time block. "The desire to experience all things, [is] so prevalent in our society" (Godbey, 1976). It has been postulated that this type of behavior leads to leisure boredom which ignites the quest for new and more exciting leisure pursuits that will supply a quick fix of exhilaration for those who desire it. The practice of bungie jumping is a possible example of this type of technology-based, sensation seeking activity.

Post-Industrial Swimming

Serious Swimming

The marks of "serious leisure" on swimming have become obvious. As earlier mentioned, well over 200,000 youths compete year round on USS (United States Swimming) clubs and YMCA swim teams (A.R.C., 1992). More recently, adults have been getting into the swim of things. Nearly 30,000 train on U.S. Master swim teams while two to three hundred thousand athletes register for competition in triathlons. Adult swim

camps and stroke clinics are becoming the current craze for those seeking to achieve efficient stokes through the latest in training methods (Johnson, 1993).

Swimming pools and programs have conformed to the current trends of "amateurism" and "time-deepening" by providing convenient practices and open lap swims during early morning, lunch time and evening hour periods. Offering a variety of work-out times allowing even the most "time-deepened" individual the opportunity to fit a swim into his/her schedule.

Swimming Apparel, Equipment, and Facilities

The swimming market has also become a part of the leisure industry. Speedos and other fashionable brands have replaced the traditional swimming trunks and the basic female suit has become "aqua wear" which is similar to the leotards worn by aerobics participants (Sova, 1993). But the swimming market includes more than just the appropriate apparel. In his article, "Toys of the Trade", Doug Stern reported that the right equipment is required to "reinforce and enhance proper stroke technique, isolate and challenge swim-specific muscles and add variety to swimming" (Stern, 1993, p. 20). Various pieces of equipment, or "toys" as he called them, include kickboards, pull-buoys, fins and hand paddles. Granted these "toys" have been around since the "pre-

industrial" period, but the recent versions have been technically designed to keep up with the swimmer of the 1990s.

Leisure service providers, including city parks and recreation departments have realized the effect of the overly stimulated mentality in the serious decline of the patronage at the traditional public pool. Renovations of municipal pools including speed slides, water falls, and wave pools have proven to be profitable and often necessary to maintain interest among patrons (Fuerst, 1992). Water amusement theme parks appear to be the new trend in the aquatic industry. They have also become quite popular in recent years due to the demand for increased stimulation in leisure experiences.

Aquatic Fitness and Hydrotherapy

Water exercise is a form of aerobic conditioning and strength training promoted by exercise physiologists and sports-medicine physicians. Water aerobics has gained popularity because it avoids the pounding and stress several other types of exercise places on the knees and joints. Aqua aerobics is recommended for "the elderly, cardiac rehab, orthopedic patients and pregnant women" (O'Shea, 1992, p.29). The low impact quality of water aerobics makes it an ideal exercise for those who are unable to participate in vigorous land exercises.

Hydrotherapy has been widely used by therapists and physicians to improve the physical and mental capabilities of individuals with varying degrees of disabilities (i.e. arthritis, autism, head and spinal injuries, strokes, sports and joint injuries, muscular dystrophy and multiple sclerosis) (Mussleman, 1990, Harris, 1978). These individuals, similar to all people, desire to find personal fulfillment by seeking to improve the quality of their lives. Hydrotherapy has become a means to this end. Recent developments in aquatics, water exercise and water aerobics may be a part of this self fulfillment trend.

Investigations into water exercise have revealed that using the natural resistive property of water can result in the improvement of one's "cardiovascular and muscular endurance, flexibility and strength, and improved body composition" (Midtlyng, 1990, p. 41). Swimming can also serve as a valuable activity for persons with disabilities who are interested in physical exercise and competitive sports.

Competitive Swimming For Persons With Disabilities

According to Champion, in aquatic environments, "movement is made easier and experience of that movement may help to improve the child's awareness and understanding" (Champion, 1985, p. 6). Water's natural property of buoyancy is beneficial for those with impairments of the limbs. Being

relieved for a time from the constraints of gravity, these individuals are able to experience the "thrill of being capable of moving with precision in a new environment" (Bleasdale, 1975). Other benefits of aquatic activities include muscle toning, strength and endurance, motor and perceptual abilities, and coordination.

One primary proponent and pioneer in the use of aquatics for persons with disabilities was famed neurosurgeon, Sir Ludwig Guttman. Guttmann introduced a complete program of activities for those with physical disabilities which included swimming for both recreation and sport (Guttmann, 1976).

Eventually swimming became a valued competition on an international level because of Guttmann's influence. The Paralmypic Games, which are held every four years in the host country of the Olympics, has swimming as one of the primary competitions. Individuals are classed according to level of disability in these events for fair and equtable participation. As such, quadropligics have an equal chance to compete as do persons with minimal disabilities.

Participants who take part in swimming events receive many benefits, such as muscle toning, strength and endurance, motor and perceptual abilities, coordination as well positive social experiences in which individuals are allowed to experience success.

In the Post-Industrial era, swimming has become a form

of serious leisure for some as well as an avenue to fitness for others. The leisure industry has included swimming equipment, apparel and facilities. The literature suggests that swimming has become quite popular in Post-Industrial times.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS OF THE RATIONALIZATION, LEGITIMATION, AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF SWIMMING

Chapters two through four have provided a historical overview of the uses of swimming in western societies. A discussion concerning the rationalization, legitimation, and democratization of swimming in the three different periods follows a consideration of the limitations of the study.

Limitations of the Study

Investigations into the literature on the uses and prevalence of swimming in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries have found a scarcity of documentation produced during those periods. This shortage of information is especially serious when considering the lives of the working class. Kelly, (1982), offers an explanation for these deficiencies in his book, Leisure. In periods preceding the nineteenth century, letters and diaries were written only by the literate who tended to be members of the aristocratic elite. The subject of these writings usually focused exclusively on the lives and events of their authors and rarely, if ever, mentioning the "common rabble and their lesser pleasures" (Kelly, 1982, p. 63). As a result, there is some knowledge of the non-utilitarian aquatic activities of

land owners, leading citizens, and other notable individuals of the earlier periods of this study, while those of the working class remain all but ignored. However, given an understanding of the dynamics of the work/leisure relationship at a particular time in history, some assumptions are possible regarding swimming during that period. Beyond that, little else is recorded about "common folks" which gives a somewhat limited perspective on the aquatic activities of the people as a whole in certain historical periods.

From a historical perspective, this investigation was limited by the prescriptive nature of the sources on swimming especially in the pre-industrial period. Social scientists and historians sometimes leaped from prescriptive evidence to descriptive conclusions. A prescriptive or normative account is defined by historian, Carl Degler, as more "an ideology seeking to be established than the prevalent view of practice" (Degler, 1974, p. 42). Such sources are helpful in revealing values that were upheld as ideal by those in authority in different time periods, but should be taken with a grain of salt when considering the actual behaviors of the people.

Descriptive accounts of swimming were given by Franklin and Digby in the pre-industrial period and by many authors from the industrial period. These authors, who lived during the period they wrote about described the contemporary

methods and techniques of teaching and learning swimming. Through their writings a partial, though by no means complete, picture of practiced swimming behaviors and norms were revealed.

Pre-Industrial Period

A visual examination of the graphs for the rationalization and the legitimation of swimming, as revealed in the literature, confirms that the two are very similar (see Figure 1). Both seem to be significantly affected during the Middle Ages. Therefore it would seem logical to organize this section as before, during and after the Middle Ages.

Rationalization of Swimming in the Pre-Industrial Period

The rationalization of swimming is the transformation of informal and expressive swimming into an aquatic activity with utilitarian and practical uses. The literature uncovered in this investigation reveals that a reverse rationalization may have occurred. During the period preceding the Middle Ages, swimming was used primarily as a practical skill for food gathering from nearby bodies of water (Gayton, 1936; Mead, 1956; Roth, 1893; Schapera, 1930), for travel (Mead, 1956), and as a military advantage (Orme, 1983; Routledge &

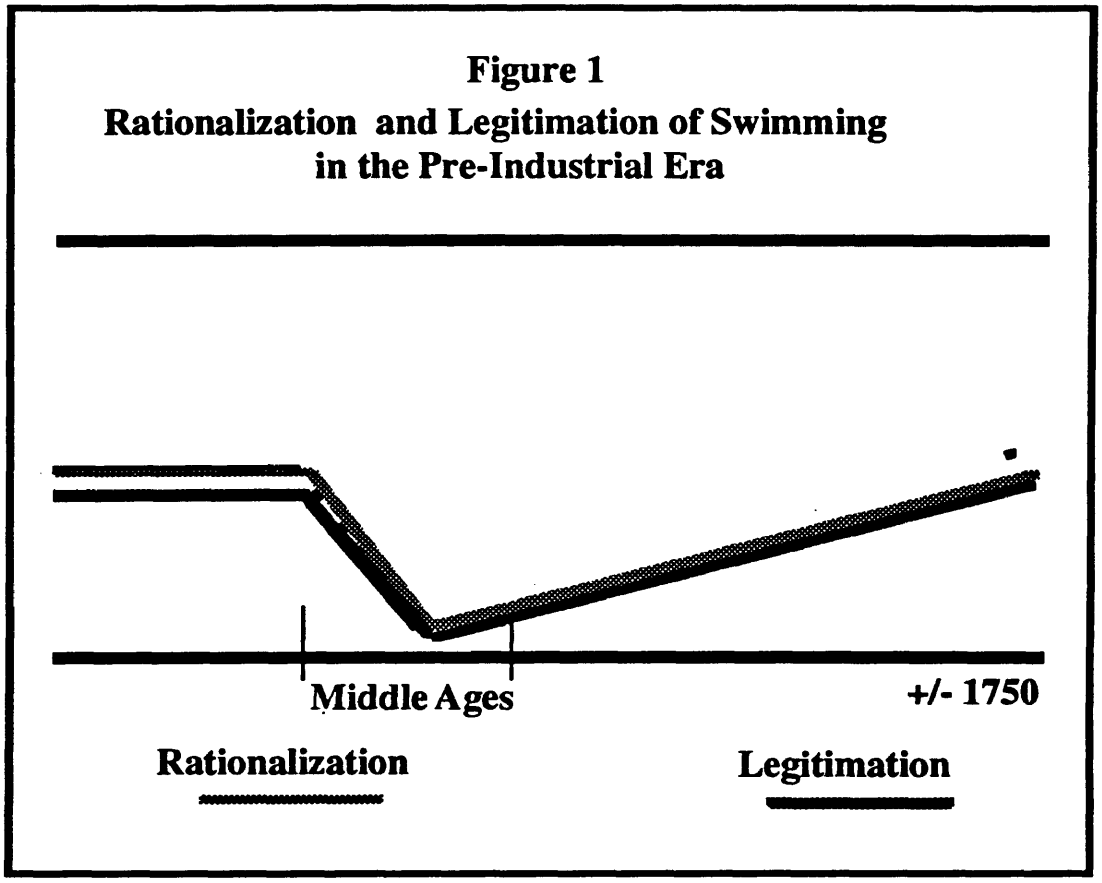
Routledge, 1910). Soldiers under Caesar's reign swam to facilitate "crossing rivers [when] bridges were inadequate or non-existent when floods arise or enemies attack while the army is hemmed in by water" (Orme, 1983, p. 7). The Romans were reported to have had instrumental uses for swimming as well. Swimming among Romans "had high status as a healthy, manly and useful activity" (Orme, 1983, p. 5).

However, reports of the man-made baths of the Romans would suggest that some did enjoy swimming for informal and expressive reasons. As the Roman empire became "organized and the standard of living rose, the recreational aspect of swimming developed accordingly" (Orme, 1983, p. 5). Therefore, the literary review of this investigation reveals that swimming began primarily as a practical and utilitarian skill, while some informal and expressive uses of swimming have been disclosed.

Historical accounts of the Middle Ages have described swimming and bathing as nearly non-existent. This seems to be related to the rise of the Christian Church. In Chapter 2 the reasons for this ban of swimming were explained as being the negative interpretation of a particular verse of scripture, and the implied relationship of swimming with the alleged immoral behaviors of the Romans in their luxuriant baths (Orme, 1983; Kidwell, 1968). However, the Vegeties, a well regarded manual used during the Middle Ages in the training of potential knights and noblemen, considered swimming a

required skill for raiding and warring (Broekhoff, 1968; Orme, 1983; Rothe, 1936). The rationalization of swimming was of foremost practicality, hardly informal or expressive.

A reversal in this trend was reported following the Middle Ages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Two reasons for this shift in rationalization have been suggested in the literature. The first was the oceanic expansion of the sixteenth century that may have "...brought Europeans into contact with nations in the tropics where swimming was practiced more widely and to a higher level than in northern Europe" (Orme, 1983, p. 49). A more obvious reason may be that mariners found it a necessary skill for survival on the high seas. The second explanation was the scholarly writings composed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which promoted swimming as a healthy exercise and recreational endeavor (Digby, 1587; Franklin, 1768; Middleton, 1595; Orme, 1983; Percy, 1658). Reports of informal, non-utilitarian swimming continued to increase to the close of the Pre-Industrial period.



Legitimation of Swimming in the Pre-Industrial Era

Like the analysis of the rationalization of swimming as a informal activity, its legitimation also appears to have increased to the close of the pre-industrial period (see Figure 1). During the period preceding the Middle Ages, the social thought (or legitimation) concerning swimming as recorded in the literature was moderate to slightly positive. The literature reports that swimming was considered a valuable ability used in the acquisition of food from nearby rivers, lakes, and seas (Gayton, 1936, 1948; Mead, 1956;

Roth, 1893; Schapera, 1930), for travel (Mead, 1956; Orme, 1983), and to gain advantages over the enemy in military conflicts (Orme, 1983; Routledge & Routledge, 1910). Benjamin Franklin (1768) wrote that swimming was thought of as important as reading and writing in the Roman culture. Claudia Kidwell (1968) reported that in "Rome, swimming was valued as a pleasurable exercise and superb physical training for warriors...[but for] the more sedentary citizens...the baths became the gathering point for professional men, philosophers, and students" (Kidwell, 1968, p. 4).

The legitimation of swimming became quite negative during the Middle Ages (Orme, 1983). As with the rationalization of swimming, the reportedly sharp decrease in positive attitudes which appear to be connected with the predominance of the church and the opinion of religious leaders that swimming was a useless and futile skill. In fact, "the activity of the swimmer is compared with the fate of the damned" (Orme, 1983, p. 24). The literature reports that the church in its great disapproval of swimming for reasons other than economy sought to destroy the baths and pools established during the Roman Empire (Kidwell, 1968). As late as 1531, authors still expounded that swimming may be useful as a military skill, but was worth little beyond that (Kidwell, 1968). Sir Thomas Elyot wrote, "There is an exercise, whyche is right profitable in extreme danger of warres, but...it hathe not ben of longe tyme muche used,

specially amoge noble men, perchaunce some reders whl lyttell esteeme it" (Elyot, 1557, p. 54-55).

Late in the sixteenth century swimming began to be valued for more than just a practical skill (see Figure 1). Explanations for this change were discussed earlier in reference to the rationalization of swimming which also apply to its legitimation; extended oceanic travel which introduced Europeans to informal recreational uses of swimming, (Orme, 1983), and scholarly treatises which encouraged swimming as a safety skill and an enjoyable leisure pursuit (Digby, 1587; Franklin, 1768; Middleton, 1595; Percy, 1658; Thevenot, 1696). Franklin wrote that;

> "soldiers particularly should, methinks, all be taught to swim; it might be of frequent use either in surprising an enemy, or saving themselves And if I had now boys to educate, I should prefer those schools (other things being equal) where an opportunity was afforded for acquiring so advantageous an art, which once learnt is never forgotten" (Franklin, 1769, p. 298).

Middleton addressed swimming as a prevention to drowning and as a healthful exercise...

> "...worthy of commendations in respect of the nature in purging poisoned humours,driving away contagious diseases and by this means adding longer date unto the life of man..." (Middleton, 1595).

A third reason for this change in the social thought concerning swimming has been explained by one scholar as a reinterpretation of the before mentioned scripture verse from the Book of Isaiah.

> "Swimming, as a result of this new opinion, suddenly became identified not with the desperate flounderings of the ungodly but with the powerful actions of the Deity"(Orme, 1983, p. 47).

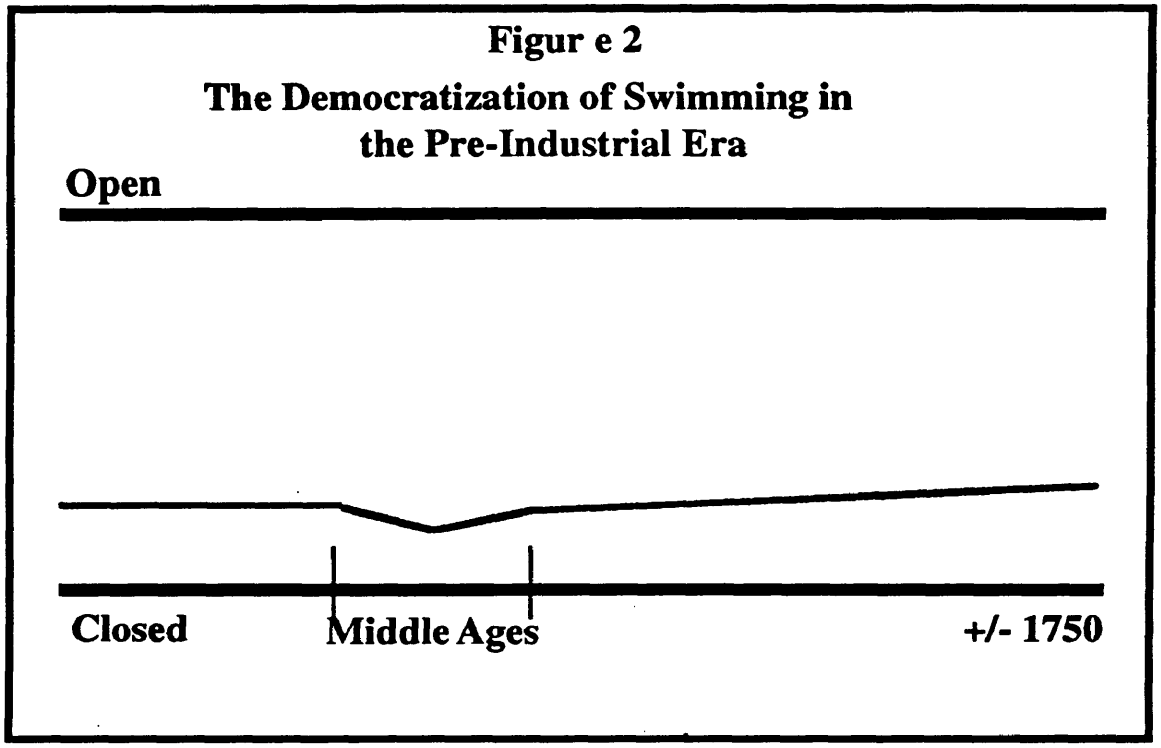
Democratization of Swimming in the Pre-Industrial Period

The literature suggests that the accessibility of swimming to include those of varying ages, genders, and races, was not widespread (see Figure 2). Swimming was reportedly used by those societies existing in coastal regions whose economy depended on essentials derived from the ocean (Kidwell, 1968; Mead, 1956; Roth, 1890; Routledge &

Routledge, 1910; Schapera, 1930), by soldiers whose training involved fording streams, rivers and other bodies of water (Broekhoff, 1968; Kidwell, 1968; Orme, 1983; Rothe, 1936), and by the Romans who swam for health and leisure reasons (Kidwell, 1968; Orme, 1983). Swimming was probably restricted to coastal regions with weather conducive to aquatic activity, with the exception of the Romans who constructed their own artificial pools.

Unlike the rationalization and legitimation of swimming, the democratization of swimming does not seem to be significantly affected by the Middle Ages. It could be that some refrained from aquatic activity because of church edicts, but the literature does not reveal much regarding this subject.

Later writings of Digby (1587), Middleton (1595), Thevenot (1696), and Franklin (1768), imply that swimming had merit for safety, pleasure and health in natural bodies of water. These reports of positive attitudes toward swimming by influencial citizens may have allowed for greater democratization toward the close of the pre-industrial era (see Figure 2).



Significant alterations in the work and leisure relationship resulted due to the machine age beginning in the mid-1700s and lasting until the mid-1900s. In the United States, the lure of jobs, the hardship of rural life, and immigration attracted many to the city with the hope of obtaining steady employment and, ultimately, the "American Dream" (Rybczynski, 1991). The combination of industrialization and urbanization had a noticeable effect on the rationalization, legitimation, and democratization of swimming and on leisure in general (Berger, 1963; Kelly,

1982; Murphy, 1981; Neulinger, 1981).

Rationalization of Swimming in the Industrial Era

As discussed in Chapter 3, work in the industrial cities required a special time and place which led to a sharp distinction between work and leisure (Godbey, 1990; Kelly, 1982; Murphy, 1981). Workers began to insist on time that was their own to do as they pleased (Norton, Katzman, Escott, Chudacoff, Paterson & Tuttle, 1990). Desired self-expression that was perceived as present in the concept of leisure, which in this era was primarily that of residual time, was sought in swimming and other activities.

Although swimming continued to be engaged in for practical reasons, reports of informal, non-utilitarian swimming increased throughout the industrial era (Beard, 1885-1905; Corbin, 1885-1905; Devot, 1893; Fletcher, 1899; Lamb, 1883; Osborne, 1885-1905, Sandys, 1885-1905; Thompson, 1885-1905, Varian, 1885-1905). Concerns for the bodily hygiene of the working class coupled with the demand for facilities to allow for recreational and leisure pursuits resulted in the provision of free public pools and pay baths in U.S. cities.

> "Every city.and every board of alderman
> and every mayor worthy of an official

> place in this democratic nation is urging or has urged the establishment of free pools" (Vandervort, 1885-1905, p. 418.

The obligation of a fit body for followers of the Muscular Christianity movement found swimming an instrument of godliness (Green, 1986; Tyler, 1865). Whorton explained that "...walking, riding, rowing, swimming, fencing, and skating [were] being recommended to adults as well as children...[in the belief that] bodily strength built character and righteousness and usefulness for God's work" (Whorton, 1982, p. 271).

The organizations of the American Red Cross and the Young Mens Christian Association set out to instruct the multitudes in methods of swimming and lifesaving in order to decrease the risk of drowning (American National Red Cross, 1992; Hopkins, 1951; Johnson, 1979). While many practical andinstrumental reasons for swimming existed, (i.e., hygiene, fitness, and an attempt to reduce the number of deaths by drowning), swimming as an informal, non-instrumental and expressive act appears to have been on the increase throughout the industrial period (see Figure 3).

Figur e 3

Rationalization of Swimming in the Industrial Era

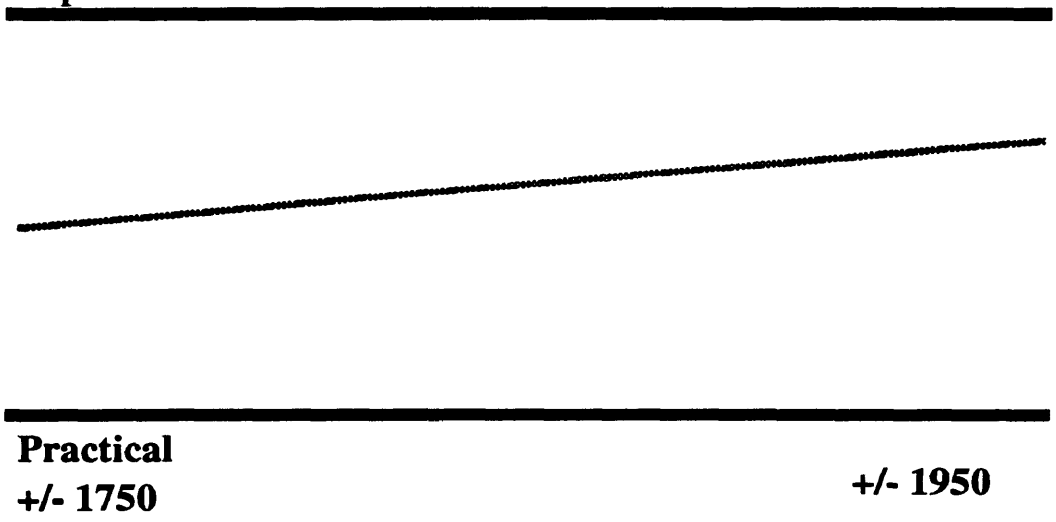
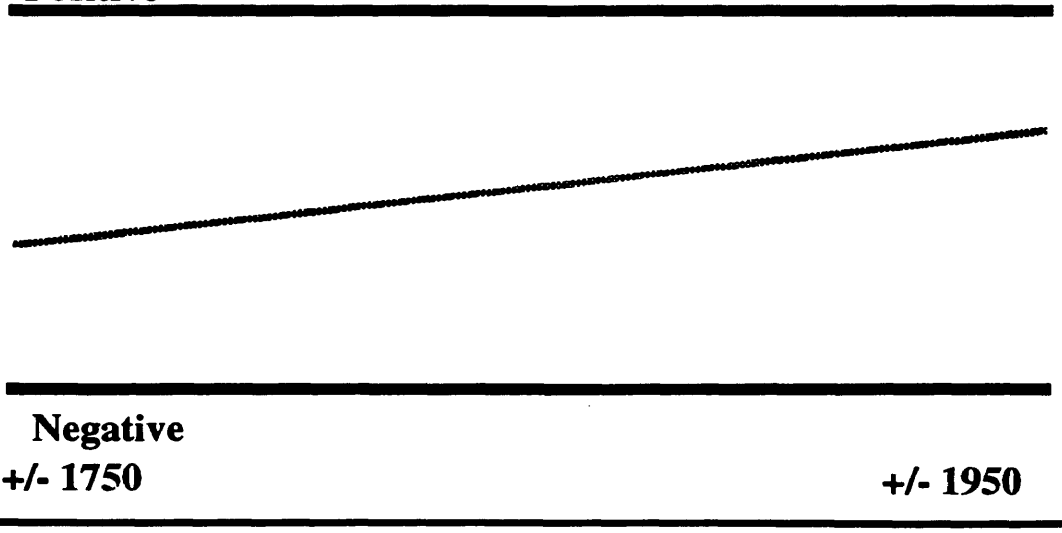


Figure 4

Legitimation of Swimming in the Industrial Era



The Legitimation of Swimming in the Industrial Era

Social thought during this period regarded swimming as well as many other leisure pursuits as worthwhile and needed (Kelly, 1986). This can be evidenced by the frequent appearance of the subject of swimming in journals and periodicals printed during this time (Beard, 1885-1905; Corbin, 1885-1905; Devot, 1893; Fletcher, 1899; Lamb, 1883; Osborne, 1885-1905; Sandys, 1885-1905; Thompson, 1885-1905; Varian, 1885-1905).

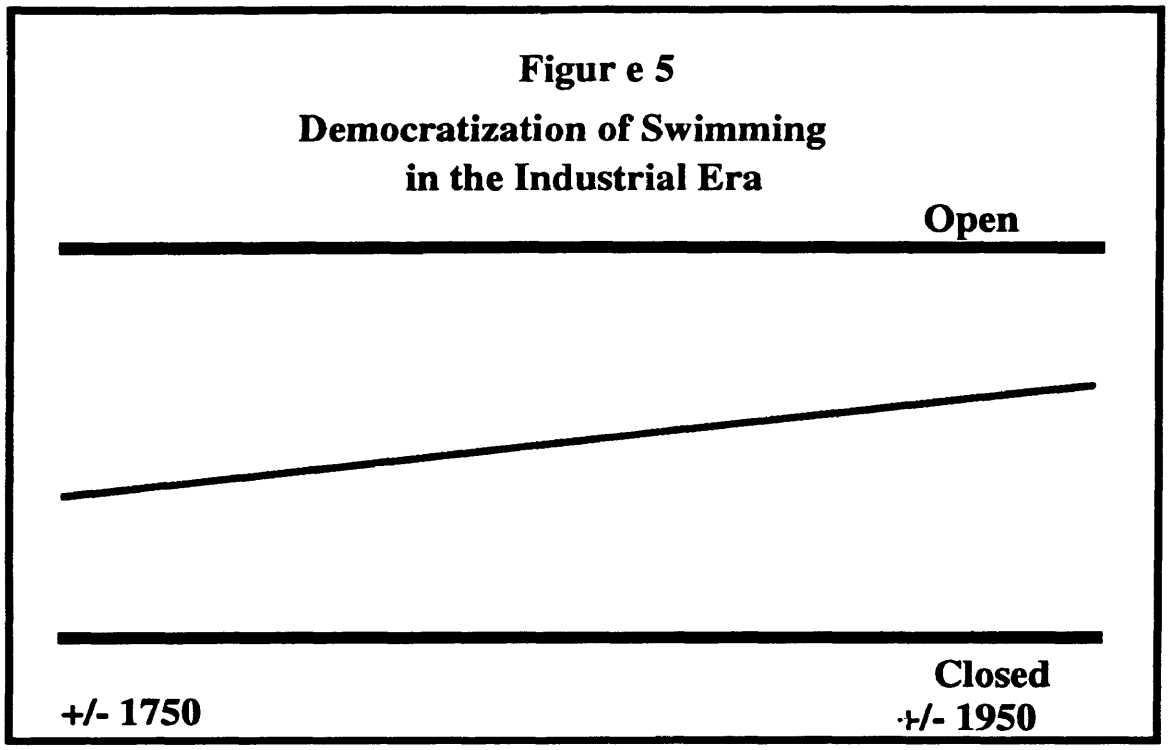
Attitudes toward swimming became more positive during the Industrial era (see Figure 4). Swimming was legitimated as a form of exercise (Green, 1986; Tyler, 1865), as a route to hygiene for the lower classes (Vandervort, 1885-1905), and as a skill of self-preservation in aquatic environments (American National Red Cross, 1992; Hopkins, 1951; Johnson, 1979). The presence of favorable social attitudes toward swimming was also confirmed in the production of theater films including the spectacular strokes of Johnny Weissmueller and the fantastic dives of Esther Williams and Annette Kellerman (American National Red Cross, 1992; Kellerman, 1918). Franklin's belief that swimming should be a valued part of the education of boys continued into the industrial era via reports of such as found in the New York Times.

> "A movement has been started in New York to induce the school and college authorities to make the teaching of swimming compulsory" (New York Times, Dec. 5, 1910).

The Democratization of Swimming in the Industrial Period

Reports of the widening availability and accessibility of swimming facilities to many in the industrial period is evident in the magazines and books published during this period (see Figure 5). It became acceptable for women to take part in aquatic activities at this time as well.

In the Victorian era, the ideal woman was frail and delicate as alleged by medical journals of the day. "To sweat and strain was unfeminine" (McPherson, et.al., 1989, p. 221). During the war, however, women gave a strong showing of their ability to endure hard, physical labor "in play[ing] major roles in the military and civilian labor force, thus shattering myths of the fragile female" (McPherson, et.al., 1989, p. 222). Largely because of this, female participation in more physically demanding forms of recreation and leisure including swimming, became more socially acceptable (Kellerman, 1918; Kidwell, 1968; McPherson, et.al., 1989).

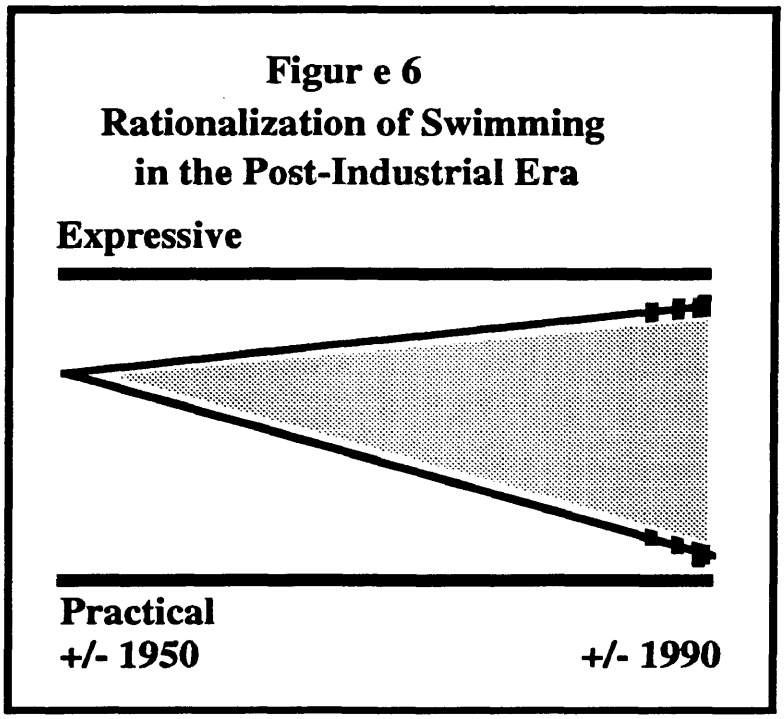


Aquatic opportunities became available for those of the working class during holidays at coastal resorts where swimming was enjoyed by members of the proletariate class through affordable travel on railway lines (Rybczynski, 1991). The building of the indoor and outdoor public free pool and pay baths made swimming accessible to all, and in some cases despite the season or weather (Vandervort, 1885-1905). Carson's innovative swimming lesson decoded the mysteries of learning to swim for perhaps hundreds of boys and young men of America through the YMCA (Hopkins, 1951; Johnson, 1979). With the American Red Cross, Commodore Longfellow proposed a nation-wide water safety program with

the goal of "the water-proofing of America" (American National Red Cross, 1992, p. 6). In this program lifesaving skills were imparted to many young men and women making swimming an even more popular and increasingly safe activity (American National Red Cross, 1992). These trends suggest that the democratization of swimming continued to increase throughout the industrial era.

The Post-Industrial Period

The literature of the post-industrial period reveals that many are living their lives at a rapid pace. Explanations of this phenomenon which has been named "The Time Squeeze" was given in Chapter 4 (Godbey, 1988; Robinson, 1990; Schor, 1991). It has been postulated that this faster rate of living has created a need for self-expression through achievement which finds an outlet in what Stebbins termed as serious leisure (Godbey, 1988; Kelly, 1982; Stebbins, 1979). Like other recreational pursuits, swimming in the post-industrial era has been influenced by these social developments.



The Rationalization of Swimming in the Post-Industrial Era

Chapter 1 reports that perhaps thousands of Americans swim on competitive teams ranging in age from elementary children to the elderly and hundreds participate in triathlons each year as well (American National Red Cross, 1992). Evidence of serious swimming can be seen in the innovation of swim camps for all ages (Johnson, 1993) and the addition of swimming to the leisure market in apparel and equipment (Ballard, 1989; Stern, 1993). In these ways swimming has become highly structured and bureaucratic, but swimming remains an informal and expressive activity for

many.

> "54% of the population across the nation enjoys swimming as a leisure activity, and total participation exceeds all other popular activities such as walking for pleasure, bike riding, camping, tennis, fishing and golf" (Fuerst, 1992, p. 30).

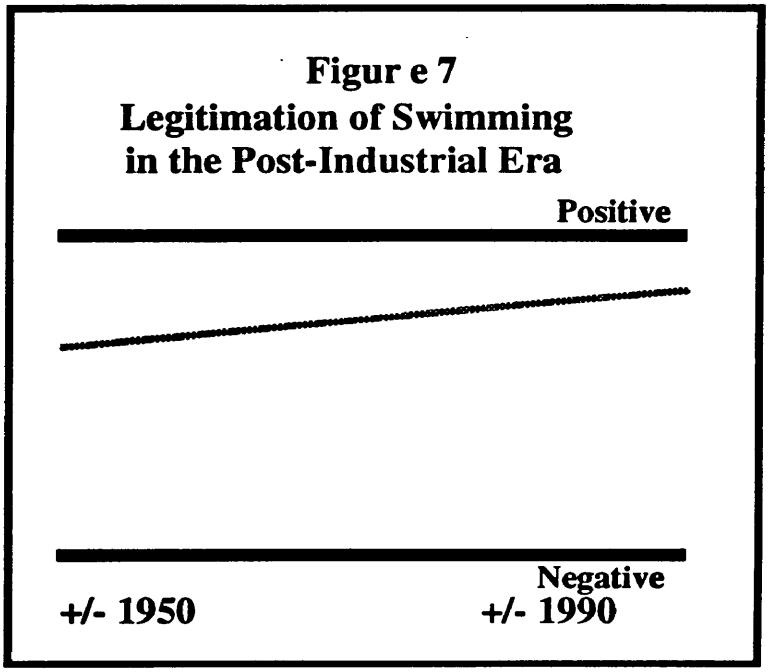
The rationalization of swimming has become somewhat ambiguous due to the diversity of the purposes and uses of swimming in the post-industrial era. While some have reported increases of informal and expressive participation in aquatic leisure (American Red Cross, 1992; Fuerst, 1992) many others have written of the practical and formal uses of swimming which have become popular (i.e. hydrotherapy, water aerobics, fitness swimming, competitive swimming, and ect...) (American Red Cross, 1992; Bleasdale, 1967; Champion, 1985; Johnson, 1993; Midtlyng, 1990; Sova, 1993). The literature suggests a widening of the rationalization of swimming to include different degrees of both practical and expressive purposes (see Figure 6).

The Legitimation of Swimming in the Post-Industrial Era

After analyzing the findings of four major surveys, John Kelly concluded that swimming is above all other activities in "attracting interest and participation" (Kelly, 1987, p. 117). Swimming has been used in the post-industrial era as a form of exercise (Midtlyng, 1990; Sova, 1993), of therapy (Champion, 1985; Harris & McInnes, 1978; O'Shea, 1992), and as a route to improving the quality of life for individuals with varying degrees of disabilities (Bleasdale, 1967; Guttmann, 1976).

> Sir Ludwig Guttmann wrote that swimming "...as part of the clinical treatment in spinal centres and general rehabilitation centres has proved most beneficial in helping the severely disabled to master their physical deficit and give hope and confidence for their future" (Guttmann, 1976, p. 63).

Because of these recognized values, it would seem that swimming has been elevated to higher levels of positive legitimation in this post-industrial era (see Figure 7).



The Democratization of Swimming in the Post-Industrial Era

In the literature, the democratization of swimming has accelerated in the twentieth century, encompassing even greater numbers of individuals during this period. Avenues of accessibility to swimming as a sport have been opened to those with physical and mental impairments (Bleasdale, 1967; Guttmann, 1976).

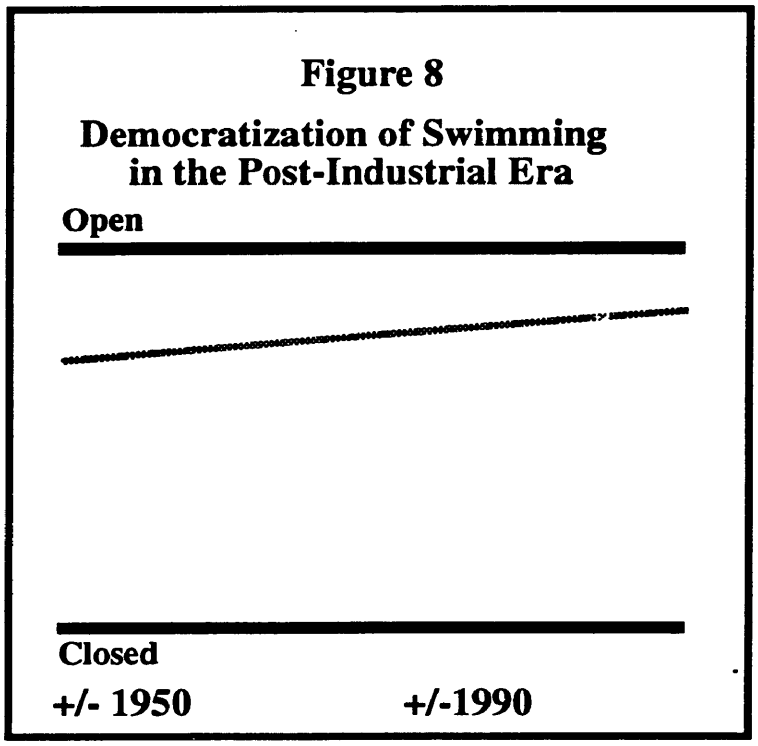
> "Starting during the last World War, this sports movement has made outstanding progress and has developed into a world-wide organization" (Guttmann, 1976,

p.vii).

Swimming has become available to many through a multitude of public and private aquatic facilities and natural bodies of water (Fuerst, 1992; Johnson, 1979).

> "Many hotels and motels, private associations, apartment buildings and condominiums, commercial operations, schools and universities and municipalities have pools. Water theme parks with rides, slides, and artificial waves attract thrill-seekers. As in the past, swimming in oceans, lakes rivers, canals, and quarries continues to be popular" (American National Red Cross, 1992, p. 6).

This abundance of places to swim has extended aquatic opportunities to an increasing number of individuals and the evidence suggests that the democratization of swimming continues to widen throughout this post industrial period (see Figure 8).



Discussion

On the graphs, the rationalization, legitimation, and democratization of swimming are depicted by a dashed line. It appears that a reverse rationalization (see Figure 9) has occurred. Instead of preceding from an expressive and informal activity into a practical, formal, and utilitarian skill, the opposite may have occurred. Within the sphere of this study, swimming began in practicality and moved closer to expression in the centuries following the Middle Ages where swimming was mostly used for practical purposes.

The social thought of swimming was moderately negative

in the early pre-industrial period (see Figure 10). During the Middle Ages legitimation was almost completely absent. But the social view of swimming improved following the Middle Ages and this trend continued throughout the industrial period and well into the post-industrial era.

The evidence reviewed in this investigation has shown that little knowledge is available regarding swimming's democratization but appears to be very restricted until the close of the Middle Ages (see Figure 11). From this point, democratization appears to widen, increasing the variety of genders, ages, and races of participants on into the post-industrial era.

These conclusions about the rationalization, legitimation, and democratization of swimming are a result of a somewhat narrow interpretation of the literature. However, based on recent thinking about social scientists' use of historical materials, some qualifications may be in order.

Carl Degler (1974) and others have questioned the use of prescriptive materials as a basis for describing social or individual behavior. Even though the historical record may advocate a desired or ideal behavior, it cannot be presumed that such behavior was prevalent in the population. This might be applied to the medieval negativity towards swimming as discussed in recent social science literature. While it may be true that the church's edict against swimming deterred some from aquatic leisure, it may be hasty to conclude that

expressive and informal swimming in the Middle Ages was avoided and considered sinful by the majority.

Kelly's view that the leisure of the commoners "was a matter of what was nearby and possible" (Kelly, 1982, p. 56) also works against the presumed medieval negativity and avoidance of swimming. To assume that those living near the water did not venture into its cooling depths to escape the oppressive heat of summer and enjoy its pleasures as leisure may be a mistake.

The dotted lines on the graphs suggest proposed levels of rationalization, legitimation, and democratization. Although the reports of swimming that were found in this study, especially in pre-industrial times, describe it as a skill of necessity, it is probably safe to assume that swimming was frequently engaged in as informal and expressive leisure especially by societies dwelling on the banks of rivers, lakes, and seas. The extreme return of rationalization to the formal and utilitarian during the Middle Ages is also questionable. It is possible that there may have been a slight dip towards the practical, but not likely as drastic as portrayed in the secondary literature (see Figure 9).

Arguments supporting the greater legitimation of swimming run along these same lines. Those living near bodies of water who had taken part in the frolics available in these

aquatic environments most likely had a favorable opinion towards swimming (see Figure 10). This may have been true throughout human history.

Those with access to swimming, especially in ancient times, were a limited group. With the exception of the Romans, only those living in close proximity of water found swimming an available activity. Democratization did increase, however, as more artificial pools were built in the industrial period making swimming accessible to a larger population. Further widening of availability occurred as swimming became socially acceptable and accessible for more groups of individuals, (i.e. women and individuals with impairments) (see Figure 11). However, this seemingly unlimited widening of democratization of swimming may decline because of recent economic trends and commercialization of leisure activities.

These are the conclusions which have been drawn despite the cited limitations of this investigation. Although this study found the literary description of swimming in reference to rationalization, legitimation, and democratization to be limited and questionable, another mediating factor became obvious. The work/leisure relationship seemed to influence the meaning and importance of leisure in general and swimming more specifically during each of the three time periods. Little is reported concerning swimming as affected by the work/leisure relationship in the pre-industrial period.

Future research in this area should begin with a more intense search for primary, descriptive sources originating in ancient and medieval Europe. The separation of work and leisure in the Industrial Period gave a higher priority to individual freedom in leisure time as well as areas in which to recreate. Aquatic facilities were provided to help meet this need. The "time squeeze" in the Post-Industrial Era caused a demand for personal fulfillment through the leisure experience. This demand included swimming as a challenging sport and as a form of therapy for the "able bodied" as well as individuals with physical and mental impairments.

More historical research is needed particularly in the early part of the pre-industrial era. Such research may validate or weaken the conclusions and assumptions made in this study.

Figur e 9

RATIONALIZA TION OF SWIMMING

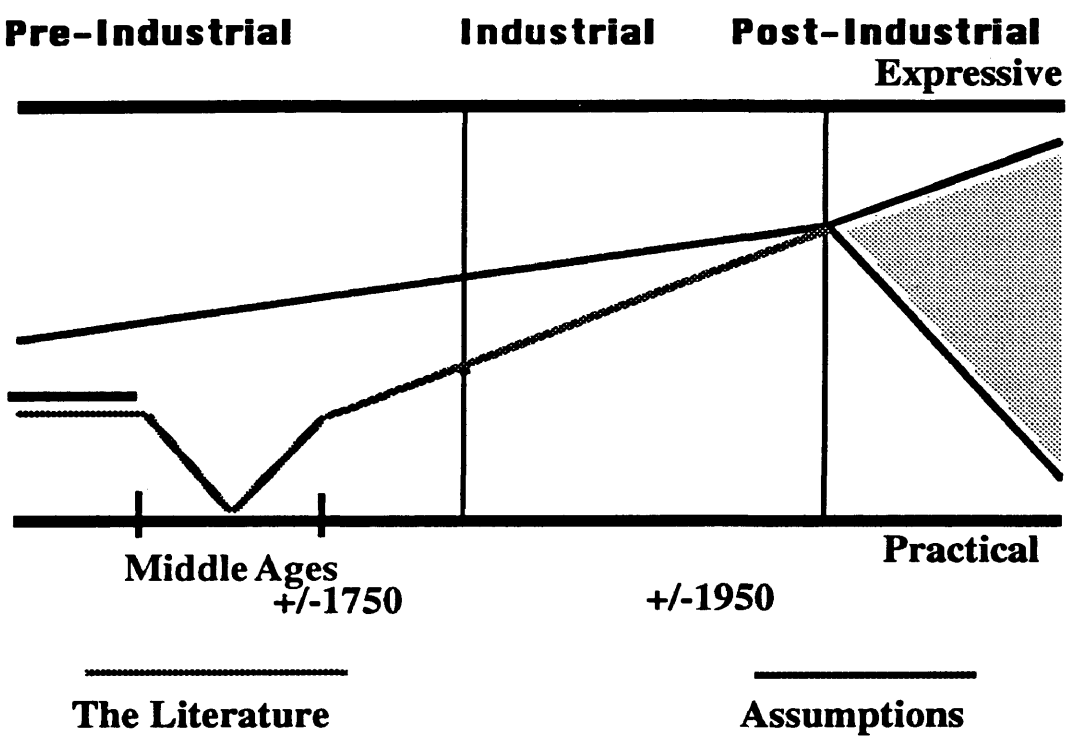


Figure 10

LEGITIMATION OF SWIMMING

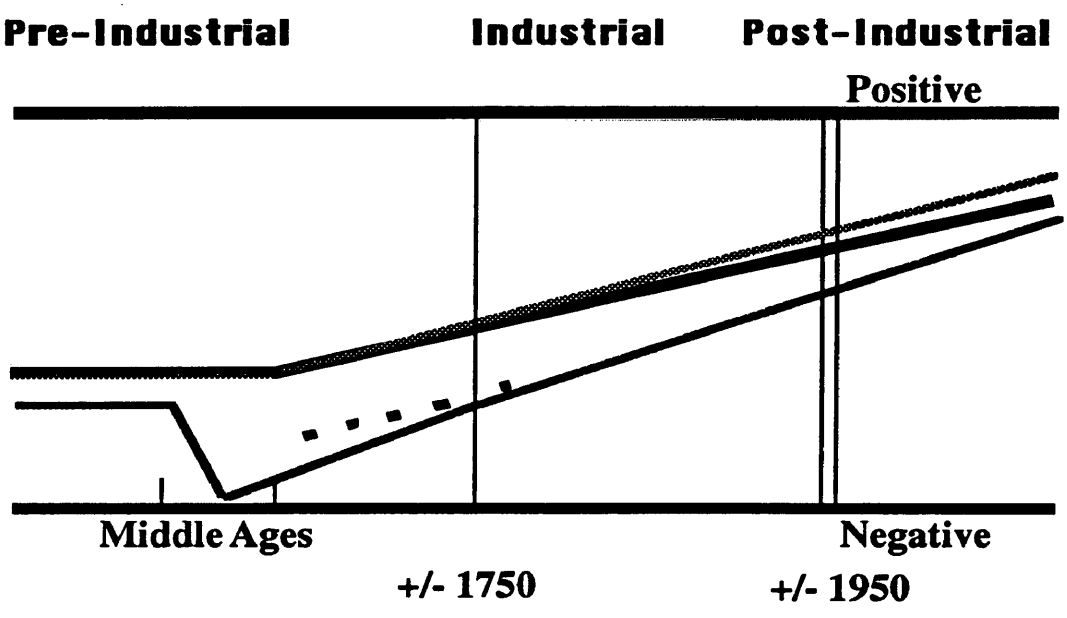
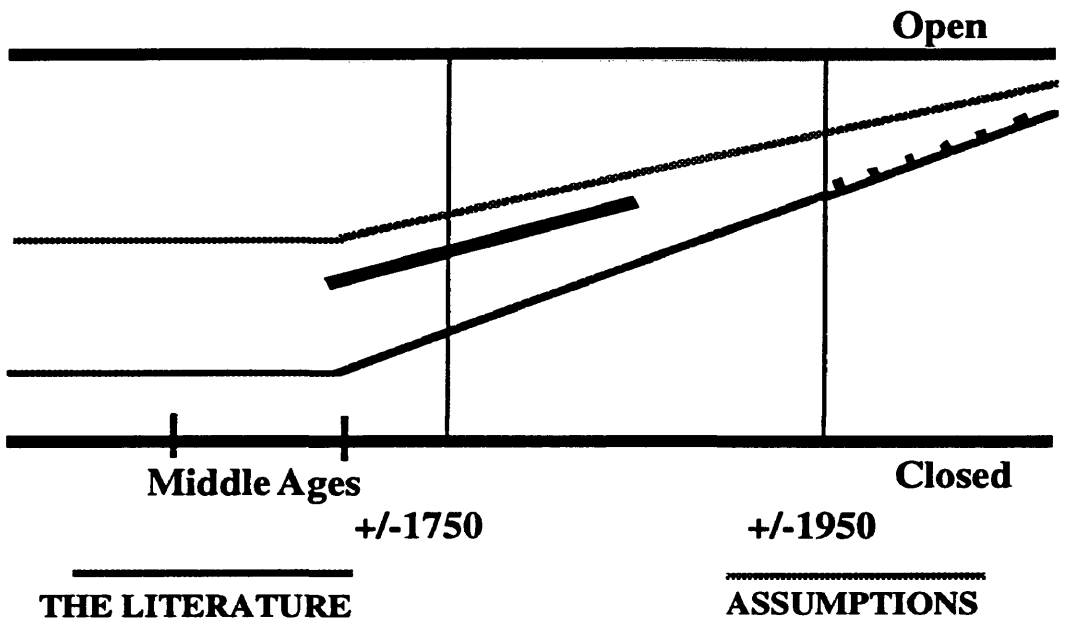


Figure 11

DEMOCRATIZATION OF SWIMMING



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