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CONSCIOUS AND UNCONSCIOUS USE OF STORIES IN OUTWARD BOUND:
A FOLKLORIC EXAMINATION OF THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES
OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE EDUCATION INSTRUCTORS

DISSERTATION
Volume I

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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*****

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1996

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ABSTRACT

Outdoor adventure education instructors are inveterate storytellers. Personal experience stories are one of the most common types of story shared by this population. A functional examination of the personal experience stories of one community of outdoor adventure education instructors was undertaken in order to ascertain the major cares and concerns of this population. The academic discipline of folklore was selected as having the most appropriate theoretical framework for this undertaking. The Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School was chosen as the site most fitting for this examination both from generalization and fieldwork—communal acceptance—standpoints.

There were seen to be four reasons why outdoor adventure education instructors tell personal experience stories. These were: the **Immediate Reasons**, the internal/external, personal conscious—or stimulus response—reasons, determined by examining a story's folkloric context; the **Intermediate Reasons**, the external/external, interpersonal conscious—or immediate audience impact—reasons, obtained by examining the text and folkloric texture of the stories; the **Intramediate Reasons**, the internal/internal, personal unconscious—or ulterior teller—reasons, determined by examining the language used and the incidents related in the stories and the **Ultramediante Reasons**, the external/internal, interpersonal unconscious—communality response—reasons, discovered by examining the folkloric structure and repertoire of the stories told by the community under examination.

There were seen to be six basic concerns of outdoor adventure education instructors as expressed through the personal experience stories they tell. These are a concern with: a correct match between instructor expertise and instructional level undertaken; a maintenance of a positive attitude; the promotion of professionalism in regard to pedagogical, safety and environmental issues; an awareness
and understanding of the philosophical underpinnings of their profession; the promotion of the concept of a benevolent universe; and the promotion of a constant movement towards self actualization and individuation.

It has been suggested that the ultimate concern of outdoor adventure education instructors is with the paradox of risk and safety, with the promotion of self actualization and individuation within the confines of a safe, yet challenging adventure experience.
Dedicated to Alistair and Susan:

The Real Storytellers.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express sincere appreciation to Dr. Seymour Kleinman who, despite working outside his direct field of expertise, never failed to give of his time, patience and understanding in all aspects of this undertaking.

I also wish to thank the other members of my committee, Drs. Patrick B. Mullen and Daniel R. Barnes for the welcome they gave to this "folklorist by extension". Thank you for sharing a whole new world of academe and for providing this outsider with an "insiders perspective."

I also extend deep gratitude to the instructional, maintenance and administrational staff of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School and especially to those individual instructors who spent the time to share with me their personal experience stories.

I also wish to acknowledge and thank my mother-in-law Kickie Dickie for her unstinting efforts as my official proof-reader.

Last, and - by absolutely no means - least, I wish to thank my wife, Jan, and especially my son, Robert, for their understanding and acceptance of the hours we weren’t able to spend "playing" due to the hours devoted to this work.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract.</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication.</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments.</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita.</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapters:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prologue.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for Studying Stories:</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universality.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renaissance of Interest.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarship Paucity.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge Appropriateness.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge Fertinece.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge Impact.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge: Synopsis.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for Studying Personal Experience Stories:</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universality.</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarship.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Selecting An Academic Discipline.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chosen Discipline:</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Factors.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eclectic Factors.</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational-Lore Factors.</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synopsis.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who Are The Folk?:</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Factors.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitions.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are Outdoor Adventure Education Instructors ‘Folk’?.</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION.

PROLOGUE.

Outdoor adventure education instructors are inveterate storytellers. They tell stories regularly and often, whenever - it seems - the opportunity to do so arises. They tell them to their fellow instructors during course debriefings or after returning from expeditions. They tell them to their crews as a prelude to activities or in order to emphasize a teaching point or safety concern. They tell them while sharing meals with their fellow instructors and as ‘bedtime stories’ to their crews. They tell them to amuse, to entertain, to scare and to teach. The common experiences and mutual acquaintanceships, shared by all outdoor adventure education instructors, makes the rapid movement from “random gossip or incidental circumstance to narrative account” (Benstock 1982:707) almost inevitable. As with the Dubliners of James Joyce’s novels (Benstock 1982) this is so even during the most casual of meetings between otherwise complete strangers.1

Generally speaking, outdoor adventure education instructors tell two different types of stories: personal or near-

1. Abrahams (1985) says that this movement from conversational to narrative discourse is a “representatively human” (1985:39) process. “We are able,” he says, “to relate, by storytelling, with people with whom we have never otherwise had a relationship because stories ... give us some sense of engagement with others that we may not even know” (Abrahams 1985:39). He further believes that because “we are what we have done, we ... have stories ready on a great number of themes” (Abrahams 1985:42) in order to let “others we meet on first encounters ... know who we have known ... and where we have been and what we have [done]” (ibid.).
personal experience stories,\(^2\) relating events that actually happened to themselves or to someone they know; and scary "modern" (Buchan 1981; Bennett 1985b), "urban" (Brunvand 1981; Barnes 1984), "contemporary" (Smith 1982; Bennett, Widdowson and Smith 1987), "adolescent" (Samuelson 1981; Bird 1994), "adolescent horror" (Ellis 1994) or "local historical" (Montell and Allen 1981) legends, centering around the locale in which they are - at present - employed.\(^3\) They do not tell "'have you heard this one already?'" (Babcock 1984:69) type jokes, although the stories they tell may be both amusing and punch-line dominated. Nor do they tell what Bennett (citing Otto Blehr 1967) refers to as "folk believe stories [which] feature the current beliefs of the narrator and his/her community [in order to] teach, explicate and discuss those beliefs" (Bennett 1989:290).

The above, albeit unscientific, conclusions have been drawn with some confidence. Sixteen years of international involvement as an instructor at a number of outdoor adventure education establishments, with indirect experience of at least ten different countries spanning four continents, gives rise to this confidence. During this time

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2. Initially I have used the term personal experience stories to refer to those stories that are "based on [the] real experiences" (Stahl 1989:iix) of the teller. The term near-personal experience stories is applied to those experience narratives which the teller, perhaps because of close acquaintance with the story’s protagonist, "may still regard as personal" (Gwyndaf 1985:224). These near-personal experience stories retain their "personal nature as much as if the teller had stated: 'This happened to me'" (D6gh 1985b:102). For the purpose of this dissertation, therefore, near-personal experience stories will, until the definition of personal experience stories is examined in detail, be considered a sub-category of personal experience stories.

3. The examination of such legends would make an intriguing study in its own right. I have personally encountered four such legends. The Aberdovey Bear from the Outward Bound School in Aberdovey, North Wales, the Lakeland 'Bandage Man' from the Lakeland Training Group in Ambleside, England, the Calingorms Cougar from the Loch Eil Outward Bound School in Fort William in the Scottish Highlands and the Ojibwa Ghost of the Minnesota Outward Bound School. (See also Ellis [1981] for an investigation of a similar phenomenon; the "Camp Mock Ordeal" and Goss [1992] for an examination of the "Humour [sic.] Legends" involving "Alien Big Cats in Britain."

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numerous informal observations were made of the social discourse of those with whom I worked, my fellow outdoor adventure education instructors. These observations, though unsystematic, provide powerful supporting evidence for the claim that outdoor adventure education instructors are inveterate storytellers.

A further observation made over this sixteen-year period of employment in outdoor adventure education is significant in that it helps to point out the ultimate direction taken in the investigation of this phenomenon. I have heard, on a number of occasions, the same personal experience stories being told in different and diverse settings by different and completely independent instructors. Often such stories would be told as personal experience stories when in fact the stories were not grounded in either the teller’s personal experiences or those of a direct acquaintance. This observation is particularly significant because it points, intuitively and in layperson’s terms, towards the academic discipline of folklore and initially fulfills at least one of the layperson’s concepts of folklore, multiple existence.

Acknowledging the veracity of the claims that outdoor adventure education instructors are inveterate storytellers, and that a large proportion of the stories they tell are personal experience stories, this study will examine this phenomenon. Its ultimate purpose will be to discover what these stories tell us about outdoor adventure education.

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4. When compared intuitively to other populations with whom I have some dealings, (ten years in higher education, seven years in secondary education and nine years in coaching) the conclusions are similar. Outdoor adventure education instructors are particularly inclined to tell stories.
instructors and outdoor adventure education instructing. Since the discipline of outdoor pursuits has no theoretical framework for examining this aspect of scholarship, the now recognized “independent academic discipline” (Dundes 1986:268) of folklore (Bronner 1983a:2; Oring 1986b:xi; Richmond 1983:xiv and xvi) will be used to ground this investigation.\textsuperscript{5}

There is reasonable justification for each of the processes involved in this investigation. There are a number of reasons for studying stories in general and for studying personal experience stories in particular. There are a number of reasons for invoking the academic discipline of folklore as the grounding academic discipline for this

\textsuperscript{5} Some folklorists argue, with reluctance, that folklore has not managed to achieve the recognition of being an independent academic discipline and that it has, at most, "moved hesitantly during the twentieth century between being an autonomous discipline, a multidisciplinary field, and a sub-set of a larger discipline" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:124). Twenty years ago Ben Amos stated that folklore was in a position of “academic marginality” (Ben Amos 1973:118) because folklore scholars had neglected to study the history of their own discipline. Despite there being evidence to suggest that actually “folkloristics as a discipline has always been interested in its history” (Shuman and Briggs 1993:117) Ben Amos believed that the discipline could only rectify this situation and “relocate [itself] in the midst of the main core of intellectual discourse” (Ben Amos 1973:118) by addressing this neglected historical area of scholarship. Gillian Bennett (1994), on the other hand, believes that the great failure of the founding fathers of the Folklore Society, those six giants of British folklore who formed the ‘great team’ (Dorson 1968:202), “lay in their inability to establish folkloristics as an academic discipline” (Bennett 1994:34), only founding, instead, what Foucault (1988) refers to as a discursivity. However, since, on the one hand, the neglected area of historical scholarship in folklore has recently been addressed on a number of occasions (Zumwalt 1988; Bronner 1988; Clements 1988a), with “books by Abraham (1992) and Haring (1992) attesting to the centrality of historical analysis in contemporary folkloristics” (Shuman and Briggs 1993:116) and of the "central role" (ibid.) history plays in "much of the work that is emerging in the 1990s" (ibid.); and since, on the other hand, the claims made by Bennett refer exclusively to British folkloristics, we should accept without reservations that "the current state of the discipline . . . [has] br[ought] that day to pass" (Azzolina 1983:6) when the "discipline [of folklore] has reached [William James's] third [and final] developmental stage" (Ben Amos 1973:114) and has achieved a "sanction[ed] . . . scientific identity and [a] confirm[ed] position in academe" (ibid.). It must also be noted, however, that this position may be somewhat precarious and in need of protection. Folklorists have in the past “participate[d] in their own marginalization” (Shuman and Briggs 1993:109) and are in danger of doing so again by disregarding their "own intellectual traditions through the omission of material gathered by previous generations" (Dégh 1994:224). Such attitudes would "erode . . . and negate the right of existence of folkloristics that is as old and venerable as the much-admired other disciplines" (Dégh 1994:224).
investigation. There are a number of reasons why personal experience stories are thought to be grist for the folklore mill and why outdoor adventure education instructors may be considered among this discipline’s ‘folk.’ Each of these factors will be considered in turn in order to fully explain the philosophical underpinnings of this undertaking. The first two factors, the reasons for studying stories in general and personal experience stories in particular will be addressed in the introduction to this dissertation, while the other factors will be dealt with in its body

THE REASON FOR STUDYING STORIES -- UNIVERSALITY.

The first reason for studying stories is their universality, which should, as Georges states, be “accepted a priori” (Georges 1969:313). Donald Polkinghorne states categorical that “the products of narrative schemes are ubiquitous” (Polkinghorne 1988:14), while Roland Barthes points out in the much cited (White 1981a:1; Tappan and Brown 1989:185; Polkinghorne 1988:14) opening section to his essay on the structural analysis of narratives, that stories and storytelling are “international. [sic.] transhistorical, transcultural: simply there, like life itself” (Barthes 1977:79b). He goes on to state that storytelling occurs in “every age, in every place, in every society; [for storytelling] begins with the very history6 of mankind and

6. Strange as it may seem, this may be too late for some authorities. Scholes and Kellogg believe that language, and presumably, by implication, storytelling, has a longer history than “man himself, having been invented by some missing link . . . between man and the gibbon” (Scholes and Kellogg 1966:17). Since “the oldest confirmed fossils from modern humans are up to 120,000 years [old]” (Lemonick 1994:45 citing Christopher Stringer) and since “it may have been as many as a million years ago that man first . . . invented literature” (Scholes and Kellogg 1966:17) and since these early attempts at literature began “ages before man etched cave inscriptions and carved hieroglyphics . . . not as an affair of pen and ink [but as] warning examples naturally told by a mother to her children” (Nowlin 1929:1); and not as written texts but as physical gestures (Boremann 1980), we can claim, with

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there nowhere is nor has been a people without narratives" (Barthes 1977:79b).

It can be seen, then, that as "everyone yields to the temptation to become a storyteller" (Reaver 1981:66), and as there is a "storymaker in each of us" (Abraham 1985:39), stories and storytelling are ubiquitous in nature. However they are more than simply ubiquitous in nature, they are also both uniquely and characteristically human in nature. Micheal Novak states that "the human being alone among all the creatures on the earth is a storytelling animal" (Novak 1975:175). The philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre concurs with Novak in stating that "narrative . . . turns out to be the basic and essential genre for the characterisation [sic.] of human actions" (MacIntyre 1981:194). The psychologist Renee Fuller goes even further for she feels that "the need to make our life coherent, to make a story out of it is probably so basic" (Fuller 1979:1) to human existence that it may be stories "rather than 'bits' of information [that are] the intellectual . . . engram of our species" (Fuller 1979:2). According to one authority, hopefully speaking ironically, it would be impossible for man not to tell stories for, telling stories is the exact purpose "God . . . [who] loves stories" (Wiggins 1975b.ix citing Elie Wiesel) created human beings.

The very existence, then, of this phenomenon warrants its investigation. Stories should be examined first and foremost because they are there.7 The persistence and

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7. It is perhaps of some significance to note that the expression 'because it's there' was coined, in 1922, by the renowned outdoor adventurer George Mallory as a response to being asked, during a lecture tour of the United States of America, to explain his
magnitude of storytelling among outdoor adventure education instructors leads, intuitively, to the conclusion that the stories they tell have some significance, and are therefore worthy of examination.\(^8\) Indeed, it could be said that using the word 'intuitive' here is somewhat under-playing the significance of stories in the outdoor adventure education field. Since stories do exist in some profusion among outdoor adventure education instructors we can safely say that they are, at the very least, "intrinsically interesting" (Titon 1980:291) to this population, for without such an interest this population would simply cease to listen to such narratives. Barbara Herrnstein Smith states that each party involved in a narrative transaction "must be motivated to participate in it. . . . [and] must have some interest in telling or listening to that narrative" (Smith 1980:233, her emphasis). Because "anybody can in their way go on listening or not go on listening" (Titon 1980:291 citing Gertrude Stein 1935) to a story, "participation in the narrative transaction [must be] sufficiently in the interest of each party to win out over all currently competing activities for both of them" (Smith 1981:233). Since such narrative activity, among outdoor adventure education instructors, regularly wins out over all competing activities, then the interesting nature of the desire to climb Mount Everest, the world's highest mountain (Ullman 1947:385; Mitchell 1983:151-2). It is of added significance to note that this exact phrase was also used by Jan Harold Brunvand (1976:10) to explain why folklore should be a source of scholarly investigation. Brunvand felt that as folklore "is one of the universals" (Bascom 1965/54:296 his emphasis) and as "all people" (Bronner 1983b:78), "all levels of society" (Toelken 1979:6) and "[all] known culture[s]" (Bascom 1965/53:26) have and make use of "something we call folklore" (Toelken 1979:6), then folklore cannot be ignored and should be the subject of scholarly investigations incorporating "every field of study involving man and his works" (Brunvand 1968:10).

\(^8\) These intuitive conclusions are drawn despite "certain reverse ethnocentric[all]" (Allen 1989:237) arguments posed, but dismissed, by some authorities (Allen 1989; Barthes 1977b). Barthes' provides a full description and refutation of these arguments (Barthes 1977b:79-80).
information conveyed in such an activity can be accepted wholeheartedly.

There are a number of reasons over and above those of mere existence and profusion that further warrants the examination of the stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors.

THE REASON FOR STUDYING STORIES - RENAISSANCE OF INTEREST.

One reason for investigating the stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors is the "revival [of interest] in the ancient art of storytelling" (Tanner 1988:1) that has occurred "over the last few years" (ibid.). This revival has occurred "not only [in] literary texts and ordinary language but also [in] scholarly [and] technical discourse" (Prince 1990:1) and in "scholarly circles" (Hauerwas and Jones 1989b:1) in general, as well as in various aspects of the popular press (Quarrick 1989:49; Tanner 1988:1). If such a "renaissance of [interest in] storytelling" (Oberle 1983) is underway, it behooves the discipline of outdoor adventure education to keep abreast of scholarly developments in this direction. One way to accomplish this is for scholars within the discipline to undertake narrative research. This dissertation attempts to do exactly that.

The claim for a recent "re-emergence of story-telling" (Gerbner 1985b:73) is well substantiated (Gerbner 1985a; Leonard 1990; Oberle 1983). Despite this substantiation, however, there is some cause for skepticism in regard to these recent claims of a new-found revival of interest in storytelling. First, the claim, that the interest in
stories and storytelling is a resurgent phenomenon, is not entirely accurate. On the one hand a national organization called The National Story League was founded “by a professor of literature on the campus of the University of Tennessee” (Oberle 1983:59) almost a century ago in 1903. On the other hand, in a more scholarly vein, recent reviews (Dundes 1976, 1985, 1991; Zumwalt 1988; Bronner 1988; Clements 1988a) have depicted a continuous history of story-analysis scholarship spanning a whole century. Indeed, if European scholarship into stories and storytelling is considered, its history goes back almost two centuries to the work of the Grimm brothers “whose ‘household tales’ first appeared in 1812” (Dundes 1965:4a).

Second, there are some authorities who do not feel there has been a resurgence of interest in storytelling. These authorities feel that “the art of storytelling has atrophied” (Beiner 1984:558), and that “our dominant culture is blind to the value” (Swimme 1987:86) of stories and storytelling. At the beginning of the present century Arthur Ransome (1909) stated that storytelling had “only a shamefaced existence outside books” (Ransome 1909:5), while at mid-century, Walter Benjamin (1968) felt that the storyteller was “by no means a present force” (Benjamin 1968:83) in society. These ideas are mirrored in the more recent works of Ronald Beiner (1984), who believes we need to “recover the lived depth of truth-revealing narrative” (Beiner 1984:559), and Robinson and Hawpe (1986), who feel that narrative thinking is at present “widely disparaged” (Robinson and Hawpe 1986:123). Joan Didion (1979) expresses much the same idea when she says that it is a “common
condition . . . to doubt the premise of all the stories [we have] ever told" (Didion 1979:1). 9

Despite these contrary ideas, however, the recent deluge of scholarly works with an emphasis on stories and storytelling does indeed attest to the current renaissance of interest in this field. Many academic disciplines (Mechling 1991) have benefited from this "abundance of recent narratological production" (Prince 1990:2) and scholarship. Linguistics and language development (Tannen 1982, 1987; Trabasso and Sperry 1985; Trabasso and van den Broek 1985; Miller and Sperry 1988; Snow and Goldfield 1981; Polanyi 1982c; Dechert 1987); communications (Polanyi 1982a; 1985; Gerbner 1985a; Kirkwood 1983); moral philosophy (Vokey 1988; McDermitt 1981; MacIntyre 1981; Fisher 1984; Hauerwas and Burrell 1989; Gilligan 1982); political philosophy (Beiner 1984); epistemology and metaphysics (DeConcini 1990; Polkinghorne 1988; Fisher 1985); sociology (Mitchell, W. 1981a; Nash 1990a); education (Stein and Policastro 1984; Maguire 1988; Coles 1989; Egan 1988); business management and organizational studies (Siebert 1989; Vokey 1985, 1986; Mitroff and Kilmann 1975, 1976; Jones 1991; Brown 1985); theology (Titon 1988; Hauerwas and Jones 1989a; Wiggins 1975); and women's studies (Farrier 1975; Vokey 1985, 1986; Mitroff and Kilmann 1975, 1976; Jones 1991; Brown 1985); theology (Titon 1988; Hauerwas and Jones 1989a; Wiggins 1975); and women's studies (Farrier 1975; Fine and Speer 1992a; Jordan and Kalcik 1985; Kalcik 1975; Kane 1989; Langellier and Peterson 1992; Papamicael-Koutroubas 1984; Radner 1993; Valentine and Valentine 1992); as well as the relatively new disciplines of semiotics (Polanyi 1979,

9. The authorities expounding the demise of storytelling ascribe, in the main, to the idea that the modern world is experientially void. Today's "mass-produced narrative[s]" (Silkals 1984), movies, television, videos, computer-games, virtual reality experiences, pulp novels and comic books, are so "vicarious," "fantastic," "imaginative," and "make-believe" (Quarrick 1989:50) in nature they have "ousted the majority of narrative genres" (ibid.) by stifling that "source from which all stories are drawn" (Benjamin 1969:84); real or "lived experiences" (Connolly 1990).
1982b; Bauman 1982) and narratology (Prince 1990; Genette 1980, 1988); along with the more obviously related disciplines of literature (Benstock 1982; Caserio 1987; Barnes 1979); folklore (Oberle 1983; Danker 1986; Ferry 1985; Tanner 1988; Shenhar 1987); psychology (Mandler 1987; Lamb 1981, Sarbin 1986a); history (Dorson 1972g and h; Allen and Montell 1981; Montell and Allen 1988; Wilson 1979; Jones 1982); and anthropology (van Maanen 1988) have all benefited from such recent research. Perhaps authorities are seeking to verify the recent claims that narratives and stories are “a cure if not a panacea [for] a variety of illness[es]” (Hauerwas and Jones 1989b:1).

The use of stories in the field of outdoor adventure education has reflected this general re-emerging use of stories elsewhere (Leonard 1990:17). One repercussion of this growing interest in stories and storytelling was the formation, at the 1987 Conference on the Philosophy of Outward Bound, of a “task force” (Clarkson 1990:1) whose mandate was to “prepare a collection of stories to illustrate fundamental themes of the OB [sic.] experience” (ibid.).

10. In addition to these academic indications of a “renaissance of storytelling” (Oberle 1983) a number of pertinent ‘popular press’ factors offer further verification that more people are now answering “the call of the story” (Jasper 1994) than did so in the past. First, although the term ‘storytelling’ may have an “old-fashioned [anachronistic] ring” (Quarrick 1989:49), the fact is that stories, albeit in various disguised forms such as films, television, theater and magazine articles, are more popular today, “than at any other time in history” (ibid.). Second, a storytelling festival, “which [sic.] attracts hundreds of performers” (Oberle 1983:60) annually, has taken place every October in Jonesborough, Tennessee for the last 22 years. Third, a magazine published by the National Association for the Preservation and Perpetuation of Storytelling, entitled the Storyteller Magazine, can now be purchased at newspaper outlets. Fourth, “the number of storytellers who are being booked for performances all over the world” (Tanner 1988:1) is on the increase. Finally, national network television (NBC) and a national news magazine (Time) recently respectively aired, on the one hand, a half-hour special (appropriately entitled “The Storyteller”), and published, on the other hand, an article by Melvin Maddocks (1981), concerning storytelling in Maine (Tanner 1980:1; Oberle 1983:61).
Both personal experience stories and modern belief legends were, unfortunately, omitted from this collection. These are the two most popular types of stories among outdoor adventure education instructors, and, as such, should have been given some degree of credibility. It is also unfortunate that the task force’s mandate prevented the exploration of stories told by instructors as a source of information concerning those instructors and the functions they perform. In exclusively seeking to assemble stories that reinforced previously established procedures and philosophies, a golden opportunity for scholarly investigation was missed.

THE REASON FOR STUDYING STORIES -- SCHOLARSHIP PAUCITY.

The resurgence of interest in storytelling is testament to the importance and respect attributed to this line of inquiry by scholars in a number of different academic disciplines. It also points to the necessity, in order to keep abreast of current scholarship, for outdoor adventure educators to undertake similar such investigations. Unfortunately this does not occur. While it may be overstating the case to claim, as does Jerome Bruner in regard to autobiographical narratives, that “not a single comprehensible study on this subject [exists]” (Bruner 1987:15), it is nevertheless very evident that a further reason for examining the stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors is the paucity of previous such scholarship.

In outdoor adventure education, and the related discipline of physical education - with all its various off-shoots, there have been a number of scholarly investigations in
fields akin to storytelling, but few concerning stories and storytelling per se. The rituals and ceremony involved in football (Arens 1981; Montague and Morais 1981, Fiske 1976), baseball (Coffin 1971), little league baseball (Fine 1979), professional and sumo wrestling (Freedman 1983; Manning 1983b; Workman 1975; Yamaguchi 1987), boxing (Weinberg and Arond 1952), the Olympic Games (MacAlloon 1984b) and athletics in general (Gluckman and Gluckman 1977; Duthie 1980), pickup softball (Peterson 1981), rugby (Sherry 1980), and scouting (Mechling 1980a and b, 1984); as well as in the tangentially related field of American rodeo (Stoeltje 1986 and 1993) have all come under the microscope. Specific investigations into the superstitions involved in automobile racing (Koster 1992), and baseball (Allen 1964; Gmetch 1971); and the language and drama involved in American football (Dundes 1978), snowboarding (Murray 1991b), baseball (Frank 1983), and professional wrestling (Gutowski 1972, Workman 1977) have complemented the general folkloric and performance works on such aspects of physical education as sport, games and recreation (Opie and Opie 1969; Georges 1972; Dundes 1975d; Abrahams 1977a; Bailey 1991; Sutton-Smith 1972, 1976a, 1976b; Peterson 1983) and roller-skating (McGovern 1993).

Despite these recent developments, the disciplines of physical education in general - and outdoor adventure education in particular - have usually shunned the use of stories as a source of research information. Dr. Paul Smith of the Memorial University folklore faculty recently

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11. Reflecting this paucity of folkloric-type literature in physical activity scholarship, Kenneth Goldstein called this field an "arid and sterile domain of description and comparativist annotation along historical and geographical lines" (Goldstein 1989:186).
confirmed this situation in lamenting the scarcity of scholarship concerning sporting narratives (personal conversation 8:25:92).¹²

Contradictions to the general rule that stories are not used for physical activity scholarship do occur. Recently these have included articles examining the narratives promoting and maintaining the mystique surrounding American football coaches (Beezley 1980, 1981) and the Coe/Ovett track athletic rivalry of the late seventies and eighties (Whannel 1982). The legendary beliefs concerning a Minnesotan "promiscuous cheerleader" (Fine and Johnson 1980), college football players (Wise 1977; Beezley 1985), and the activity of surfing in general (Thorne 1976a and b) have also been so examined, as have been certain narratalogical aspects of the Olympic Games (Axthelm 1987; Chalip 1988; MacAlloon 1987), baseball (Santa-Maria and Costello 1990) and recreation in general (Quarrick 1989). Of particular significance is a publication by Edith Johnson (1984) which examined the techniques necessary for success in storytelling in a physical education setting.

In addition, Richard Dorson has had “two personal-narrative texts . . . previously published” (Dorson 1977:122), one tennis-based and the other with a football focus (Dorson 1972h). Connolly (1990) used the personal experience stories of children - in particular their “critical incidents” - in order to verify the theoretical ideas of phenomenological philosophy and Connolly and Wood (1992)

¹². With the recent introduction of the folkloric field of “bodylore” (Young and Babcock 1994), surely an aspect of investigation closely linked to physical education, it may be that the dearth of scholarship in this direction will be redressed.
promoted the use of personal narratives in effective class preparation.

The most common academic use of the personal narrative in sporting scholarship has been in the area of sports psychology (Orlick and Partington 1986; Murphy and White 1978). Here the emphasis has usually been on performance improvement (Orlick and Partington 1986) or on examining “the spiritual dimensions in athletics” (Murphy and White 1978:ix).

All in all, then, stories of participants in physical activity are rarely used as a source of information concerning those participants or that participation. Unfortunately, despite the already-mentioned, renewed interest in storytelling within the field of outdoor adventure education, this is also true of this aspect of physical activity.

Outdoor adventure participants’ stories have been used, though very infrequently, as a basis for scholarly examinations. On one occasion Bert Horwood (1992) used students’ stories to examine the learning that occurs during canoe trips. On another occasion, personal experience stories were used as a basis for an article about an expedition doctor’s Mount Everest experience (Villar 1984). On a third occasion Daniel Vokey (1985, 1986), a notable advocate of the use of stories in outdoor adventure education and a member of the previously mentioned story-collecting task force, used the stories of business personnel to illustrate organizational innovations. These are, however, exceptions to the general rule that stories
are not used to provide information for outdoor adventure education scholarship. Such exceptions have never been extended to include outdoor adventure education instructors whose stories have simply been ignored as a source of scholarly information.

Narrative scholarship in outdoor adventure education has, conversely, centered on the development of a theoretical framework concerning moral judgment (Vokey 1988; Berginger 1990), transformative psychology (Stremba 1989; Brown 1989), storytelling techniques (Clarkson 1988; Sweda 1986; Johnson 1984), story types (Clarkson 1988; Bacon 1983), the importance and virtues of storytelling as an educational tool (Leonard 1990; Swimme 1987; Clarkson 1988; Bacon 1983) and the ritual use of contemporary legends in camp mock-ordeals (Ellis 1981, 1982).

Despite outdoor adventure education's renewed interest in stories and storytelling, there is little to indicate that this interest includes the types of stories instructors are most likely to tell. All in all, then, an absence of previous scholarly investigations into the stories of outdoor adventure education instructors provides, in conjunction with the recent resurgence of interest in storytelling in general, a powerful mandate for this current investigation.

**THE REASON FOR STUDYING STORIES — KNOWLEDGE APPROPRIATENESS.**

The knowledge obtained through examining the stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors provides another, very potent, reason for their investigation. Like all scholarly investigations, examinations of stories should
initially be undertaken in order to gain information and knowledge. There are three reasons why the knowledge and information gained through examining stories is particularly salient. First, the knowledge and information that is available through examining stories is more appropriately acquired through this method of investigation than through alternative, more traditional, methods (Polkinghorne 1988; Sarbin 1986a). Second, the pertinence and gravity of the knowledge and information gained through story investigation is particularly germane (De Concini 1990; Polkinghorne 1988; Sarbin 1986a), and third, the highly impactful manner in which stories impart knowledge and information is felt to provide a powerful mandate for their investigation (Polkinghorne 1988, Maguire 1988; Metzger 1981). These three reasons for studying stories for the information they impart require considerable and quite specific elaboration.

"Cracks . . . have begun to appear in science’s magnificent edifice" (Lincoln and Guba 1985:7) as research and scholarship uncovers “new ‘facts’ . . . with which the old paradigm cannot deal” (ibid.). This claim is particularly justified when, as in this specific case, humanistic inquiry is undertaken. In humanistic inquiry traditional research methods have, in recent times, fallen into disfavor as the “stasis, objectivity and absoluteness of a Newtonian paradigm [transitionally shifts] to the dynamic relativity of an Einsteinian paradigm” (Lamb 1981:5).

As the "professional community re-evaluates traditional experimental procedures and alters its conception of entities with which it has long been familiar" (Lamb 1981:6 citing Kuhn 1972:7), traditional research methods begin to
be viewed more skeptically. They are now felt by some authorities (Polkinghorne 1988; Elms 1975; Sarbin 1986a; Smith 1981; Marx 1969) to be inappropriate for social science research. These authorities generally feel that, in dealing with human beings, "the measure of significance cannot be located in any objective realm uncompromised by human judgment" (Marx 1969:89). In defending the unscientific method (Marx 1969), authorities point out that traditional research methods are limited and inadequate (Polkinghorne 1988:x), disillusioning (Sarbin 1986b:ix), "logically flawed and methodologically distracting" (Smith 1981:213), ignorant of the humanness of its human subject matter (Lincoln and Guba 1985:27) and "insensitive to the contexts in which [its results are] dug up" (Bruner 1986:10).

Two factors contribute to the "crisis of confidence" (Elms 1975) that now invests traditional social science research. First, its results have low levels of predictability and generality (Sarbin 1986b:ix); and second, its methodological assumptions are questionable. They are based on a natural science model that may be inappropriate and inaccurate when applied to the study of human beings (Polkinghorne 1988:x).

The disfavor that is presently cast upon traditional methods of research, then, explains the first reason for the particular salience of story-generated knowledge. Donald Polkinghorne (1988) sums up this reason most eruditely by pointing out that

the solutions to human problems will [not] come from developing even more sophisticated and creative applications of the natural science model, but rather by developing additional, complementary approaches that are especially sensitive to the unique characteristics of human existence ... Work with the narratives people use to understand the human world ... opens up a realm for understanding human beings that will ... make our research considerably more successful and useful (Polkinghorne 1988:x-xi).
Narrative research, then, is now viewed, not only as a viable alternative to traditional research methods, but one that has considerable potential for providing true and accurate answers to human problems (Polkinghorne 1988:x).

THE REASON FOR STUDYING STORIES -- KNOWLEDGE PERTINENCE.

The pertinence and gravity of the knowledge gained through examining stories is the second reason for the particular salience of that knowledge. The fact that stories convey information has been known since people started telling stories (Nowlin 1929). However, stories are now felt, by some authorities, to convey particularly salient information. They are thought to be capable of addressing some of humankind’s oldest, most abstract, and most perplexing philosophical problems. Indeed, Wittgenstein (1961:4.121 cited in Kirkwood and Gold 1983:342) held that “certain metaphysical, ethical and logical truths could only be ‘shown’” (Kirkwood and Gold 1983:342) through such expressive means of language as stories, and could “never [be] ‘said’ or ‘stated’” (ibid.) in non-expressive language.

Stories have, then, in recent years gained a significant place in philosophical scholarship.13 They are now felt to address the metaphysical problems of cosmology (Swimme 1987), ontology (Polkinghorne 1988; Nicolaisen 1990; Crites 1971; DeConcini 1990; Smith 1981; Hardy 1968; Mink 1970), dualism (Tappan and Brown 1989; Bruner 1987) and what Beiner (1984:550) refers to as “substantive philosophical anthropology — the philosophy of man [and] human nature”

13. It must be noted that there is a vast amount of scholarship demonstrating a link between narrative discourse and philosophy. Barbara DeConcini (1990) has summed up this work in her recent book Narrative Remembering. It is to be hoped that my gross oversimplification, necessitated by brevity, does not do too much of a disservice to this body of scholarship.
(Cazden and Hymes 1978; Scholes 1981; White 1981a). They are also thought to address deontological problems of morality (MacIntyre 1981; Coles 1989; Berginger 1990; White 1981a; Mink 1981) and the purpose of life (Polkinghorne 1988:11); and epistemological problems concerning knowledge (Metzger 1981; Mitchell 1981b; White 1981a; Prince 1990), understanding (Bascom 1965/54; Polkinghorne 1988; Tappan and Brown 1989), meaning (Polkinghorne 1988; Tappan and Brown 1889; White 1981a) and truth (Downs 1979; S. Smith 1990; Livo and Reitz 1986).

These philosophical aspects of stories and storytelling have been summed up, most concisely, by Hauerwas and Jones (1989b). They state that

the category of narrative has been used, among other purposes, to explain human action, to articulate the structures of human consciousness, to depict the identity of agents, . . . to explain strategies of reading, to justify a view of the importance of “story-telling,” . . . to account for the historical development of traditions, to provide an alternative to foundationalist and/or other scientific epistemologies, and to develop a means for imposing order on what is otherwise chaos (Hauerwas and Jones 1989b:2).

In addressing cosmological questions, stories are thought to be one of the basic and fundamental units of the universe (Swimme 1987:83), while ontologically, stories, like other “oral utterance[s]” (Ong 1977:21), “encourage a sense of continuity with life” (ibid.) because “the formal quality of experience through time is inherently narrative” (Crites 1971:291). Some authorities believe that ontologically stories go much further than simply encouraging a sense of continuity with life. These authorities, “influenced by phenomenology” (Reissman 1993:22), believe that the act of storytelling, which we undertake “in order to live” (Hardy 1968:5; Didion 1979:1) and without which “we are close to

14. These claims that narrative has a continuity with life are supported by Stephen Crites' assertions that “futurity is not all that indeterminate” (Crites 1986:166) and that, in planning our lives in narrative form, “things do work out pretty much the way we expected” (ibid.).


experiencing non-existence” (Hernadi 1981:199), “constitutes reality” (Riessman 1993:22) and is the very equivalent of life itself. Because “the past is nothing but ‘imaginary’” (White 1981a:23) it “cannot be said to be” (Wyatt 1986:196), in any meaningful sense of the word. The past, therefore, to those who hold this idea, “does not exist until it has been narrated” (Nicolaisen 1991:13). Smith (1981), Nicolaisen (1990, 1991) and Abrahams (1985) are particular proponents of this “speech-act model” (Chatman 1981:262; Smith 1981) argument.

Dualistically, stories are thought to furnish a wholeness and unity (Stremba 1989; Bruner 1986, 1987; Mullen 1992; Swimme 1987) that “provide[s] the glue” (Stremba 1989:7) holding together, in harmony (Reaver 1981), the disparate factions of human existence such as past, present and future (Nicolaisen 1991; Polkinghorne 1988), and the “cognitive, affective and conative dimension” (Tappan and Brown 1989:188), and physical, mental and spiritual elements of an experience (Stremba 1989:7).

In regard to the “applied philosophical” (Stevenson 1987:ix), or human nature, aspect of stories and storytelling, two conclusions may be drawn from recent scholarly discourse. On the one hand, “humans are . . . storytellers” (Fisher 1985:75), and the “impulse to story” (Blishen 1979; Bell 1990:172) is “the most natural thing in the world” (Blishen 1979:32 citing Iris Murdoch) - so natural in fact “that we are unaware of its importance” (Lamb 1981:12 citing Renee Fuller). This “need” (White 1981a:4) or “natural impulse” (Tappan and Brown 1989:185) to tell stories arises because, in humans, “the shaping of
experience by narrative" (Bell 1990:172) is a "primordial, but subliminal, process that underlies even the apparently independent planes of reason and evidence" (ibid.). "Narrative forms of thinking" (Cazden and Hymes 1978:27) are, therefore, so "deeply rooted in the human psyche" (Scholes 1981:202) that they are an "inescapable fundamental in human life" (Cazden and Hymes 1978:27). On the other hand, the process of finding and living out stories (Swimme 1987:93), or "narratives in our lives" (MacIntyre 1981:197), is felt by some authorities (Berne 1967; Harris 1973; Hillman 1983) to be a basic human characteristic. These authorities believe that some individuals even relive the lives of fairy tale characters or family ancestors. Both these ideas are nicely summed by Jean-Paul Sartre (1964) who says that

\[\text{a man is always a teller of stories, he lives surrounded by his own stories and those of other people, he sees everything that happens to him in terms of these stories and he tries to live his life as if he were recounting it (Sartre 1964:24).} \]

Ethically, stories may be one of the principle ways in which human values are transmitted to the younger generation (Tappan and Brown 1989; Gilligan 1982; Briggs 1985; Coles 1989). They may "also function to give shape to our moral character . . . and thus affect what we determine to be appropriate action as members of the community" (Hauerwas

15. "The ideas that homo sapiens, faber and ludens is by nature also a narrator" (Dégéh 1994:245) has taken hold to such an extent that a number of recent articles have referred to humans as homo narrans — humankind the storyteller (Mechling 1991; Nicolaisen 1984:260; Gerbner 1985). Although Dégéh (1985) claims that "Ranke's interpretation, . . . in the late twenties and thirties, . . . of Jolles' Geistebschaftigung [sic.] concept led to the generalization of the homo narrans idea" (Dégéh 1985:235), the modern use of this expression was probably instigated by Barbara Myerhoff (1976) in the conclusions to her book *Number Our Days*. Here "she characterizes our species as *Homo narrans*, humankind as story-teller" (Turner 1978:xi), categorically stating that storytelling "is a human constant" (Myerhoff 1978:272).

16. James Hillman (1983) goes as far as suggesting that human's today go to psychotherapy "not to be loved or to get cured, or even to Know Thyself. . . . [but rather] to be told into a story and given a plot to live by" (Hillman 1983:49).
and Jones 1989b:2-3 citing James M. Gustafson 1988:19). However, they may also exist solely as a "function of the impulse to moralize" (White 1981a:14). Indeed, some authorities (MacIntyre 1981; Beiner 1984; Stout 1988; and Hauerwas and Jones 1989b) believe that stories are the very "embodiment of social and moral relevance" (Bennett 1985b:67) and encapsulate "living traditions regarding the good and the just" (Mechling 1991:43). They may, therefore, be the ultimate medium through which we judge and comprehend the differences between right and wrong, good and bad.

Epistemologically, narratives are not just a "complementary, or alternative mode of thinking" (Cazden and Hymes 1978:26), but the very "means [by] which human beings give meaning to their experience" (Polkinghorne 1988:11). They are more than merely "powerfully educative and truly liberating" (Tappan and Brown 1989:200), for their absence would herald "an absence or refusal of meaning itself" (White 1981a:2). Stories possess this "degree of independent epistemological validity" (Metzger 1981:7) because they bind together "otherwise isolated and disconnected scraps of human experience . . . into something whole and useful" (Livo and Reitz 1986:5). Narrative knowledge does not, according to this point of view, "merely reflect what happens; it discovers and invents what can happen. It does not simply record events; it constitutes and interprets them" (Prince 1990:1).

Although many modern scholars acknowledge the philosophical significance of stories and storytelling," not all of them

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17. One authority who does not readily acknowledge the philosophical significance of stories and storytelling is Barbara Herrnstein Smith. Smith feels there is "no good reason to give logical priority or methodological sovereignty to the traditional preoccupations and procedures of philosophy when, as narrative theorists, we
comply with the above outlined philosophical ideas attributed to stories. These authorities prefer, instead, to offer alternative suggestions. One such alternative suggestion (Lamarque 1990; Mink 1970, 1981; Bell 1990; Robinson and Hawpe 1986; Ricoeur 1981a; White 1981a and b) is the belief that "stories are not lived, but told" (Mink 1970:557), and that "reality never occurs in narrative form" (Ong 1982:12). Indeed, Louis Mink (1978:132) believes that "the very notion of event is so ambiguous that it makes no sense to speak of an event per se but only of events under description" (White 1981b:251 his emphasis). In this regard, "narrative thinking consists of creating a fit between a situation and the story scheme" (Robinson and Hawpe 1986:111). According to this view, "recounting and shaping events" (Lamarque 1990:131) must be separate from the experiencing of those events for there is a "qualitative difference between narrative and life" (Bell 1990:176) that "transforms events into stories [and thereby] endows them with cognitive meaning" (White 1981b:251 citing Mink 1978). Another alternative suggestion is the belief that Barbara Herrnstein Smith's "speech act model" (Chatman 1981:262) fails to account for such in-depth aspects of storytelling as analogies and metaphors.

18. Walter Ong succinctly and almost poetically summarizes these ideas as follows: "The totality of what has happened to and in and around me since I got up this morning is not organized as narrative and as a totality cannot be expressed as narrative. To make a narrative, I have to isolate certain elements out of the unbroken and seamless web of history with a view to fitting them into a particular construct which I have more or less consciously or unconsciously in mind" (Ong 1982:12).

19. Authorities holding these opinions believe that it is these differences between narratives and life that provides the "positive value of narrative[s] as a creator of meaning" (Bell 1990:176). They believe that the significant "tension between the two orders" (Bell 1990:176) generated by their basic differences gives rise to the heuristic nature of stories (Robinson and Hawpe 1986).
Despite these alternative opinions, "it is easy to see how discussions of metaphysics [and presumably other aspects of philosophy] get drawn into discussions of narrative" (Lamarque 1990:135). Indeed, the number of scholars linking narratives to all the different aspects of philosophy makes it glaringly obvious that "to tell a story is not a modest undertaking, but engages the grand questions of human nature and human destiny" (Beiner 1984:559). The information stories provide, then, has some significance in addressing humankind's oldest and most perplexing problems. We should study stories, therefore, in order to obtain the information they are likely to provide in this direction. Perhaps by doing so we will discover why Plato was able to say that "those who tell stories also rule the society" (Gerbner 1985b:73).

THE REASON FOR STUDYING STORIES – KNOWLEDGE IMPACT.

The third reason why stories should be examined for the knowledge they convey has to do with the highly impactful manner in which they accomplish this feat. We have already seen that stories carry such a powerful impact that they are said to be the "primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful" (Polkinghorne 1988:11 emphasis added). Maguire (1988) uses phrases such as "no other process" (Maguire 1988:6) and "provides a unique context" (Maguire 1988:7), in describing the effectiveness of stories in transmitting information. Metzger (1981) simply refers to "the genius of the tale" (Metzger 1981:8) in imparting "otherwise inaccessible" (ibid.) knowledge. Stories, then, are thought to "connect with a part of the individual which cannot be reached by any other convention"
(Lamb 1981:11), and to “communicate with a . . . truth beyond customary limitation[s] of our familiar dimensions” (ibid.). They are said to be capable of communicating notions few other mediums can communicate (Lamb 1981:11), and “possess a healing power almost without peer” (Leonard 1990:13 citing Cook 1976).

Despite the boldness of these claims, they do seem to have some veracity. Edward Blishen, the English teacher and novelist, and the 1970 Carnegie Medal winner, says that “the greatest possible teacher in the matter of ideas about life, and in the matter of our constant quest to establish values, . . . is the story” (Blishen 1979:32). The tremendous and mischievous energies that lie in all marvelous stories, he says earlier, provide stories with an “intense vigour [sic.] of meaning” (Blishen 1979:28) that is denied to other forms of knowledge conveyance. These claims are made so boldly and unequivocally that one is apt to doubt their probity. Careful examination of these claims is necessary, therefore, before their acceptance can be confirmed.

The educational aspect of the knowledge provided through stories is well documented. Stories are known to be educationally “edifying and pedagogically useful” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1978a:15) and have informed “traditional education [both] formally and informally from the earliest times” (ibid.), “almost since the very beginning of human history” (Dégh 1957:91). Indeed, stories have “always been a fundamental mode of teaching” (Georges
1993:3) and have "even [been] extolled as the primary means of education" (Stone 1986:18).^20

Stories have always been recognized as "oral transmi[tters] of knowledge" (Pentikäinen 1978:235). However, "with the rise of liberal and universal education in the late 1800s storytelling came to be regarded as an important pedagogic tool" (Stone 1986:18) within a formal educational setting. Furthermore, recent publications on education and storytelling (Baacke 1986; Calfee 1982; Cazden and Hymes 1978; Egan 1988; Georges 1993; Maguire 1988; Schön 1991); and education and folklore (Burack 1978a; Coelho 1978; Haut 1991; Hufford 1978; Jackson 1984; Nusz 1991), a discipline in which stories are and always were "a principal focus" (Georges 1993:5) and one which recognizes that education is one of the three (Oring 1976) or four (Bascom 1965/54) major functions of stories, attest to the contemporary, pedagogical value placed on stories and storytelling.

Scholarly expressions such as "teaching stories" (Ornstein 1972:170 cited in Lamb 1981:11), used to describe Middle Eastern tales, or "stories whose main function is not to entertain or amuse but to convey knowledge" (Kirkwood and Gold 1983:342) and "pedagogical discourse" (Briggs 1985), used in describing New Mexican treasure tales, further testifies to the current high regard that scholars have for the pedagogical value of stories.

^20. A number of authorities (Cazden and Hymes 1978:27; Barnes, Britton and Rosen 1971:25-6; Kirkwood and Gold 1983:341-2; Robinson and Hawpe 1986:123) have noted a recent repression (Cazden and Hymes 1978:27), decline, wide disparagement (Robinson and Hawpe 1986:123) and, indeed, abandonment (Cazden and Hymes 1978:27) of storytelling in the formal pedagogical environment. This "bias against narrative" (Robinson and Hawpe 1986:123) is thought to be the result of a scholastic emphasis on "definition, abstraction, conceptual analysis, and rigorous canons of evidence or proof" (ibid.). Whatever the reasons for such repression and disparagement, the results are unequivocal. A failure to use stories in the pedagogical process does enormous disservice to the "richness of human experience" (Egan 1988:7) they make directly accessible (ibid.) to the student.
Stories, then, have a pedagogical impact that is both historically and currently well recognized. Furthermore, because the importance of stories "as pedagogic devices has [also] been documented in many parts on the world" (Bascom 1965/54:293), this recognition may be extended to include a geographical dimension.\footnote{It must be remembered, however, that "stories can be [as much] instruments of indoctrination" (Tappan and Brown 1989:200) as education. This "century's manipulating of folklore for governmental or commercial ends" (Jabbour 1989:296) offers a more than adequate illustration of the way "ideological propaganda" (Dundes 1975c:8) is used in folklore, and by implication in stories, "to demonstrate the validity and correctness of a particular political point of view" (ibid. citing Dorson 1963b) or to support "political ideology and virulent nationalism" (Dorson 1972b:16). Kamenetsky (1972, 1977), Mieder (1982) and Zipes (1986; 1988) have all produced works that further illustrates the indoctrinating aspects of folklore and stories.}

The educational purpose of stories and of the knowledge they provide may be viewed in various different ways from the very simple Socratic maxim (Sahakian and Sahakian 1966:32) of knowing oneself (Metzger 1981:7) to the bombastic and perhaps even pretentious "install[ing] the young and regenerat[ing] the universe" (Swimme 1987:86). Other ways to view the pedagogical aims of storytelling include: to "bring [an] individual's position in line with ones own" (Briggs 1985:309); to "establish continuity with the [tellers'] own past lives and with the future lives of those who will listen" (Mullen 1992:269); "to serve as a psychological regulator or social control" (Sanderson 1981:164); to "transmit norms and values" (Järvinen 1983:27); to achieve the "socialization of children" (Kvideland 1989); to "inculcate general attitudes and principles" (Bascom 1965/54:293 citing Raum 1940:214); and even to "provoke acts of self confrontation in listeners .. . [in order] to recognize and overcome those thoughts and feelings, attitudes, and actions which impede their
spiritual growth" (Kirkwood 1983:58-59). Despite these differences, stories and storytelling convey a knowledge and wisdom that is undeniably educational. Furthermore, "storytelling is a unique educational process, ... an especially valuable ... [and] dynamic learning experience" (Maguire 1988:6) that conveys wisdom and knowledge in a very distinctive and impactful manner. Using the story format, "one can accomplish certain pedagogical goals that are more difficult to accomplish through other means" (Kirkwood and Gold 1983:342).

In addition to being educational, the knowledge provided through stories also has a therapeutic impact. Healing narratives (Hillman 1983) are, and have always been, "central to" (Nash 1990b:xi) the therapeutic professions which psychologically analyze (Nash 1990b:xi), "instruct, counsel, influence" (Kirkwood 1983:59) and advise others. Professionals involved in these healing activities have known since the time of those historical "fathers of modern psychology" (Quasha 1983:xi) - Freud, Jung and Adler - that the therapeutic process deals "with stories and with stories all the time" (Wyatt 1986:193). Although different psychological theories "employ different narrative structures" (Schafer 1981:25), it is generally recognized that "therapy just is, in part, the constructing of a narrative" (Bernstein 1990:56).

The healing impact of story-generated knowledge is known by more than just counselors and therapists. The tellers of stories also recognize, perhaps only unconsciously, the cathartic and therapeutic power of the stories they tell. Stories, even some which are not autobiographical in nature,
(Nicolaisen 1993:61) help the teller to come to terms with past events and to "create, in the process, the illusion of [an] identity and the [security] of a continuing self" (ibid.). In being involved with the storytelling process human beings seem to intuitively realize that

without stories we could not survive; without stories we would be disoriented; without stories we would be lost; without stories we lack assurance as to who we are and who we could be (Nicolaisen 1993:61).

"Oral story-telling is a two-way street" (Ong 1977:69). Therefore those who listen to any story have their part to play in accounting for its therapeutic and cathartic powers. Narrators only tell stories if they feel they have some impact and meaning for "the narratees" (Sutton 1986:118, his emphasis). They hope, usually successfully, that their efforts as raconteurs are not wasted, and that the receivers of their "oral transmission[s]" (Abrahams 1979:392) "adopt an equal . . . role" (Bennett 1985b:67) in the story's interpretation.

Stories, then, have a high degree of educational, "informational, consolational and therapeutic" (Maguire 1988:6), "psychological, and indeed, moral efficacy" (Metzger 1981:7). However, it is not the educational, therapeutic and moral efficacy, considerable though that undoubtedly is, that is the most significant aspect of

22. It should be noted that the concept of reader-response theory, which has received a great deal of scholarly attention in recent years (Mailloux 1982; Suleiman and Crossman 1980; Tompkins 1980), parallels these ideas concerning listener interpretation of oral narratives. The specific ideas involved in this body of scholarship is beyond the scope of this investigation.

23. Equality of interpretation may be too mild a claim for some authorities, after all the listening experience does "come along before [the telling experience]" (Wilson 1979:2). Genette (1980) states that "the author of the narrative is not only he who tells it but also and at some times even more, he who hears it" (1980:262 emphasis added). Butler (1992) goes further in saying that "the interpretation of [the narrative experience] is largely created by each member of the audience" (Butler 1992:52 emphasis added). Metzger (1981:8) goes further still in believing that listeners have "the greatest opportunities for learning" (Metzger 1981:8 emphasis added), while Stahl (1989) goes furthest of all in claiming that the entire meaning of a story is "housed in the listeners' usually unspoken interpretations of the text" (Stahl 1989:6).
stories and storytelling in regard to the knowledge and information they convey. What is, in all probability, the most significant aspect of stories and storytelling is the enormous extent of this efficacy. Stories have a power to convey knowledge and information far in excess of other forms of such conveyance.

Both those who tell stories and those who listen to them are affected by the efficacious power that stories possess. As we have already seen, some authorities are glowing in their praise of the effectiveness of stories in activating this power (Polkinghorne 1988; Maguire 1988; Metzger 1981). Livo and Reitz (1986) believe that "there is more profound real truth in 'story' than in the common motif of daily experience" (Livo and Rietz 1986:15); Robert Down (1979), in citing Stephen Vincent Benét, is of the opinion that "legends and yarns and folk tales are as much a part of the real history of the country as proclamations and provisos and constitutional amendments" (Down 1979:xi-xii); Sherry Smith (1990:1 citing Lieutenant W. H. Carter) feels that stories are better at shaping our attitudes and beliefs than the real truth, and Brian Swimme (1987) says that stories are "the fundamental unit of intelligibility for advanced hominid intelligence" (Swimme 1987:83). Even a myth - according to Mircea Eliade (1975) - is "understood in the archaic societies . . . [as being] a 'true story'" (Eliade 1975:1). How can such seemingly extravagant claims regarding the profoundness and real truth of stories and storytelling be justified?

Undoubtedly, stories sometimes educate, counsel and shape our beliefs and attitudes through the examples provided by
the stars of the stories (Leonard 1990; Clarkson 1988; Bruner 1986:4). However, many authorities believe that stories achieve much greater impact through "double or hidden meaning" (Polkinghorne 1988:66; Ricoeur 1975) effects that "evoke a zestful imaginative play" (Bruner 1986:4) upon words, ideas and symbols.

The source of a story's power to promote education and therapy through double or hidden meanings was recognized and used to good effect by some of the world's most renowned teachers and healers. Plato, Socrates, Buddha, Christ and Aesop (see Kirkwood and Gold 1983:341) often taught by "insert[ing]" (Ricoeur 1967:165) the hidden meanings contained in myths, allegories, and parables into their lessons. Certain contemporary scholars and teachers (Clarkson 1988; Leonard 1990; Bacon 1983; Lankton and Lankton 1989) believe that a story's power to provide educational and therapeutic double meaning is housed in that story's metaphorical content.  

Metaphors are "figures of speech in which a word or phrase denoting one kind of object or action is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them" (Lankton and Lankton 1989:1). Metaphors create meaning when
“similarity emerges out of an initial perception of difference” (Polkinghorne 1988:55). This meaningfulness, “results primarily from a clash between [the] literal meanings” (Ricoeur 1981b:170) and the figurative meaning of words. There may be considerable difference between a word or expression’s meaning in a story, and that word or expression’s literal meaning. New and insightful illuminations are generated by these similarities and differences as appropriate, and perhaps unusual, relationships and connections mitigate between them. (Bacon 1983).

A story’s metaphorical content provides the mental challenge which gives the story one of two sources of educative and therapeutic power derived from metaphors. This mental challenge centers around the discovery of the connections hidden in the metaphorical content of the story. Such a metaphorical challenge can only be met when “all the functions of the mind” (Clarkson 1988:3, emphasis added) become involve in the “nontypical [problem solving] strategies” (Bacon 1983:6) promoted by the challenge. In this way stories provide a “metaphorical looking glass” (Leonard 1990:12) through which the mind reflectively searches for an understanding of the metaphor’s hidden connections. This “complex cognitive . . . transderivative” search (Bacon 1983:6) provides the different “images of the world” (Leonard 1990:12) that make, through stories and storytelling, “new perceptions, emotions and behaviors” (ibid.) possible.

Metaphors have a specific nature which provides the second source of the therapeutic and educational power they
invaginate into a story. Metaphors, by their very nature, make "conscious the unconscious" (Clarkson 1988:3) because they use the language of the unconscious. Stories hide their metaphorical meaning behind a veil of unconsciousness. Through the use of "symbols" (Voigt 1983:318), "primordial images" (Poulsen 1985:156), "archetypes" (Livo and Reitz 1986:15), "psychological interpretations of the experiential world" (Metzger 1981:8) and physical embodiment of internal expressions (Abrahams 1979:401), stories have - because of their metaphorical content - a unique power to promote the "release of repressions" (ibid.), the "struggle for individuation" (ibid.) and the confrontation of projections (Horner 1971; Dundes 1976; 1985).

THE REASON FOR STUDYING STORIES – KNOWLEDGE: SYNOPSIS.

There is a certain uniqueness, then, in the way that stories convey information, wisdom and knowledge. Not only is this knowledge of particular salience and pertinence in its own right in that it addresses some of humankind’s most perplexing problems, it is also conveyed in a manner that is highly impactful. Some authorities believe that these factors make storytelling activities "the most important political and economic act of our time" (Swimme 1987:83), "the dominant power source for . . . the health of the people" (Victor 1987:2), and that which make us "progressively more capable of perceiving ever new truths . . . [and of] experiencing personal growth" (Heuscher 1974:x-xi). If we add to these factors the previously mentioned appropriateness of using stories for the investigation of such information, then we have a very powerful mandate for examining stories.
Stories embody, perhaps only in an unconscious way, the major concerns of both their tellers and listeners. In storying events tellers are expressing an interest in that event. This interest, in turn, demonstrates certain preoccupations and, possibly, anxieties concerning that event. In taking the time to listen to the stories of such events, listeners are acknowledging that the concerns expressed in the stories are also their own concerns. If stories were not of interest to the population in question, outdoor adventure education instructors, and did not in some way express the concerns, preoccupations and anxieties of this population, they would simply cease to have such a profuse existence among this population. However, because stories are largely an unconscious expression of their tellers’ concerns and - perhaps to a slightly lesser extent - the concerns of those who listen to their telling, the information they convey is likely to be more germane and pertinent than information gained through “empirical interviews or by tracing historic events” (Poulsen 1985:156).

The indication through stories, then, of the unconscious concerns of outdoor adventure education instructors is further justification for their investigation. By investigating the stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors, we may be able to gain significant information about this population and about the instructional tasks they perform. Certainly, it would be a great disservice to examine such a population without examining the fundamental units of their own intelligibility (Swimme 1987:83) or that which gives meaning to their existence (Polkinghorne 1988:11), their own stories.
THE REASON FOR STUDYING STORIES – SUMMARY.

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that there are a number of very powerful reasons for examining the stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors. First, the profuse existence of stories and storytelling among outdoor adventure education instructors is sufficient initial reason for their investigation. This profuse existence of stories and storytelling among outdoor adventure education instructors also indicates a second - more powerful - reason for their investigation, for it indicates this population's interest in stories and storytelling as an expression of their major concerns and preoccupations. By examining these stories, therefore, the astute investigator may discover the major concerns and preoccupations they express.

A third reason for investigating the stories shared among outdoor adventure education instructors is the general rejection, within the disciplines of physical education and outdoor adventure education, of stories as a vehicle of scholarship. This rejection occurs despite stories being a readily available and academically recognized source of information concerning this population, and despite a recent upsurge in the use of stories both as appropriate data for humanistic scholarship and as an expressive medium in its own right. The stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors should be studied, therefore, in order to offset the current rejection, within the disciplines, of stories as a source of scholarly information.

The fourth and fifth reasons for examining the stories shared among outdoor adventure education instructors concerns the information they provided. This information is
- first, highly impactful - being ensconced in the unconscious - and second, highly pertinent, addressing - as it does - some of humankind’s most perplexing problems. These last two reasons for investigating stories also indicate the accessibility of the information they provide. As stories are both highly impactful and highly pertinent, they may be a much more accessible source of information than more conventional and traditional methods of research.

**REASONS FOR STUDYING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES - UNIVERSALITY.**

Stories have been shown to be worthy of study in and of themselves, indeed, it has been demonstrated that there is inherent justification for their study. The stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors are subsumed under the general rubric of stories, and as such are themselves worthy of investigation. This study will, therefore, examine the stories of a particular population of such professionals.\(^\text{25}\)

Expediency prevents an analysis of all the stories told by a community of outdoor adventure education instructors. The settings they frequent are simply too numerous to facilitate such an investigation. Purely from a practical standpoint, some parameters have to be imposed in undertaking an investigation of this magnitude. In an effort to ensure the manageability of this project, as well as to ensure the salience of the information collected, this investigation

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\(^{25}\) Obviously, sheer magnitude prevents the utilization of the stories told by every outdoor adventure education instructor throughout North America. Economic considerations preclude the random selection of a representative sample of this population. Such an analysis would necessarily involve postal questionnaires, the expenses incurred by face to face interviewing each member of the sample being prohibitive. However, questionnaires are themselves inappropriate for this type of investigation as “the more impersonal the approach, the more ‘shamefaced’ the respondents and the more likely [they would be] to ‘deny’” (Bennett 1987a:25) the existence of any genuine stories.
will concentrate exclusively on the personal or near-
personal experience stories shared within the population
under examination. There are a number of reasons, over and
above those of mere manageability and expediency, that
prompt an exclusive concentration, in investigating the
stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors, on
this population’s shared personal experience stories.

Initially, personal experience stories should be studied for
the same reasons that all stories should be studied. The
first reason for studying personal experience stories, then,
corresponds to the first reason for studying stories in
general, they are both ubiquitous. Personal experience
stories are not only a particular product of American
civilization (Dorson 1972f:101),\(^{26}\) they are, according to
Bruner, both “ancient and universal” (Bruner 1987:16).\(^{27}\) A
universally human characteristic is to structure
consciousness in narrative form (Hauerwas and Jones
1989b:2). Life - therefore - for everyone, is thought to be
the equivalent of a story. Human beings, as victims of “the
narratory principle” (Sarbin 1986b:8), inevitably collapse
the “distinction between narrative and life” (Bell 1990:176)
to such an extent that “experience forms and presents itself
in awareness as narrative” (Polkinghorne 1988:68). This
means that human beings cannot help but relate personal

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26. Dorson was not the first to recognize this. Indeed, it was recognized over a century
ago by the “very discerning” (Down 1979:xii) English observer and folklorist Andrew
Lang, who, in 1889 wrote, “All over the land men are eternally ‘swopping stories’ at
bars, and in the long endless journeys by railway and steamer. How little,
comparatively, the English ‘swop stories.’” (Down 1979:xii quoting Lang n.d.).

27. Livia Polanyi beautifully understates this universality of storying experiences when
she claims that “we cannot imagine ... a human society without means for the
individual and the collective to remember, recount and restructure past experience,
to consider and disseminate the wisdom of the past and the present and to discuss and
explore hopes, fears and plans for the future. It is hard to imagine a culture in
which stories of past events told to make a point in a conversation or argument are
not often heard” (Polanyi 1989:ix).
experiences as stories. We have already seen that human beings are storytellers by nature (Fisher 1985:75; Blishen 1979:32; Lamb 1981:12). A vast proportion of the storying impulse present in all human beings will, then, be taken up with the "need to narrate oneself" (Nicolaisen 1990:10), to relate one's own life occurrences or personal experiences in narrative form. This is, in part, how an individual establishes an identity.

In general terms, "telling stories about personal experiences is a prominent part of everyday discourse . . . [and] an essential skill for members of a speech community" (Robinson 1981:58). Indeed, telling personal experience stories is "a human need . . . an[d] everyday activity" (Dégh 1985a:235-6), that is an "inevitable and necessary result of social interaction" (Nicolaisen 1990:10). We have already established the link between the lived past and the narrated present and the idea that, "in order to cope with the present and to face the future, we have to create the past, both as time and space, through narrating it" (Nicolaisen 1993:61). Claims can be made, then - with some confidence - that personal experience stories are more than merely a reflection of "man's constant interest . . . [in] the story of ordinary men and women in their everyday life" (Gwyndaf 1985:224, emphasis added), they are, conversely, the very essence of life itself.

Since the population under examination is defined by its means of employment, McCarl's findings that story telling and narratives are "at the heart of any work culture"
As stories are a work culture’s “most central form of verbal interaction” (McCarl 1986:79), their consideration as a part of any study of an occupationally defined population is imperative.

The second reason for studying the personal experience stories of the population under investigation is the abject failure of the scholars in the fields of either sport or outdoor adventure education to examine this informative type of communication. The aforementioned apathy within the discipline towards stories as a source of scholarly information is exacerbated in regard to personal experience stories. This disinterest is, however, indicative of a general malaise that has, until quite recently, pervaded this avenue of investigation.

REASONS FOR STUDYING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES - SCHOLARSHIP.

As long ago as 1947 Hallowell called for a “systematic study of oral narrative” (cited in Bascom 1965/54:285) and felt that this should be “one of the primary concerns of the anthropologist” (Bascom 1965/54:281). Despite this very direct mandate, oral narratives of personal experiences have “for a long time been overlooked as a subject of study” (Stahl 1989:12). This paucity is especially evident in regard to the “comparatively neglected area” (Wilson 1971:13) of human concerns, preoccupations and values. Indeed, it is “only in recent years that scholars have delved [for] a comprehensive understanding of the

28. Informal observations lasting for sixteen years have supported these claims, for personal experience stories have been seen to be one of the two most popular types of stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors.
traditions, beliefs and values of a society” (Wilson 1971:13) by examining that society’s personal experience stories.

The genre of reporting “experiences in everyday conversation was neglected by students” (Robinson 1981:58) until “the seminal paper by William Labov and Joshua Waletzky (1967)” (ibid.) in the late sixties. This was so in spite of the claims that “first person reminiscences and family stories have long puzzled American folklorists” (Brunvand 1968:93) and that “there are thousands of sagas created from life experiences that deserve, indeed cry, for recording” (Dorson 1972e:67).

There have been signs that this situation is being rectified. Although personal experience stories “have received relatively little academic attention until recently” (Hart 1986:35), scholarly emphasis placed upon studying this phenomenon is now on the increase.


Again, it behooves the discipline of outdoor adventure education to conduct its own investigations into this phenomenon if it is to keep abreast of this aspect of current scholarship.

**REASONS FOR STUDYING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES - IMPACT.**

The third reason for investigating the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors
corresponds to the third reason for studying stories in general. The information they impart is both highly pertinent and highly impactful. The pertinence and impact of stories in general has already been analyzed in some detail. This analysis, therefore, examines the particular power that personal experience stories have in addressing the pertinent philosophical problems of epistemology.

Livo and Reitz (1986), Nicolaisen (1991), Metzger (1981) and Prince (1990) acknowledge that personal experience stories, "more than any other folk narrative genre" (Gwyndaf 1985:224), have the power to make available the "folk truths and values" (Polanyi 1989:1) of both their tellers and listeners. By helping individuals "to adapt to the changing circumstances" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1978b:118) of life, personal experience stories serve as a widely accessible bridge — between (Polanyi 1989:1; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1978b:118) the past, present and the future — which the astute investigator can cross to gain access to the major concerns and preoccupations of those under investigation.

Human beings are not only storytellers by nature, they are also, by nature, seekers of meaning. This is especially so in regard to their own experiences. Telling personal experience stories is not just a way of coming to know and understand the past, but it is, according to Nicolaisen "an urgent matter of survival" (Nicolaisen 1991:13). Without such knowledge and understanding of the past, which can only be gained, in Nicolaisen’s view, through narrating it (Nicolaisen 1991:13), we are incapable of dealing with those other aspects of life-time, the present and the future.
Humans 'story' — convert information into narrative form (Livo and Rietz 1986:15) — those meaningful “human adventures [that] are at the heart of all narrative expression” (Wachs 1988:39). They do this primarily in an effort to create “greater coherence and sensibility” (Livo and Rietz 1986:5) with the unavoidable initial impact of the “event itself” (ibid.). If, as Nicolaisen states, “the past does not exist until it has been narrated” (Nicolaisen 1991:13), then, “imposing the concept of a story onto a circumstance” (Livo and Rietz 1986:5) makes “dealing with the unnarratable present or facing the otherwise overwhelming future” (Nicolaisen 1991:13) possible.

Storying outdoor adventures may have particular significance in this regard. Engagement in outdoor adventure activities is likely to have a high impact on participants because it involves their “entire being — body, mind and spirit” (Stremba 1989:7). Storying such an activity creates a particular coherence with the event itself by “enrich[ing] the entire experience and mak[ing] it more holistic” (Stremba 1989:7). This type of reflective process may help the teller to “recall the ecstasy felt when [their] entire being . . . became involved in an event” (Stremba 1989:7).

It can be seen, then, that there are a number of powerful reasons for investigating a population by examining that population’s shared personal experience stories. This is especially so when examining the stories of a population in order to ascertain that population’s major anxieties, concerns, and preoccupations. This is because personal experience stories relate actual incidents of the past and, therefore, provide the analyst with more salient and
relevant information than that provided by other, less real-life, types of narratives, such as legends and cautionary tales. Similarly, personal experience stories may convey information in a manner less hidden behind a veil of psychological symbolism and analogy than that conveyed by less experience-based stories.

Of all the different types of stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors, those personal or near-personal experience stories shared with other instructors within the instructional setting will, I feel, reveal the most meaningful information about the instructors, and about the jobs they perform. As with any community, the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors are more apt to reveal that population's "attitude towards the griefs and tribulations and the wonder and joy of life" (Gwyndaf 1985:224) than the other stories they tell.

REASONS FOR STUDYING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES - SUMMARY.

The case for studying the personal experience stories shared by outdoor adventure education instructors in an instructional setting is affirmed. Such stories exist in considerable profusion, and they are extremely interesting and powerfully informative in nature. While similar examinations have been undertaken in the past, identical ones have not. Although personal experience stories are not the only types of stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors, these other stories are lacking in the amount of significant information they are able to provide. Finally, personal experience stories possess a power, unsurpassed by other forms of expression, to
indicate, albeit in an unconscious manner, the major concerns and anxieties of those who share them. Their examination, therefore, may offer more cogent information to the astute investigator than do other forms of investigation.

This dissertation, then, will examine the personal experience stories told by a particular population of outdoor adventure education instructors to other instructors in an outdoor adventure education setting. Its purpose will be to discover why such stories are told, and what they tell us about outdoor adventure education instructors and the jobs that they perform. In particular, I am attempting to discover, through the examination of the stories they share, the major preoccupations, concerns and anxieties of outdoor adventure education instructors.²⁹

EPilogue.

A number of questions must be answered prior to investigating the personal experience stories shared among outdoor adventure education instructors in the instructional setting. First, the discipline of outdoor adventure education lacks the investigative tools to analyze the phenomenon under examination. Therefore, an academic discipline for this investigation must be selected from among numerous possible candidates.

²⁹. The stories themselves will be the source of this information. The essence of this inquiry is to allow the stories and their telling to speak for themselves. (A more detailed examination of the philosophical underpinnings of allowing the stories to speak for themselves appears in Chapter III.) The detailed purpose of the investigation, mentioned in the Introduction, was arrived at following the initial examination of the stories. It should be understood that the concrete reasons for this study were not fully recognized until after the initial story analysis because the stories themselves were used to provide such a guide.
Possible candidates for this grounding investigative discipline should be restricted to those disciplines which regularly use stories as a source of information and whose annals of recent scholarship have included examinations of the personal experience stories of a particular population. Recent scholarly investigations of personal experience stories have included the works of Labov (1972b, 1982) and Goodman (1981a) in the narrative investigating discipline of linguistics; of Polanyi (1979, 1982a and b, 1985) in sociolinguistics; of Allen and Montell (1981), Mintz (1979), Buttjes (1987), and John (1982) in history; of Agar (1980), Clifford and George (1986) and Hoskins (1985) in anthropology; and of Berginger (1990), Tappan and Brown (1989), Gilligan (1982), Bernstein (1990), Schafer (1981) and Sarbin (1986) in various aspects of psychology. These disciplines, then — along with folklore, which has produced an enormous amount of scholarship in this direction and whose current forerunners in this field are Stahl (1977a, b, and c; 1983; 1985; 1989), Dégh (1972; 1985a and b), Allen (1989) and Robinson (1981) — are the major candidates from which the discipline to be invoked in examining the stories of outdoor adventure education instructors should be selected.  

30. Other academic disciplines, that have recently produced scholarly works involving personal experience stories, have been rejected as possible candidates for the position of the grounding academic discipline for this investigation. There are three principal reasons for this rejection. First, forays into the area of personal experience stories have been too recent to provide anything but the most superficial of methodologies. (See, for example, the works of Vokey [1985, 1986], Mitroff and Kilmann [1975, 1976] and Peters and Waterman [1982] in commercial management.) Second, personal experience stories have only been used by a limited number of scholars in the discipline concerned. (See, for example, Connolly [1990] and Connolly and Wood [1991] in physical education; and Mitchell [1981a] and Nash [1990a] in Sociology.) Third, personal experience stories have only been used to analyze specific, often limited and preconceived ideas within the discipline concerned. (See, for example, MacIntyre [1981], Belner [1984], DeConcini [1990], and Polkinghorne [1988] in various aspects of philosophy; Stein and Poliastro [1984], Maguire [1998], Coles [1989], and Egan [1988] in education; Hauerwas and Jones [1989].)
Without a grounding academic discipline within which to base this examination, investigative methodology is likely to be flawed, and conclusions drawn are likely to be tentative and equivocal. It is absolutely imperative, therefore, that an appropriate investigative discipline be selected from among the candidates indicated. The selection of this discipline will be addressed in Chapter One.

The second question that must be answered prior to actually investigating the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors is that addressing the parameters of the discipline selected as the grounding academic discipline for this investigation. It must be shown that the discipline selected is appropriate for the investigation of the phenomenon under examination. Two aspects of this investigation, the population under examination, outdoor adventure education instructors, and this population's personal or near personal experience stories, must be shown to be encompassed within the boundaries of the particular discipline selected. Of these two aspects, the one that is of primary importance is that of population.

The primary impetus that makes this an outdoor pursuits dissertation is the population under investigation. Outdoor adventure education instructors are one of the populations encompassed under the umbrella of outdoor pursuits. If the particulars of the population were to be removed from this examination it would no longer qualify as a dissertation in outdoor pursuits. The stories told by outdoor adventure
education instructors are not sufficient reasons, in themselves, for defining this as an outdoor pursuits undertaking. The first factor, then, that must be concretely linked to the selected investigative discipline is that of population. The establishment of this link will also be undertaken in Chapter One.

Chapter Two will demonstrate that the phenomenon under examination, the personal experience story, is an integral part of the selected examining discipline. This is the third question that must be answered prior to the actual analysis of the phenomenon under investigation. It will be accomplished by, first, establishing the exact nature of the selected investigative discipline, and second, establishing the exact nature of personal experience stories. Finally, in the conclusion to Chapter Two, the place of the one, personal experience stories, within the confines of the other, the selected investigative discipline, will be examined.

The last question that must be examined prior to analyzing the stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors in an instructional setting is the specific nature of this particular investigation of this phenomenon. Chapter Three will examine the way in which the general nature of the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the selected examining discipline impact upon the specifics of this particular investigation. This chapter will look at factors

31. Theoretical, as well as philosophical, reasons exist for initially demonstrating the "folkness" of outdoor adventure education instructors in justifying the invocation of folklore in what is otherwise an outdoor pursuits dissertation. According to Shuman and Briggs (1993), folklorists "make a claim first for separating out a particular aspect of cultural experience as folk" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:124) before continuing on to other aspect of an investigation.
such as the establishment and maintenance of reliability, validity and generality. This chapter will also examine the exact nature of this specific examination.

The remaining chapters of this dissertation will be devoted to classifying and analyzing the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors. After classifying the different types of stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors and analyzing the reasons these stories are told, conclusions will be drawn regarding the major concerns and anxieties of outdoor adventure education instructors, as expressed through the personal experience stories they share within the instructional setting.
CHAPTER 1.

THE SELECTION OF AN APPROPRIATE ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

The first objective of this dissertation will be to establish an appropriate academic discipline for investigating the personal experience stories shared by outdoor adventure education instructors. A search for such an academic discipline is necessary because the discipline of outdoor pursuits contains no procedures capable of analyzing stories. This chapter will indicate the reasons for selecting folklore as this examination’s grounding investigative discipline. It will also examine the appropriateness of invoking this discipline in studying the particular population under investigation. It will attempt to answer the question: Can outdoor adventure education instructors be classified as folk in the folkloric sense of the word.

THE CHOSEN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE: GENERAL FACTORS.

The impetus for deciding the appropriate discipline for studying the personal experience stories shared by outdoor adventure education instructors (and indeed the impetus for the entire study) arose after I had encountered a number of personal experience stories being repeated in a number of different settings by a number of different individuals. These dual and even triple retellings of the 'same' personal

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experience stories were often separated by many geographical miles, a number of chronological years, national borders, and telling personnel. These retellings of the 'same' personal experiences were usually modified to fit in with the telling environment from both a geographical and a *dramatis personae* point of view. The 'star' of the story was usually known to the teller, and the 'original experience' had occurred in the exact locale of the telling. All these factors seem to be powerful indicators of the occurrence of a folklore event.

This dual, and even multiple, variant retelling of the same story is highly significant, for it points in the direction of folklore as the grounding investigative discipline for this study. Folklorists acknowledge (Brunvand 1981:3; 1986:261) that stories have to be "twice-told tales" (Dieckmann 1986) in "at least two versions in order to qualify as authentic folklore" (Dundes 1985:261). Indeed, within the discipline of folklore "‘multiple existence’ and ‘variation’" (Dundes 1985:261) are looked upon, by some authorities, as defining qualities of folklore (Brunvand 1981:3; 1986:261).

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1. It must be acknowledged that the term version, along with its converse term, variant, have specific connotations for folklorists. To folklorists versions are "any iteration of a [folklore] text" (Dundes 1980c:290) that "parallels . . . the standard form" (Handoo 1985:380). Variants, on the other hand, are "versions which departs to a lesser or greater degree from the more typical form" (Dundes 1980c:290). It is to be hoped that my non-professional use of the term ‘version’ will, in this particular case, be acceptable to everyone. There are three reasons why such acceptance should be forthcoming. First, the stories in question have no ‘typical’ or ‘standard’ form by which to judge any variant. Second, since the stories’ major contextual alterations of country, and personnel may or may not compensate sufficiently for the minor textual alterations of the people and locale being storied, there is no way to judge the appreciable divergences (Dundes 1965:420) of these stories from the hypothetical ‘standard or typical form.’ Last, since folklorists in the past have failed to ‘bother about such fundamental problems as the definition of terms’ (Paredes 1972:ix), there is some uncertainty about exactly what fellow “folklorist[s] mean when [t]he[y] use the terms variant and version” (ibid.).
Many of the personal experience stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors are told more than once. As any "retelling nearly always involves a change" (Dundes 1975e:19 quoting Ortutay 1959:180), and indeed as "no two tellings . . . [of any] text duplicate each other" (Ben Amos 1993:211) and "will almost never be performed exactly the same [way] twice" (Toelken 1979:26), changes from one such telling to another are inevitable. These changes form the basis for what may be termed different versions of each story. Personal experience stories shared by outdoor adventure education instructors must, therefore, occur in variant form, and as such must certainly possess one of the qualifying characteristics of folklore. They have a multiple and variant existence.

Further support for the invocation of folklore as the grounding academic discipline for this study comes from Georges (1993) who, as we have already noted, believes that "narrative is, and always has been, the principle focus of folklore" (Georges 1993:5). As folklorists "have engaged in [the study of stories] most consistently since the turn of the century" (Georges 1969:314), it is appropriate that any investigation of stories and storytelling should carefully consider using the methods and techniques employed by this academic discipline. Concerning the specific investigation of personal experience stories it must further be noted, in advocating folklore as the grounding academic discipline for such an investigation, that many recent scholarly

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2. In fact it can be claimed, with some authority, that the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors exist in multiple versions. Simon Bronner, quoting Daniel Crowley (1966:1) states that "no tale, no matter how sacred or traditional, can be told twice in exactly the same way" (Bronner 1962:4). Since the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors are far from being sacred tales, we can safely assume that they will, therefore, undeniably exist in numerous different versions.
investigations of personal experience stories have been so
grounded (Bennett 1987; Carpenter 1985; Dégh 1985b; McCarl
1978; Santino 1989; Shuman 1986; Stahl 1989; Stahl and

THE CHOSEN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE: ECLECTIC FACTORS.

There are three further reasons for choosing folklore as the
grounding academic discipline for this investigation.
First, the discipline of folklore actively promotes and
encourages interdisciplinary investigations among its
scholars. Folklore "became a discrete university-centered
calling . . . in nineteenth-century Europe" (Green
1978:213) and is now a recognized "independent academic
discipline" (Dundes 1986:268). However, by the very "nature
of [its] material" (Dorson 1972d:3), folklore is a
"'mongrel'" (Nicolaisen 1983:91) and "multi-paradigm
discipline, [and] inter-disciplinary field" (Baron 1993).
Indeed the discipline of folklore "seems to draw willy-nilly
from any and all scholarly traditions" (Oring 1991:80). Folklorists "have never hesitated to cast about for any
theory, [and] any approach, that might serve [their]
purpose" (Jabbour 1983:242). Therefore, the "student of
folklore interacts closely with other academic guilds"
(Dorson 1972d:3) willingly entering into "serious but
respectful dialogue . . . with strangers" (Stern 1991:26) in
order to achieve an appropriate "cross-fertilization of
ideas" (ibid.).

3. Although Dorson (1972d) refers to the study of folklore in general as being a multi-
disciplinary undertaking, Georges (1969) makes a specific reference to the multi-
disciplinary nature of story examination. "The study of stories," he says, "has
always been a multi-disciplinary pursuit" (Georges 1969:314).

4. Some authorities (Ben Amos 1972; Shuman and Briggs 1993) do not wholeheartedly accept
the multi-disciplinary nature of folkloric investigations. Dan Ben Amos felt that
folklore would only move from a position of marginality to one where it could "be
The "interdisciplinary and therefore very modern nature" (Nicolaisen 1983b:91) of folklore is well documented (Jabbour 1989:295; Clements 1988d:51; Dorson 1972d; Abrahams 1979:391; Brunvand 1979b:422; Nicolaisen 1983b:92). It is an accepted aspect of this discipline that many of its "strands . . . reach out to other disciplines" (Stern 1991:27). Rather than weakening the discipline into "a calling" (Jabbour 1983:241), the ability of folklore "to accommodate the diversity" (Clements 1988c:11) of often "annoyingly sloppy . . . non-folklorists" (Dundes 1986:268), is "perhaps one of the strengths of the discipline" (ibid.), for it is a healthy sign of its dynamic state (Nicolaisen 1983:91).

There is a natural tendency for "folklorist[s] to adopt concepts and perspectives from fields that are pursuing similar questions and attempting to solve similar problems" (Oring 1991:79). Therefore, the cross-disciplinary investigations employing the techniques and methods of folklore have been numerous (Dorson 1972d). Such cross-disciplinary investigations range from the hard sciences to the arts and touch "many, if not most, academic subjects in the humanities and the social sciences" (Dorson 1972d:9). Despite this wide range of interdisciplinary connections,

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5. Recently some folklorists (Georges 1991a and b; D6gh 1994) have questioned this favorable outlook and cautioned against the "particularly alarming" (D6gh 1994:244) repercussions of the "recent exploitation of the interdisciplinary nature of folkloristics and [the] emphasis on its liminality betwixt and between neighboring fields" (ibid.).
there has rarely been any link forged between physical education and folklore. This is so to such an extent that there is still considerable truth to the statement that “sport . . . [is] an unexplored domain for the American folklorists” (Dorson 1980b:92). The conspicuous absence of a link between folklore and the field of physical education, especially in light of the conspicuous presence of links between folklore and other academic disciplines, seems to indicate a remiss that is sadly in need of redress. Perhaps involving the academic discipline of folklore in this outdoor pursuits investigation would go some way towards achieving this redress.

A further reason for selecting folklore as the grounding academic discipline for this investigation is closely linked to the aforementioned eclectic nature of folklore studies. Not only do folklorists readily involve other academic disciplines in their scholarly undertakings, the same holds true in reverse. The discipline of folklore readily endorses the use of folklore methods by scholars from other disciplines. Abrahams states that “if folklore is defined by the materials generally studied by folklorists, then anyone else who studies this material is also, by extension, a folklorist” (Abrahams 1977b:33). Some (Richmond 1983:xi; Georges 1991b:11; Toelken 1979:5), indeed – according to Glassie (1987:128) – many, authorities do so define folklore (Dorson 1972d:10; Brunvand 1976:31, 1986:4). It should come as no surprise, therefore, to find that the discipline of

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6. In 1972 Richard M. Dorson published an article that thoroughly reviewed the links between folklore and other academic disciplines. It is of considerable interest to note that this article contain one divergence from its principal focus into the world of physical activity. “At times,” says Dorson, “folklore has even interfered with my tennis” (Dorson 1972d:9). What is even more interesting is the fact that nowhere else in the article is there any hint of a link between the academic disciplines of folklore and physical education.
folklore has, "since its founding and throughout its first century" (Clements 1988b:xii), been highly accommodating of the professional and non-professional, academic and non-academic (ibid.) 'folklorist by extension' from "varying intellectual backgrounds" (Clements 1988d:51). One folklorist (Jabbour 1983), claims that there "has never been a period of our history . . . where we did not embrace devoted amateurs" (Jabbour 1983:242) and that the whole history of folklore is "bound up with the vigorous participation" (ibid.) of such individuals. Employing the techniques and methods of folklore to examine the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors would, then, simply be a further extension of this accommodating philosophy, and would be a legitimate move in regard to the history of the invoked examining discipline, folklore.

THE CHOSEN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE: OCCUPATIONAL-LORE FACTORS.

The final reason, for invoking the academic discipline of folklore in what is otherwise an outdoor pursuits investigation, has to do with the precedent set within the discipline for examining the lore of a population whose identity has been determined by the way those within the population "earn their living, rather than in where they 7.

Recent suggestions regarding this outlook have advocated a "'professionalization' of folklore studies" (Georges 1991b:10) and a "'licensing' of folklorists" (ibid.). Under such circumstances the "right to identify oneself as a folklorist [would be] earned [through] formal academic training" (Georges 1991b:11). Despite these recent suggestions, however, folklore continues to welcome an "interconnectedness with devoted amateurs" (Jabbour 1989:295). Even Richard M. Dorson "the man who, as much as any, spearheaded [the] mid-century drive toward professionalization, also became in his later years a tireless advocate for including in [the folklore] pantheon" (Jabbour 1989:295) certain such devoted amateurs. Georges himself, who disapproves of and is disturbed by the "self-identified folklorist" (Georges 1991b:4) does not entirely "support proposals to 'professionalize' folklore studies" (Georges 1991b:10). Perhaps there is an implicit realization that, instead of "advertising a newly-found desire for intellectual rigor" (Ellis 1992:183) such a movement towards professionalization would simply "generate a mutual isolationism" (ibid.) that would cut folklore "off from groups that historically have contributed to it" (ibid.).
live or their racial background" (Coffin and Cohen 1973:xxiii-xxiv; see also Swanson and Nusbaum 1978; Byington 1978). As the population under examination in this particular investigation is so defined, then further justification for invoking the discipline of folklore as the grounding academic discipline for this investigation, may be obtained by examining folklore’s involvement with such populations.

Robert Smith states that “the traditions of all kinds of groups are indeed the object of folkloristic study” (Smith 1989:3). According to Elliott Oring folklorists of today “are no longer interested in reconstructing primitive philosophies or tracing paths of diffusion” (Oring 1989b:359); nor are they interested in the “psychoanalytic interpretation [of folklore which] has only a few devoted practitioners” (ibid.). Oring takes Smith’s “all kinds of groups” idea a step further in believing that “folklorists of today tend to focus on the folklore of particular groups in a particular environment” (Oring 1989b:359). Américo Paredes believes that “American Folklorists think of their discipline chiefly as the study of special groups” (Paredes 1968:79, emphasis added) and explicitly cites “occupation groups” (Paredes 1968:79, emphasis added), as being one of these special such groups. Brunvand agrees with Paredes, but claims – much more emphatically – that today folklore is

8. See McCarl (1986: 1988) for a comprehensive review of the literature regarding this aspect of folklore.

9. Although this is true and folklorists of today “find folklore everywhere, they most often find it (and certainly the voice of it) among groups that have traditionally supported negative stereotypes in American culture” (Freston 1982:306). My later analysis of the folk aspect of folklore elaborates on this specific point.
studied “against a background of occupation” (Brunvand 1979b:421).

Laura and Marianne Marcus have stated that “occupational folklore has been an area of interest to folklorists for many years” (Marcus and Marcus 1990:121). However, Horace Beck (1968) and Jan Harold Brunvand (1976) feel that the occupations have not been uniformly studied. Beck lists the well studied trades as being “seafaring, lumbering, cattle ranching, farming, river boating, railroading, mining, oil drilling, steel making and [the] automotive industry” (1968:67). The “classic” (McCarl 1978:145) or, with certain additions “the traditional occupations” (Nickerson 1983:121), of the cowboy and the oil-field worker, the “seafarer, lumberjack, miner and railroad worker have received great emphasis while others have been largely neglected” (Beck 1968:68, emphasis added). Despite recent attempts to “extent this [coverage] to a variety of other trades such as bakers, airline pilots, shirt plant workers and radio announcers” (McCarl 1988:141) “only scattered studies of the likes of . . . military personnel, craft workers, and even academics” (Brunvand 1976:82) ever “turn up” (ibid.) in the literature. The discipline of folklore

10. See also Dundes (1980b:7 and 14); Oring (1984:19); William Wilson (1981:2); Dorson (1982:72 and 77-81) and Archie Green (1978) for additional, though perhaps less emphatic, support for the claim that folklore today has something to do with studying the lore of, among others, groups whose identity is determined by the occupations of its members.

11. It should not be imagined that these hardy well studied trades fail to generate contemporary interest. Recent examinations of the folklore of automotive industry workers, (Raspa 1989; Harrah-Conforth 1985); railroad workers (Long 1992; Murray 1991b); oil workers (Carney 1991) and fishermen (Mullen 1985; Lloyd and Mullen 1990; Pogge, Jr. and Gersuny 1989; Roper 1986) attest to this fact.

12. Since these early investigations of the ‘traditional occupations’ a great deal of scholarship has been involved in the field of occupational folklore. Populations that have now been examined include airline pilots and flight attendants (Santino 1978); Pullman porters (Santino 1980 and 1989); firefighters (McCarl 1984 and 1985) and “a specialized group of fire fighters called smokejumpers who parachute into the forests of the northwestern United States to suppress isolated forest fires” (McCarl 1976:49 and 1987); janitors (March 1978); stockyard workers (Leary 1978);
suffers from such neglect, as “folklore theory must of necessity remain tentative when huge areas [of] occupational folklore have been so incompletely researched” (McCarl 1983:133). Perhaps a folkloric study of outdoor adventure education instructors will help to redress this imbalance.

Marcus and Marcus have stated that the occupational areas of special interest to folklorists are those which involve “outdoor occupations” (Marcus and Marcus 1990:121). Brunvand declared that it was the “trades of hardy males” (Brunvand 1976:82) that received the most scholarly attention. These are significant observations that should be further investigated for, though not always an exclusively male form of employment, outdoor adventure education instructing is both an outdoor occupation and one requiring considerable amounts of hardiness. In 1983 Mitchell examined the common characteristics generally associated with the occupations that have been the focus of folkloric investigations. He discovered these characteristics to be an exposure to the elements because the work-place for such occupations is the outdoors; an exposure to danger in that there is considerable risk involved in the performance of such occupations; and a degree of temporariness in that employment in such occupations is often, though not always, of a short term nature (Mitchell 1983). All these elements are, without doubt, features of employment in the outdoor adventure education field. Indeed the first two, outdoor and risk —

hospital workers (Berkman 1978) and, more recently bar tenders (Bell 1989) and hospice workers or those nurses who attend terminally ill patients in an establishment that offers a “more 'natural' and therefore more 'humane' death experience” (Cole 1992:29).
which has a direct adventurous connotation — are actually used to describe the occupation under consideration.

A number of outdoor occupational groups, such as "railroaders, cowboys, lumberjacks, and fishermen have been . . . somewhat romanticized by folklorists" (Mullen 1985:89). They are depicted as being "hard-working, independent, freedom-loving men who brave the elements to complete their jobs" (Mullen 1985:89). With the proviso that we also include women, the same could definitely be said of the outdoor adventure education instructor. A very powerful precedent exists, therefore, for the folkloric investigation of outdoor adventure education instructors; for this is the type of occupation that has received considerable attention from folklorist in the past.

Finally, in examining the precedent set within the discipline of folklore for studying the lore of occupationally defined groups, the future of this area of investigation must be ascertained. Although it is now some years since Swanson and Nusbaum observed that "occupational folklore [has] emerged . . . as a broad area [of] study which invites research" (Swanson and Nusbaum 1978:1), it must not be imagined that the work on occupational folklore is passé. Richard Dorson in 1982 "welcomed and endorsed" (Dorson 1982:81) the "challenge of occupational folklife" (ibid.) to which "folklorists in the United States and elsewhere will respond" (ibid.). In the same year Robert McCarl stated that "there is a crying need for more fieldwork in occupational lore" (McCarl 1983:132). As recently as six years ago, McCarl assured the discipline of the future of occupational folklore when stating that "the
new generation of folklorists in the occupational field will ensure that the study of occupational folklore will mature as . . . part of the discipline" (McCarl 1988:42). Indeed, he was quite emphatic in this assurance calling for this new generation to "accept the responsibility for increasing the public’s and the academy’s understanding of work traditions" (McCarl 1988:42).

THE CHOSEN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE: SYNOPSIS.

All in all, then a very convincing case exists for pursuing the precedent set within the academic discipline of folklore of examining occupationally defined groups. Indeed, this case is strengthened considerably in regard to this particular investigation involving the personal experience stories of an occupationally defined group because some recent such investigations have specifically focused on this aspect of folklore (McCarl 1984: Mullen 1985; Roper 1986; Santino 1978, 1983 and 1989). It seems, therefore, to be a legitimate move to invoke this academic discipline in investigating the personal experience narratives of the occupational group defined as outdoor adventure education instructors.

The initial case for selecting folklore as the grounding academic discipline for this study is quite strong. First, stories, including, it seems, those about personal experiences, appear to be a principal focus of folklore. Second, as the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors are usually told more than once, the material under investigation conforms, at least initially, to one of the definitive characteristics of folklore; they are twice told tales. Third, folklore, both
traditionally and practically, is interdisciplinary in nature. Fourth, the informed amateur has, in general, been welcomed by practicing folklorists. Finally, groups which possess similar occupational characteristics to outdoor adventure education instructors have, in the past, been the focus of folkloric examinations. There is also a considerable amount of current demand for the continuation of this line of investigation.

Demonstrating the definitive suitability of folklore as the grounding academic discipline for this investigation is a complex process. It involves the careful analysis of all the relevant literature, and the close examinations of both the components involved, the ‘folk’ component, as defined by the population under investigation—outdoor adventure education instructors; and the ‘lore’ component, as defined by the personal experience stories this population shares in an instructional setting.

In initially justifying the choice of folklore as the grounding academic discipline for this investigation, folklore will be accepted a priori as a viable academic discipline in its own right. “With the establishment of distinct departments of folklore in some major universities, the discipline [has been] able to show that it had something to offer . . . the academic world” (Richmond 1983:xvii). Doctoral degrees are now offered at four (Dundes 1986:268) or five (Bronner 1983a:2) American universities. “There are sixteen degree-granting programs . . . [and] eighty institutions offer[ing] minors or concentrations in folklore [with] over five hundred colleges and universities offer[ing] courses in folklore of some kind” (Oring
Folklore’s place in modern academia (Dundes 1986:268; Oring 1986b:ix; Bronner 1983a:2) may, therefore, be taken as established, as may its right to be considered as the grounding academic discipline in suitable cross-disciplinary investigations. What needs to be demonstrated is that the outdoor adventure education instructors are folk in the folkloric sense of the word, and that personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors are in fact appropriate grist for the folklore mill.

In demonstrating the appropriateness of using folklore to examine the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors, the particular population under investigation must first be established as ‘folk’ as defined by this academic discipline. In this particular case the establishment of the ‘folkness’ of the folk under investigation must precede the establishment of the ‘loreness’ of the lore under investigation simply because it is the personnel involved that makes this undertaking an Outdoor Pursuits investigation. Folklore must, therefore, be shown to encompass outdoor adventure education instructors among its folk before being shown to encompass the personal experience stories shared among this particular population in its lore.

WHO ARE THE ‘FOLK’? - GENERAL FACTORS.

In his article Who Are the Folk Alan Dundes (1980b) proposed some enormous and “dramatic” (Dundes 1975b:xii) changes to the way the discipline of folklore view the term folk. These proposals have had significant influence on the discipline’s concept of this term. One of the ways in which
folklorists such as Dundes "have reshaped the discipline in the last two decades [is] by contesting the boundaries . . . [of] the category of 'folk' itself" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:109). 13

"The term 'folk' originally referred exclusively to European peasants" (Roberts 1993:159). 14 This is because it was in Europe that the original collecting of folklore took place by those who held a "hierarchical and evolutionary view of society" (Roberts 1993:159 citing Dundes 1980:2-4). These pioneers looked on the folk or peasants as "occupy[ing] a middle ground between the civilized elite and the uncivilized 'savage'" (Dundes 1980b:2); the former having no folklore because they were civilized past that stage of human development, and the latter having no folklore because they were yet to achieve that level of civilization. In much the same way, folklorists of the "early days [of] the American Folklore Society" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:123), "taking their cues from William Wells Newell, a driving force in the founding of [the discipline]" (Clements 1988e:25), viewed the folk as being "African Americans, 15 Native Americans and European peasants" (Shuman and Briggs

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13. It is of some interest to note that the "shift in the field of folkloristics [that] has resulted from critically scrutinizing the way that practitioners define the groups they study" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:121) is reflective of a similar "radical change in the concept of the folk [which occurred] before and after 1800" (Dick 1989:12). During this period the folk became "disassociated from the pejorative classification as rabble . . . [and in regard to poetry and its production] they now wore the king's robes instead of beggar's clothes" (Dick 1989:12).

14. Although this early definition of folk is accepted within the discipline, it should be noted that the term folk is conspicuous by its absence from "reference works like the Standard Dictionary by Leach and Fried (1972) or the one by Jobes (1961) [and even from] the very informative German dictionary of folklore by Beitl (1985)" (Dick 1989:11). Indeed these reference work "contain no articles on folk" (Dick 1989:11).

15. Roberts (as cited in Shuman and Briggs 1993:124) points out that, as "urban and especially upper-class African Americans" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:124) were not included in folklore research "only particular groups of African Americans were identified as folk" (ibid.).
1993:123) and "'French Canadian[s], [or] Mexic[ans] etc.'" (Clements 1988e:25). 16

Views such as these have "underlain the conduct of scholarly studies [in folklore] until fairly recently" (Stevens 1984:1). Formally, folklorists viewed folk as being the remnants of "peasant society and rural groups" (Dundes 1965:2) or as being fragmentary survivors of a "hoary past" (ibid.). Folklorists of today, however, no longer accept such rigid and restrictive definitions of 'folk'. They have, conversely, begun to "work against the discipline's romantic origins" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:109) and have "expanded the concept of folklore beyond the traditional limits of the [discipline]" (Nickerson 1974:133). Few, if any, of today's folklorists would be "content to accept [within] the category of 'folk'" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:123) only those "traditional, peasant, working class, rural, poor, self-trained, or marginal" (ibid.) or "ethnic and immigrant" (Nickerson 1974:133) members of society. Indeed the expanding interests of modern folklorists have led to "an expansion of [those] who counted as 'folk'" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:123), and a demand for a broader and more flexible definition of this term. 17

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16. The four folk categories actually mandated, in his position as first editor of the Journal of American Folklore, by William Wells Newell and from whom the "fast-vanishing remains of folklore in America" (Richmond 1983:xv) was to be collected, were: those who possessed the "relics of old English folklore; .  .  .  Negroes in the Southern states of the Union; .  .  .  Indian tribes of North America; .  .  .  and French Canadians, Mexicans etc." (ibid.).

17. Charles Keil (1978) believes that there was a practical and even mercenaric reason for expanding the concept of 'the folk'. Folklorists were doing such a good job of examining the folk that they were running out of folk to examine. They simply created more folk by "folking over' peoples lives for scholarly . . . purposes" (Keil 1978:264) in order to keep the discipline alive. Keil puts this point most graphically when he says that "when the bourgeoisie runs out of peasants to convert into folk, or simply tires of trying to kiss frogs into princelings, it goes on to attempt even greater magic by kissing its ugly self" (Keil 1978:263).
Today, no aspect of modern society — rich people, businessmen, university professors, and Supreme Court personnel (Dorson 1978b:267) — can be deemed to be folklore free (ibid. citing Hasan El-Shamy). As folklorists began to 'folk over' alternatives to the rapidly dwindling stock of peasants, they also began to realize that any "member of any social class or occupational group can function as a folk performer . . . [or] qualify as a folkteller" (Dorson 1978b:267). It can be seen, therefore, that "the shared knowledge (in some artistic form) of any collectivity [can] become the province of folklorists" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:123, emphasis added).

Additionally, during "the past three decades or so" (Stevens 1984:1), "much diversity has surfaced among American folklorists concerning who constitutes the 'folk'" (Clements 1988e:25). Indeed, "the category 'folk' is no longer regarded as a given" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:125). In fact it has even been suggested (Richie 1983) that modern "folkloristics should abandon the attempt to speak for the folk" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:125) as "the concept . . . is an embarrassment . . . which continues to be carried only because it is emblematic of the profession" (Smith 1989:1).

Today the term folk is not used simply to describe, "primitive or peasant groups" (Oring 1986d:123; Bauman 1972 :31), "poorly educated or illiterate people" (Toelken 1968:137), or "backward portions of the community" (Bronner 1983:78). Indeed, it is felt that there is considerable "ideological baggage contained in such
categorizations" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:123). At least one folklorist, Charles Keil, has suggested that the term folk is no longer applicable to the practice of studying lore, and that there never was a "'folk' except in the minds of the bourgeoisie" (Keil 1978:263). Keil further believes that "a way must be found to turn folklorists and folk back into people" (Keil 1978:263) for the Eurocentricity that "played a foundational role in folkloristic" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:125 citing Roberts 1993), and that is today represented by a general 'them and us' concept of "'folk' and 'nonfolk'" (Roberts 1993:158), does little to provide "better leverage points for liberation" (Keil 1979:210). Despite these objections it is still necessary, for the purpose of justifying the invocation of the academic discipline of folklore in an outdoor pursuits undertaking, to establish a definition of folk in order to ascertain the place of outdoor adventure education instructors within this concept.

WHO ARE THE 'FOLK'? - DEFINITIONS.

Some modern definitions of the term 'folk' are so broad and all encompassing that their definitive power is curtailed. Their very broadness fails to discriminate between those who qualify as folk, and those, "whether named as elite, mainstream, popular, academic, or modern" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:123), who do not. According to Elliott Oring (1986b) such definitions, because they encompass "any group based on any factor" (Oring 1986b:1) trivialize 'folk' to such an extent that this aspect of folklore no longer "contributes

18. This brings the discipline almost to a full circle, for it is believed that, in the early days of folklore, there was "such an emphasis on tradition" (Richmond 1983:xii) that "just who the folk were was moot" (ibid.).
significantly to the definition of [the term]” (ibid.). Such oversimplification of the term “generalizes it almost to the point of meaninglessness” (Oring 1986b:4), and puts this “basic analytical concept of the discipline . . . . at [such] a very low level” (Smith 1989:3) that the term folk becomes an unnecessary addendum to the term folklore (Smith 1989:2).” Such definitions as: “those from whom one collects live folklore” (Utley 1965:20); “[anyone sharing] a tradition and oral heritage” (Utley 1968:7); “[those who] share folklore” (Bauman 1972:32), and even Dundes’s (1980b) much heralded “[any] body of people sharing a common tradition and having one common [group identifying] characteristic” (Dundes 1980b:6-7) are examples of this type of definition. Although they are broad enough to include the subjects of new folkloric interest, they are so indiscriminate that they accommodate any and every group of individuals no matter how amorphous or ill-defined. Whereas these definitions may have gone some way towards “saving the discipline of folkloristics” (Smith 1989:2) they have been called, by at least one folklorist, “a simple and arbitrary re-defining of the word folk” (Smith 1989:2).

Indeed, it has been said that “some folklorists were at the time and probably still are now greatly disturbed by [such] . . . minimalist definitions of the folk” (Mechling 1989:312).

The definitions of Abrahams (1969) — “a special . . . social unit which has some notion of its own groupness” (Abrahams 1969:345); Toelken (1979) — “any group of people

19. This state of affairs would cause some folklorists considerable consternation. William Wilson, for instance, believes that folklorists first and foremost “study people, the ‘folk,’ who in face to face interactions with other people attempt to control the circumstances of their lives” (Wilson 1981:2 emphasis added).
sharing informal communal contact that becomes the basis for expressive, culturally based communication” (Toelken 1979:51); Ben Amos (1972) - those “people [who] confront each other face to face and relate to each other directly” (Ben Amos 1972:12) in “artistic communication in small groups” (Ben Amos 1972:13), and Mechling - “[that] community of humans with whom an individual shares life experiences which form the basis for the creation of meaning” (Mechling 1986:96) do discriminate between those who are folk and those who are not. However, no definition of folk has yet gained universal acceptance within the discipline of folklore. Even Dundes (1980b), who with his seminal essay *Who are the Folk* altered the way the discipline viewed this concept; and who, by forcefully pointing out that “the traditions of all kinds of groups are indeed objects of folkloristic study” (Smith 1989:3) did “a great service to the discipline and its theoretical base” (ibid.), does not escape criticism. Bauman (1972), for instance, criticizes Dundes’s definition because he believes that “shared identity is not necessary for folklore performance to take place” (Bauman 1972:38). Oring believes that Dundes, in restricting “the number of kinds of folk groups . . . only [to] the number of kinds of elements which serve as group identifiers” (Oring 1986b:1), does considerable disservice to the folkloric concept of folk.

On the other hand, Shuman and Briggs believe that the prevailing “growing interest in nationalism . . . and related issues” (Shuman and Briggs 1993:121) has brought

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20. Conversely, Bauman believes that “folklore may be found in both symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships” (Bauman 1972:39) and that “folklore can be an instrument of conflict and aggression as well as solidarity” (Bauman 1972:39).
into question the adequacy of Ben Amos’s small group definition of the folk since it makes no “reference to these sort of ‘macro’ processes” (ibid.). Limón and Young (1987) felt that “reducing the scale of [the] social units examined” (Shuman and Briggs 1983:121) in a folkloric investigation by restricting, as Ben Amos suggests, such an investigation to small groups was “a hazardous side effect . . . of performance centered approaches” (Shuman and Briggs 1983:121) because it demonstrated a “minimal concern with broad . . . sociocultural considerations” (Limón and Young 1986:441). Ben Amos’s definition has also been criticized for eliminating from study any “expressive [forms of culture] that exist apart from face to face interactions” (Shuman and Briggs 1993:121) such as that upon which “the future of folklore as a discipline may depend” (ibid. citing Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1992), electronic communications involving such aspects of folklore as Xerox-lore (Preston 1974), photocopy lore (Roemer 1994) and fax-lore (Preston 1994); or that involved in “wall writing” Reisner (1971); graffiti (Bruner and Kelso 1981; Gelman 1978; Longenecker 1977; Stocker, Dutcher, Hargrove, and Cock 1972) and latrinalia (Dundes 1977f; Reisner 1971) which takes place between folk who are not members of small ‘face to face’ groups.

It seems, then, that any attempt to define this concept is fraught with the pitfalls. On the one hand, definitions are likely to be too broad and indeterminate, and on the other hand they are likely to be so discriminate that they eliminate sections of the folk population that should obviously be included. Smith’s (1989:5) recent effort to address this anomaly comes close to providing the right
balance between broadness and discrimination and goes some way towards answering the criticisms leveled at other definitions. He believes that folk are "people who share a common language and history, and who by virtue of their unique way of life are qualitatively different from other folk" (Smith 1989:5). By insisting upon commonality of language and history — a cultural factor — he attempts to define the reality of the situation, and at the same time re-establishes, without dogma, an appropriate link with the culture-bound scholarship of folklore's past. However, depending upon how one defines language, this may again be too rigid a definition. There are many occasions, such as in sporting occurrences and dual linguistic countries, when folklore appears to transcend the barriers of language.

Smith (1989) also insists that there is something qualitatively different in a folk that is the result of their unique way of life. While this again may be both accurate and, since it does not specify the particulars of a group's qualitative differences, flexible, it is in fact little different from Dundes's earlier cited definition.

ARE OUTDOOR ADVENTURE EDUCATION INSTRUCTORS 'FOLK'?  

As with other such definitions, the continued debate surrounding the concept of the folk prevents the universal acceptance of Smith's (1989:5) description of this folkloric concept. Because of this continuing debate, an effort

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21. An example of this continued debate is provided by the contrasting opinions of the British Folklore Society (1994), Henry Glassie (1983) and Barre Toelken (1979) on the one hand, and Elliott Oring (1986b) on the other. While it is accepted by some authorities that folklore today refers to the "everyday culture and cultural traditions of all social groups -- young as well as old, urban as well as rural, ourselves as well as others" (The Folklore Society 1994:fp) and indeed that "the folk . . . is us" (Glassie 1983:140), and that we are all members of at least two folk units (Toelken 1979:28); others fervently disagree with these ideas believing instead that, if "we are all folk, the term becomes meaningless" (Oring 1986b:14).
will be made to explain how outdoor adventure education instructors conform to some of the above mentioned definitions of folk rather than arriving at a disputed definition of the term and then demonstrating the way in which outdoor adventure education instructors conform to such a disputed definition. This procedure is felt to be preferable to the logically viable but intellectually stultifying acceptance of the current notion (Clements 1988e:25) or “contemporary perspective” (Roberts 1993:169) regarding the folk that “we are all the folk [because] we all indulge in processes of vernacular creativity” (ibid.), in “at least some segment of life” (Abrahams 1977:33). In such a case, outdoor adventure education instructors become folk by virtue of their meager conformity to such an all encompassing definition.

Outdoor adventure education instructors most definitely qualify as being folk according to Smith’s (1989:5) definition of the term. First, their general way of life, which includes out of the ordinary working and living conditions and wilderness isolation, is so different from the regular western way of life, that it can truly be termed unique. Second, although they converse in regular English, outdoor adventure education instructors share a vocabulary or ‘language’ that is unique to their particular form of employment. Third, their educational and adventure experiences, without which they would have neither the desire nor the expertise to be outdoor adventure education instructors, have a historical similarity. All these factors ensure that outdoor adventure education instructors are qualitatively different from other people. Hence they
are folk in terms of Smith’s (1989:5) definition of the expression.

Outdoor adventure education instructors may also be termed folk in the definitive terms of both Abrahams (1969:345) and Toelken (1979:51). First, as they spend much of their spare and recreational time with fellow instructors during which they often tell personal experience stories, they meet Toelken’s (1979) stipulations of “sharing informal communal contact that becomes the basis for expressive culturally based forms of communication” (Toelken 1979:51) Second, they have, in conjunction with Abrahams’ (1969:345) definitive mandate, an acute sense of their own groupness that is caused partly by the isolated nature of their employment, and partly by the danger they face on a regular basis which, though not necessarily generating, as McCarl claims, “hostility to outside intervention” (McCarl 1988:147) certainly has the unifying effect of promoting group solidarity.

Outdoor adventure education instructors also conform to both Dundes’s definition of folk - for their very means of employment provides them with shared traditions and group identifying characteristic; and Ben Amos’s definition - because they share artistic communications, their personal experience stories, in small face to face groups that can number anything from two to about fifteen. Finally, outdoor adventure education instructors can be classified as folk in the Baumanian and Utleyan sense of the word because they share folklore. If we accept Dorson’s (1978b) statement that “personal experience narratives have earned the status of a folk genre” (Dorson 1978b:2267) then outdoor adventure
education instructors are folk because they do share this type of lore regularly and often. If we accept Gary Fines' statement that "every group engaging in meaningful interaction will develop [and presumably, through implication, share] a culture (folklore) of its own" (Fine 1982:47), then again they are folk in that they do, through living in isolated conditions and sharing dangers together, develop and share such meaningful interaction. On two counts then outdoor adventure education instructors qualify as folk according to Bauman's (1972b:32) definition of the term - because they share items of folklore.

In many regards, then, outdoor adventure education instructors can be classified as a folk in the folkloric sense of the word. They share folklore - their personal experience stories (Bauman 1972b:32; Utley 1968:7); they have at least one group identifying characteristic (Dundes 1980b:7); they share artistic communication in small face to face groups (Ben Amos 1972:12); they share informal communal contact that becomes the basis of expressive forms of communication (Toelken 1979:51); they have an acute sense of their own identity (Abrahams 1969:345); and they share a

22 Before leaving the subject of 'the folk' it is worth examining recent developments. Alan Dundes (1980b), in proposing his new definition of 'folk,' felt that "the idea of a two person group was essentially a matter of theory" (Dundes 1980b:14) and felt that the "family [wa]s surely the smallest folk group" (ibid.). Nevertheless, he also felt, perhaps correctly in light of such individual, non-group folkloric activities as diary or journal writing (Willis 1988) and reading (Workman 1983), that "one person could [not] constitute a 'folk'" (Dundes 1980b:13) only on "the grounds that the notion of folk does imply some form of collective plurality" (ibid.). Pursuing this idea of minimalization through a dyad or a "more or less enduring interactive two person group" (Oring 1984:19) to its logical conclusion, a case has been made for including non-human animals within the category of 'folk.' This, claims Jay Mechling, is because "no persuasive reason . . . [other than] a fiat, by speciesism" (Mechling 1989:318) exists for claiming folklore as a "unique possession of human animals" (Mechling 1989:318). Such a concept has interesting repercussions in a study of the folklore of outdoor adventure education instructors for this population is constantly encountering such non-human 'folk.' However since instructors rarely if ever share their personal experience stories with such 'folk' we can safely ignore this recent development in regard to this particular undertaking.
unique way of life that causes them to be qualitatively different from other folk (Smith 1989:5). With this piece of evidence, the case for conducting a folklore investigation into the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors is enhanced. Outdoor adventure education instructors being a folk, could legitimately be investigated using the academic discipline of folklore to ground such an investigation. It must now be established that the personal experience stories that are shared by these 'folk' are folkloric in nature. Once this has been established, the case for invoking the academic discipline of folklore in the examination of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors will be proven.
ARE THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES FOLKLORE?

I have shown that there are a number of legitimate reasons for invoking the recognized academic discipline of folklore in this otherwise outdoor pursuits undertaking. I have also shown that outdoor adventure education instructors may be classified as genuine 'folk' according to this selected discipline's understanding of that term. However, the initial selection of this discipline was primarily based upon intuitive conclusions. The personal experience stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors were intuitively thought to be folkloric in nature because of their multiple existence. Before the academic discipline of folklore can be legitimately invoked in examining the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors, these intuitive conclusions must be concretized. A conclusive demonstration must be made of the place of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors within the realm of folklore.

The defining qualities of folklore must be outlined in considerable detail in order to conclusively demonstrate that the telling of a personal experience story by an outdoor adventure education instructor is a folkloric
occurrence. Only by defining folklore can any investigator judge the folkloric nature of any phenomenon under investigation. In determining the folkloric nature of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors, personal experience stories must also be defined, and the place of the latter, personal experience stories within the confines of the former, folklore, must thereby be established and confirmed.

DEFINING FOLKLORE: INTRODUCTION.
American folklore studies are "characterized as [being] eclectic, vigorous, growing and promising, but [also as being] still plagued with definitional dilemmas" (Brunvand 1979a:418). "Defining folklore has proved to be a [Tantalusian] task" (Dorson 1972i:12). Dan Ben Amos believes that this difficulty is "due to semantic and theoretical [problems]" (Ben Amos 1972:3). I believe there is considerable justification for expanding upon Ben Amos's ideas. In fact, the scholar wishing to establish an acceptable definition of folklore, encounters difficulties at every turn; theoretical difficulties, practical difficulties, and, because some authorities see no reason to actually define folklore in order to be one of its practitioners, praxis difficulties. It is no wonder, therefore that there is "the strong impression that ... [the discipline] is still going in circles" (Brunvand 1979b:417) in regard to defining its parameters.

DEFINING FOLKLORE: THEORETICAL DIFFICULTIES.
The theoretical difficulties encountered in defining folklore coalesce around four factors: semantic factors
based upon the different ways the very term folklore is used; evolutionary or developmental factors based upon the philosophical differences in how the discipline of folklore has been practiced throughout its history; geographical factors based upon the different ways in which folklore is viewed in different parts of the world; and enormity factors based upon the vast amounts of previous scholarship that must be considered in finalizing a definition for folklore.

The semantic theoretical difficulties involved in defining folklore are the result of the differences in the way the term is used. The word folklore is used to refer to "both the discipline and the material collected" (Abrahams 1972:16) by the discipline's practitioners. These practitioners use the word folklore to describe both their "subject matter and the method[s]" (Utley 1965:10) they use for its examination. Three decades ago, Francis Lee Utley attempted to solve this problem by using the term "folklore science" (Utley 1965:10) to refer to the discipline or practice of folklore and the term folklore to refer to that which the discipline investigates. Although this could have improved the situation this expression has not gained much currency within the discipline,¹ and therefore difficulties do still exist. Any definition, therefore, of the term folklore needs to account for this semantic confusion.

¹. Five years after Utley's proposal, Alan Dundes suggested that the confusion could be avoided by using the expression folkloristics to refer to the study of the materials of folklore" (Dundes 1965:3) while maintaining the use of the word folklore to refer to the materials under investigation. This expression and method of clarification does seem to have gained considerable acceptance within the discipline of folklore. However, there are some folklorists, like Roger Abrahams, who "don't like the term but find [them]sel[ves] resorting to it all the time" (Cited in Jackson 1985:97). Indeed one folklorist, Bruce Jackson, finds the term folkloristics an "ugly and useless word . . . a noun with a double adjective suffix and no existence as a noun in the singular" (Jackson 1985:99). The introduction of this expression into American folklore scholarship by "Dorson and his colleagues on the editorial board of the Journal of the Folklore Institute" (Jackson 1985:99) was so burlesque that its embrace by such luminaries as "Dundes, Abrahams, and Bronner, and so many others" (ibid.) is a puzzle (ibid.) to that particular authority.
Further semantic confusion in defining folklore is caused by the recent changes that have occurred within the field. The "paradigm that currently dominates thinking in folklore" (Shuman and Briggs 1993:110) was set out twenty years ago in a "collection of essays entitled Towards New Perspectives in Folklore" (ibid.) and has come to be known as performance theory. With the advent of this approach to folklore the term came to refer to both "the sum total of those traditions [shared by a folk] and also [to] the way in which [the traditions] are transmitted" (Dundes 1965:1). According to these ideas folklore is then both a process and a product. As Kay Cothran says "we can approach folklore . . . not only as an isolate, something people have, but also as action, something people do. We can see it as both a way and a means" (Cothran 1979:446). Here again the term refers to two distinct features of the phenomenon, and care must be taken in accounting for these differences in defining this term.2

Perhaps an even more basic semantic difficulty in defining folklore revolves around the enormous number of different processes that are considered to be folklore. The variety of folklore processes ranges from "barns to ballads" (Toelken 1979:28) and covers any and every process in between. Alan Dundes (1965:3) names over thirty genres of verbal folklore alone; genres that range from epics, myths, folktales and legends to jump-rope rhymes, counting out rhymes, and mnemonics. He goes on to add over fifteen more non-verbal types of folklore, one of which is folk art,

2. Peter Bartis (1986) says much the same thing in regard to folklife when he states that folklife means not only the product of custom, but also the process by which traditions are formed and in which they endure.
which itself is likely to include numerous additional sub
genres. The sheer volume of the different processes
classified as folklore is therefore likely to cause
additional semantic difficulty in any attempt to accurately
define this term.

The evolutionary difficulties involved in defining folklore
are caused by the radical, almost daily, changes (Dégh
1985:223) that occur to the "themes, perspectives,
existential conditions and above all the vehicles of
folklore" (ibid.). Folklore's rapid evolution from an
"avocation into a science" (Ben Amos 1976b:xii), and the
constantly changing "theoretical perspectives that pervade"
(Ben Amos 1976b:xiii) the discipline, leads to a lack of
"rigor and clarity" (Ben Amos 1976b:xii) within the
discipline. Under such circumstances, it is often very
difficult to decide what items qualify as folklore.

The evolutionary problems in defining folklore began almost
with the generation of the term 'folklore' by William Thoms
in 1846. "Even by the time the Folklore Society was founded
[only thirty-two years later in 1878] the term was [already]
under review" (The Folklore Society 1994:fp). Such reviews
have continued unabated ever since (The Folklore Society
1994:fp) as "each generation of folklorists has always felt
the urge to re-examine and revise its basic tenets and re-
think earlier definitions" (Dégh 1994:240).

This continual process and accompanying "constant concern"
(Dégh 1994:243) with the "description, definition,
delimitation and clarification of the subjects and the
objectives of . . . folkloristics" (ibid.) should, in fact,
be expected. First, because neither linguistic meanings nor
definitions are historically bound (Welsh 1968:263). This means that what “William Thoms meant when he coined [the expression] ‘folklore’ . . . [is] irrelevant . . . [today, as the word is] subject only to the caprice of language” (ibid.). Second, “not only [do] human conditions change” (Dégh 1994:243) but so do the culturally specific observations, impressions and chosen goals of the “scientists . . . [who] create the subjects of their study and [who] reach conclusions [about those subjects]” (ibid.).

The evolutionary nature of folklore items themselves further exacerbates definitional confusion. Items of folklore are in a constant state of flux. For instance, the ‘folk’ of today’s Yugoslavia or the U.S.S.R. are not the ‘folk’ of yesterday’s Yugoslavia or U.S.S.R. Furthermore, as items of ‘old lore’ become institutionally entrenched they lose the dynamism of true folklore; while, on the other hand, as new forms of lore become more traditional they begin to qualify as folklore. In defining folklore, then, account must be taken of its dynamic, ever-changing nature.

Finally, theoretical difficulties are encountered when defining folklore because of the vastness and enormity of the subject matter. “Folklore represents a tremendous spectrum of human expression” (Toelken 1979:28). It is “a universal category, characteristic of all human groups” (Oring 1986b:16) and “surrounds us all the time [and]
enmesh[es] all we do and say" (Toelken 1979:291). The problems of defining such an enormous and pervasive phenomena are themselves considerable.

**DEFINING FOLKLORE: PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES.**

Practical difficulties, as well as theoretical ones, are encountered in the search for a definition of folklore. One of the causes of these practical difficulties is the vast number of previous scholarly definitions one must consult in arriving at one's own such definition. Among the reasons for this abundance are: the amorphous nature of the meaning of the word folklore; the "continuous change in theoretical perspectives that pervade folklore" (Ben Amos 1985:xiii); and the fact that folklorists have "never defined what definition mean[s]" (Glassie 1983:127).

Folklore is an "abstract term . . . [whose] precise meaning lies in the mind of its definer" (Richmond 1983:xi). Folklore is not a factual or value free concept, like the boiling point of water, which can be measured accurately and contradictions dispensed with through the employment of appropriate instruments (Glassie 1983:127). Scholars must, therefore, define this term to their own satisfaction. Each generation must debate anew the meaning of this concept in light of current values, morals and mores (Glassie 1983:127). Little wonder, then, that folklorists "seem to be possessed by some definitional demon" (Welsh 1968:262).

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4. Kenneth Ketner (1981) believes that folklore is in fact the term used to mean the "lore or learning that is universal in homo sapiens" (Ketner 1981:130 as cited in Jackson 1985:98). However this may be going a little too far, for, as Bruce Jackson points out, there is no known lore or learning that is truly universal other than the "need for air, food, and sleep and the ineluctable facts of birth and death which are so general that concentration on them avoids everything that makes culture fun" (Jackson 1985:99).
which results in there being "more definitions of folklore that there are folklorists" (Richmond 1983:xi).

The term folklore, originally a "convenient substitute for the awkward term Popular Antiquities" (Boswell and Reares 1962:12), has suffered constant debate and attack (Zumwalt 1989) since its unusual creation in August, 1846 by British antiquarian William John Thoms under the pseudonym of Ambrose Merton (Bascom 1955:245; Dundes 1965:4; Dorson 1972a:1). One of the high points of this debate occurred a century later when Maria Leach (1949:398-403) collected and published the definitions of twenty-one top American folklorists of the day in her Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend. Each definition was, however, slightly different from the rest, and, indeed, if one "searched beyond the entry for 'folklore' [in the dictionary, one] found the number of definitions expanded interminably" (Richmond 1983:xi).

Even today defining folklore is "the subject most often and most hotly debated" (Brunvand 1976:50) by folklorists. They have become "embroiled in an apparently endless pursuit of a definition" (MacDaniel 1989:1). Simply in terms of analyzing the volume of previous scholarship on the subject, the student attempting to define folklore is, then, faced with a daunting task.

Although defining folklore is "one of the most persistent and vexing problems" (Brunvand 1976:30) encountered by folklorists their "failure . . . in this respect is common knowledge" (Ben Amos 1976b:xiii). This factor leads to the third practical difficulty encountered by the scholar
wishing to define folklore, the fact that “in spite of more
than a hundred years of study, folklorists have produced
neither a satisfactory definition nor [an] acceptable
consistent set of critical terms for discuss[ing folklore]”
(Toelken 1979:27).

Since the “basic definition of folklore has not yet been
formulated to anyone’s complete satisfaction” (Brunvand
1971b:417) it is obvious that a definition of folklore “thus
far has eluded [folklorists] completely” (Brunvand 1976:30).
Indeed, it has been said that folklore is “something that
no-one knows exactly how to identify” (Parades 1971:11).
Despite the fact that “a number of promising leads have been
identified” (McDowell 1986:267), “all definitions leave
loose ends dangling” (Brunvand 1976:30), and we still have
no “comprehensive theory of folkloristics” (McDowell
1986:267), and “no unanimity among scholars about the basic
defining characteristics of folklore” (Oring 1986d:122)."

The student searching for a definition of folklore must,
therefore, either select one already characterized by its
“lack of conceptual consistency and real definitive power”
(Bauman 1972:xii), or, become a competitor in the
“dangerous” (Taft 1981:33) definition game (Abrahams
1976:268; Ben Amos 1967; Brunvand 1979b:422) and produce a
further addition to the list of unsatisfactory (Brunvand
1976:30; Toelken 1979:22), inconsistent (Toelken 1979:22),
loose-ended (Brunvand 1976:30), reservation-filled and
qualification-laden offerings (Dégh 1985:233).

5. This failure to define folklore has been graphically illustrated in a Paulo Carvalho-
Neto anecdote reported by Américo Parades (1971). A veteran folklorist was lamenting
his dissatisfaction with the discipline to Carvalho-Neto in São Paulo and stated that
he had spent fifty years of his life studying “something that no-one knew exactly how
to identify” (Parades 1971:11).
The final practical difficulty encountered when attempting to define folklore is the lack of consensus among previous definitional folklorists. Not only have previous attempts to define folklore failed, but “scholars themselves do not . . . agree on the details of an acceptable definition [of folklore]” (Brunvand 1968:4). Indeed, these previous definitions have been characterized by a “lack of conceptual consistency or real definitive power” (Bauman 1972:xii). Little wonder then that previous definitions “do not satisfy many folklorists” (Brunvand 1976:30) nor that the discipline of folklore is a “field of inquire with few formal boundaries [and] lots of feel, but little definition” (Toelken 1979:5).

In addition to this lack of consensus regarding an appropriate definition of folklore, there is also no consensus of opinion regarding the best of these failures. Francis Lee Utley (1961:8) felt, as did Stith Thompson (1951:6), that the “chaos in the minds of practicing folklorists” (Utley 1961:8) and the lack of consensus and agreement regarding the meaning of folklore (Thompson 1951:6) was adequately demonstrated in Leach’s (1947:398-403) collection of twenty-one different definitions. Thirty years later there is still a feeling that any ten folklorists would produce fifteen different definitions of folklore (Taft 1981:33). Indeed Brunvand (1976:53) believes that “the only possible conclusion to the present situation regarding folklore theory is that there is no conclusion” (Brunvand 1976:53).

6. One reason for this lack of consensus has been referred to by Toelken as the “Blind Man and the Elephant Analogy” (Toelken 1979:3) Different disciplinarians such as historians, anthropologists, art historians and literaturists “all view folklore in their own unique way” (Toelken 1979:3). It should be no surprise, therefore, to discover such a lack of consensus regarding its definition.
DEFINING FOLKLORE: PRAXIS DIFFICULTIES.

In addition to the theoretical and practical difficulties faced by the student seeking an acceptable definition of folklore, there are also reasons that are both practical and theoretical. These praxis difficulties center around the belief that the discipline of folklore can be practiced in the absence of a guiding theoretical definition. However, this belief generates as little consensus as do the definitions of folklore themselves.

Some folklorists believe that “it should not be necessary to arrive at definitions shared by all folklorists” (Abrahams 1972:16), nor indeed is there any “need for new definitions nor defence of old ones” (Brunvand 1976:51 citing Walsh 1968). One authority believes that a definition of folklore “at this point . . . is not really necessary [because] the field is still being mapped” (Oring 1986b:17). Another authority believes that “the problem of def[ining folklore] does not lie within the province of folklore studies” (Walsh 1968:264), but rather is “a linguistic process” (ibid.) problem.7

Some scholars (Utley 1968; Abrahams 1969) deplore the “chaos of folklore theory” (Paredes 1971:11 citing Carvalho-Neto) and feel that without a common definition, the discipline of folklore is in serious jeopardy. They feel that “folklore has to be defined if it is to be the subject of serious study” (Utley 1968:3). Indeed, they believe that “the definition game is a serious one” (Abrahams 1969:270) and is still worth playing (Ben Amos 1967; Brunvand 1979b:422)

7. See Bauman (1969) and Abrahams (1969) for a rebuttal of this idea proposed by Roger Welsh (1968).
simply because to "give up the effort to [define folklore more accurately] . . . would be to give up the study of folklore" (Smith 1989:7). They further believe that only by defining folklore can "we [know how] to practice the discipline" (Abrahams 1972:16).

On the other hand certain folklorists (Wilgus cited in Brunvand 1976:30; Oring 1986b:18) believe that "definitions are exclusive [and] build barriers and boundaries where none exist" (Poulson 1985:156). Furthermore they also feel that the "partial, idiosyncratic, . . . inconsistent" (Oring 1986b:17) and one-approach, dominance that would result from a single definition would be "dangerous" (Wilgus cited in Brunvand 1976:30), "unproductive, . . . restrictive, . . . [un]necessary" (Oring 1986b:17-18), and "intellectually stultifying" (Abrahams 1972:16). Indeed, the "strength of American folklore studies lies not in a proposed unanimity of thought but rather in inevitable diversity" (Welsh 1969). Shuman and Briggs express this outlook most forcefully in stating that:

proposals that exhort folkloristics to rally around a particular approach, definition or concept in order to deepen and/or widen the institutional reach of folkloristics appear more as attempts to constrain academic discourse . . . and silence or at least reduce the academic market value of competing formulations (Shuman and Briggs 1993:125-6).

The student seeking a definition of folklore, then, encounters considerable difficulty. First, evolutionary, enormity and semantic difficulties are encountered on a theoretical level. Second, the vast, contradictory and inconclusive nature of previous definitional scholarship

8. Roger Abrahams expresses the exact same sentiments when saying that "we will never have a real study of folklore nor a meaningful or consistent theory of folkloristic without taking a shot at definitions" (Abrahams 1969:270).

9. One of the great old folklorists is reported to have such strong feelings about the need for diversity in the discipline that he said upon leaving a "long spirited argument among the young stars of folklore" (Glassie 1983:127), "Well, when they finally define folklore, I'm quitting" (ibid.).
causes considerable practical difficulties; and last, the disputed need for an "intellectually stultifying" (Abrahams 1972:16) single definition of folklore causes praxis difficulties. Despite these difficulties, however, I shall attempt to define folklore in order to establish the place of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors within the parameters of folklore.

DEFINING FOLKLORE: SOLVING THE PROBLEMS.

A comprehensive review of definitional literature reveals that there are three approaches to the dilemma of accurately defining folklore; these are, an operational, a generic and a common elements approach. The operational approach to defining folklore was first advocated by Francis Lee Utley in 1961. It gained later support from Roger Walsh (1968) in the form of a "working" approach to defining folklore. In this approach a specific definition is designed to suit a particular investigator’s problem (Utley 1965:19).

The major weakness of the operational approach to defining folklore concerns the erosion of the discipline’s strength. The greater the number of operational definitions, the weaker the discipline’s power to define its own parameters. As more folkloric problems emerge, so more operational definitions abound. Eventually, everything can be classified as folklore because everything falls within the bounds of someone’s operational definition. Such a

10. Brunvand (1976:30) also recognizes three approaches to defining folklore. These are a classification approach which generates “lists of folk materials” (Brunvand 1976:30) and roughly corresponds to my generic approach; a “carefully qualified generalization (Aristotelian definitions)” (ibid.) approach which corresponds to my common elements approach; and a “metaphorical statement” (ibid.) approach which attempts to define folklore by analysis the "spirit' of folk tradition" (ibid.).
situation would leave, as Utley himself warned, "no field for research or action" (Utley 1965:24).

The strength of the operational approach to defining folklore is that, if kept within the confines of accepted scholarship, such working, operational definitions provide an appropriate basis for folkloric investigations. However, if operational definitions are kept within the confines of accepted scholarship, then they simply become definitions of folklore per se.

The second approach to defining folklore ignores the expression itself, and defines folklore in terms of the genres within the discipline (Dundes 1965:3). This 'list-creating' approach is also fraught with difficulty and has, over the last two and a half decades, been questioned as to its "value or necessity . . . in the field of folklore" (Stahl 1980:82). It creates the 'chicken-and-egg' problem recognized within the discipline as "Muller's remarkable quandary" (Stahl 1989:4 citing Hernadi 1972:2) — the inability to define a genre before knowing on which works to base the definition, while at the same time not knowing on which works to base the definition before the genre has been defined. It has been claimed that "players in the definition game now understand that we are through with the strictly literary, thematic, analytical concepts of folk genres" (Brunvand 1979b:422 citing Ben Amos 1969). However, some doubts do still exist, for a genre approach helps to define general paradigm boundaries that provide a focus for scholarly exploration (Mullen, Personal Correspondence, 12/4/95).
The confusion surrounding this method of defining folklore is summed up in the contradictory works of Alan Dundes (1980c and 1972). Three decades ago Dundes felt that folklore "must be defined in terms of its genres . . . . [because] form in fact, is and in theory should be, the decisive criteria for defining folklore" (Dundes 1980c:21). His radical about face less than ten years later is adequately illustrated in Ben Amos's summary of his ideas; to wit: "genre impedes folklore research because it prevents scholars from examining . . . folk ideas" (Ben Amos 1976:xiv). Indeed, Dundes condemns the genre paradigm most pointedly as a "[limiting] habit of thinking" (Dundes 1972:92) which "emphasize[s] certain kinds of folkloristic material and totally ignores others" (ibid.). He believes that certain unusual aspects of folklore have not "been and will not be fully explored as long as the genre research paradigm prevails" (Ben Amos 1976b:xiv citing Dundes 1972).

Certain folklorists support either of the two sides of the genre argument. Dégh supports Dundes's (1972) later ideas and believes that pure genre is nonexistent in real life; cannot be isolated because of overlaps and mergers; and cannot be truly defined (Dégh 1985:235-6). Handoo (1985:380) feels that all systems of classification and categorization are inadequate as definitive tools. Toelken, in condemning the genre approach to defining folklore, outlines an "open-ended/closed-ended paradox" (Toelken 1979:79) in which open-ended generic lists allow anything to be classified as folklore, while close-ended lists prohibit exceptions no matter how well qualified such exceptions may be in other respects.
Oring (1986b) supports Dundes's (1980c) earlier position and feels that list-creating has some definitive validity. However, his attempts to define even one category of folklore rigorously enough to prohibit the inclusion of glaring errors to that category, have proven so illusory that he opts for an orientation approach rather than a definitive one. In so doing, one of the few remaining supporters of such an approach illustrates the very shortcomings of the argument he purports to defend.

**DEFINING FOLKLORE: COMMON ELEMENTS SOLUTION.**

The final approach to defining folklore is the “common denominator” (Oring 1986b:3), “basic criteria” (Brunvand 1976:30), “unifying thread” (Ben Amos 1972:3), “most folklorists would agree” (Brunvand 1968:4 & 1976:30; Mechling 1986:96; Wachs 1988:xi) approach. However, the problem with this approach is that today there is very little accord among folklorists regarding any of the common elements or basic essentials of folklore.

With the expansion of folklore into areas of human expression “not traditionally considered to be within th[at] realm” (MacDaniel 1989:1), the usually accepted basic elements of folklore such as: orality (Utley 1965:8), traditionality (ibid.), artistry (Utley 1965:10; Ben Amos 1972), communality (Ben Amos 1972; Dégh 1981:60; Oring 1986d:123), variety (Dundes 1986:261; See also Brunvand 1968b:4) and non-establishmentism (Brunvand 1978:5; Oring 1986b:16) are all, now, viewed somewhat skeptically.

Tradition is now viewed by one scholar “merely [as] a rhetoric device. . . . an accidental quality of folklore . . .
rather than an objectively intrinsic feature” (Ben Amos 1972:13). It should not be a criteria for defining folklore (Ben Amos 1972:13), partly because “by definition, non-traditional things could not have happened to anyone” (Dégh 85:236), and partly because “traditions are constantly being supplanted [by] modern mass media and technology” (Wachs 1988:xii).

Similarly, modern technology calls into question variability and non-establishmentism as defining qualities of folklore. On the one hand, such unique, and invariable occurrences as the first moon landing or Kennedy’s assassination have, through media coverage, taken on a folkloristic quality for many Americans. On the other hand, some recently proposed forms of folklore, such as the sexual experience letters that appear monthly in the Forum magazine (McEntire 1992), or that “worldwide phenomenon . . . of the modern mass media; [comic strips]” (Brednick 1976:45) have never appeared in a form other than as contributions to establishment publications.11

Orality is also too restrictive a defining quality and “can be destructive in terms of folklore scholarship” (Ben Amos 1972:14). Some forms of folklore such as “autograph book verse, book marginalia, [and] epitaphs . . . are rarely if ever communicated orally” (Dundes 1965:1).

The two remaining definitive qualities of folklore, communality and artistry, are contradicted by some of the

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11. Comic strips and Forum letters have recently become accepted as folklore because “scholars of modern folkloristics have . . . become[1] increasingly aware of the influence of modern mass media, of newspapers, television, and radio in the dissemination of traditions” (Röhrich 1980:49). This reason for expanding the boundaries of folklore points directly towards establishment. Radio, television and the newspapers are all undeniably various tools of the establishment.
recently accepted genres of folklore. Currently accepted aspects of folklore such as reading (Workman 1983) diary or journal writing (Willis 1988), and letter writing (Forsythe 1993; McEntire 1992); Xerox-lore (Preston 1974), photocopy lore (Roemer 1994) and fax-lore (Preston 1994); “wall writing” (Reisner 1971); graffiti (Bruner and Kelso 1981; Gelman 1978; Longenecker 1977; Stocker, Dutcher, Hargrove, and Cock 1972) and latrinalia (Dundes 1977f; Reisner 1971) do not occur in small face to face groups. It is this method of disseminating lore that is, according to Ben Amos (1972:12-13), the necessary defining quality of the communal aspect of folklore. Certain of these folkloric activities may also be the ones that Mechling has in mind when saying that “a good many communications we call folklore are by no means ‘artistic’” (Mechling 1989:317).

All the previously accepted essential defining qualities of folklore are, then, called into question by present-day folkloric scholarship. It would seem that the common elements approach to defining folklore is no more successful than either of the other two.

Despite the short-comings of the common elements approach, it is perhaps the only approach that can be used with any degree of success in attempting to define folklore. Failure to invoke this method would mean either engaging one of the other two less effective methods, or accepting a circular and facetious definition of folklore such as “[that] which folklorists study” (Brunvand 1976:31).

12. What is and what is not art is something of a moot point. Since this decision should always be considered in “the flickering lights of the maker’s intent and the onlooker’s attitude” (Levin 1980:10), Mechling’s conclusions, though his point is well taken, may be a little overstated.
FOLKLORE DEFINED.

The first step in ratifying a definition of folklore is to establish certain broad parameters concerning that which is being defined. The term folklore is today used by anthropologists (Zumwalt 1988:6) to refer to "oral literature" (Dorson 1972a:2 his emphasis) or to folklore that is written or spoken. They do not necessarily mean that all folklore is verbal. Chants, yodels and hollers as well as other nonlexical sounds may be the constituents of a folkloric event (Dorson 1972a:2). Other forms of folklore such as customs, folk-music, folk-crafts and folk-art are gathered under the rubric of folklife (Dorson 1972a:2). It is the former use of the term that is of interest in this definitive search.

The second step is to recognize the basic soundness of the common elements approach to defining folklore, while at the same time acknowledging that the choice of previous common definitive characteristics has gone awry. My attempt to define folklore will, therefore, simply list the characteristics of folklore that continue to maintain some credibility as definitive qualities among current practitioners of the discipline, and then attempt to link these features together in a Brunvandian-type metaphorical statement (Brunvand 1976:30).

Folklore factors that have continued, despite considerable recent attack, to maintain some currency in regard to their definitive qualities are: traditionality13 (Utley 1965:8;

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13. In addition to the, already explored, dissenting voice of Ben Amos (1972:13) who "advise us to drop the concept of tradition" (Brunvand 1979:444) in defining folklore, it must also be noted that there are others who also question the place of tradition as a definitive quality of both folklore (Handler and Linnekin 1989; Bohannan 1992) and even of society in general (Hodsbawn and Ranger 1983). However,
Toelken 1979:32; Dégh 1985:236; Wachs 1988:xii; Stahl 1989:9; Shuman and Briggs 1993:116) and dynamic or creative (Bronner 1992a and b; Toelken 1979:27; Taft 1981:31) variation (Brunvand 1968:5; Dundes 1986:8; Toelken 1979:10 and 33; Wilson 1981:7); artistic (Bascom 1955; Ben Amos 1972; Bauman 1977), or stylized (Abrahams 1975:287; Ben

It may be that “some modern folklorists probably overemphasize context to the neglect of tradition (Toelken 1979:444), since they have tended to overlook the fact that “there is a context to context. . . . There is tradition [in] the rules by means of which a given context is made sensible [and] by means of which further contexts are made possible” (Cothran 1979:445 see also Ben Amos 1992). Despite the contemporary view, then, that “the conventional understanding of tradition” (Handler and Linnekin 1989) is limited by the fact that indeed some traditions, even some of the most traditional of traditions such as the “distinctive national apparatus [of Scotchmen — the kilt and the bagpipes] are in fact largely modern” (Trevor-Roper 1983:15) or invented traditions, there is little doubt that the overwhelming current opinion, even held by Dan Ben Amos himself, is that tradition. if not the “sine qua non of folklore” (Ben Amos 1984:97), does indeed have a place to play in defining folklore (Ben Amos 1984; Bronner 1992a and b; Cothran 1979; Handler and Linnekin 1989; Toelken 1979). In order to take its place as a definitive quality in modern folklore, tradition has had to detach itself “from the implications of Western common sense which presumes that an unchanging core of ideas and customs is always handed down to us from the past” (Handler and Linnekin 1989:39). It is now generally accepted (Ben Amos 1984; Bronner 1992a and b; Cothran 1979; Handler and Linnekin 1989; Toelken 1979) that “tradition cannot be defined in terms of boundedness, givenness or essence” (Handler and Linnekin 1989:39). These ‘modern’ ideas, originally proposed over a century ago by one of the “Great Team” of British folklorists, Edwin Sidney Hartland (Ben Amos 1984:99), have coalesced to such an extent that the word tradition now “refers to an interpretive process that embodies both continuity and discontinuity” (Handler and Linnekin 1989:39). Tradition is now seen as a “symbolic construction [involving] an interpretation and representation of the past by the people of the present” (Ozing 1989a:38). In being so viewed tradition survives the “criticism and remain[s] a symbol of and for folklore . . . . and a principle metaphor that guides [the discipline]” (Ben Amos 1984:124).

14. Traditionality and variation are, in fact according to Barre Toelken, the twin pillars or “twin laws” (Toelken 1979:34-36) of any folkloric occurrence. “In any given folklore context, both tradition and innovation (or conservatism and dynamism) are at work” (Stahl 1989:9-10).

15. Folkloric occurrences are special forms of communication that “differ from other modes of speaking and gesturing” (Ben Amos 1972:10) in ways that “separate them from regular daily speech” (ibid.) and from “nonart communication” (ibid.). This ‘specialness’ or “stylization” (Abrahams 1975:287) involves the “artful use of oral language” (Bauman 1966:9) and makes the communication so “non-casual” (ibid.) that an item of folklore is set apart in terms of “text, texture and context” (Ben Amos 1972:10 citing Dundes 1980c) from all other forms of communication. This setting apart can include the use of “entrance and exit talk” (Kleinman 1993:58 citing Jefferson 1979), “cultural conventions” (Ben Amos 1972:10), “provocative markers” (Toelken 1979:188) or “pretty languages” (Toelken 1976 and 1979:186) such as “opening and closing formulas . . . and the structure of actions that happen in-between” (ibid.) and “distinct syntactic and semantic structures” (ibid.) as well as “special archaic vocabularies” (Toelken 1979:188) and “special old-fashioned-sounding . . . and stylistically beautiful” (Toelken 1979:188) speech that mark them as being separate “from the regular daily speech into which they are interspersed” (ibid.). It may also include the “poetic devices [of] . . . narrative structure; . . . patterned and measured verse; . . . metanarration [and] parallelism” (Bauman 1966:8); and “keys to performance(s) . . . [such as] special codes; [and] special paralinguistic features; [and] special formulae” (Bauman 1984:16). Without these element, folklore would simply become conversation, courtroom rhetoric, or classroom teaching etc.

95
Amos 1972:10; Oring 1986c:15) communications (Wilson 1981:5); non-establishmentism (Jansen 1965:45; Carvalho-Neto 1971; Oring 1986c:16) or informality (Brunvand 1968:5; Toelken 1979:32); and finally that aspect that has already been examined in some detail, the folk or understanding others (Ben Amos 1992:9) aspect of folklore. These five factors are the “intrinsic features... [the] sine qua non” (Shuman and Briggs 1993:116) of folklore. While they may not all be universally supported by all folklorists, everyone of these features gains considerable support from many folklorists. If personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors are to be classified as folklore, they must possess some aspects of each of these definitive qualities of the term.

Some of the elements missing from this list, such as orality and communality have already been accounted for in some detail. The only other ‘missing element’ that is, perhaps, of some importance is the meaningfulness of the communication (Köngäs-Maranda 1985 cited in Jackson 1987:58). William Wilson believes that all folklore performance must be meaningful in that “the performer attempts to persuade the audience, and sometimes himself, to accept a certain point of view or to follow a certain course of action” (Wilson 1981:5). However, I feel that meaningfulness is not an essential feature of all types of folklore. Indeed in some folkloric occurrences such as “dips [and] counting out rhymes” (Dundes 1965:3; Goldstein 1989); tongue-twisters; jump-rope, ball-bouncing, and finger

16. In regard to the communicational aspect of folklore William Wilson states that “no matter what form... folklore takes... the performance of it will almost always be an act of communication” (Wilson 1981:5).
and toe rhymes (Dundes 1865:3); and nonsense stories; meaning is conspicuous by its absence.

The five essential features of folklore; artistic or stylized communication, informality, tradition, variation and 'folk,' can be assembled into a logical cohesive definition by combining the already established definitions of Barre Toelken (1979:32), Jay Mechling (1986:96) and Elli Kaïa Köngäs-Maranda (n.d. cited in Jackson 1987:58). Folklore may, then be defined as 'the informal exchange of expressive, stylized and dynamically variable, communicative units that are separated from other forms of communication by conventional, shared and, therefore, expected and traditional, differences whose specialness is understood by the individuals who participate in the exchange.'

The similarity between this definition and those of Mechling (1986:96) and Köngäs-Miranda (1985 cited in Jackson 1987:58), which are different only in regard to folklore's performance within a group, and the already addressed dimension of meaningfulness, lends some degree of credibility to my definition. The acceptance of any definition of the term folklore "by all folklorists . . . would be . . . impossible" (Abrahams 1972:16). However, my definition does at least encapsulate all the sufficient and necessary elements of modern folklore. This definition will, therefore, be taken as an appropriate definition of folklore for the purpose of this study and will be used to determine the folkloristic nature of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors.
DEFINING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: INTRODUCTION.

I have defined folklore as the informal exchange of expressive, stylized and dynamically variable, communicative units that are separated from other forms of communication by conventional, shared and, therefore, expected and traditional, differences whose 'specialness' is understood by the individuals who participate in the exchange. I have also established that outdoor adventure education instructors are 'folk' in the folkloric sense of the word, and therefore may be taken as being those individuals, in this specific case, who do understand the differences that set the folkloric communications of their fellow instructors apart from this population's other forms of communication. Before conducting a folkloric investigation into the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors, the folkloric status of this phenomena must be verified. Determining the folkloric status of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors is a two-step process. First, personal experience stories must be defined, and second, their status, in regard to my finalized definition of folklore, must be determined.

The first step in determining the folkloric nature of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors is, then, to define personal experience stories. Defining personal experience stories is almost as difficult as defining folklore itself. Difficulties in defining personal experience stories are encountered on both an academic and a non-academic level. On a non-academic level, the vast occurrence of personal experience stories, in
addition to humankind’s familiarity with this phenomena hinders the search for its definition. On an academic level, difficulties are encountered in defining personal experience stories because previous such scholarship has proven unsuccessful, and also because of the large number of different types of stories that are encompassed by this expression.

DEFINING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: NON-ACADEMIC DIFFICULTIES.

The numerical vastness of personal experience stories is self evident. There are approximately fifty billion people in the world today and many of this fifty billion will have a collection of personal experience stories they share with other human beings. The geographical extent of this vastness has already been addressed indirectly, and we have seen that all peoples of the world tell personal experience stories (Polanyi 1989:ix). We have also, indirectly, addressed the historical vastness of personal experience stories and have discovered that personal experience stories have “always been popular” (Stahl 1983:268), and were probably the first stories ever told by human beings (Nowlin 1929:1 citing Arthur Ransome). Indeed, it has been shown that personal experience stories were shared among humanlike animals even before the dawn of human history (Scholes and Kellogg 1966:17; Boremann 1980; Lemonick 1994:45 citing Christopher Stringer; Nowlin 1929:1). It hardly needs saying, therefore, that any attempt to define such a numerically, geographically and historically vast phenomena is bound to encounter difficulties.

The non-academic ‘vastness’ problem encountered when attempting to define personal experience stories is
exacerbated by an academic dimension to this problem. If personal experience stories are proven to be folkloric in nature, then this vast phenomena will be subsumed under an even vaster academically recognized genre of folklore: folk narrative. Elliott Oring has identified fifteen different types of folk narrative “to name [just] a few” (Oring 1986d:123), while Linda Dégh (1972) has illustrated twelve such different categories - each with many subcategories.\footnote{It must be noted that both these authorities recognize, as does Linda Adams (1990), that one of the categories of folk narrative is the “true [personal] experience stor[y]” (Dégh 1972:240).}

The non-academic ‘vastness’ difficulties encountered in defining personal experience stories are, then, magnified by academic aspects of the problem. In order to define personal experience stories we must differentiate personal experience stories from all these other categories of folk narrative.

All human beings are acquainted and even familiar with personal experience stories (Oring 1986d 123). Personal experience stories are “a central form of verbal interaction” (McCarl 1986:79), “the most prevalent folkloristic form [if indeed they are shown to be such] to be found amongst urban dwellers” (Laba 1979:163 see also Hart 1986:35) and the most common “of all the intersections of narrative and self” (Miller et al. 1990:292). They are “so common” (Stahl 1989:126)\footnote{Personal experience stories are so common and popular in North America that telling a personal experience story is exactly what is meant by the expression “telling a story . . . in “American standard speech” (Babcock 1984:74).} that researchers have long overlooked them (ibid.) as a source of scholarly inspiration. This very quality of familiarity accounts for the second non-academic difficulty encountered in defining this phenomena.
Not only are personal experience stories familiar to all humans per se, they are also, perhaps as a result of this familiarity, immediately recognized as being stories by all human beings. All humans, at least from late adolescence onward (Mancuso 1986:106), seem to know, perhaps intuitively (Rayfield 1972:108), when an experience is being storied (Livo and Rietz 1986:5). These two factors call into question the need for an institutionalized definition of personal experience stories. If all human beings are both familiar with personal experience stories and also know when personal experiences are being storied, what is the need for or point of their definition? Not only, then, will the discovery of an appropriate definition of personal experience stories be a difficult task whose outcome may be somewhat arbitrary, the very need for the end product of such a task may be questionable.

DEfining PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: ACADEMIC DIFFICULTIES.

Initially, then, difficulties are encountered in defining personal experience stories because of two non-academic reasons; familiarity and vastness. There are also two academic reasons contributing to the difficulty experienced in defining personal experience stories. These two academic reasons are; the failure of previous definitive scholarship in this area, and the 'subcategory problem' which is caused by the different subcategories that are recognized, within the discipline of folklore, as being encompassed under the rubric of personal experience stories.

19. See Amy Shuman (1986:12) for verification of this ability to recognize stories in adolescence at least among the junior high school population that she studied.
Personal experience stories are a relatively new addition to the science of folklore (Stahl 1989:12). However, "a notable and productive convergence of interest in recent years among linguists, sociologists and folklorists [has centered] around the nature and function of oral narratives of personal experience" (Bauman 1986:33). Because of this recent 'convergence of interest', "personal experience stories have already been the focus of much definitive scholarship" (Dégh 1981:60). To date, however, the academic endeavors surrounding the search for a definition of personal experience stories has failed miserably (Gwyndaf 1985:223). There is, in fact, "considerable disagreement about the precise definition" (Riessman 1993:17) of the term personal experience story.21

Because previous scholarly attempts to define personal experience stories have been unsuccessful (Dégh 1981:60; Gwyndaf 1985:223), the difficulties encountered in the search for an appropriate definition of this term are exacerbated. These difficulties are further exaggerated because the fluidity of oral narrative tradition (Dégh 1981:60) may mean that there will "never be a definitive answer to the question; what is a personal [experience] narrative" (Gwyndaf 1985:223). However, "most scholars treat narratives as discrete units, with clear beginnings

20. Kenneth Pimple (1992) says that this convergence of interest in recent years around the nature and function of personal experience narratives began in 1975. Few folkloric works dealing with personal narratives appeared before this year (Pimple 1992:40). However, since 1975 the interest in personal narratives "has grown considerably . . . [with] five dissertations dealing with personal narratives [appearing] in the last few years" (Pimple 1992:40).

21. There is even some disagreement regard the terms used to name this phenomenon. Bauman tells us that "Labov calls them 'narratives of personal experience' (1972), Stahl 'personal experience stories' (1983) (and also 'personal narratives' (1977a, b, and c; 1985; 1989; 1992)) and Goffman 'tales or anecdote (or) replaying' of 'personal experience' (1974:504)" (Bauman 1986:33). Bauman himself refers to them differently again as "oral narratives of personal experience" (Bauman 1986:33); while others have referred to them as "true experience narratives" (Yankah 1984:220; Dégh 1972:240).
and endings" (Riessman 1993:17). As such this phenomena is clearly definable.

The 'subcategory problem' encountered when attempting to define personal experience stories, may not be "a problem of definition but [rather one] of classification based on content and not on form" (Mullen 1994:7). However, the scholar wishing to define personal experience stories does encounter difficulties because of the different types, or categories, of story that are encompassed by this expression.

Authorities (Stahl 1983:270; 1989:13; Gwyndaf 1985:223; Dégh 1972:79) have recognized three narrative categories that fall under the rubric of personal experience stories. These are, according to Stahl (1989:23) and Gwyndaf (1985:217, 223): the multi-episodic chronicate — which is a verbal, historical account of a non-secular event; the single-episodic anecdote or personal experience narrative — which is a storied, and hence more exaggerated and embroidered, verbal account of a non-secular event; and the memorate22 — which is a "narrative told in the first person that usually

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22. There is some controversy regarding this three-fold classification of personal narratives. This controversy will be addressed later in finalizing a definition of personal experience stories. Patrick Mullen addresses this controversy in regard to memorates, and makes a solid case for including within the rubric of personal experience stories "sacred personal experience narratives" (Mullen 1983:17). Mullen says that, while on the one hand, sacred personal experience stories "do resemble memorates since they have a supernatural quality" (ibid.), on the other hand they do not resemble memorates because they are concerned with deeply held core beliefs based on folk religion, and, as such, are not concerned with superstitions (ibid.). Both Jeff Titon (1988) and William Clements (1984) also recognize the difficulty in maintaining this three-fold classification system. These two authorities believe that "conversion narratives" and "personal reminiscence testimonies" (Titon 1988; Clements 1984), which both narrate encounters with a supernatural God, are a genre of personal experience stories in their own right (Titon 1988:385).
expresses a [singular secular] personal encounter with the supernatural" (Adams 1990:26) or paranormal.  

Any definition of personal experience stories must, then, take into account the three different subcategories referred to by the term. However, such a definition must also consider the fact that rigid classification systems cannot be relied upon too heavily in regard to personal experience stories (Gwyndaf 1985:223). It is difficult, for instance, to fully ascertain exactly when a narrative is and is not one that relates an actual personal experience. It must also be noted in defining personal experience stories that these subcategories may not be reflective of real categorical differences. They may instead be "created by researchers" (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1984:1) in order to accommodate new genres into the discipline of folklore (ibid.). As such, they may simply be an arbitrary and etic reflection of "academic prejudice" (Stahl 1989:19) and have little to do with either categorical reality or the insight of the folk who tell the stories. (Herrara-Sobek 1985:391 citing Graham 1982).

It can be seen then that any attempt to define personal experience stories will encounter considerable difficulty on both an academic and a non-academic level. Despite these difficulties, however, the discovery of an appropriate definition of the term personal experience story is

23. Linda Dégéh also recognize three categories of "true experience stories" (Dégéh 1972:79). These are: "Labor Reminiscences: The experiences of men and women while at work. . . . Autobiographical Stories: . . . Intricate novellas [of] life history. . . . [and] Emigrant and Immigrant Epics: narratives told by uprooted and relocated people in their new community of their [former] compatriots" (Dégéh 1972:79-80). However, Dégéh's essay outlining this three-fold classification was one of the earliest to mention personal experience stories, and her classification system is, therefore, heavily oriented towards traditional storytelling. Hence, Dégéh's classification system has lost much of its definitive impact.
necessary. For, although "listeners [do] have some intuitive sense of . . . a story" (Rayfield 1972:110), they "will accept an item as a story only if it has a certain structure, . . . [with] certain minimal and maximal complexity" (Rayfield 1972:108). In addition to this, there is some confusion regarding the actual nature of story structure (Riessman 1993:17). Therefore, the need to define personal experience stories is essential in establishing whether or not a narrative relating a personal experience is in fact a personal experience story.

Without such a definition, the folkloric nature of personal experience stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors can never be verified. The finalization of such a definition is therefore essential and is the next step in establishing that the telling of a personal experience story by an outdoor adventure education instructors is indeed a folkloric event.

DEFINING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: STORY ASPECTS.

In establishing a definition of personal experience stories, intuition indicates that the best approach is to separately analyze each of the individual components of the phenomena - the personal, the experiential, and the narrative - components. However, because of the intimate relationship of all three components to each other, this approach will achieve only limited success.

The most important of the individual aspects of personal experience stories is the narrative aspect. Because storytelling is, at the very least, an act of stylized communication, it is the aspect most immediately close to my
definition of folklore. However, definitions of story per se — the relating of a series of events (Morris 1982:1271); an art form in which mental and emotional images are transmitted from one person to another (Livo and Rietz 1986:5) — are of little value in regard to defining personal experience stories. Even Barbara Herrnstein Smith’s definition of the most minimal and most general of narratives, “someone telling someone else that something happened” (Smith 1981:232 her emphasis), is of little help in this regard. These definitions are much too broad, and unspecific. Therefore, in order to establish the meaning of stories in regard to personal experiences, they must be considered in terms of personal experiences.

Authorities (Nicoliasen 1987:63; Oring 1986d:121; Labov 1972:359-60) usually agree that “narration of any kind involves the recounting and shaping of events” (Lamarque 1990:131) and that “a mere catalogue of descriptive sentences” (ibid.), or a “mere list of clauses or sentences” (Oring 1986d:121) “does not make a narrative” (Lamarque 1990:131). Occurrences, events or “existents” (Chatman

24. There seems to be some confusion regarding the exact nature of a story. Gollich and Quasthoff point out that there is “no consensus . . . as to what exactly the concept of ‘narrative’ means” (Gollich and Quasthoff 1985:170). Some authorities simply feel that “a narrative is another word for story” (Adams 1990:23; Oring 1986d:121) or “is based on a story” (Gollich and Quasthoff 1985:170 citing Schütze 1976). Other authorities feel that although “when we speak of narrative, we usually speak of story . . . story is clearly a higher (because more rule-governed) category” (Schöles 1981:206). Stein and Policastro (1984) have examined over “twenty different definitions of the [word] story” (Stein 1982:496) and have actually found some degree of consistency in that “the story is perceived to have a unique identifiable structure” (ibid.). However, “despite the popularity of this belief, no one . . . has systematically investigated whether or not a stable concept for a story exists” (Stein 1982:496-7). Indeed, most such definitions “lack either a clear description of the essential features or adequate criteria for deciding which features must always be included in a story” (Stein 1982:497). Additional, it has also been discovered that “narratives are not a singular form of discourse, and cross-cultural studies suggest variation in story grammar” (Riessman 1993:59 citing McCabe 1991; Michaels 1981; and Riessman 1991). This amorphous nature of the meaning of the word story, which is perhaps best summed up by Barbara Babcock when she says that the “storyteller not only must create an illusion of reality but must make certain that we are aware that it is an illusion” (Babcock 1984:70), further illustrates the difficulty that will be experienced in defining personal experience stories.
1981:262) and "not just things" (Lamarque 1990:131) are, then, the "ultimate elements" (ibid.) or "ultimate components" (ibid.) of a story.

DEFINING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: EXPERIENCE ASPECTS.

Recounting an event is, then, one of the characteristic qualities of a story. In regard to this particular investigation of personal experience stories this recounting of an event refers to the experiential component of the definition. A personal experience comprises the event that is storied in the telling of a personal experience story. It may be assumed, then, that the events recalled in a personal experience story are embedded in actual events that occurred to someone, sometime in the past. However two questions arise from this assumption. First, what type of events are converted into a personal experience stories? Second, to whom do these events occur; in other words, how personal are personal experience stories?

True experiences are the sine qua non of personal experience stories. In defining personal experience stories it is important, therefore, to examine the type of experiences that are converted into stories. There are actually two separate opinions in regard to the 'storyworthness' of experiences. Some authorities (Cazden and Hymes 1978:32; Dégh 1985:240; Mancuso 1986:196; Robinson 1981:59-63; Scholes 1981:205; Stein and Policastro 1984:116), on the one hand, feel that nothing is too insignificant or commonplace to be worthy of being converting into a narrative. To

25. Dell Hymes provides us with an interesting compromise in regard to this debate. He proposes that only certain people have a "narrative view of life" (Hymes 1978:138). To these individuals "even apparently slight incidents may have an interest that is worth retelling" (Hymes 1978:138). By implication other people will only view unusual and impactful incidents as worthy of being converted into narratives.
these authorities, "any part of life history from cradle to grave . . . may provide the material for elaboration into narrative" (Dégh 1985:240). However, on the other hand, there is the feeling that only those experiences that are unusual, extraordinary, reportable, remarkable, unique, different, difficult, unexpected, strange, interesting, 'predicamental' and adventurous (Bauman 1986:19-20; Polanyi 1979; Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov and Fanshel 1977:105; Van Dijk 1976; Wachs 1988; Zweig 1974) provide the subject matter for personal experience stories.  

There seems to be some intuitive validity to the claim that impactful events are the exclusive domain of personal experience stories. In telling any personal experience story, the teller must capture the imagination of the listener by relating an incident that is of some significance to the listener. In such circumstances, "the narrator may safely assume that what seems interesting or remarkable from his point of view will be interesting or remarkable from the listener's point of view as well" (Robinson 1981:59). However this argument hinges on the definition of what is, and who or what determines what is, significant.

One major determinant of the suitability of an experience for narration is "the specific community instantiated at the point of narration" (Robinson 1981:59). The "norms of experience in the narrator's speech community" (Robinson

26. Robin Gwyndaf employs an ambiguous turn of phrase that indicates the dilemma faced by authorities in analyzing the aspects of human experience that are worthy of being converted into narratives. He first illustrates the story value of adventurous activities in saying that the "personal experience narratives reflect man's constant interest in drama, [and] in action" (Gwyndaf 1985:224). He then goes on to illustrating the storyworthiness of ordinary activities by saying that this constant interest includes the "story of everyday men and women in their everyday lives" (ibid.).
1981:59 citing van Dijk 1975) define the parameter of interest, and therefore determine the degree of such narrative suitability.\(^\text{27}\) It has been said that "part of the traditional [and by implication folkloric] process" (Mullen 1994:8) of narrating a personal experience is that of "select[ing] an event to narrate based on what the culture considers significant" (ibid.). The other determining factor in regard to the suitability of experience for narration is the specific circumstances of the storytelling event. Who is present, the topic of conversation, recent past events, and even time and place, all have a significant impact on the 'storyworthness' of any particular experience.\(^\text{28}\)

It can be seen, then, that although experiences are the basic ingredients of the personal experience story, experience - par se - does not determine what may or may not be narrated. While it may be true that the "typical person . . . imposes story structure on all varieties of input" (Mancuso 1986:106), these story structures are only shared in the form of a narrative if all the circumstances surrounding such a sharing demand and encourage that sharing.

\(^{27}\) It has been noted that "dangerous activities would naturally be highly salient, hence tellable for most adolescent males" (Robinson 1981:62). However, it has also been noted that exceptions to this rule exist because of the defined parameters of interest within a particular community. Karen Ann Watson (1975) notes that "among the Hawaiian youngsters she has studied, storytelling episodes often focus on familiar events" (Watson 1975:56). Narrative suitability is, however, not solely determined by a community's parameters of interest, although the norms of experience within the community certainly will determine narrative suitable. A good many years ago I spent some time with North Sea oil-rig divers, an occupation in which the life-span of employees could literally be calculated in terms of months. This community simply did not share near-miss diving narratives, although they must have had some interest in this aspect of their occupation. However, one can easily understand the reticence of this community to share such stories based upon the communities norms of experience — diving fatalities involving their occupational colleagues.

\(^{28}\) This aspect of the storytelling event is referred to as the context and will be addressed in considerable detail in Chapter III.
DEFINING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: PERSONAL ASPECTS.

The experiential aspect of personal experience stories, then, is perhaps the most self-evident aspect of this phenomenon. All stories are, after all, primarily about some type of event, occurrence or experience. On the other hand, the inclusion of the word personal in the expression personal experience stories indicates that there is a personal aspect to those events, occurrences and experiences. This personal aspect of personal experience stories is perhaps, the most contentious. It would be logical to assume that the person telling a personal experience story is the person who had experienced the events of the story. This logical assumption however may not be entirely accurate.

The exact nature of the personal aspect of personal experience stories has troubled scholars for some time (Brunvand 1968:93). Indeed there is some controversy regarding the exact meaning of this aspect of the term. The word 'personal' in the expression personal experience story "implies both a particular class of reported event, and a particular point of view" (Bauman 1986:33). On the one hand, "the event recounted in these narratives is purportedly one in which the person telling the story was originally, personally involved" (Bauman 1986:33), while on the other hand, "the point of view from which the event is recounted is that of the narrator by virtue of his or her participation in that event" (ibid.). However, as this second interpretation of the 'personal' aspect of personal experience stories has "not been subjected to direct empirical investigation and analysis" (Bauman 1986:34), an a
priori assumption will be made that personal experience stories are told from a first person perspective by “managing the point of view” (Bauman 1986:34) accordingly. There is a legitimate precedent for this a priori assumption as similar such assumptions have been made in previous such scholarship (Bauman 1996:34).29

In focusing on the personal aspect of a personal experience story the question that needs to be asked is: to what extent does the word ‘personal’ - in the expression - mean that the events narrated actually occurred to the teller of the tale. “Vicarious stories” (Labov and Waletzky 1967:18) of other people’s experiences are often told as personal experience stories during occasions of narrative discourse. Can such narratives be “refer[ed] to as personal experience [narratives, when they] are, in actuality, not personal experience stories at all” (McDaniel 1989:99)?

It is accepted that the number of “links in the chain of transmission” (Stahl 1985:146) will have some effect on the personal nature of the narrative. The more links there are between the teller of the experience and the actual person

29. Sandra Stahl (1983:270) is something of an exception in this regard for she has “distinguished two essential kinds of personal experience narratives and narrators in terms that suggest differential management of point of view” (Bauman 1986:34). According to Stahl “other-oriented” (Stahl 1983:270) narrators manipulate the point of view of their narratives to “underplay their personal role in the story to emphasize the extraordinary nature of things that happen in the tale” (ibid.). Conversely “self-oriented tellers” (Stahl 1983:270) arrange the point of view of the narrative to weave “fairly elaborate tales that build upon their own self-image and emphasize their own actions as either humorous or exemplary” (ibid.). However, as Bauman observes in analyzing Stahl’s work “these types were simply illustrated by example [and] Stahl does not attempt to analyze the distinction between them in formal terms” (Bauman 1986:34). Beth McDaniel feels that Stahl’s “self-oriented” and ‘other-oriented’ dichotomy does not adequately describe the numerous types of narratives we call personal experience [stories]” (McDaniel 1989:99). Indeed in “examin[ing] a narrator’s presentation of self . . . [McDaniel] has uncovered seven different roles of the teller as character” (McDaniel 1989:100) in the personal experience stories told by recent divorcees. However, since these findings have not yet been confirmed with other populations, the original a priori assumption that personal experience stories are, generally at least, told from a first person perspective, by manipulating the view-point accordingly, will be maintained.
involved in the experience, the less personal will be the subsequent story. The exact number of links “allowed before an experience account is too far away . . . to be considered personal” (Stahl 1985:146) has never been finalized. However, it is recognized that the “first person as experiencer cannot be a firm element in the definition [of personal experience stories]” (Dégh 1985:236). This is because experiences are often told as personal that actual occurred to someone else.

It has also been recognized (Butler 1992:53; Glassie 1982:70) that different levels of the personal exist in personal experience stories. This information has been used to classify personal experience stories accordingly (Butler 1992:53; Glassie 1982:70). Thus, personal experience narratives are stories in which the teller is the central character; family and community experience narratives (Butler 1992:53), or - collectively - “‘known other’” (ibid.) narratives (Glassie 1982:70) are stories in which the teller’s related or non-related associates are the central characters; and “general experience” (Butler 1992:53), or “generic” (Polanyi 1989:18) narratives are stories about usual geographical and circumstantial happenings in which there are no specifically identified central characters.

Defining personal experience stories is, then, impeded by confusion over the word personal. The answer to this

30. Although this is strictly speaking true, Juha Pentiläkinen (1970 cited in Dégh and Vásonyi 1974:227) claims, on the basis of a statistical analysis, that, in regard to supernatural experiences, “there are at best two links in the chain [of transmission] between the one who had the . . . experience and the one who tells it” (Dégh and Vásonyi 1974:227). Dégh and Vásonyi argue strongly for limiting the number of people in the “transmission chain optimally . . .[to] four members” (Dégh and Vásonyi 1974:227) before the telling of a personal experience story metamorphoses into a proto-memorate and hence into a fabulate.
dilemma may reside in the manner in which the story is told. If the story is told as if the teller had some direct or indirect association with the story’s *dramatis personae* then that story should qualify as a personal experience story. The narrated events should have happened to someone the teller knows or knows of. The teller is so familiar with the original experience that the story is often told and heard as if it had happened to the teller (Dégh 1985:235) even when such is not in fact the case. Personal experience stories, then, do not concern vague, general, unidentifiable characters; they may, however, concern the exploits and experiences of others (Gwyndaf 1985:233). As long as the telling of the tale makes it evident that the teller still regards such stories as somewhat personal, then they should be classified as personal experience stories.

**DEFINING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: VERBAL ASPECTS.**

In examining the story aspect of personal experience stories, we have established that stories are narratives about events or occurrences. We have also established that, in regard to personal experience stories, these events or occurrences are any type of past event that is converted into a story by any person who can legitimately, because of some association with the *dramatis personae* of the story, tell the story as if ‘it had happen to me’ (Dégh 1985:235).

One must not assume, however, that these events must be recounted verbally in order to classify such a recounting as a story. The recounting of events in a story-form may not

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31. McDaniel uses the expression “told as if they are not significantly different from other [real personal experience] narratives” (McDaniel 1989:100) when explaining the similarity of “‘non-personal experience’ narratives” (ibid.) to stories about actual personal experiences.
necessarily involve the use of the spoken word. Linda Adams states that narratives or stories “can be told, written, sung, acted out, danced or performed in many other ways” (Adams 1990:23). Seymour Chapman (1981) concurs with this opinion and states that even if it were possible to prove that the first narrative was verbal, historical precedence would still not be an adequate reason for making words the central or even a necessary component of a narrative in the broadest sense of the term (Chapman 1981:262).

It can be seen, then, that stories are first and foremost a recounting of events, that may or may not be told in a strictly verbal or oral manner. However, the proposed examining academic discipline for this particular investigation is folklore. Therefore, the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors will be, if they are indeed proven to be folkloric in nature, subsumed under that discipline’s accepted rubric for investigating such phenomena, folk narratives. Consequently, the accepted folkloric conception of folk narratives, that they “circulate primarily in oral tradition” (Oring 1986d:123) will be accepted a priori. Other types of narrative such as mime, song, action and dance will therefore be discounted from consideration in the search to define personal experience stories.

Since we are assuming that personal experience stories are told verbally using spoken words, the manner in which the story is verbally told becomes an important defining characteristic of the phenomena. The telling of any personal experience stories has three features which must be addressed in arriving at a definition of this phenomenon. These three features are structure, sequencing and accuracy of record.
DEFINING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: STRUCTURAL ASPECTS.

The first definitive quality involved in the actual telling of any story concerns story structure. Despite the occasional dissenting voice (Black and Wilensky 1979; Johnson-Laird 1983), scholars generally agree, and perhaps have done since Aristotle proposed, in Poetics, a beginning, middle and end story structure, that a "fundamental constituent" (Dégh 1981:59) of all "stories [is] an underlying, or base, structure that remains relatively invariant in spite of gross differences in content from story to story" (Mandler 1984:22). Stein (1982:497), and Stein and Policastro (1984) have, after reviewing over twenty different definitions of story, indicated three different story-structure types. These three different story-structure types are: state-event-state change story structures that do not include goal-based behavior from its protagonists (Prince 1973); goal-based story structures that have a consequential outcome, but do not have a moralistic ending (Stein and Glenn 1979) and either goal-based, or non-goal-based story structures that do have an often moralistic type of ending (Mandler and Johnson 1977).

Riessman (1993:17) also recognized three distinct story structure types: "chronological, linear, 'and then what happened?'" (Riessman 1993:17) sequencing structure as proposed by Labov and Waletzky (1967); consequential sequencing structure as proposed by Katherine Young (1987) in which "one event causes another in the narrative" (Riessman 1993:17); and a thematic sequencing structure as proposed by Michaels (1981) in which an episodic narrative is "stitched together by theme rather than by time"
(Riessman 1993:17). None of these structural forms has yet gained universal acceptance within the fields of narratology or folklore. Suffice to say, therefore, that some type of story structure is a “necessary, if not a sufficient condition for narrative[s to occur]” (Riessman 1993:17). What this means is that whatever form the structure of the story takes, the action or events narrated can be followed in some sort of logical fashion by those who listen to the story.

DEFINING EXPERIENCE STORIES: SEQUENCING ASPECTS.

The second definitive quality of the telling of a story concerns the sequencing of the events narrated. Stories have “an essential temporal dimension” (Lamarque 1990:131), they are “a temporal icon” (Scholes 1981:205), and a “symbolization of real events” (ibid.). Gülich and Quasthoff (1985) simply feel that the events of a story occurred “in the past relative to the time of the narrative” (Gülich and Quasthoff 1985:170), while, to Walter Ong, the “narrative is fundamentally retrospective” (Ong 1982:12) and to Wallace Martin “narrative is opposed to atemporal laws that depict what is” (Martin 1986:186). While it may be universally recognized that to “tell a story [means to] recount actions and events . . . in some kind of temporal sequence” (Tappan and Brown 1989:185), or “to organize human experiences into temporally meaningful episodes” (Polkinghorne 1988:5), this aspect of the definition of stories is, nevertheless, one that causes considerable contention. The crux of this debate centers on the exact nature of the internal temporal relationship involved in the retelling of an experience.
Elliott Oring (1986d) is quite categorical in regard to the place of the temporal sequencing of events in defining a story. He says that "we will not consider . . . [any] representation of experience [not] in the order in which the events took place" (Oring 1986d:121) as a story. Labov says that the telling of a personal experience story is the process whereby a series of spoken clauses captures the event by temporally matching the occurrences of the event (Labov 1972:359-60). In support of these ideas, Robert Scholes (1981) states that "without [a] temporal relation[ship]" (Scholes 1981:205) between "the sequence of events" (ibid.) and their narration "we have only a list" (ibid.); while Susan Stewart (1982) feels that "by definition, the syntactical sequence [of any narrative] establishes an expectation of temporal sequencing" (Stewart 1982:33, emphasis added).

There are three reasons for supporting the argument that the telling of an event should temporally match that event. First, without such temporally parallel sequencing, stories would, according to Oring (1986d:129), be as difficult to understand as dreams, where the ordering of events may be chronologically out of sequence. Secondly, the temporal sequencing of events give the story its story line (Ong 1982:19) in which "the situation at the end [of the story] is subsequent to what it was at the beginning" (ibid.). Finally, Genette believes that there is something unsophisticated about folk narratives that cause them to

32. The ideas expressed here by Genette are a direct reflection of those expressed ten years earlier in "the myth of primitive narrative" proposed by Tzvetan Todorov (1971 cited in Babcock 1984:63). This theory "postulates that oral or folk narrative is simple, natural and direct — uncontaminated by . . . devices, digressions and structural complexities" (Babcock 1984:63) such as, one might presume, the "re-arrange[ment] . . . reorder[ing]," 'distort[ion],'' deformation[ion],'' 'twist[ing],'' or 'zigzag[ing]' (Smith 1981:228) of temporal sequence.
"habitually conform, at least in its major articulations, to chronological order" (Genette 1980:36 also cited in Smith 1981:227).

The converse argument to that postulating direct temporal "parallelism between the sequence of events in a narrative and its real-life referent" (Ong 1982:19) is that proposed by Smith (1981), Ong (1982) and, most notably, Nelson Goodman (1981a and b). This converse argument states, in its most virulent form, that "it is virtually impossible for any narrator to sustain [absolute chronological order] in an utterance of more than minimal length" (Smith 1981:27). Goodman states that "flashbacks and foreflashes are commonplace in narrative" (Goodman 1981a:100) and that "such arrangements in the telling of a story seem to leave us not only with a story but with very much the same story" (ibid.). Furthermore, "by virtue of the very nature of discourse, nonlinearity is the rule rather than the exception in narrative accounts" (Smith 1981:227).

Sustaining this side of the debate, we again have three supporting arguments. First, Walter Ong states that "oral narrative is not much concerned with exact sequential parallelism" (Ong 1982:19) because the "human memory does

33. These findings were pioneered in the work of Vladimir Propp who discovered that all folktales have a "sequence of functions [that] is always identical" (Propp 1968:22) and always follows the "theft cannot take place before the door is forced" (ibid.) order of events. They have also been supported by the work of Elliott Oring who says that "the plot of a folktale proceeds as a logical sequence of events. . . . [that] does not rely on flashbacks" (Oring 1986d:128-9).

34. Jean Mandler has actually experimentally demonstrated that "people can identify all the terminal units . . . as well as the different kinds of episodic structure" (Mandler 1987:1) in stories even when the stories have had their chronological sequencing manipulated in three different ways to give stories with a forward, backward, and sideways or mixed chronological order. Additionally, Beth McDaniel has identified nine different types of "synthesis ending" (McDaniel 1989:50) stories in which "a sense or idea of what that end will be is presented in the beginning so that the end-orientation is more tangibly present and diffused throughout the entire story" (ibid.).
not naturally work like a written or printed text or like a computer" (Ong 1982:21) and therefore has "little to do with the strict linear presentation of events in [a] temporal sequence" (Ong 1982:19). Second, Nelson Goodman feels that the twisting of a tale in its telling does not alter the absolute order of the events it relates, but only the order in which the telling is told (Goodman 1981b:255). Finally, Barbara Herrnstein Smith claims that there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that "absolute chronological order is as rare in folkloric narrative as it is in any literary tradition" (Smith 1981:227). Indeed, Smith adds, if "perfect chronological order" (Smith 1981:227) exist at all "it is likely to be found only in acutely self-conscious, 'artful,' or 'literary' texts" (ibid.).

The resolution of this debate actually lies in the telling of any story. If the teller tells the story in a manner that matches the requirements of the telling situation and the story is thereby understood to be the recreation "of events that have . . . already occurred" (Smith 1981:228) then that telling must, in essence, be a story regardless of any twists and turns involved in the chronological parallelism between the narrative and its real-life referent. In defining the personal experience story, then, care must be taken to avoid eliminating from this definition personal experience stories that do not adhere rigidly to the chronological sequence of the events they portray.

35. Presumably such twistings are merely a device that serves to authenticate the creative nature of such storytelling events. As such, because creativity, in the guise of dynamic variability, is a defining quality of folklore, these twistings further point towards a folkloric occurrence taking place when such devices are used in narrating personal experiences.
DEFINING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: 'TRUTH' ASPECTS.

In addition to the altering of the order of events in a verbal recapitulation (Oring 1986d:121) of those events, changes should also be expected in those events when they are converted into narrative form. In other words, the narrative of any event will not be an exact duplication of that event. This aspect of the telling of a story is the third definitive characteristic of story telling. In the specific case of personal experience stories this concerns the truth of the narration of the storied events. Changes and "more or less unconscious exaggeration[s]" (Bruford 1985:175) of the truth are to be expected when personal experiences are storied. It is the "natural process" (Bruford 1985:167) whereby "the interest and significance" (ibid.) of a "factual account" (Bruford 1985:175) is strengthened into a story. All personal experience stories contain some "manipulation of the truth" (Stahl 1989:18) which results in a "degree of falsification" (ibid.) that is acceptable to the production of "appropriate story material" (ibid.). Changes that occur to the experience in its retelling will, therefore, reflect that which the storyteller finds storyworth and not simply be reflective of an over fertile imagination.

Although personal experience stories are stories about real experiences, we should not expect them to be true, for "distortion [in a personal experience story] is acknowledged to be inevitable." (Workman 1992:97). Truth is "either taken for granted or simply not at issue" (Pimple 1992:40) in the telling of a personal experience story. When any collection of individuals "try to reconstruct an event from
[the past]" (Lamarque 1990:132 citing Llosa 1986:118) those individuals will inevitably construct a story version of that event. Each different version of that event will be "just someone's story, and ... all stories mix truth and lies" (ibid.). Jeff Titon's ideas directly support those of Lamarque in regard to life stories, which are basically elaborate personal experience stories. Titon states that a life story is a story and as such should be accepted, as should all stories, as being "a fiction, a making, an ordered past imposed by a present personality upon a disordered life" (Titon 1980:290, see also page 280).

"In recent years folklorists have contributed significantly to the growing awareness of the fictional component of all self reflective narratives" (Workman 1992:97). What these folklorists have discovered is that "different situations and structures of motivation will elicit and reward different kinds and degrees of truth" (Smith 1981:235). However, in all such situations the personal experience story may be regarded as eliciting and revealing some truth. Despite the fact that, when storying their lives, "people lie sometimes, forget a lot, exaggerate, become confused and get things wrong ... they are revealing ... the truths of [their] experiences" (Personal Narrative Group 1989b:261).

A further truth revealed by the personal experience stories is the "construction ... maintenance and preservation" (Workman 1996:97) of personality (Titon 1980:290) and identity (Bauman 1987; Stahl 1989; Mullen 1984; Santino

36. We must also keep in mind that "remembering the past cannot render it as it was, not only because memory is selective, but because the storyteller is a different person now than he was" (Titon 1980:290) at the time of the narrated experience.
1983; Pimple 1992) of the teller. In speaking of "the life story" (Titon 1980), Titon says that "personality is [its] main ingredient" (Titon 1980:290). Even though we should not expect the story to be true, we should always expect it to provide us with "true evidence of the storyteller's personality . . . [and] expose the inner life and tell us about [the] motives [of the storyteller]" (ibid.). Indeed, according to Titon the "singular achievement" (Titon 1980:290) of the life story, and presumably - by implication - the personal experience story, "is that it affirms the identity of the storyteller in the act of storytelling" (ibid.). Stahl is in concord with Titon for she also believes that the "overall function of the personal narrative is to allow for the discovery of the teller's identity (especially in terms of values and character traits) and to maintain the stability of that identity for both the teller and listener" (Stahl 1989:21).

Despite the falsification, then, of the events of a personal experience story, which have been termed "relatively minor" (Stahl 1989:18) by one authority, they still provide the investigator with certain elements of truth. Again, this factor must be taken into consideration in finalizing a definition of this phenomena. In analyzing the term


38 Other 'truths' conveyed in fictitious personal experience stories are group dynamics and group solidarity factors (Fine 1987:223-4; Hart 1986).

39 The "relatively minor" falsifications that exist in personal experience stories are said to occur at three different stages of the story's creation (Stahl 1989:18). First, the initial experience is made more understandable by modifying the events to conform to patterns of previous experiences or universally known archetype; second, the initial storying of the event changes the experience so that it conforms to genre requirements, and to the specific context of that particular telling; and third, each subsequent retelling of the story further adapts the experience to suit the demands of specific situations and contexts.

122
personal experience stories, then, the word story will refer to the appropriately exaggerated recapitulative matchings of the retelling of a particular event to the historic actuality of that event.

The events recaptured by a personal experience story must, then, have actually taken place. However, I have indicated that the exact recapitulation of an event rarely, if ever, occurs. It would be wrong to assume, however, that the event itself did not take place simple because the story does not exactly match the specifics of that event.

The detailed accuracy, then, of a personal experience story is not particularly important (Stahl 1989:18). What is important is that the personal experience story is embedded in an actual occurrence. So much so, in fact, that its telling is understood to be the recreation of a non-fictional event by both the teller and the listener.

The three aspects of personal experience stories have now been examined in some detail. I have shown that the personal aspect concerns the actual teller of the story or someone with whom the teller is, perhaps only indirectly, acquainted; the experiential aspect concerns an actual incident that occurred in the past, and the story aspect concerns the retelling of this incident with appropriate and understandable structural, sequential and storyworth modifications. In a final effort to establish a definition of personal experience stories, I will examine certain components of previous scholarly definitions in order to determine the definitive qualities of these components.
DEFINING PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES: MISCELLANEOUS ASPECTS.

Bennett (1985b:67) believes that a personal experience story "features [only] a cast of ordinary people" (Bennett 1985b:67). Similarly, Stahl (1987:23) believes only secular storied experiences can be classified as personal experience stories. Both Jeff Titon, who identifies conversion narratives as personal experience stories despite their involvement of "'the Holy Spirit [and] the Spirit of God'" (Titon 1988:383 citing an informant); and William Clements who similarly identifies personal reminiscence testimonies which involve "recall[ing] the experiences of . . . childhood" (Clements 1980:29 as cited in Titon 1988:361) in order to "'tell what the Lord's done for you'" (Titon 1988:360 citing an informant), seem to disagree with the ideas of Stahl and Bennet. Thomas Bullard also seems to disagree and adds to conversion narratives and personal reminiscence testimonies, UFO abduction reports whose first person characteristic "readily locates them" (Bullard 1989:152) among the realm of personal experience narratives, despite their involvement of extraterrestrially extraordinary characters. I believe that neither 'ordinary people' nor 'secularity' should be definitive characteristics of personal experience stories. First, both expressions are vague enough to require independent clarification; and second, both qualities are much too restrictive. Narrated experiences of encounters with extraordinary characters or with non-secular events should not be discounted as personal experience stories simply because of those encounters. Such narratives are, after all, still the stories of real personal experiences.
Gwyndaf states that personal experience stories should be about the tellers "own purely personal experience." (Gwyndaf 1985:223 emphasis added) Again, this is too confining a definitive quality. Often, personal experience stories are told of group or team experiences rather than purely personal ones. To restrict personal experience stories to purely personal experiences would be to inappropriately reject this type of group experience story.

Gwyndaf (1985:223) redresses the balance somewhat by stating that third person experiences are acceptable as personal experience stories. However, here he adds the proviso that the teller "still regards [them] as personal." Such a situation is, in reality, difficult to imagine. Is it really possible to regard as one's own an experience that clearly occurred to someone else? Although stories of a third person's experiences will be accepted as personal experience stories, Gwyndaf's added proviso will be discounted.

Both Bennett (1985b:67) and Stahl (1989:23) consider personal experience stories to be single-episodic narratives. Again, however, this is too restrictive a definitive quality. Some personal experience stories relate a number of closely linked episodes. Beth MacDaniel, in analyzing the personal experience narratives of recent divorcees, found that her informants told her "multi-focal stor[ies]" (McDaniel 1989:50) in which "several related . . . events" (ibid.) were linked together in a narrative form. Jeff Titon says quite categorically that the life story is "a personal narrative, a story of personal experience . . . [which] emerges from conversation" (Titon 1980:276). I,
myself have seen that an entire canoe journey or rescue operation may be told as a single personal experience story. These storied experiences are still personal experience stories, and cannot be discounted as such, simply because their telling consists of more than one episode.\textsuperscript{40}

Penultimately, Stahl says that personal experience narratives are told in the “intimate settings” (Mullen 1993:8) of “the extended family or [of] a tight-knit group of friends” (Stahl; 1989:ix). This, again, is too narrow a definitive concept of the personal experience story. Lloyd and Mullen (1992) and Robert McCarl (1984) have shown that “personal experience narratives are often told in public settings” (Mullen 1993:8) such as retirement banquets (McCarl 1984).

Finally, Stahl (1983:268; 1989:23), mentions two defining qualities of personal experience stories that have already been addressed. In her earlier works, she includes the quality of non-traditional content as a definitive quality of personal experience stories (Stahl 1983:268). More recently, she includes an “Ich Bericht form” (Stahl 1989:15) in which “the identity of the teller and the story’s main character” (ibid.) are one and the same; ‘Ich-Bericht’ being literally translated as ‘Ego-account’. However, both these aspects have been discredited as definitive qualities earlier in this analysis.

\textsuperscript{40} To redress the balance in Stahl’s favor, somewhat, it must be mentioned that Stahl does have some reservations, since the division is neither “clear-cut or always desirable” (Stahl 1989:13), about separating the personal experience story “from such close relatives as the memorate, the local character anecdote, the fuller life history, the family story, and the local history event” (ibid.).
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES DEFINED.

I have analyzed the expression 'personal experience stories' in considerable detail. Its constituent components have been outlined, and previous definitive scholarship investigated. The results of this examination, with some additions from the work of Linda Dégh (1985:242), coalesces into the following definition of the term: A personal experience story is the embroidered but reliable verbal recapture of an actual past event by a "not necessarily first hand and not necessarily immediate eye witness" (Dégh 1985:2420) to that event.

A number of characteristics of personal experience stories are implicit in the definition but are not fully explained by the definition. First, 'verbal recapture of an actual past event' should be understood to mean that the temporal ordering of the clauses involved in the retelling, do not necessarily match the "sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (Labov 1972:359). However, some aspect of temporal matching should occur in narrating a personal experience. A personal experience story only occurs if the events taking place in the experience can be followed by those who listen to the narrating of those events. Second, 'embroidered but reliable verbal recapture' means that both the teller and the listener understand that the story is to be accepted as an exaggerated and elaborate account of something that actually did occur at sometime in the past (Stahl 1989:18; Bruford 1985:167). Third, 'an actual event' means that the teller and listener understand that the narrative refers to something that actually "happened 'once' on a specific occasion" (Bennet 1985b:67)
and not to "something that 'always' happens or 'used to' happen" (ibid.). Last, the phrase '[an] eye witness to the event' means that the time of the event is never far distant from its narrated recapture. Personal experience stories are not legends that may or may not have occurred years and years ago, but they are verbal recounts of something that actually happened within someone's living memory (Bennett 1985b:67; Stahl 1989:i:x).

Having established a definition of personal experience stories and having also explained the intricacies of this definition, I shall now proceed to examine the place of personal experience stories within the field of folklore as encompassed by my definition of folklore.

ARE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES FOLKLORE? - INTRODUCTION.

"Over the past fifteen years or so . . . . the scope of folklore study has gradually broadened" (MacDaniel 1989:1) to encompass genres formerly unrecognized as folklore. One such genre is the personal experience story which "increasingly ha[s] become the locus of research in folklore" (Seaburg 1992:273). Today, a growing number of scholars are making significant contributions to folklore literature by investigating personal experience stories (Bennett 1985a; Butler 1992; Fine 1987 and 1988; Georges 1988; Gwyndaf 1985; MacDaniel 1989; Stahl 1989; Tucker 1992; Stahl and Roemer 1992).\footnote{While the short history of the personal experience story is indeed recognized by authorities in the folklore field (Stahl 1989:12; Hart 1986:35; Pimple 1992:40; Robinson 1981:58), it must also be remembered that Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, as long ago as 1934, "asserted that there was a need to distinguish from legends a category of material which, although 'in a way related' to the genre . . . . [were] reproductions of people's 'own, purely personal experiences' [which] he decided to call Memorate" (Dégh and Vársonyi 1974:225). Additionally, the term anecdote appears in Leach and Fried's Standard Dictionary in 1949 being defined as "biographical incidents . . . told to be believed or as if they were true" (Leach 1949:56). Indeed}
It would be logical to assume from this information that there is a general recognition, within the discipline of folklore, that personal experience stories are folkloric in nature. Such an assumption would not be entirely accurate for there are some authorities who do not believe that the telling of a personal experience narratives is a folkloric occurrence (Kaivola-Bregenhoj 1984; Keil 1979). Before we can define this term, then, we must examine both sides of this argument.

ARE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES FOLKLORE? - NO!

Dorson’s claim, made in 1978, that personal experience stories “have earned the status of a folk narrative genre” (Dorson 1978b:267) may have been premature, for “not all folklorists consider the personal experience story [to be] folklore in its broadest sense” (Stahl 1983:269). Indeed, one authority believes that to label personal experience stories - “a category [of narratives] created by researchers” (Kaivola-Bregenhoj 1984:1) - as folklore is “an academic imperialistic tendency” (Keil 1979:209) aimed at ensuring the continued existence of “the folklore empire” (ibid.) through the provision of a resource that can “never suffer a scarcity” (ibid.).

Barre Toelken feels that items such as personal experience stories constitute “recalled history and not transmitted lore” (Toelken 1979:163). Dégh and Vázsonyi believe that “reproductions of people’s ‘own purely personal experiences’” (Dégh and Vázsonyi 1974:225 citing von Sydon

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*a near half century of history is claimed for the personal experience stories in that it was actually introduced into the annals of folklore scholarship as the Alltagsgeschichte by Herman Bausinger in 1958 (Dégh 1994:245).*
1934:253-58) do not "belong to folklore at all, because [they] do . . . not possess folkloristic traits" (ibid.).

Stahl appears to agree with these ideas, for she states that "strictly speaking, personal experience narratives are not folklore" (Stahl 1989:19). As Stahl is one of folklore's foremost investigators of personal experience stories this is a resounding mandate to dismiss that which we are attempting to verify - that personal experience stories are folkloric in nature.

Stahl believes that personal experience stories are the vehicle through which a "special kind of [nonverbalized] folklore is [covertly] expressed" (Stahl 1989:19). Such nonverbalized folklore includes "attitudes, values, prejudices, [and] tastes" (Stahl 1989:19). As this condemnation comes from someone who "has long been at the forefront of work with personal experience narratives" (MacDaniel 1989:9), these ideas must be given serious consideration.

Dundes (1972) refers to nonverbalized covertly expressed folklore as "folk ideas." However he does not believe that they "constitute [an independent] genre of folklore" (Dundes 1972:95) but rather are "expressed in a great variety of different genres" (Dundes 1972:95). Indeed, Dundes further demonstrates that folk ideas are not themselves items of folklore by stating that the folklorists should strive to "extrapolate such ideas from . . . folklore" (Dundes 1972:96). On the other hand, Dan Ben Amos, writing in the same year, stated that the three basic conceptualizations of folklore, "a body of knowledge, a mode of thought [and] a kind of art" (Ben Amos 1972:5) - the first two of which are
somewhat equivalent to Dundes's folk ideas, were not mutually exclusive, but were, rather, dependent upon emphasis and not essence. There is, then, some scholarly disagreement with Stahl's ideas. However, the most powerful argument against Stahl's position is the effect it has on the discipline of folklore.

Folk ideas or modes of thought are, according to both Dundes and Stahl, the "building blocks" (Dundes 1972:96) that "collectively make up an individual's world view" (Stahl 1989:19). As such they will pervade every aspect of an individual's life. Indeed, an individual's world view is at the core of the individual's very being. If these world views are made up of folk ideas which are themselves folklore, then everything is folklore as these world views are at the core of everything we think, do and say. The repercussions of calling everything folklore are considerable. Such a situation would simply mean the demise of the discipline. It must be recognized that "folklore is not everything" (Glassie 1983:130) for to call everything folklore is to leave no area left for investigation (Utley 1965:24).

I believe folk ideas can, indeed, be expressed through folklore. However, I do not believe such ideas can themselves be classified as folklore. They clearly contradict one of the definitive characteristics of folklore, artistic or stylized communication. Although values, tastes and attitudes can be stylistically communicated, they cannot themselves be termed stylistic communications in any relevant sense of the term.
A second argument exists which contradicts Stahl’s idea that personal experience stories are merely vehicles of folkloric expression rather than being folklore in and of themselves. By recognizing folk ideas as folklore, Stahl steps into the text-context dilemma and also contradicts her own ideas regarding this dichotomy. Stahl (1989:6), in line with current folklore theory, states that “text and context are mutually dependent,” and that “neither one is a more virtuous abstraction than the other” (Stahl 1989:5). However, by attaching the term folklore to folk ideas, and not to the vehicles through which the ideas are expressed, Stahl is implying the primacy of the content of folklore over its context. Indeed, folklore is devoid of context if the vehicles through which it is expressed are “strictly speaking . . . not folklore” (Stahl 1989:19).

On two counts, then, I have questioned Stahl’s (1989:19) ideas concerning the folkloric nature of personal experience stories. First, her ideas that personal experience stories are merely the means through which folklore, in the form of folk ideas, is expressed cannot be justified. Since “folk ideas as units of world view” (Dundes 1972) pervade our very being and are at the heart of everything we do, their folkloric quality must be questioned. Second, folk ideas are not stylized communicative events and therefore lack the contextual base demanded of academically recognized folklore.

Personal experience stories have also been deemed to be non-folkloric because they lack traditionality, one of the necessary criteria of folklore. Stahl (1983:268) insists on a non-traditional element to the definition of personal....
experience stories, specifically in regard to their content. Some questions are raised (Dégh 1985:235) concerning the folkloristic nature of non-traditional stories that are "not usually perpetuated past the lifetime of the stories' main character" (Stahl 1989:vi). However, Stahl makes a solid defence of her inclusion of this aspect by restricting the non-traditional component of personal experience stories to their overt content. The traditional component is maintained through the item's "style . . . form, and function" (Stahl 1989:14), and by "the values or attitudes reflected in the stories" (Stahl 1989:13). These, Stahl says, are "culturally shared and thus traditional" (Stahl 1989:13). Other authorities add to this list of the traditional aspects of personal experience stories "plot and . . . other traditional elements" (Hart 1986:35) and "traditional structures, uses . . . and idioms" (McEntire 1992:83); "compositional process[es] . . . and manner of presentation" (ibid.).

Dégh (1985:235), however, demands that "ultimately the definition of the personal narrative has to drop the non-traditional element." She points out that the contextual "manner of [their] telling" (Dégh 1985:235) will involve much that is traditional. This is a very similar argument to that used by Stahl (1989:13) in defending her inclusion of the non-traditional aspect. It would seem, then, that personal experience stories cannot be entirely dismissed as folklore on the basis of the non-traditionality of their content, for other aspects of this genre maintain traditionality.
ARE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES FOLKLORE? - YES.

Having dismissed the arguments that would eliminate personal experience stories from the realms of folklore, their place within the realm of folklore can now be examined in detail. Since the aspects of traditionality and dynamic variability have already been comprehensively addressed, there remain only three components of folklore to be considered; artistic, stylized or expressive communication; informality or non-establishmentism; and those individuals who participate in the exchange of the stylized communications and who understand the specialness of such communications - the folk who share the folklore.

The first element to be examined in determining the folkloric nature of personal experience stories will be the expressive, stylized or artistic communicative component.42 “Asserting that folklore is artistic is to say that folklore is hand-made (made with the control of its producers) and aesthetic (created out of the full sensual involvement of its creator)” (Glassie 1993:130). Personal experience stories are certainly produced with the conscious control of their producers. The teller consciously means to relate the experience in narrative form, and has storied the events specifically for this purpose. The teller also consciously engages recognized verbal means of communication in order to achieve this purpose. In being aesthetic, personal experience stories are indeed created out of the full sensual involvement of their creators because the personal experience story “enlivens feelings [and] excites the

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42. It should be noted that assessing the stylistic component of personal experience stories will also establish the way these phenomena are 'separated from other forms of communication,' for it is the artistry and stylization of personal experience stories that actually achieves this element of separation.
senses" (Glassie 1983:129). This is achieved whenever personal experience stories are told for they "compel the involvement of its creators [and receivers] feelings" (Glassie 1983:129-30). On both a 'hand-made' and a 'aesthetic' level, then, personal experience stories, qualify as being artistic in nature.

Asserting that folklore is stylized communication is to say that the differences between folklore, and other forms of communication should be so pronounced that folklore is set apart from these other forms of communication. Authorities have shown that personal experience stories are a special and stylized form of communication for "we all recognize 'story' and are easily able to distinguish between something told that is storied and something that is not" (Livo and Rietz 1986:5). The reason we have "no trouble recognizing" (Zweig 1974:83) stories is that, on the one hand, stories are noticeably different in style from other forms of communication, and on the other hand, "everyone has certain intuitions - or has internalized certain rules - about what constitutes a story and what does not" (Prince 1973:9). 43

The way personal experience stories differ from other forms of communication has been resoundingly demonstrated by Labov (1972) independently, and also with his associate Waletzky (1967). By analyzing the structure of personal experience stories, these scholars, whose work has been supported elsewhere (Wachs 1988), have illustrated the formal and stylized composition of this form of communication. A

43. This aspect of stylization also accounts, to some extent, for the conventional, shared and hence expected and traditional aspect of my definition of folklore. This is because any recounting of an event that does not fit into our traditionally internalized expectations of a story would simply cease to qualify as being a story.
complete narrative has been found to begin with an orientation, proceed to a complicating action, be suspended during an evaluative section, be concluded with a resolution and be completed with a coda that returns the listener to the present (Labov 1972:369). This structure is so typical of personal experience stories that, according to Labov and Waletzky (1967), it becomes one of the characteristics that differentiate them from other forms of communication.

Additionally, the very act of telling a personal experience story has certain stylistic elements that sets it apart from other forms of communication. Young (1987), Jansen (1957), Bauman (1984; 1986), Goffman (1974) and Hymes (1975) have all shown that, in telling a personal experience story, the teller "steps outside himself as an individual" (Jansen 1957:112) and "into a story frame" (MacDaniel 1989:6) by adopting a formal, stylized, storytelling posture. Such techniques as "special codes; figurative language;

44. Much scholarly effort (Goodman 1981; Martin 1986; Mancuso 1986; Mandler 1984; Mandler 1987; Mandler and Johnson 1977; Ong 1982; Prince 1973; Rayfield 1972; Robinson 1981; Stein 1982; Stein and Policastro 1984) has been devoted to outlining narrative structure since Labov and Waletzky's (1967) seminal work on the subject. Indeed Stein and Policastro (1984) have unearthed "over twenty different definitions of the story . . . [each with] a common assumption that the story is perceived to have a unique identifiable structure" (Stein and Policastro 1984:496). Since "story grammar burst onto the psychological scene a decade [now two decades] ago" (Mandler 1984:17), there have been a number of changes in the views originally expressed by Labov and Waletzky (1967). First, it is now thought that stories may be made up of a number of different structures and still be recognized as being stories. Mandler (1987:20); Stein and Policastro (1984:499); Prince (1973); Stein and Glenn (1979); Van Dijk (1975:290); and Bauman (1986:45) have all entered into this debate, and come up with their own definitive structural criteria of personal experience stories. Second, Robinson believes that "the presence or absence of features other than the complication is primarily a function of such pragmatic factors as purpose, audience and situation" (Robinson 1981:76) and further feels that Labov's model "of a fully developed narrative may be regarded as a canonical form . . . which is selectively implemented by speakers according to their needs and the conventions of storytelling associated with the interaction setting" (Robinson 1981:77-8). Third, "flashbacks and foreshadows are commonplace in narrative, and such rearrangements in the telling of a story seem to leave us not only with a story but with very much the same story" (Goodman 1981:100). Finally, Mancuso (1986) believes that the way in which human's structure stories is developmentally dependent and, as it is not fully developed until late adolescence when we locate our "ancillary storytelling self . . . who follows acceptable narrative grammar rule" (Mancuso 1986:106) the structure of any story we tell prior to late adolescence is likely, therefore, to vary accordingly.
parallelism; special paralinguistic features; special
formulae; appeals to tradition; and disclaimers of
performance" (Bauman 1984:16); metanarrations (Babcock 1984)
- those narrative devices that "comment on the narrative
itself" (Bauman 1986:98); "reported speech [and] the
dynamics of expressive lying and fabrication" (Bauman
1986:114); as well as the employment of specialized
"opening[s] . . . closing[s] . . . code-switching and style-
switching" (Hymes 1975:64-6) are all employed by personal
experience storytellers in order to highlight the fact that
they have "broken through into performance" (Hymes 1975).

On two counts, then, personal experience stories conform to
the first remaining definitive component of folklore. Both
the telling and what is told are so different in style from
other forms of communication that personal experience
stories qualify as folklore because they are both artistic
and stylized units of communication.

The second definitive characteristic of folklore concerns
establishmentism. Most contemporary folklorists "do not
regard folklore as simply art, music, dance, medicine, or
custom whenever of wherever found" (Oring 1986c:16). Indeed
they do not believe that folklore can emanate "from the
elite and their centers of political, cultural, and
commercial power, or from institutions of media
communication" (Oring 1986c:16). Furthermore, they believe
that folklore "cannot be legislated, scripted, published,
packaged, or marketed and still be folklore" (Oring

45. Metanarrations themselves can be made up of "innumerable devices such as naming,
quoting, onomatopoeia, the use of different styles, pronoun [and tense] shifts,
changes in channel or media, the use of different languages or other register shifts
such as the intermixture of narrative and song or prose and verse . . . [and]
quotations and parenthetical asides" (Babcock 1984:73).
1986c:16). Personal experience stories are none of these. Although exceptions do occur (Lloyd and Mullen 1990; McCarl 1984), personal experience stories are usually told among a select and fairly small group of friends, and arise fairly spontaneously in everyday face to face conversation, or social gatherings (Robinson 1981; Butler 1992; Allen 1989; Limón and Young 1991:445; Ben Amos 1972). They are not rehearsed and told formally as in formal artistic productions and, although they may be used to educate and teach, they are not shared in the formal manner of lectures or classroom presentations. They can, therefore, in no way be viewed as establishmentist. Again personal experience stories adhere to the characteristic qualities of folklore.

The final definitive component of folklore concerns the folk element in the definition. During recent years, there has been a considerable change in the way folklorists view this aspect of their discipline (Dundes 1980b). This has already been addressed in some detail. In conjunction with this new line of thought, the folk element of my definition has been kept very simple. The folk are simply the understanding others in any folkloric communication. This is to say, that this body of individuals understands the differences that set folkloric communications, in this case personal experience stories, apart from other forms of communication. This does not necessarily mean that these individuals know, that what they recognize as being different, is folklore. Neither does it mean that these individuals are able to recognize the basis of these differences. They would not, for instance, necessarily, be able to define Labov's (1972) six structural elements of personal experience stories.
These individuals would simply know that personal experience stories are different from other forms of communication.

In order to classify personal experience stories as folklore, in terms of my definition, the people with whom they are shared, in this specific case, outdoor adventure education instructors, must understand the conventional forms of expression that separate them from other forms of communication.

It is my believe that story-sharing among instructors is a feature of outdoor adventure education life. Indeed, I have made the claim that outdoor adventure education instructors are inveterate storytellers who indulge in storytelling whenever the opportunity to do so arises. I have also noted that a large proportion of the stories they tell are personal experience stories. There is some scholarly support for this claim, at least from a philosophical point of view. Paul Zweig (1972:81) says that “adventure and storytelling have always gone hand in hand [and that] the great adventurers have not only been great doers, they have been great. . . . storytellers too” (Zweig 1972:32).

There are a number of reasons for claiming that adventuring and storytelling go hand in hand. First, the stories adventurers tell, adventure stories, are “the oldest and most persistent subject matter in the world” (Zweig 1972:6); and second, “the narrative art itself arose from the need to tell an adventure” (ibid.). I believe that a further reason these stories are told in such profusion among outdoor adventure education instructors is that this is the population that understands the specialness of these communicative events. If the people who share the stories
in such profusion did not also share, understand and expect the special conventions involved in these story, then the stories would simply not be shared in such profusion. Outdoor adventure education instructors are, then, the understanding others who comprehend the special differences that separate the personal experience stories they share from other forms of communication.

**ARE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES FOLKLORE? - SYNOPSIS.**

On all five points of my definitive criteria for folklore, then, personal experience stories conform to being folklore. They are artistic, expressive and stylized forms of communication, they exist in multiple and every changing variations and are special both in the way they are told, and in the contents of their telling; although traditional elements may be missing from their content, this characteristic is maintained elsewhere; they are non-establishmentist, being shared in small groups usually on a face to face basis; and finally they are recognized as being special by the group of individuals who share them, in this case outdoor adventure education instructors.

Personal experience stories shared among outdoor adventure education instructors can justifiably be examined using the grounding academic discipline of folklore. First, the group of people who share in their telling may be classified as folk in the folkloric sense of the word. Second, the phenomena that this population shares, personal experience stories, conforms to all the currently recognized criteria

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46. These aspects of the definition, artistry, stylization, expressiveness and dynamic variation also account for the creative aspect of a folkloric event which is insisted upon as being a definitive quality of folklore by some authorities (Toelken 1979; Bronner 1992a).
of folklore. Therefore as personal experience stories are folklore and outdoor adventure education instructors are folk; the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors will be examined using the recognized academic discipline of folklore.
CHAPTER 3.

THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS.

TOPIC SELECTION.

In recognition of the experientially supported, but largely intuitive, conclusions that outdoor adventure education instructors are inveterate storytellers, especially of personal experience stories, this investigation will examine such stories of a particular population of such individuals. Because the discipline of outdoor pursuits possesses no tools for examining the phenomena under investigation, the academic discipline of folklore has been selected as the grounding investigative discipline for this study. The theoretical underpinnings of folklore will, therefore, be taken into consideration during all aspects of this investigation.

Some authorities believe that the strength of the theoretical tools of folklore are questionable (Toelken 1979:5; Handoo 1985:380; Shuman and Briggs 1993:115). Barre Toelken, for instance, feels that folklore has developed into a field with "few formal boundaries, one with lots of feel but little definition" (Toelken 1979:5), while Shuman and Briggs believe that a dominant theoretical framework for folkloristics [has] failed to materialize (Shuman and Briggs 1993:115). In conducting a folkloric esquire, however,
folklore theory is far too important to "be put into a separate box" (Burgess 1982e:210) and ignored. Folklore theory will be involved "in [a] constant interplay with the selection of research problems [and] methods of investigation" (Burgess 1982e:210). Indeed, folklore theory has such an "important effect on the way . . . the discipline [is practiced]" (Abrahams 1972:16), that its consideration is imperative in any folkloric undertaking. However, since the discipline of folklore is vast, involving numerous concepts and interdisciplinary intersections (Ben Amos 1993:209), only certain aspects of folklore theory will impact upon this investigation. Conversely, there are certain aspects of folklore theory that are particularly relevant to this specific examination of personal experience stories. These aspects will be considered at every junction in this investigation and will ultimately determine the specific direction of the entire study.

Selecting an appropriate research problem, such as the one outlined above, is the first step in any folkloric investigation. The importance of this "big decision" (Sitton, Mehaffy and Davis 1983:74) should not be underestimated. The choice of a research problem should result in a topic that is of major interest to the researcher (Sitton, Mehaffy and Davis 1983:74), and should result in a "successful and fulfilling piece of research that has real meaning and importance" (Brunvand 1976:87). My research topic adequately addresses the consequence of this initial step. My major area of interest is outdoor adventure education in all its practical, theoretical, educational and philosophical aspects. Folklore, especially in the form of stories, has fascinated me since I heard the
tales of Hector and Achilles, Odysseus and Penelope, Beowulf and the Grendel from Mr Pike, my first Junior School (Second Grade) teacher. The topic outlined above should, therefore, be of major interest, meaning and importance to this investigator.

POPULATION SELECTION: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The establishment of a focus for this investigation is only the initial step in finalizing the research procedure. Other preliminary considerations include the actual population to be examined — which group of outdoor adventure education instructors are to provide the population sample — and the specifics of the phenomena under investigation — what type of personal experience stories will be included and excluded from the investigation? The selection of an appropriate population is the cause of some concern, for the population selected must not only be appropriate in regard to generalization factors, this population’s story collecting environment must also reflect its usual storytelling environment.

Expediency and economic factors prevent the examination of the stories of all outdoor adventure education instructors throughout North America. Such an undertaking would be too cumbersome to handle. However, folklore theory concerning the examination of a population’s stories also prevents the survey-type sampling that is the usual answer to this dilemma. Georges says that the “data for studying storytelling events must be sought in natural field situations [in which] every attempt [is] made to capture their wholeness” (Georges 1969:327). Story collecting, the initial step in any analysis of this phenomena, “presupposes
a close contact" (Limón and Young 1986:445 citing Honko 1985:53) with the communicative act of storytelling. "Any divorce of tales . . . from their indigenous locale, time, and society inevitably introduces qualitative changes into them" (Ben Amos 1972:4). Therefore, since "the weight of documenting [stories] lies . . . on observation" (Limón and Young 1986:445 citing Honko 1985:53) each member of the sample would have to be visited separately in order to collect their stories in a natural field situation, and thereby answer the grounding academic discipline's mandate to capture the wholeness of every storytelling event. Such an undertaking would involve either an extremely large budget, which certainly is not the case, or an excessively small sample size, which would jeopardize any conclusions drawn.

In terms of generalizing this study's findings to outdoor adventure education instructors everywhere, the most viable alternative to sampling, is the selection of a particularly representative outdoor adventure education institution with a correspondingly representative instructional staff. Examining the stories told by such an institution's instructors would provide findings that could be generalized to outdoor adventure education instructors elsewhere, if, in line with the grounding academic discipline's philosophical underpinnings, the indigenous surroundings of this population's story sharing environment could be maintained. The dual problems faced in selecting an appropriate institution for this investigation's data collecting process are, therefore, ones of generalization — the institution should be reflective of other such institutions, and have an instructional staff that mirrors this — and indigenousness
the investigator should be able to establish and maintain the selected population’s usual storytelling environment.

**POPULATION SELECTION: ESTABLISHMENT CONSIDERATIONS.**

“Generalizing from the data provided by [one source of] information” (Toelken 1976:145) carries severe limitations. The conclusions drawn from analyzing the personal experience stories of the instructors of any one outdoor adventure education community may not be entirely relevant to all outdoor adventure education instructors everywhere. The choice of the site - for collecting the stories of outdoor adventure education instructors - has, therefore, to be made with great care, particular in regard to the actual institution or establishment selected, if the results of the analysis are to be generalized to other members of the outdoor adventure education instructor population.

The first criteria to which the selected institution should conform is respect. The institute selected should be respected by those within the discipline. This respect should be based upon factors such as: course and instructional quality; safety record; educational philosophy; and an appropriate balance between the innovational and the traditional in regard to courses and operational philosophies. I believe that outdoor adventure education instructors associate themselves with respected institutions and disassociate themselves from institutions that are not respected. As instructors increase their association with a particular institution, so the generalizing of any findings gleaned from that institution’s instructors gains credibility.
The second criteria should be the institution's history. The longevity of an institution would tend to increase the respect in which that institution is held, and hence, because of the association factor, the findings from that institution's instructional staff would have greater generalizing credibility. The third criteria should be breadth of operations. The generality claims extrapolated from any one institution would be gradually more deserving depending upon whether the institution under examination was part of a local, national or even international organization.

The institution's operating season also plays a part in generalizing findings. Year round, as opposed to seasonal, operations would ensure greater generalizing credibility. Operating on a year round basis means that many weather conditions are encountered by the instructors examined. This would lend greater generalizing credibility to the findings as they would relate to instructors of numerous other institutions, rather than only to those who work in similar, and fairly limited, seasonal climatic conditions. Also, year round operational permanence would tend to increase the respect for, and, as mentioned above, corresponding association with, a particular institution.¹

One outdoor adventure education organization stands out as answering the above generalizing criteria; the Outward Bound

¹ Year round operational permanence may help to develop more communal feelings among an institution's instructors. If such is the case there would be an increase in the number of factors by which such an institution's instructional community identified itself. A claim could be made that a community with a greater number of group identifying characteristics had a correspondingly greater degree of 'folkness'. Any findings gleaned from such a community may be more worthy of consideration as folklore than similar findings from an institution that operated seasonally and, as a consequence, developed less numerous and well defined identifying characteristics among its instructors.
Organization. The Outward Bound Organization has long held a place of respect and honor within the outdoor adventure education profession. It was the first such organization to establish permanent outdoor adventure education schools in the USA and the world (Hogan 1968; Skidelski 1969; Templin and Baldwin 1976). It has a long and noble history of quality, safety and innovations, and its philosophical underpinnings have stood the test of time. It is still held in high regard within the field, and is felt by some to set the standards of the profession. The very expression *Outward Bound Adaptives*, used to describe certain recent outdoor adventure education innovations, testifies to this reverence. The recent implementation by the Outward Bound Organization, of courses for senior citizens (Heath 1993:x) supports the opinion that this organization is still at the innovative forefront of outdoor adventure education.

Accompanying the reverence in which the Outward Bound Organization is held by those working in the field of outdoor adventure education, is the prestige attached to instructional employment at one of the organization's schools. While an Outward Bound instructor may not be entirely reflective of general outdoor adventure education instructors, it is my experience that most outdoor adventure education instructors either have been or aspire to be Outward Bound instructors.

The Outward Bound Organization is a truly international organization, with schools on all five continents.²

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² Nationally, the Outward Bound Organization has schools in the Eastern United States, in Maine, North Carolina, and Florida; in Central United States, in Minnesota and Colorado; and in the Western United States, in Oregon. There are also two Outward Bound Schools in Canada.
Additionally, most of its schools operate on a year round basis. The Outward Bound Organization, therefore, conforms to all the generalizing criteria referred to above. The institute selected for examining the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors should, therefore, be one of the schools operated by this organization. Such a selection would guarantee at least some generalizing credibility to the findings obtained from any such investigation.

POPULATION SELECTION: INSTRUCTOR CONSIDERATIONS.

The school finally chosen as the site for the investigation of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors was the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. There were a number of reasons why this choice added to the generalizing powers of this investigation's conclusions. First, the instructors at the institution under investigation are, in my experience, fairly reflective of outdoor adventure education instructors everywhere. They have all worked in at least two environments, the water — canoeing and sailing — environment of the Florida base, and the land — backpacking, mountaineering and rock climbing — environment of the North Carolina base. They face similar, though not identical, situations and hazards as those faced by other instructors elsewhere.

Furthermore, because the North Carolina Outward Bound School adopts an eclectic approach to outdoor adventure education, an approach which is facilitated by its environmental situation, the instructors

3. While instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School may not face the high altitudes hazards faced by some of their more mountain-based contemporaries, they do face such hazards as sharks, manta rays and alligators which instructors based elsewhere do not face.
have both participated in and instructed most of the major outdoor adventure activities.

Third, demographically the instructional staff at this institution is fairly reflective of other such institutions. It is almost exclusively white, middle-class, and 'twenty-ish' as is the case with other outdoor adventure education institutions. As at other outdoor adventure education facilities, there is a male/female instructional staff ratio of about 3:1. As with other such institutions there is a representative sprinkling of international instructors, three foreign countries being represented at the institution in question. A convincing case begins to emerge, then, for claiming that the instructional personnel of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School is fairly representative of outdoor adventure education instructors elsewhere.

**POPULATION SELECTION: ENVIRONMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS.**

There are additional reasons for selecting this population and, in particular, this specific Outdoor Adventure Education establishment. These reasons pertain to the, already mentioned, maintenance of the environmental conditions in which stories are usually told. The selection of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School was specifically aimed at achieving and maintaining such usualness and the institution was felt to be appropriate to such demands.

First, climactic factors contributed to the maintenance of the communities normal story sharing environment. The weather in South-west Florida during Winter is extremely...
mild with warm, though not hot, dry and fairly windless conditions being the usual elemental circumstances. This facilitates the collection of stories of this particular Outdoor Adventure Education community in the community's usual story sharing environment - the outdoors. Gales, howling winds, torrential downpour, and excessive heat waves were, therefore, unlikely to detrimentally affect either story sharing or the story recording and collecting process.

Other factors involved in the maintenance of the community's normal story sharing environment circulated around my own ability in this regard. There are a number of reasons why I was able to achieve and maintain a usual storytelling environment at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. First, I know, understand, and can sympathize with the philosophies, traditions, values, life styles and pedagogues of Outward Bound. Instructional experience at seven different Outward Bound Schools in five different countries provides me with this knowledge and understanding. Second, I have instructional experience at the North Carolina Outward Bound School's main base of operations at Table Rock, North Carolina. This gives me an immediate empathy and familiarity with many of the (presumed) dramatis personae, theaters of operations, standard operating procedures, historical components and utilized jargon of the stories. Third, I know, through considerable residential and vacation experience, the area in which the school is situated. I am acquainted, therefore with many other (presumed) aspects of the stories.

All these factors, along with my "almost essential . . . proficiency [and] . . . knowledge" (Nickerson 1983:122) —
gained through many years of professional involvement in the field of outdoor adventure education — of the jobs performed by the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, enabled me to achieve and maintain the environment in which stories are normally shared among this population. They allowed me to meet the demands of the discipline of folklore on the story collecting aspect of this investigation. They also enabled me to gain ready acceptance into the community and to quickly establish the kind of rapport and "warm relationships" (Toelken 1979:292) that are vital to effective folklore fieldwork and story collecting (Goldstein 1968:29, 38; Whyte 1982:115). In addition, they provided the basis for my becoming a "real part of the [story sharing] context" (Goldstein 1968:36). I was able to express a level of honest and genuine interest in the stories that a rank outsider would have found difficult to express. "Telling a story about something that happened to one's self in the first person establishes a special kind of relationship with one's audience" (Babcock 1984:64). When people tell personal experience stories they put themselves, in offering "an invitation to intimacy" (Stahl 1989:37), into a position of vulnerability (Stahl 1989:x; MacDaniel 1989:15). It is my belief that I was able to minimize such feelings of vulnerability through my familiarity with much that was storied. This, in turn, was one of the reasons why I was, so profoundly, able to achieve and maintain this population's usual storytelling environment.

A number of factors compromised the achievement and maintenance of this population's usual story sharing environment. First, it is a considerable number of years
since I worked for the North Carolina Outward Bound School. Second, I have never worked at, though have visited, their Florida base. Third, I do have certain reservations concerning the theory and practice of the Outward Bound process. Although these factors may have detrimentally affected the usualness of the story collecting environment, they generated some compensatory advantages. First, they promoted 'stranger value' which, according to Goldstein (1964 cited in Jackson 1987:69) generates information not shared with a non-stranger. Second, they produced an outsider/insider perspective which Powdermaker (1966 cited in Burgess 1982b:1) believes is essential to collecting effectiveness. All in all, then, the careful prior selection of the particular fieldwork circumstances contributed most effectively to the establishment and maintenance of the usual story sharing environment of the population under examination. This factor, in conjunction with factors concerning the generalizing potential of this institution, makes the selection of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, almost ideal for the story collecting aspect of this investigation.

STORY PARAMETERS: GENERAL CONSIDERATION.

Parameters have been established concerning the population and the institution to be examined in this investigation into the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors. These parameters have been appropriately based on generalization factors, and factors surrounding the maintenance of the population's usual story sharing environment. Despite these limiting parameters, however, further impositions must be made upon the scope of
this investigation. The proposed area of emphasis, the personal experience stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors, is still too unwieldy and cumbersome to facilitate adequate examination. Purely from a practical standpoint, therefore, further parameters have to be imposed in undertaking an investigation of this magnitude. As in the previous case of imposing parameters, these new parameter should be logical based on appropriate factors.

Certain parameters have already been imposed upon the types of stories that will be examined. "'Urban belief tales,' 'urban legends,' 'modern legends,' or 'contemporary legends'" (Ellis 1994:61) are probably the second most popular type of story told by outdoor adventure education instructors. However, these, along with the less popular but equally impactful cautionary tale, have been discarded. They are usually told to crew members in order to heighten apprehension and as such they are felt to convey little information concerning the anxieties and preoccupations of instructors.

Story hints, those "minimal" (Labov 1972:360); "skeletal" (Jansen 1975:54; Labov 1972:361; Wachs 1988:16); "bare-boned" (Grinder 1982:13); "abbreviated" (Stahl 1985:146); "kernel" (Kalcik 1975:3; Smith 1984); or "condensed versions of [a] story [that are] strapped of detail regarding the actual experience" (Carpenter 1985:27) and that are "very short and embedded [indiscernibly] in the rest of a statement" (Mullen 1985:94) will also be discarded. These easily distinguished (Livo and Reitz 1986:5), narrative summaries (Wolfson 1976:192), are not true stories in the strict sense of the term since they are "short and to the
point with little detail as to the interaction of the participants" (Wolfson 1976:192); rather than, as is the case with true stories, being "full of such detail" (ibid.). Unlike stories, they require a degree of "cultural and personal intimacy [with] the teller . . . which a non-member of the community could not possible have" (Stahl 1985:146 citing Jacobs 1959). Only by possessing such intimacy can the listener fill in the "many associations and feelings" (Stahl 1985:146) that are necessary for understanding meaning. Such narratives, therefore, are felt to carry less depth of significance than full-blown stories. As such, these story hints will also be ignored as a source of information concerning the population under examination.

Even with these limitations on the types of stories to be examined in this investigation, expediency still prevents an analysis of all the personal experience stories told by a community of outdoor adventure education instructors in all the settings they inhabit. The settings instructors frequent are simply too numerous to facilitate such an investigation. Because of expediency, therefore, stories told outside the instructional setting will simply have to be ignored. Close, face to face contact with the story teller is a necessary aspect of collecting a population’s stories (Limón and Young 1986:445 citing Honko 1985:53) for this is the way that such stories are told (Ben Amos 1972:13). Stories of any population are, therefore, normally collected in the environment usually occupied by that population. This environment constitutes that population’s defining environment and would, for instance, be the firehouse for fire fighters (McCarl 1985), the hospital for doctors, nurses and orderlies (Berkman 1978),
the factory for automotive industry workers (Raspa 1989), and formal and informal meeting and gathering places for retired Pullman porters (Santino 1983:393).

Collecting stories told by any population outside that population's defining environment would be extremely difficult. The only way to record the stories instructors tell away from the instructional setting would be to impingefully follow instructors everywhere they go. This, rather than retrospective interviews or survey questionnaires, would be the only way to meet the close face to face contact demanded, for collecting stories, by the grounding academic discipline of folklore.

However, this type of procedure could not be justified either ethically or economically. The impingeful level of examination to which the instructor is subjected under such circumstances is morally reprehensible in that it is tantamount to impositional prying. Also, as many instructors frequent numerous and often geographically quite separate environments when they are 'off-duty,' this type of procedure would be too expensive to contemplate.

Stories told outside the instructional setting may also be of questionable value to the investigation. Such stories may have nothing to do with, and in no way be reflective of, the instructional situation. Stories that are not told

4. As instructors often leave their base of operations in order to take a break from the instructional environment, and to 'get away from it all', being accompanied by an aspect of the environment from which they want to escape may well produce a resentment that interferes with natural storytelling.

5. Philip Nusbaum (1978) believes otherwise. In undertaking a conversational approach to occupational folklore he feels that "a story about a workplace . . . might be more likely to occur away from the workplace" (Nusbaum 1978:10). However, it is my experience that such stories take the form of story-hints rather than full blown narratives. Furthermore, Nusbaum himself feels that "in such cases [the] workers of a single industry make up the population of the residential area surrounding the work place [and therefore] the nature of their work was relevant to the experience of
within the instructional setting will, then, simply be outside the realm of this investigation.

**STORY PARAMETERS: CREW STORY ABSENCE.**

Stories told to crews will also be rejected as a source of information. Crew stories usually take the form of narrative hints, rather than full blown stories. Indeed, they are often brief to the point of nonexistence as stories. Crew stories are normally told either to emphasize a teaching point or to accentuate a safety concern, and rarely arise spontaneously in conversational discourse. Personal experience stories told by instructors to their crews are, quite simply, notable by their absence. They would, therefore, provide little additional information from which to draw relevant conclusions.

Further justification for rejecting crew-told stories is gained from examining the reasons for their paucity. Instructors are philosophically reluctant to share personal experience stories with their crews. They feel a crew should be allowed to develop naturally and in the absence of influences from the past. As instructor/student contact is limited to a maximum of three weeks in most outdoor adventure education institutions, sharing personal experiences from the past in the form of stories would seriously and detrimentally affect this natural development.

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6. The following typical instructional hint serves to illustrate the exact nature of this type of narrative. "Don't let me see any of you checking to see if your cooking stove is out of gas by using a lighted match to see into the tank."

all within the residential community" (Nusbaum 1978:18) who share those stories. This state of affairs is not a predominant feature of life in the outdoor adventure education field. Once away from their work setting, outdoor adventure education instructors are unlikely to encounter other outdoor adventure education instructors. The case for ignoring the personal experience stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors away from the instructional setting, is therefore affirmed.
Instructors are also reluctant to share personal experience stories with their crews because of a belief in the sanctity of the moment. They believe, in concurrence with Ralph Waldo Emerson that "this day is all that is good and fair. It is too dear, with its hopes and invitations, to waste a moment on the yesterdays" (an un-referenced quotation taken from a North Carolina Outward Bound School book of quotations, undated and un-authored). Instructors, therefore, attempt to focus the students' attention on the here and now experience of the adventure occurrence, in an effort to mirror this philosophy. Personal experience stories are, in essence, a reconstruction of past events. Sharing them, therefore, would, quite obviously, seriously compromise this philosophy.

It can be seen, then, that an instructor's philosophical reluctance to share personal experience stories with students is the result of a desire to avoid compromising certain educational principles. It behooves the investigator of any population of outdoor adventure education instructors to honor this reluctance by steering clear of the personal experience stories they may share with crew members. Such stories are felt to carry only a limited reflection of the instructors' major concerns and preoccupations, and again would convey little information about the instructional situation.

The penultimate reason for ignoring the personal experience stories that an instructor may tell to a crew has to do with a crew's amorphous standing within the instructional community. Crews are not really a part of the outdoor adventure education institution's community. Generally,
students attend an outdoor adventure education institution for three weeks. During that time, once they have been assigned — fairly randomly — to a group, they have very little, if any, contact with any members of the community other than their own instructors. They often do not see other crews, other instructors, or other members of the instructional community. Stories told in such circumstances may provide little insight into the concerns and preoccupations of the genuine members of that community, the instructors. Indeed, such stories may actually contaminate the essence of the inquiry by indicating false concerns and preoccupations. Additionally, questions could be raised concerning the folkloric nature of stories shared in such situations; for such a crew, being in the process of establishing a group identity, may not be a ‘folk’ group in the true folkloric sense of the word.

The final reason for ignoring the ‘crew-shared’ personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors concerns the folkloric nature of such communications. There is some debate as to the folkloric quality of such stories. Claims could be made that they contradict the discipline’s demands for non-institutionalization. Certainly such stories would usually be told in a teaching situation, and as such could be questioned in regard to their folkloric nature. Also, as such crew-shared stories are shared by “individuals who primarily relate to one another [not] as persons but rather as occupants of social status” (Oring 1984:19), they contradict at least one authority’s idea of what constitutes folklore.
In an effort to ensure the manageability of this project, as well as to ensure the salience of the information collected, this investigation will concentrate exclusively on the personal experience stories shared by the population under examination, outdoor adventure education instructors, within the confines of their defining occupational environment, the instructional setting. Included within the parameter of these personal experience stories are both multi-episodic stories and those that are, strictly speaking, not stories of first person past experiences. Because these latter story-types are told by instructors as if they had a direct involvement in the original storied incident, and because they are told for the same reasons that true personal experience stories are told, such stories will be included in this analysis. I believe such near-personal experience stories have the same resonance with the major preoccupations and anxieties of their tellers as do genuine personal experience stories.

All in all, then, a fairly convincing case exists for using the personal experience stories of the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School to draw, with some reservations, broad conclusions concerning outdoor adventure education instructors everywhere.

**STORY COLLECTING THEORY: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.**

The specific parameters of this investigation have been established. The population under investigation is the instructional staff of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. The actual phenomena under investigation are the personal experience stories shared by this population in the instructional setting. Such stories
include multi-episodic stories and near-personal experience stories, but will not include story hints, urban and local legends, cautionary tales and other such stories outside the realm of the personal experience story. Nor will this study include personal experience stories told to non-instructional members of the community, such as crew members. Having established the specific parameters of the investigation, the particular methods employed in examining these parameters will now be analyzed.

There are many different and "complementary" (Toelken 1979:10) ways in which any folkloric material can be investigated. Despite these differences, however, all folkloric research must adhere to three necessary stages or component parts (Brunvand 1968:16). These are, as Brunvand (1968; 1976; 1981) often states, the collection, classification and analysis of the material under examination. "All folklore studies [should] develop sequentially" (Brunvand 1976:27) through these stages, and "no stage should ever be abandoned" (ibid.). The first stage of this inquiry to be explained in detail will, therefore, be the first of Brunvand's three stages of folkloric inquiry, the collection phase.

7. Brunvand (1968:10) mentions nine such complementary investigative approaches while Dorson (1972b:7-47) outlines, in considerable detail, a round dozen. Other general approaches, (Hymes 1960; Stahl 1989) have been added to these lists at periodic intervals.

8. Carvalho-Neto (1971:201) outlines five such necessary stages of research. He believes attention should be paid to the "discussion of a thesis" (Carvalho-Neto 1971:201) prior to the collection of items of folklore. (This point was dealt with earlier as its omission from Brunvand's [1968; 1976] work is seen as a weakness.) Carvalho-Neto also believes there should be a comparison stage after the classification stage, and he calls the analysis stage, the interpretation stage (Carvalho-Neto 1971:201).
The paradigm of inquiry which provides the theoretical framework for much of today’s folkloric research is the naturalistic inquiry paradigm recently outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985). This paradigm of inquiry has great “impact on [the] fieldwork methods” (Stahl 1989:9) employed in collecting folklore material. Stahl (1989:9-10) has briefly outlined the theory and practice of naturalistic inquiry in folklore research with particular reference to personal experience stories. She believes that one of the most significant impacts of this method of inquiry on folklore research is the absence of a “general hypothesis” (Stahl 1989:9) that is then proven through empirical inquiry.

The naturalist inquiry paradigm’s most significant impact on this particular investigation does indeed concern the absence of a pre-conceived working hypothesis, which the paradigm calls for in its third axiom (Lincoln and Guba 1985:37). Throughout this particular investigation I have attempted to adhere to the theory of naturalistic inquiry by

9. Since Malinowski (1968:124) was performing naturalistic fieldwork as long ago as 1920, and, indeed pronounced “worthless” any hypothesis driven field inquiry, I believe the impact equation may have been in the other direction. It is in the area of fieldwork that folklore has the greatest impact upon the formulation of the naturalistic paradigm rather than vice versa.

10. She adds to Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) theoretical framework by accounting for the place of tradition in folklore inquiry. Whereas Lincoln and Guba (1985) believe it is “impossible to distinguish causes from effects” (Lincoln and Guba 1985:37), Stahl (1989) is reluctant, as a folklorist, “to dismiss tradition as a cause in the scheme of things” (Stahl 1989:9). Stahl refers to this concept as a “sixth axiom” of naturalistic inquiry and claims it is what makes a study “folkloristic rather than simply naturalistic” (Stahl 1989:10 her emphasis).

11. Again I believe the equation may be in the opposite direction. Toelken (1976:146) recognized twenty-five years ago that “the aim of folklore is to be provocative not definitive.” It may, therefore, have been folklore that impacted on the formulation of this ‘hypothesis-free’ paradigm rather than vice versa. It must also be noted that there has, in the past, been some debate concerning the place of the working hypothesis in folklore research. Kenneth Ketner (1973; 1975) has been the most dissident voice to current theory in claiming that hypotheses do have a place in folklore research, while Norm and Anne Cohen (1974; 1975) have been strong opponents of his views.
posing no preconceived hypothesis. Initially, I simply recognized and proceeded to examine the profuse existence of a particular phenomena, in this case the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors. Although the absence of a preconceived working hypothesis affected not just the fieldwork methodology, but all stages of this investigation, its effects on fieldwork were very significant.

In demanding the employment of hypothesis-free investigation, the naturalistic paradigm recognizes, as folklorists do, that "actual questions to be asked of the material aren’t apparent until fieldwork is underway" (Jackson 1987:58). There is also a recognition, however, that data collection should not be "arbitrary, unorganized, and perfunctory" (Goldstein 1968:28) as would be the case if "specific [data collecting] goals" (ibid.) were not established prior to, and maintained throughout, the data collecting phase of the investigation. The specific fieldwork goal of this particular investigation was to collect the personal experience stories shared by the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School in an instructional setting. Although certain precautions were taken to ensure the naturalness of the collecting environment, this central purpose was never compromised.

A second impact of the naturalistic paradigm on this investigation’s data collecting process concerns the environment in which the data was collected. Personal experience stories are generally speaking a conversational genre in that they are often told quite naturally as an
intrinsic aspect of normal social intercourse. Some folklorists (Bennett 1987b; Top 1990) believe that planned fieldwork is "ineffective in collecting . . . conversational mode[s] of communication" (Ellis 1994:62). However, the naturalistic paradigm, perhaps recognizing this difficulty, advocates that collection does take place, but that it does so in the subjects "own territory [by] interacting with them in their own language, on their own terms" (Kirk and Miller 1986:9). Collecting the personal experience stories of the North Carolina Outward Bound School's Florida based instructors, therefore, required the establishment and maintenance of as natural a storytelling environment as is conducive to such collecting at this base of operations.\(^{12}\)

**STORY COLLECTING PRACTICE: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION APPROACH.**

A number of strategies were employed to establish and maintain the usual story sharing environment of the population under examination, thereby conforming to the demands of the naturalistic inquiry paradigm. While conducting fieldwork, a number of factors were manipulated in order to maintain the population's usual storytelling environment. These factors concerned: the methods of;

\(^{12}\) Dan Ben Amos states that "it is misleading to describe any collecting situation as either natural or artificial [and] evaluate it in terms of some ideal uninterrupted performance" (Ben Amos 1993:219). This is because every folkloric performance responds to the demands of the particular contextual situation in which it is shared; "everything — including the folklorists — is part of the context" (Cothran 1979:444). Therefore, "any investigative situation constitutes its own context regardless of its approximation to any imagined or real research-free performance" (Ben Amos 1993:219). As Kay Cothran says, "there is no . . . folklorists, no informant, [only] participators in tradition" (Cothran 1979:448). While it is true that "no utterance can be out of context because any new situation has its own context" (Ben Amos 1993:219), it is also true that the meaning of any folkloric performance will be, as Ben Amos (1993:210) himself acknowledges, entirely dependent upon the situation in which it is shared, and to "transfer . . . any folklore text to a different . . . context grants it new meaning" (ibid.). Since this inquiry attempts to learn about the anxieties and concerns of the population under investigation through the stories they share, it behooves the investigator to make this sharing process as reflective of the population's normal story sharing environment as possible in order to draw accurate conclusions concerning these anxieties.
approaches to; and techniques involved in story collecting. The most important of these factors and the one which determines the effectiveness of the others, is the general approach to the fieldwork — the *modus operandi*.

The general *modus operandi* of the fieldwork was the participant observation method pioneered by Malinowski (Burgess 1982b:2). Participant observation requires the fieldworker to become a member of the community under investigation. The investigator works with the informants "in their natural setting" (Burgess 1982b:2), attempting to become a member of the informant's natural communal environment. Despite the claim, made less than twenty years ago, that "few folklorists have even tried to do participant observation fieldwork" (Cothran 1979:448), participant observation is thought by some authorities to provide the best method for data collection (Goldstein 1968:36) and to "be the key to successful fieldwork" (Goldstein 1968:32).

Establishing the role of participant observer in this particular investigation was achieved rapidly, effectively, and fully, first, because of the careful selection of the fieldwork site, which has already been outlined in detail, and second, because of my willingness to lend a hand with any job that instructors were undertaking. I literally became one of the community, eating, sleeping, working, and recreating with the informants. I believe this aspect of

13. A further reason for my rapid acceptance into the community is a reflection of the transience of Outward Bound life. The schools of my experience all have this degree of transience as school personnel is wont to change regularly and often.

14. When instructors were assigned their tasks for the day I simply helped in the performance of these tasks. Such tasks included building additional accommodation facilities, garbage collection, gardening, tent repair and other equipment maintenance, wheelbarrow assembly, a project centered around the recycling of waste aluminum on the institution's grounds, washing-up, laying tables and assisting with meal preparations. I also took a break when instructors broke for lunch, supper or elevenses. I accompanied instructors on recreational jogs, mini-sailing expeditions and participated in pick-up Frisbee, football and soccer games. I shared in their
the fieldwork was achieved most effectively, and allowed for a degree of naturalness to the story collecting process which would otherwise have been absent.

Some precautions must be taken by the researcher who chooses to adopt the role of participant observer. In speaking, previously, of the "detachment" (Jackson 1987:63) necessary for effective fieldwork, reference has already been made to the pitfalls of becoming a fully functional member of the community under investigation. The participant observer must realize that "complete involvement in the community is incompatible with primary [collecting] goals" (Jackson 1987:63). This consideration had specific impact in regard to this particular investigation. Complete involvement with the Outward Bound instructional community would mean conducting an Outward Bound Course as an assistant to an instructor. The very demanding theoretical, physical and philosophical nature of such involvement would certainly be incompatible with the achievements of my primary fieldwork goals. This fact, in conjunction with my belief that instructor-shared, rather than crew-shared, stories would reveal the most germane information, prevented me from 'becoming an instructor' and collecting the stories that may have arisen spontaneously during the conducting of an Outward Bound Course.

video shows and their informal slide-show presentations. I was accommodated for some of the time in a small hut with four other instructors, and for some of the time in a tent in the institution's compound-type grounds. I can, with complete honesty, claim that, for the duration of my fieldwork, I became, for all intents and purposes, an instructor of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School in every aspect but the actual instructing of course students.
STORY COLLECTING PRACTICE: METHODOLOGY.

The spontaneity that was gained through becoming a participant observer within the community of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base provided the springboard for the methods employed in collecting the stories of its instructors. Three methods were employed for collecting these stories over the duration of the fieldwork. As “no recipe can be provided on how to do fieldwork research” (Burgess 1982b:2), this combination of three different methods of investigation had the potential to “yield the widest range of data” (Goldstein 1968:33). Although each method had different repercussions on the usualness of the storytelling environment, care was taken to ensure that the methods employed did not impact too detrimentally on this.

The first method employed in story collecting was the one that maintained most aspects of the community’s normal storytelling environment. Stories were simply recorded as they emerged spontaneously in the natural progression of daily events. The purchase of, and practiced use with, sophisticated and reliable cassette tape recording equipment meant that I was able to ‘wire myself for sound’ and record stories whenever they occurred. Informants were made aware of this procedure at the time of my introduction to the instructional staff by the director of the school, during my first meal at the institution. Since informants were aware of such a procedure, it is safe to assume that the maintenance of the population’s usual storytelling environment was compromised (Wolfson 1976:199-201). If subjects are aware of the presence of a tape recorder,
investigators "do not have the right to assume that the speech forms they [the informants] use are just those which would have been produced by the same speakers if the tape recorder had not been present" (Wolfson 1976:201).

There is some evidence to suggest that the natural interaction of the population under observation will "override the effect of observation" (Wolfson 1976:199 citing Labov 1974:109) to such an extent that "the constraints produced by the subjects' knowledge that they are being observed and recorded" (Wolfson 1976:199) are overcome. Although this has been called a moot point by one authority (Wolfson 1976:199) intuition seem to suggest that it is "reasonable to accept the claim that group interaction will direct attention away from the tape recorder and the observer" (Wolfson 1976:199). Indeed, Wolfson (1976:201) himself produced interview evidence that could be seen as indicating that, as familiarity with the situation grows, participants are gradually more likely to forget about the presence of the recording apparatus. All in all therefore, there is considerable support for the claims that this method of recording the stories of the instructors of the North Carolina Outward Bound School's Florida base came close to maintaining that population's normal storytelling environment.

The second method of story collecting was through interviewing the informants. Outdoor adventure education instructors do not usually share their personal experience stories in an interview situation. There is little doubt, then, that stories collected using such a procedure could be questioned regarding their value to this investigation.
Indeed, Wolfson (1976) is adamant that “unless it is interview speech we wish to study, we cannot expect to obtain valid results from experiments conducted in the form of an interview” (Wolfson 1976:208). Such criticisms may be both inappropriate, and premature. Premature in that certain precautions were taken to minimize the detrimental effects of interview story collecting; and inappropriate in that a story is still a story regardless of the circumstances of its telling. Natural speech should be recognized as “nothing more than speech appropriate to the occasion” (Wolfson 1976:208) or illustrative of the orientation the informant had (Haring 1972:383) at the time of the interview. If a story arises in an interview setting, that story still has significance for the teller even though it may not arise in the same form spontaneously. Such a story would be valid data for this investigation as it still conveys some of the concerns and preoccupations of the teller.

The precautions taken to minimize the detrimental effects of interview story collecting were fairly numerous. In line with Whyte’s (1982) belief that “a genuinely non-directive interviewing approach is not appropriate for research” (Whyte 1982:111) the interviews had the express purpose of

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15. Although Wolfson (1976) states that full-blown conversational narratives rarely occur in the interview situation (Wolfson 1976:192), Mishler (1986) believes otherwise. “Stories are,” Mishler says, “a recurrent and prominent feature of respondents’ accounts in all types of interviews” (Mishler 1986:235). Interview stories arise because at that particular time and in that particular context, they answer the “interviewees primary obligation . . . to answer the questions that are asked” (Mishler 1986:235). Although these stories occur in a “very different context to those that produce the texts that narrative analysts have usually been concerned with” (Mishler 1986:245) they are still genuine stories and can, therefore, be treated as such for the purpose of investigative analysis. Indeed, studies in which interview situations “are wholly artificial . . . [and in which] no attempt was made to capture or induce a natural [storytelling] context” (Haring 1972:393) do occur, thereby attesting to the viability of this procedure.
collecting personal experience stories. However, the compromise to the normal manner in which stories are told, within this particular community, was countered by making the interviews completely voluntary, by holding them at times and places determined by the instructors, and by arranging them only after rapport had been established. Furthermore, a more normal storytelling environment was assimilated during the interviews by simply asking the instructors to share stories they shared spontaneously elsewhere. During occasions when stories were not forthcoming, Labov's (1972:354) "danger of death" question (i.e. "Were you ever in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed, where you said to yourself - 'This is it?'" [Labov 1972:354]) was employed to stimulate continuance. Although this was something of an artificial technique, the precedent for its use was set by a folklorist of considerable renowned.

The final method of collection was through the organization of an "induced natural" (Goldstein 1967a) storytelling session. This session took place on the last evening of my fieldwork stay and was an informal party, thanking the instructors for their understanding, and co-operation. The sophisticated tape recorder, recorded the entire proceedings. Although this process may at first seem extremely artificial and contradictory to the demands of the naturalistic paradigm, the opposite was in fact the case. Such informal get-togethers are a regular feature of Outward Bound life, usually occurring in conjunction with such things as birthdays and end of course celebrations. Such occasions are often the source of a great deal of storytelling. Storytelling was not the raison d'être of the
'thank you' celebration but merely its epiphenomenon. Therefore, this last method of story collecting also managed, as did the other two, to achieve a certain degree of integrity with regard to the demands of naturalistic inquiry.

Other justification for using the induced natural approach may be found in the type of folklore it is expected to generate. Goldstein believes that the creation of an induced natural folklore collecting environment is inappropriate for generating the folklore surrounding highly formal events "such as births, deaths, weddings or ... other rites of passage" (Goldstein 1967a:5); highly informal, incidental or casual events, such as particular situational joke telling or proverb reciting; or events at which the collector "is not a member of the proper age, sex, or status group" (Goldstein 1967a:5). The proposed end-of-fieldwork party was an informal gathering of friends and peers "in which folklore performance or recitation is expected or predictable, but neither scheduled or prescribed" (Goldstein 1967a:5). It will not, therefore, possess the characteristics of the type of folklore that is inappropriate to such a method of folklore collection. Indeed, it - conversely - possesses most of the criteria of the folklore that is, according to Goldstein (1967a), best suited to being collected through the creation of an induced natural environment. The induced natural environment of an end-of-fieldwork story-collecting party seems, therefore, to be an appropriate method for collecting the personal experience stories of the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School.
STORY COLLECTING PRACTICE: TECHNIQUES.

During the entire story collecting process, certain techniques were employed to further maintain the population’s usual storytelling environment. First, technical terms such as personal experience stories and personal experience narratives were purposely eliminated from my vocabulary. “These are etic terms peculiar to the discipline of folklore” (Herrera-Sobek 1985:391 citing Graham 1981). They are more likely to suppress rather than generate the spontaneous telling of personal experience stories among the population under examination. Believing that the term, and — as do Livo and Reitz (1986:5) and Stein and Policastro (1984:113, citing Bremond 1973 and Leonard 1977) the occurrences and concept, respectively, of stories are easily recognizable and “distinguish[able] . . . from non-stories” (Prince 1973:9), I used the expressions ‘stories of Outward Bound Instructors’ to describe the phenomena being collected. This expression succinctly told the instructors what I was seeking, but at the same time allowed them to draw their own conclusions as to what stories might qualify. The expression ‘the folklore of Outward Bound’ was also used in this context. However “people don’t classify their own personal [experience] narratives as folklore” (Mullen 1993 personal communication 22/10/93). Therefore, in this latter case, I had some of my own personal experience stories ready to share as examples.

16. It must be noted that people may not classify their own personal experience narratives as stories and may even get “upset and rather angry” (Jansen 1975:53) when someone tries to do so — “‘that’s no story,’ he exploded; ‘that actually happened’” (ibid.). However, as we have already noted, one authority believes that the expression “telling a story, at least in American standard speech, refers more often to narrating a personal event than anything else” (Babcock 1984:74).
of what I was collecting on those occasions when confusion needed to be clarified.

Second, I never took notes while collecting stories. Context and ethnographic records were kept throughout the fieldwork experience but these were written in the privacy of my own abode during free time. Third, I never requested clarification, inappropriate explanation, or analysis of any story. I felt this would demean the storytelling process and again compromise the spontaneous generation of stories. Such clarification, analysis and explanation often took place naturally as part of the story telling process. When this occurred, these comments were recorded along with the stories to be used in later analysis.

Finally, I became actively, fully, appropriately and reciprocally involved in the storytelling process. I fully immersed myself in listening to and telling personal experience stories. In so doing, I feel I achieved a balance between silence and "too active a role" (Sitton, Mehaffy and Davis 1983:97), either of which would have suppressed the spontaneous generation of that which was being collected.

**STORY COLLECTING PRACTICE: VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY FACTORS.**

The demands of hypothesis-free, naturalistic field-inquiry to collect the material under investigation in the environment in which it usually occurs was, then, achieved in three different ways. First, through appropriate field-site selection, second, through a general 'participant observer' approach to the fieldwork process, and third through the different and varied methods and techniques
involved in actual story collecting. In addition to the steps taken to ensure the usualness of the story collecting environment, certain steps were also taken to maximize the reliability and validity of the data collected.

Five techniques were employed to ensure the reliability and validity of the data collecting process. First, validity was preserved, as Burgess (1982) suggests, through "systematic collection" (1982b:2). Previous informal visits to the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School had ensured me that this establishment met my story collecting needs and "substantiative requirements" (Burgess 1982b:2). Furthermore, systematic collection was achieved through the adoption of a non-"tabula rasa" (Burgess 1982c:16) approach to the data collecting process. I knew exactly what I was attempting to collect throughout the duration of the fieldwork. Second, heeding Toelken's (1969:211) advice, reliability was promoted by collecting data from more than one informant. The personal experience stories of all the available and willing informants were collected and used. Third, Basgöz's reliability call, for "examining at least two different" (Basgöz 1975:161) tellings of the same story, was accommodated by asking, during certain interviews, for a repeat of stories collected spontaneously.

Finally, the advice offered by Becker and Geer (1982:238) for promoting reliability and validity was followed by incorporating two of their ideas into the data collecting process. First, full-bodied descriptive daily ethnographic notes were kept. These substantiated the collecting process and ensured that systematic collection took place. Second,
constant re-analysis and appropriate re-design of the collecting process occurred throughout the duration of the fieldwork. The previous evening’s ethnographic notes were read every morning prior to that day’s story collecting, and any changes they indicated were implemented.

**STORY COLLECTING: SYNOPSIS.**

The naturalistic paradigm has had significant impact on various aspect of current folklore theory, which has had, in turn, considerable impact on the data collecting process involved in this undertaking. A conscientious, and largely successful, effort was made to establish and maintain the usual environment of spontaneous storytelling among the population under investigation. The naturalistic paradigm “fundamentally depends” (Kirk and Miller 1986:9) upon the establishment of such an environment. Strategies were employed which preserved the spontaneous storytelling environment of the investigated population while, at the same time, maintaining the reliability and validity of the data obtained. However, naturalistic methods of inquiry are not the only aspect of folklore theory to impact upon the data collecting process. The actual data collected was heavily influenced by the “text/context controversy” (Zan 1982), an aspect of folklore theory that has been the subject of considerable debate for the last three decades.

**DATA COLLECTING THEORY: THE TEXT/CONTEXT CONTROVERSY.**

The text/context controversy has involved many issues (MacDaniel 1989:2) but has centered mainly around the primacy of what was produced during a particular folkloric occurrence - the text, and “the specific social situation in
which [a] particular item [of folklore] is actually employed” (Dundes 1980c:23) - the context. In the case of personal experience stories the text is the words used in “a single telling of the tale” (Dundes 1980c:23), while the context, on the other hand, is “whatever bears on the event whether it is contiguous or not” (Young 1985:116). Although the text/context debate was ostensibly “concerned [with] the notion of primacy” (MacDaniel 1989:2) it was actually more about the redress of a balance that was badly in need of redress than about issues of primacy.

A call for the consideration of context had been made, as many as sixty years ago, by the “fundamentalists” (Leach 1961:386), including such luminaries as Malinowski and Durkheim (ibid.). This call was largely ignored until resurrected by William Bascom (1965b) in 1954. Up until this time the vast majority of research had centered around the analysis of texts; indeed, there were no contextual analyses until recently (Pellowski 1979:47). Folklorists simply concerned themselves with the traditional focus of folklore — the items or things of folklore — rather than on the event or the doing of folklore (Bauman 1972a:xi). Bascom’s (1965b/1954) exegesis generated “a growing uneasiness” (George 1969:315) and a feeling that the primary objective of research could not continue to be, as it had since the nineteenth century, the collection and study of texts (ibid.).

There are “some weakness in both camps’ positions” (MacDaniel 1989:2). These were outlined in Young’s (1985) “even handed assessment of the controversy” (MacDaniel 1989:2). It has been pointed out that neither context nor
text can ever be fully analyzed anyway. This is because contexts, on the one hand, are a "complex analytical entity and infinite reality (see also Jackson 1987:34) that we can neither observe nor comprehend with our finite minds" (Ben Amos 1993:218); while texts, "no matter how carefully we record [them]" (Ben Amos 1976b:xI), are, on the other hand, "but a pale reproduction of the spoken word, that [leaves] . . . much [information] unprinted" (ibid.).

The net outcome of the debate is that the dissonance has indeed been redressed. Although the controversy is still not fully resolved (Stahl 1989:5, Dégh 1994:244), the predominant outlook of today’s folklorists is that “the text-context debate is a false dichotomy” (Bronner 1983b:77 citing George 1980). As students of behavior, today’s folklorists simply “examine the behavior as well as the results and settings of the behavior” (Bronner 1983b:77) with a realization that “there is a complete integration between text and context” (Ben Amos 1979:52).

Studies in which an “attention to text still takes preceden[ce]” (Wehse 1986:249) do continue to appear (for example Barnes 1984). However, they do so with acknowledgments that they are “running against the grain of

17. Indeed, in light of Jabbour’s comments that “the attention to and respect for the text itself is . . . very typical of folklorists” (Jabbour 1983:238), and of Ben Amos’s (1993 citing Scharfstein 1989) comments alluding to the “potential dangers of absolute individualization of performance situations” (Ben Amos 1993:211), and Linda Dégh’s criticism of the “so-called ‘contextualists’” (Dégh 1994:244) for “disclaiming the validity of comparative text philology” (ibid.), perhaps Limón and Young’s (1986) comments, in reflecting upon the demise of the text/context dilemma, that the notions of the textists were “rather quaint” (Limón and Young 1986:440) are a little premature. Indeed, one folklorist goes as far as to claim that “one of the hallmarks of folklore study in the late twentieth century has been the discovery—or better rediscovery—of the artifact” (Vlach 1988:18).

18. The complete integration between text and context that heralded the solution to the “apparent dichotomy between [the two]” (Ben Amos 1993:211) was first proposed by Paul Ricoeur (1981c) who conceived and named the contextual factors of social action, as text.

177
contemporary scholarship" (Barnes 1984:92) and because occasionally “the gains far outweigh the disadvantages” (Barnes 1979:13). Generally speaking there is a “tendency among professional folklorists to de-emphasize . . . item-centered . . . approaches” (Barnes 79:7) and to recognize that any thorough examination a folklore performance must include an investigation of both the text and the context of that performance.

In regard to the collection of data for this particular investigation, an equal consideration was given to the two concepts of text and context. Generally, the collection of textual data was, initially, quite straightforward; the tape recorder employed, captured the actual words used in a single telling of each personal experience story. On those occasions when this did not occur, the story was written down from memory at my earliest convenience. These memory-driven transcriptions were then submitted to the tellers with a request that they either approve of them as being an accurate record of the telling, or alter them accordingly.

DATA COLLECTING THEORY: TEXT TRANSCRIPTION.

Text transcriptions, the second stage of textual data collecting, was a little more complicated. Indeed, this feature of the collecting process involved an aspect of folklore theory that needs careful explanation. In transcribing the data of any oral folklore, the investigator is faced with a dilemma as an attempt is made to capture “in language, [that which] only exists in the movement of a discourse” (Barthes 1977c:157). 19

19. This is “one aspect of the study of oral traditional materials [that] has been questioned very little, if at all, since the very beginning of narrative scholarship”
The debate in regard to transcribing texts centers around the editing that occurs when representing the spoken words in a written form; or, to use Ricoeur’s term, when preparing a “‘fixation’ of action into written speech” (Riessman 1993:11 citing Packer and Addison 1989). Since “there is no one, true representation of spoken language” (Riessman 1990:13) it is perhaps a little naive to talk in terms of simply recording transcripts verbatim (Titon 1980:283). Indeed, “the mere transcription of the spoken word onto the printed page involves editing” (Titon 1980:288). Since the “decisions about how to transcribe [texts] . . . are theory driven” (Riessman 1990:13 citing Ochs 1979) and can lead to and support different interpretations and ideological positions and “ultimately create different worlds” (ibid.), a choice as seemingly simple as “inserting punctuation . . . can lead to difficult decisions about emphasis and meaning” (Titon 1981:288).

It can be seen then that “transforming talk into written text, precisely because it is a representation, involves selection and reduction” (Riessman 1993:56). Editing will, therefore, occur as a natural epiphenomenon of the very process of transcribing text. Hence, the dilemma facing the transcriber is not one of whether or not to edit, but one of the extent of such unavoidable editorials. The two extremes in transcribing text, on the one hand to simply transcribe everything that was said by a particular informant and on the other hand to knowingly make some editorial alterations to the spoken word, seem to be equally reprehensible.

(Montenohol 1993:160) well over 175 years ago. It was only with the emergence of “performance-oriented scholars [who] specifically addressed the issue of representing performances in print” (Montenohol 1993:165) that this issue came to the fore through such authorities as Dennis Tedlock (1971) and Elizabeth Fine (1984).
In regard to the first of the two alternative to transcribing texts, it should be noted that "no clearer priest-holy text relationship exists in modern academe than that which obtains between the folklorists and the text" (Preston 1982:304). Indeed, modern folklorists insist that texts are treated with a degree of reverence that ensures that "any published text of a tale . . . [is] an exact record of the performance" (Halpert 1984:225) of that tale. However, it must also be remembered that "as soon as real speech is copied down word-for-word and set on the printed page it looks uncouth and comical and is hard to follow" (Bennett 1987a:19). Indeed, such verbatim transcripts can be very demeaning to the people who have supplied, in good faith, the original folkloric material because they appear to be the brunt of such comic and uncouth transcriptions (Bennett 1987a:19).

Additionally, it must also be noted that, while the "desire for accuracy in recording texts is justifiable in spirit . . . it has resulted in what may be serious distortions of text" (Preston 1982:304). Despite there being a "number of schemes [that] people have tried in their efforts to represent on the printed page the actual, observable behavior involved in the performance of an oral narrative" (Stahl 1989:3) the printed page, nevertheless, "inevitably fails to do what the collector-transcriber hope[d] it [w]ould" (Stahl 1989:3). This is because "no text, not even one weighted with intricately coded analytical information" (Stahl 1989:3), can accurately represent every aspect of a folklore performance.20 It may be, then, that the apparent,

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20. In fact one authority feels that attempts to capture fully and accurately the many different aspects of the oral performance of narrative folklore and to represent these in a transcribed form with the numerous added features that are demanded by
but misguided hope, held by folklorists - that writing can
do the same job as speech (Preston 1982:304) - is the cause
of folk censorship and editing rather than the "faulty
attitudes and collecting techniques of the fieldworker"
(Goldstein 1967b:374).21

The second alternative in transcribing texts is to
textualize them. However there are, possibly, more
dangers in adopting this second method than in adopting the
first. The "'homogeniz[ation]'" (Bennett 1987a:20) of
folklore texts - in which "everything individual,
idiosyncratic and intrinsically oral has been taken out, to
leave a bland uniformity that makes it indistinguishable
from literary narrative" (ibid.) - is despised by modern
folklorists, as this in turn devalues the original
performance, and in no way represents its fullness and
intricacy.

There seems to be two ways out of this dilemma. One,
proposed by Montenyohl (1993), is to convey the text as an
integral part of a personal narrative that tells the story
of the entire collecting incident. The other is to
compromise - between the over-full and difficult to
understand methods advocated by Fine (1984) and the
homogenized "re-writing [of] oral material into literary
forms" (Bennett 1987a:21) - and to accompany this compromise
with a full acknowledgment of the extent of any alterations

21. It must be noted that, in attempting to "exact[ly] record . . . a tale performance . . . most published collections fail lamentably" (Halpert 1984:228). Indeed, as
recently as 1984, it was observed that there has been "only one full-length study of
an English-language area that meets nearly all the requirements" (Halpert 1984:227)
of transcribing exactitude.
and an explanation of these alterations in detail. Since most attempts to accurately transcribe exactly what was on the taped recording of an oral performance "fail lamentably" (Halpert and Widdowson 1984:228), I have, following the precedent set by Bennett (1987a), opted for the latter method. Adopting this method will be, as one authority states, to "revert to Richard Dorson's practice of tiding up texts, [while] making absolutely no other alterations" (Bennett 1987a:21).

DATA COLLECTING PRACTICE: TEXT TRANSCRIPTION METHODS.

To preserve the performance of the personal experience stories of the instructors of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School "in as natural a state as possible" (Borland 1990:191) the 'tidying-up' of recorded text will be kept to a minimum. The specific methods advised and adopted by Gillian Bennett (1987a) and Katherine Borland (1990) will be used in the transcription aspect of this study's data collecting process. These include the use of bold print "to show stress, [italics] to show marked change of pitch or loudness, . . . and quotation marks to show when the narrator assumes a 'quoting voice'" (Bennett 1987a:21); three dots to indicate a pause, and the word 'pause' in parentheses to indicate a long pause (Borland 1990:192). "Special voice qualities, gestures or other extraverbal factors [will] be recorded in parentheses . . . [as will] audience respon[c(es)]" (Borland 1990:192). There will be one further tidying-up addition to the text in the transcription methods I will employ. Words that are repeated consecutively more than three times will be printed
once with the number of times they are repeated attached in parentheses after this word’s initial citation.

Immediate understanding of the text was facilitated by inserting — in square brackets for the use of technical jargon and {} brackets for story related references — explanations where required. These explanations were kept to a minimum and were inserted immediately after only the first use of such an expression.

Finally, in creating a transcribed record of the performance of the collected stories, I made only a few adjustments to the (American) English spelling of any spoken words. Dennis Preston (1982) has outlined a fairly elaborate method for altering the spelling of words in order to accommodate dialects and accents. However, as this researcher is English, the differences I detect between what is spoken and how this is spelt would be too numerable to accommodate. I did, however, use the expression ‘cose’ for the spoken word ‘because’ whenever this word was shortened in speech. To use ‘because’ in such situations seems to be inappropriate. For the same reason I used ‘wanna,’ ‘gonna’ and ‘kinda’ etc. for words followed by an unpronounced ‘of’ in the actual telling of the stories.

DATA COLLECTING PRACTICE: CONTEXT COLLECTION.

The collecting of the contextual data for this investigation was a little more complicated than collecting the textual data. First I had to decide upon the factors that constituted contextual data.

The methodical collection of contextual data for later use in analysis is an accepted aspect of modern folkloric
scholarship. The adoption of this philosophy was, after its initial suggestion by Malinowski (1954) in 1925, slow in coming. Today, however, there is a general recognition that "there is no such things as a folktale in isolation" (Grolnick 1986:209) and that it is an error, therefore, to simply record texts (Dundes 1980c:30). Indeed, it has been said that the "continued accumulation of texts without contexts could never advance folklore studies very far" (Brunvand 1979:387).

It is also of interest to note that Malinowski's (1954) original call for an emphasis on this aspect of the folkloric event was fairly comprehensive, for, with only minor modern adjustments, his view of what constitutes contextual data closely reflects the modern concepts of this aspect of folklore. Indeed, if the work of Malinowski's immediate, though long removed, successor, William Bascom (1965/1954:281), is taken into consideration, then most of the currently accepted contextual aspect of a folklore performance, such as setting and background, sociological, social and cultural factors (Malinowski 1954:104) and the who, when and where of the telling (Bascom 1965/1954:281) are accommodated.

There are numerous different aspects of context recognized by modern folklorists. Some, including kinesic (Bell 1977) and cognitive (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1992:2; Hoppál 1980:114), factors have yet to gain universal currency. Other, such as the co-text or linguistic context (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1992:2; Hoppál 1980:114), historical (Pimple 1987:115; Seaburg 1992) generic (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1992:2; Oring 1986d:135), and geographical context (Stone 1986:13) are beginning to attain
some universal acceptance. A further category contains those aspect of context, physical (Goldstein 1968:37), social and individual (Bauman 1983, Oring 1986d:135; Fine E. 1984:13), cultural, and situational (Bauman 1983; Pimple 1987:115; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1992; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1975) that indeed are universally accepted as being a part of any modern folkloric investigation.

In establishing the contextual parameters for this investigation, two cautionary notes were taken into consideration. First, while understanding that "all minute detail [of context] are important [in] provid[ing] the environment for the text" (Hoppal 1980: 114), there is a realization that recording all the contextual factors of any one performance is an impossibility. It is impossible to know, for instance, how my sitting posture or my resemblance to figures in the teller's past, will influence a performance. Second, it must be emphasized that while "contemporary collectors are aware of the need for social context . . . many are not quite sure of how to provide it" (Halpert and Widdowson 1984:227). With these factors in mind, and realizing that I must avoid making this undertaking too unmanageably large, only cultural, social, situational and individual context will feature in this investigation. Cultural and social contextual information will be obtained from personal past experience, and from daily ethnographic notes that will be made during each evening before retiring to bed. Situational context records will be made as close to the time the story is told as is appropriate to continued collection. Individual context will be collected using a specially designed questionnaire.
Of the four contextual factors considered relevant to this particular investigation, only situational and individual factors will be collected during field work. Individual context will initially be collected through the administration of a questionnaire. This will be given out to each informant to be filled in at their convenience during my data collecting stay at the school. The purpose of this questionnaire will be to simply discover the background of the individual storytellers. Such general factors as age, marital status, ethnic and religious background, as well as more specific information concerning outdoor adventure education training, employment and interests will be addressed. The information gleaned about each informant during spontaneous conversations and interview questions will add to the information obtained from the questionnaire.

The situational context will be collected using a twofold process. First, using a convenient sized, unobtrusive notebook, the general situation surrounding the storytelling event will be noted down as soon after the event as is possible. If convenience allows, this will be done while I am in the actual story telling situation as this will help to capture the event in greater detail. It will, however, not be done while stories are actually being told, as this has the potential to inhibit rather than encourage the continued telling of stories. The second phase of this process will be performed in the privacy of my fieldwork accommodation during the evenings or at other periods of downtime. I will fill out a questionnaire concerning the situational factors of each storytelling event using the on-sight notes as guidance. Factors addressed in this record
are such aspects of the storytelling event as date, time and geographical situation, audience and performer notes, and story prompt and other contextual surroundings.

**DATA COLLECTING PRACTICE: TEXTURE COLLECTION.**

The final aspect of story performance that will be collected during fieldwork will be the story texture (Dundes 1980c). The texture of a folklore event is, according to Alan Dundes, the "language . . . employed" (Dundes 1980c:22) during the performance of that event. Dundes cites such linguistic features as "rhythm and alliteration. . . . stress, pitch, juncture, tone, and onomatopoeia" (Dundes 1980c:22) as making up the textural features of a performance. Toelken "expand[s] this somewhat and describe[s] texture as any coloration given a traditional item" (Toelken 1976:157 his emphasis). Dorson (1972b) adds that texture includes "physical dimensions. . . . [such as] facial expressions, [and] hand gestures, [as well as] intonations, and inflections" (Dorson 1972f:102). The texture of personal experience stories, then, may be viewed as the nuances of delivery, the whole surrounding additions that the tellers make to the "verbatim report" (Gwyndaf 1985:217) of what occurred. This aspect of personal experience story performance will be collected in the same way that situational context is collected. Such factors as performer animation, demeanor and emphasis will be recorded.

22. Technically, textural features of any performance would include what Ray Birdwhistell (cited in Bell 1977) terms kinesics of performance, those "body movement and gesture" (Bell 1977:18) aspects of communication. However, the accurate collection of this data is extremely difficult for a participant observer without the aid of video tape recording equipment that can produce evidence that may be analyzed in detail at a later date way from the fieldwork/participant observer environment. It may also be that the skill of analyzing this type of communication is a technique that I do not possess. Therefore, the kinesic aspect of performance texture will not be collected unless it has immediate and very obvious impact.
There will be, then, a three-fold emphasis to data collection. There will be a textual emphasis in which the actual words spoken during a performance are recorded and transcribed; there will be a contextual emphasis in which individual and situational surrounds of a telling will be recorded; and there will be a textural emphasis in which the special verbal and non-verbal aspects of performance will be recorded.

CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Having dealt with the first of Brunvand's (1968; 1976; 1981) three stages of folklore inquiry, the collection stage, in some detail, his second and third stages, classification and analysis, must now be addressed. The absence of a hypothesis, determined by the naturalistic paradigm aspect of folkloric theory, plays a central part in the classification and analysis aspects of this investigation.

Burgess (1982) suggests that "collecting and interpreting [folklore] data take place simultaneously" (Burgess 1982c:15). In addition, Georges (1969) states that there is "considerable disagreement concerning the most profitable way to examine [folklore] data" (Georges 1969:314). Indeed, Linda Dégéh (1985a) says that "there is no way to classify" (Dégéh 1985a:240) personal experience stories. Perhaps then, as with fieldwork, there is no 'best way' for classifying and analyzing folkloric data.

As no preconceived hypothesis determined the direction of classification and analysis in this investigation, the actual storytelling events themselves provided an indication of the best way for their own analysis and classification.
This direction was initially provided, somewhat informally, as Burgess (1982c:15) suggests, during the collection phase. Daily recorded ethnographic notes (see earlier remarks) indicated possible avenues for further investigation and subsequent analysis. During a later, more formal, stage of classifying and analyzing the stories, they were themselves, as Cosbey suggests, allowed to "gain [their own] central purpose" (Cosbey 1981:50). They were, contradictory to Burgess's (1982e:236) ideas, almost literally allowed to speak for themselves as I listened to their taped recordings, and read the notes on the circumstances of their telling, over and over again. During this stage equal time and attention was devoted, as is mandated by modern contextual aspects of folklore theory, to both the text and the context features of the storytelling event. The direction of classification and analysis was, then, "perceived through [the] careful examination of [the] data" (E. Fine 1984:7) and was not the result of the demands provided by a preconceived hypothesis.

**CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS: A LISTENER'S PERSPECTIVE.**

In allowing the data, during analysis and in the absence of a hypothesis, to speak for itself, a listener's perspective is inevitable. Such an outlook may bring into question the validity of any conclusions. Why, for instance, were comments on the stories from the informants themselves not

23. It has been said that because "narratives are interpretive and, in turn, require interpretation, they do not speak for themselves" (Riessman 1993:22). Conversely it has also been said that a story "in the telling . . . is . . . self-sufficient and self-contained" (Titon 1981:291). These two ideas seem to be incompatible. However since the authority espousing the first idea also believes - conversely - that by "spend[ing] considerable time scrutinizing the rough drafts of transcriptions . . . a focus for analysis often emerges or becomes clearer" (Riessman 1980:57), I shall accept the validity of adopting such an approach to the analysis of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors while at the same time acknowledging the controversial nature of such an approach.
collected and analyzed? However, there is some justification for this approach.

First, from a philosophical point of view, the collector/analyzer is the context. Not only does the field worker "become part of [the context]" (Jackson 1987:16), but the very presence of such an "observer has some effect on the phenomena under scrutiny" (Toelken 1979:51). Indeed, "everything about the fieldworker influences the information collected" (Jackson 1987:16). The fieldworker decides what questions to ask, what to record, what directions to pursue, who to interview and what to measure (Jackson 1987:294). However, when the collector becomes the analyzer, the same argument holds true. Any analysis "will, to some extent reflect the personality of the folklorist" (Toelken 1976:166). The analyzer decides upon the questions asked of the data, and the directions of analysis. In fully accepting these facts, I am, as Jackson (1987:9) suggests, simply accepting the reality of the situation, and acknowledging completely my own unavoidable influence on the collecting and analyzing processes.

Furthermore, in adopting a laissez faire approach to everything but the storytelling events, I am attesting to the power of the stories themselves. It is the stories that provide the basis for examination, not comments on the stories. The stories will be allowed to direct their own analysis, by accepting as genuine the messages they convey to the investigator. Any approach other than this would be to deny the power of the stories, and be more akin to survey
research, in which the informants not only supply the data, but also its interpretation.

The investigator's expertise lends additional validity to the method adopted for story analysis. I possess a wealth of general outdoor adventure education experience. However, I have suitable "experience-distance" (Stahl 1989:7, her emphasis) from the situation at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School never having worked at this particular establishment.²⁴ Therefore, I am able to bring to the analysis situation a balanced insider/outside perspective from which to analyze the data. Indeed, the unique emic or insider's and etic or outsider's (Stahl 1989:7 citing Geertz 1976; Dundes 1962) perspective from which I view the data gives considerable credibility to that viewing.

Justification for adopting a listener's perspective is further gained through the precedent set in recent works on personal experience narratives. Bennett states that because personal experience stories "are told between friends and friendly acquaintances . . . the hearer adopts an equal interpretive role with the teller" (1985b:67). Stahl goes even further for she believes that "significant meaning [of personal experience narratives] . . . is present and discoverable within the minds of those who receive [them]" (Stahl 1989:6). Indeed, the whole of her "literary

²⁴. My experience nearness to this particular topic probably outweighs my experience distance quite considerably. Philosophically, I have very few reservations concerning the power and effectiveness of Outdoor Adventure Education in generating positive changes in its participants. Further consideration of the personal agendas resulting from this experience nearness will be considered in greater detail in the next chapter.
folkloristic" (Stahl 1989) theory is based on analyzing folklore from a listener’s perspective.

The justification, then, for my adopting a listener’s perspective for classifying and analyzing the stories is profound. First, I was an integral part of the environment of their telling; second, the stories themselves have a power to indicate interpretation; third, I have the necessary balance of experience — near and distant — to perform such an examination; and last, such an examination is now a recognized technique of modern folkloric inquiry. The second effect of hypothesis-free investigation on this examination is, then, suitably accommodated. The naturalness of data classification and analysis has been adequately achieved within the confines of reliability and validity.

CLASSIFYING AND ANALYZING THE STORIES: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The classification and analysis of folklore can involve many different approaches and techniques (Brunvand 1968:10; Dorson 1972a 7-47). Authorities agree that numerous academic disciplines are involved in folklore classification and analysis (Brunvand 1979b:425; Abraham 1963:392; Ben Amos 1993:209). Although this may give the impression that the "general theoretical tools [of folklore] are weak" (Handoo 1985:380), I believe, as does Alan Dundes, that such eclecticism is a healthy sign that "attests to the inherent value" (Dundes 1968a:41) of folkloric research. I further believe that all the different approaches may be classified under as few as three separate categories. These are: the typological approach in which folklore is analyzed in order to define it and/or classify it as a particular example of a
particular type of folklore; the source-transmission approach in which folklore is analyzed in order to discover its original source and/or manner of its transmission from one site to another; and the functional-semiotic-application approach in which folklore is analyzed to discover how, and why it is used in social situations and the functions that it serves therein, perhaps in an effort to decide how it conveys — or can be used to convey — meaning, identity and advice.

It is said that "no single approach [to folklore] needs to be championed as the 'way'" (Toelken 1979:10) and that no individual "perspective [is] completely satisfactory or adequate" (George 1969:316). However, I believe that the method best suited to investigating the concerns and anxieties of any population through its folklore is one that examines purposes and function (Brunvand 1968:16). In examining "the role played by folklore" (Dorson 1972a:20) and in divining a particular item's purpose in regard to its "uses" (Abrahams 1979:398), an investigator should be able to obtain particularly pertinent and insightful access into the significant concerns and anxieties of the users of that

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25. Under this category I have included both the structural approach and performance approach to folklore. The structural approach attempts to indicate that folklore conforms to certain structural characteristics, and as such may be considered to be defining folklore in terms of its structure. It may therefore be classified as a definitional approach to folklore. The performance approach to folklore analyzes folklore from a process rather than from a product perspective. It attempts to indicate the markers that delineate the enactment of folklore from other communicative events. As this approach to folklore attempts to define folklore in terms of the cultural markers that separate folklore from its surrounds, it may again, with some reservations, be classified as a definitional approach to folklore.

26. I have attempted to indicate a common thread to folklore research by linking together the many disparate approaches to folklore. This helps to justify the approach I shall take in this study which examines certain components of the last outlined approach in regard to the particular folklore under examination, the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors. This is something of a radical move in regard to the different approaches to folklore and therefore has little support from current scholarship. It is to be hoped that the simplification necessary to indicate these common threads does not stretch to trivialization and avoids over simplifying a complex situation.
folklore. Therefore, this is the approach that I will employ throughout the course of the classification and analysis stage of this investigation.

There is certain validity in adopting a “generic approach” (Toelken 1979:152) to conducting folkloric research. It helps the researcher to avoid the pitfalls of “ideational restrictions” (Toelken 1979:152). I have, therefore, modified the functional-semiotic concept in investigating the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors to facilitate such avoidance. I will examine the function (Brunvand 1968:16) of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors by examining the reasons why the stories are told. From this information I will draw some conclusions regarding the purposes these stories serve. This approach will, I believe, provide the greatest insight into the concerns and anxieties of the tellers of and listeners to this folklore. The validity for such an approach to stories and storytelling is demonstrated by the fact that Georges (1969) believes that the reasons why a story is told, “its social uses” (Georges 1969:327) can be used to “reveal a great deal about the possible social functions of storytelling events” (ibid.).

The initial focus on examining why personal experience stories are told by outdoor adventure education instructors, ensures, once again, that an equal consideration is given to both the contextual and the textual features involved in the performance. The reason a particular story (text) is told is entirely dependent upon the circumstances (context) that generate the telling.
The study of personal experience stories can, according to Stahl "be marshaled into as few as three relatively distinct analytic emphases" (Stahl 1985:145). These are a generic emphasis, in which the "features of style, content, form, and function" (Stahl 1989:6) are analyzed; a thematic emphasis in which "literary themes [are abstracted] from narrative[s]" (Stahl 1989:24); and a semiotic emphasis in which "rules of presentation, textual patterns, plot structure, and semantic patterns" (Stahl 1989:14) are analyzed. Honko goes as far as to promote only one aim of analysis, that of "discovering the rules of reproduction . . . [and] variability" (Honko 1980:25).

This particular study will attempt to discover something of the rules governing the reproduction of the particular items under investigation. This will be accomplished by analyzing the reasons these items are shared among the community. This investigation also involves a functional analysis as the functions of personal experience stories cannot be entirely separated from the reasons they are told. Finally, the study will contain a semiotic perspective. The reasons outdoor adventure education instructors tell personal experience stories gives an indication of their major concerns, values and preoccupations. The ideas therefore of both Honko (1980) and of Stahl (1989) will, to some extent, be accommodated by this particular investigation.

CLASSIFYING AND ANALYZING THE STORIES: PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

It had already been noted that numerous academic disciplines have been utilized in examining folklore. Folklorists "recognize . . . that their work is interdisciplinary" (MacDaniel 1989:5). Indeed, "order potentially exists in
the chaos [of analyzing folklore data] through eclecticism" (Abrahams 1979:392). By "using many different points of view" (Abrahams 1979:392), light can be cast on folklore. Academic disciplines involved in folklore research include sociology, linguistics, psychology, anthropology and economics (Abrahams 1979:391), rhetoric, history and sociolinguistics (Brunvand 1979b:421; 1976:27); philosophy (Ben Amos 1993:209) and even "comparative literature, . . . comparative religion" (Pentikäinen 1978:235) and "post colonial studies" (Richie 1993:365).

This particular investigation will utilize some information from the field of psychology, particularly the work of C. J. Jung (1933, 1964) and his supporters, on archetypes and symbolism. Apart from the use of this discipline, the stories will mainly be analyzed through the intuitions and feelings of the investigator. The justification for such an approach has already been outlined.

Thirty years ago Alan Dundes (1980c) outlined "three analytical domains that concern the folklorists" (Stahl 1989:2). These domains are the text, context and texture (Dundes 1980c) of performance. Since that time there has only been one significant addition to this tripartite. Today, there is some agreement that there are "four basic . . . approaches which are most important in studying the personal narrative" (Gwyndaf 1985:217, see also Hoppál 1980; Voigt 1980). This four-part analytical breakdown (Hoppál 1980:107) includes the analysis of text, context, texture, and repertoire. All are of some importance in seeing personal experience stories as "reflective of the narrators personality and character, of his place and role in society
and of his beliefs and attitude and world view" (Gwyndaf 1985:217). All these aspects will be considered in analyzing the personal experience stories of the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School.

First, the telling context will be the main focus of analysis as an attempt is made, through the examination of contextual field notes, to understand the initial, or conscious personal reasons for the telling of a particular personal experience story. Second, texture factors, along with relevant textual information, will be considered in an effort to discover the initial or conscious communal or interpersonal purposes served by the stories. Field notes made on each individual storyteller will be used to determine if the teller is teaching, entertaining, or admonishing etc. the listeners. Third, the text will be the center of focus as the incidents contained within the stories and - occasionally - the language used for their retelling will be analyzed to determine the subsequent or unconscious personal reasons for their existence. Finally, the common symbolic, proverbial and structural elements of the stories will be analyzed in light of certain cultural contexts of outdoor adventure education instructing so that conclusions can be drawn regarding the highly significant, subsequent or unconscious communal or interpersonal reasons for the sharing of these stories. At this stage of the investigation, the main focus of analysis will be the whole collection of stories, the repertoire of the community, as an effort is made to understand the concerns, values,
preoccupations, and world view of the tellers. The main evidence throughout the investigation will be the taped recordings of the stories themselves, their edited, but almost verbatim, transcripts, and various ethnographic, contextual and textural notes taken at the times of the stories tellings.

CHAPTER SUMMARY.

In examining why instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell personal experience stories, I am attempting to discover the concerns, attitudes, values, and world view of the tellers. As much as was possible the stories were collected, classified and analyzed in as natural a manner as was conducive to the maintenance of validity and reliability. This was done in order to meet the demands of the naturalistic inquiry/hypothesis-free paradigm. Folklore theory demanded that both the context and text were analyzed, and narrative analysis theory added the aspects of texture and repertoire. Therefore, while attempting to maintain a natural analyzing environment in which 'the stories were allowed to speak for

27. It should be understood that, among folklorists, the term repertoire may “have no precise meaning and [may be] used habitually and uncritically . . . [and] too unprecisely or ambiguously be appropriate or meaningful” (Georges 1994:322). However, despite the need, for folklorists to “analyze more carefully and systematically . . . what [they] mean by and how [they] use words such as repertoire” (Georges 1994:322), most folklorists see “no reason to be concerned with . . . when, how and why folklorists use this word” (Georges 1994:320), simply “conceptualizing repertoire as being fundamentally quantitative in nature” (ibid.). In this particular investigation some consideration will be given to the common themes that seem to be addressed by the body of personal experience stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors, under the assumption that this totality of vernacular production can be referred to as the population under investigation’s repertoire.

28. In transcribing the stories from the taped recordings, I have attempted to remain “true to my informants and their words” (MacDaniel 1989:17). I realize that general folklore theory insists that “transmissions should be made letter perfect from the recording” (Brunvand 1976:98), however, I also realize that “there is no single method of recapturing or displaying the wealth of detail associated with even the simplest of folk . . . practices” (Smith and Stannard 1989:Preface). This aspect of the investigation has been dealt with in considerable detail earlier.
themselves' they will be examined by first, analyzing the initial contextual reasons for their telling; second, determining the textural and the textual reasons for their telling; third, explaining the storied incident reasons for their telling and fourth analyzing the proverbial, symbolic and structural reasons for their telling. Finally all these factors will be brought together, along with the overall personal experience story repertoire of the community, and conclusions will be drawn regarding the major concerns, preoccupations and values of the population under examination.
CHAPTER 4.

CLASSIFYING AND ANALYZING THE DATA.

FIELDWORK AND DATA COLLECTION SYNOPSIS.

In collecting data for this investigation, I spent ten days at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School on the seaward tip of Everglades City in South-West Florida. During this time my principal objective was to listen to and record the stories told by the community of outdoor adventure education instructors employed at this institution. Adopting a participant observer approach to this story collecting fieldwork, I became, for all intents and purposes, an off-duty instructor at the school. During this time, just after Christmas, there were no students enrolled at the school, and instructor-time was mainly spent in performing maintenance tasks around the base. This meant that I was able to fully immerse myself in the process of becoming a co-worker in this community of outdoor adventure education instructors. I simply lent a hand, as if I was one of the instructors, in the performance of the maintenance tasks that were assigned to the instructors during this instructional downtime.¹

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¹ This was something that served my participant observer purposes well. Minimum disturbance resulted in this situation. This would undoubtedly not have been the case had I attempted to become a participant observer as an assistant instructor on an actual Outward Bound course.
In addition to the ten days I spent at the base, I also spent two days, one overnight camp, on one of the remote Florida Keys visiting someone who, I had been informed, was an ‘honorary’ Outward Bound instructor. This retired gentleman was something of a modern hermit who spent much of his time permanently encamped on this particular remote island.

The fieldwork undertaken at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School provided me with 258 stories which were used for analysis, and 58 narratives “composed of [those] quite brief, bare and banal utterances” (Smith 1981:232) which have variously been referred to as “minimal” (Labov 1972:360); “skeletal” (Jansen 1975:54; Labov 1972:361; Wachs 1988:16); “bare-boned” (Grinder 1982:13); “abbreviated” (Stahl 1985:146); or “kernel” (Kalcik 1975:3; Smith 1984) stories, which were not used for analysis.  

Nineteen instructors were involved in the storytelling process. Two of these instructors were not interviewed in order to access their stories as they were away from the base when interviews took place. Three of the instructors provided interview stories only as they were never heard to share their stories in a spontaneous conversational setting.

Converting verbal data from an electronically taped to a transcribed recording is always one of the first steps in classifying and analyzing any verbal folklore. It is also one of the steps that causes most contention. The recognized folkloric practice (Ellis 1987; E. Fine 1984; Halpert and Widdowson 1984) is to “report and record information and performance exactly as it happened” (Bartis

2. See Chapter III for a full explanation of the reasons for this choice.
1986:9). However, it is also a recognized folkloric maxim that “no two people will transcribe a passage in exactly the same way” (Ives 1974:106). Most investigators realize that taped recordings of storytelling events are the primary source of documentation, while the transcripts of those recordings are merely secondary sources of documentation (Ives 1974:97). In transcribing the narratives they have collected, therefore, investigators do “take some license to facilitate understanding” (Sutton 1983:81).

Understanding is not the only topic at issue when a whole population contributes to the data collected. Not everyone, including - on their own admission - some of my informants, “possesses the specific skills of a narrator” (Dégh and Vázsonyi 1975:247). To make a verbatim recording of my less talented informants would be to demean their storytelling contributions (see also Bennett 1987a:19). My transcripts are, therefore, slightly less than verbatim; I have, however, attempted to capture the essence of my informants' narratives.

3. A greater crime than editorializing texts is the failure to explain editorial methods (Halpert 1984:228). The changes I made in transcribing my data from a tape recorded to a written form were both simplistic and minimal. First, although no words were ever added to the transcripts, repeated words were only recorded as if they had been used for a maximum of three times. Any word that was used in excess of three times was recorded once, and the number of repeats was recorded in parenthesis after this initial use of the word. Second, accented differences except in the case of ‘cose’ for ‘because’ and ‘wanna,’ ‘gonna,’ and ‘kinda’ for ‘want to,’ ‘going to’ and ‘kind of’ etc., were ignored. Dropped aitches, dees and tees were treated as if they had been there, while added ones were not included. Third, ellipses were used to indicate pauses, and punctuation was included, as was felt to be appropriately in tune with the story’s telling, to facilitate and promote understanding. Fourth, words that were emphasized in the telling of the stories were made bold in the transcripts. Fifth, changes in story delivery, such as loud or soft passages or those spoken in an obvious quoting mode were so indicated by stating the change, in brackets, after the changed words, which were themselves italicized. Last, nonverbal content such as laughter was indicated by including the type of interaction in parentheses at the points at which they occurred. (See Chapter 3 for other transcription details.)
STORY CLASSIFICATION.

During the re-reading and transcribing phase of the investigation, the initial stages of classifying the stories began to take shape. Initially, the stories were separated into two categories depending upon whether the stories were told in the interview situation or in a non-interview situation. Interview stories were given the initials 'IS' (for interview stories) as a coding prefix while non-interview stories were given the initials 'SS' (for spontaneous stories) as a coding prefix. In order to further facilitate ease of analysis, each story was numbered in conjunction with the chronological order of its telling in regard to the entire collection of stories recorded. The interview story I heard, recorded, and, therefore, transcribed first was 'IS.1', while 'SS.15' would be the fifteenth spontaneous story I encountered during my fieldwork.

Each storyteller was also given a coded letter or series of letters. This was again done to ease the analyzing process. The first, first two, or even first three letters of their first name was used to identify each individual raconteur. Finally, the stories of each raconteur were numbered in accordance with that story's chronological appearance within that raconteur's repertoire. Hence, story number 'IS.19/Gr.1' is the nineteenth story I recorded in an interview setting, but the first story told by Grant in such a setting.

Two other procedures were employed in order to facilitate ease of analysis. First, each story was named. The name of each story was usually taken from the actual words used by
the storyteller in telling the story. The phrase chosen, as a title for the story, was seen - by the investigator - to be indicative of the crux of the story. This title often involved a quoted word or phrase used by a character in the story. Alternatively, a very short phrase summing up the story was used to give the story its title. Hence story 'IS.110/Doc.4' "Spiny Norman" was the one hundred and tenth interview story I encountered, which was Doc's fourth story, and was about an unofficial canine outward bounder who became an honorary crew member after attaching itself to a particular crew, and being given, by the crew, the pseudonym Spiny Norman in honor of the famous Monty Python character of the same name. On the other hand story IS.20/Gr.2 "I've Got a Bullet Up My Nose" was Grant's second interview story, the twentieth in total, about a young student who used this phrase to inform his instructors of a potentially explosive situation.

The final procedure implemented to facilitate analysis was, it must be emphasized, employed purely for the sake of story analysis. Multi-episodic stories were broken down into single incident chunks. The story, told by Liza (IS.1-4/L.1-4) of a single caving trip, or Mark (IS.99-104/Mr.6-11) of a single canoe journey and Jeff's Bolivian Rescue (IS.72-5/J.5-8) were all treated in this way. The place where one incident ended and another began was chosen after considering such aspects of story and storytelling as closing and opening statements, pauses, and re-focusings, and also by asking the question of the data: could this narrated incident stand on its own as an independent story.
DATA ANALYSIS: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

In transcribing the stories in the manner outlined above, the stories were read and re-read on numerous different occasions. It was during this stage of the investigation that story analysis began to occur in earnest; particularly in regard to the common contextual settings; textual occurrences, characters and elements; and audience response generating characteristics contained within the stories and their tellings.

The actual analysis, however, involved more than just the reading, re-reading and transcribing of the story text. The whole record of all the individual stories was examined in this analysis process as an effort was made to let the stories speak for themselves. Performance notes, ethnographic notes and contextual notes were all taken into account in analyzing the data under consideration - the personal experience stories told by the outdoor adventure education instructors employed at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School.

In analyzing the data collected I recognized that:

> whenever we start to cut back, peel off, strip away, lay bare, and so forth, we always do so in accord with certain assumptions and purposes which, in turn, create hierarchies of relevance and centrality; . . . that [means] we will distinguish certain elements and relations as being central or peripheral, more important or less important, and more basic or less basic (Smith 1981:221).

I further realized that this means I could not avoid bringing my own agenda to the analysis process. However, I do believe, perhaps because of my foreknowledge of the difficulties involved, that, in analyzing the personal experience stories told by the outdoor adventure education instructors employed at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, a genuine effort was indeed
made to allow the stories to speak for themselves, to gain their own central purpose and to determine their own analysis agenda.

It should be pointed out, however, in regard to the endeavor to allow the stories to speak for themselves, that this degree of objectivity was neither possible nor - perhaps - entirely desirable, in these circumstances. The researcher is very conversant with the life-style and educational philosophies and methodologies of Outdoor Adventure Education. While he is not in complete agreement with all of the philosophical and methodological underpinnings of the profession, certain aspects of Outdoor Adventure Education engender the researchers wholehearted support. It is, in fact, this degree of expertise, balanced with a some skepticism in regard to certain Outdoor Adventure Education practices, that give the researcher such a valuable insider/outsider perspective in regard to this particular investigation.

One of the researcher's hidden agendas, which was not hidden particularly successfully, concerned the spiritual aspects of Outdoor Adventure Education. I believe there is a spiritual dimension to this form of education that is often missing from other pedagogical practices. Outdoor Adventure Education instructors are fortunate in that they are able to experience sights and sounds - such as sunrises, sunsets, and natures 'quietness' - that may be termed truly awe inspiring. Indeed such experiences may be so impactful and
inspire such degrees of awe that it is difficult to devoid them from some type of spiritual connection.

This spiritual dimension was an agenda of the researcher to the extent that, on two or three occasions, a request was made, in interview settings, for spiritual stories when spontaneous storytelling began to wane. I may, therefore, have seen evidence of the spiritual aspects of Outdoor Adventure Education where other researchers would see no such evidence. However, what probably occurred in such situations is that a more powerful mandate for the spiritual dimension of Outdoor Adventure Education was generated where probably a less powerful mandate existed. I make no apologies for this degree of subjectivity. This spiritual side to my personal agenda, in regard to this research, is part of that which gives this undertaking its valuable insiders perspective.

DATA ANALYSIS: PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

All the stories told by the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School were classified according to their type. In determining story classification, the question asked was: What is this story about in very general terms. To put this question another way was to ask what type of incident was related in the story.

There were only five different types of stories told by Outward Bound instructors in an instructional setting at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School.

4. See the work of Rudolph Otto (1958) and Mircea Eliade (1959) for a more comprehensive explanation of 'special places' or "sacred space" (Eliade 1959) in the generation the awe that is a direct reflection of a spiritual occurrence.
These were Outward Bound course stories; Outward Bound life stories, which narrated incidents that occurred because of some unique aspect of living at an Outward Bound school; outdoor adventure activity stories; family experience stories; and stories relating everyday incidents of the recent and not so recent past.

In analyzing the stories, the principal question asked of the data collected was: "Why were the stories told?" This question was asked in a number of different ways, at a number of different levels. Each level addressed a progressively more intimate reason for the telling of each story. Four of these progressively more intimate reasons were examined in order to explain the existence of the personal experience stories of the population under investigation.

First, the immediate contextual stimulations for a story's telling were analyzed. The external and internal sensory factors involved in the sharing of the story, were grist for this examination mill. External factors such as sight, sound, touch, or conversation were considered, as were superficially internal factors such as curiosity, confusion, and 'memory-jog.' The instructors at the Outward Bound School in Florida often responded to sensory stimulations by telling a story. They initially shared these narratives as a reaction to the promptings provide by that particular set of environmental circumstance. These initial reasons for a story's telling lie at the purely personal and external or conscious level. They are simply the response to an external stimulus. I have chosen to refer to these initial or superficial personal reasons for the existence of a
personal experience narrative as the **Immediate Reasons** for that story's telling.

Second, the text of a narrative and the texture of each telling was examined to determine the next level of reasons for a story's existence. The question asked at this level of examination was: 'What audience impact was the teller hoping to effect, in telling a particular personal experience narrative?' Was the teller teaching, instructing, informing, entertaining, or admonishing the audience? Was the teller establishing a personality for the audience and letting the audience know different sides to that personality? Was the teller expressing personal views and values which the audience were expected to either confirm or disconfirm? Was the teller attempting to seek the audience's help in making sense of (Abraham 1985:39 and 41; Allen 1989:240; Kirkwood 1983:58-9; Livo and Reitz 1985:5; Tappan and Brown 1989:185), or solving the problems caused by (Stein and Policastro 1984:119) an experience?

This reason for a story's existence has been referred to as the **Intermediate Reason** for that story's telling. It is the teller's external, initial or conscious interpersonal - in that the teller is concerned with the audience's immediate reaction to the narrative - reasons for sharing a particular Story.

The next level of investigation again involved the text, and was an attempt to determine the reasons the story was told from the teller's internal or intimate perspective. All story tellers have certain personal, deeply unconscious, reasons for sharing narratives. These, often suppressed, personal agenda reasons for the telling of a story were
ignored. This is because there is no way to examine these reason and still let the story and its telling speak for itself. At the same time it is acknowledged that tellers of stories have a “desire to be the center of attention” (Dresser 1994:237), a need to be noticed, a need for aggrandizement (Abraham 1985:43), personal gratification, and status elevation (Dégh 1985a:239) and opportunities to boast (Nowlin 1929:1). It is also recognized that some tellers may have a competitive urge to top the previous narrative, or simply have a yearning for continued communication. Such reasons involve the, often profoundly submerged, personal motivations of the teller and are usually unrelated to the content of the narrative. No attempt will be made, therefore, to ascertain these reasons the teller tells a particular story.

Certain of the unconscious, or - perhaps more accurately - sub-conscious, reasons a teller tells a particular personal experience story can be determined by analyzing the text. This is especially so in regard to the nature of the actual incident storied in the text and the language use to narrate those incidents. It is these text-determined subconscious reasons for a story’s existence that will be examined at this level of inquiry. The question asked at this level is: What were the reasons, from the teller’s own internal perspective, for the telling of a particular personal experience story? Because these reasons were internal to the teller, they have been referred to as the Intermediate Reason for the telling of a particular personal experience story. In this phase of the investigation, the incidents narrated and the language used for their narration were examined in order to identify common themes. Conclusions
were then drawn about the teller's subsequent, internal or unconscious personal reasons for choosing to share a narrative about such an incident.

The final level of examination concerns the entire corpus of stories shared by the population under investigation. The repertoire of each story teller will be considered in order to determine the common character, scene, and occurrence elements of all the stories. These common elements will then be examined in light of particular proverbial, folkloric and symbolic aspects of instructional culture.

This aspect of the investigation is undertaken in order to discover the unconscious messages that the teller wishes to convey to the listener. This is the subsequent internal or unconscious, interpersonal level of inquiry. It is internal in that these reasons for a story's telling are often hidden from the consciousness of the teller. It is interpersonal because the teller's major concerns are for the audience rather than for the self; and it is subsequent because the messages are not aimed at an immediate response - as is the case with Intermediate Reason - but at producing a long term change, where necessary, in the listener's behavior. I believe that these messages provide us with the ultimate reasons for the telling of a particular personal experience story. I have, therefore, referred to these motivations for the existence of a narrative as the Ultramediate Reasons for that story's telling.

After examining the Immediate; the Intermediate; the Intramediate; and the Ultramediate Reasons why outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the
North Carolina Outward Bound School tell personal experience stories; conclusions will be then be drawn regarding the common concerns of this population as indicated by and expressed through these stories.
CHAPTER 5.

IMMEDIATE REASONS FOR STORY SHARING.

In order to examine the reasons why any story is told, we have to peel back the onion skin layers of that story's raison d'être at the particular time of that story's telling. The first reason exposed, as we peel back the outer onion skin layer of the story's existence, is the Immediate Reason for the story's telling at the particular time it is told.

The Immediate Reason for telling any story is discovered by examining the immediate contingencies that precede the telling of that story. In the particular case of this research, I believe that there are two Immediate Reasons why outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell personal experience stories. These reasons were: to help the research project and to answer a particular setting prompt.

1ST IMMEDIATE REASON: HELPING THE RESEARCH.

The first Immediate Reason that personal experience stories were told by instructors at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, during my fieldwork stay at this school, was as a response to my presence as a researcher into this phenomena at this institution. Most,
if not indeed all, of the instructors at the school were helpful in their provision of story data for my research project. The instructors wanted to help me collect as much data as I was able to collect in the time I was to spend at the school. I have termed this reason for a story’s telling the Helping the Research reason. Within this category, I believe there are three sub categories of the types of stories that were told to help me in collecting data for my research.

**SEMI-SPONTANEOUS HELPING THE RESEARCH STORIES.**

The first sub category of stories told to help the research project consisted of those stories that were told in order to clarify my research objectives. These stories were generally told on either the first or second day of my fieldwork, in a bid to establish the boundary between that which was acceptable and that which was unacceptable to me in my particular avenue of research.

A typical response to the explanation of my research focus was that expressed by one of the instructors on the first evening of my fieldwork. This instructor said that he did not look on the narratives he told about his recent diving exploits as really being stories because of the recency of the incidences they narrated. Current happenings are not looked upon as stories by some members of this community. Stories were often told, therefore, by instructors in order to answer their doubts as to whether or not a particular story rendition they contemplated sharing counted as grist for my research mill.
The first story I encountered of this nature was told by my first working colleague at the school. David Johnston was a twenty-seven-year-old, single, male who was born and raised, along with his seven siblings, in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He was a quiet, soft-spoken person who, although, only being an instructor for one year, had extensive outdoor adventure trip experience. We had been working together for the duration of my first morning at the center, building what was to be a new bath house for the community. It was a hot sunny morning and after we had been working in the sun for about two hours we decided it was time to relax and take a break. The break was taken sitting on the lawn, adjacent to our workplace, which was behind the community’s main building away from any view of the sea or the Everglades themselves. Our only view consisted of a cedar tree and the saw-grass area of wilderness overgrowth.

David asked what my research entailed. Upon being told that my research focus was the folklore of outdoor adventure education instructors in the form of the personal experience stories they share with fellow instructors, David wanted to know if the following story was grist for my research mill as this was one story he had definitely shared with other instructors in the not too distant past.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 6/DAVE’S 1ST: THE LIVE GHOST.**

Dave: Sue and I were running a course with the Ransom School and we visited this island that had an old community burial ground on it. And we wanted to do something to explain this unusual thing to the kids. Anyway, we were camping on this island, but I really couldn’t find that much about the people who were buried there. And er . . . it came down to er . . . I was gonna lay on the grave, one of the graves out there and . . . and have . . . The students were gonna find the graveyard. They just wanted to wander around and find it. And I was gonna stand up and be this person and talk about the island and stuff. And erm . . . our crew met another crew on the island out there and we got together and we were socializing. And the crew that we were visiting had already visited the graveyard and wanted to show our crew the erm . . . graveyard. And we said we’d think about it. And we talked about it, and decided that Steven and I would sneak up to the
graveyard and er . . . and surprise 'em there, scare 'em. (Laughs.)
And er . . . I stripped down to my shorts and I got vines all around me
and er . . . There was Old Man's Beard growing in trees out there and
I put a big piece of that under my bandanna, and I'd long hair coming
out er . . . I laid down on the gravestone there and er . . . I
decided that that was too obvious so I kinda snuck back between two of
the gravestones and just left my foot hanging out there. And er . . .
all the students came along and they were look . . . they were shining
their flashlights on my grave stone. And this one girl was er . . .
looking at the stone right next to my foot and didn't see my foot, and
then went to the next stone and she was shining her light on that stone
and she still hadn't seen my foot. So I wiggled my toe a little bit
Mac: Laughter.
Dave: and she . . . she just screamed. She shined her light on my body and
then just ran, and thirty kids in the graveyard just sprinted off
through the woods.
Mac: Laughter.
Dave: And er . . . one of them came back, one brave one, came back and shone
his light on me and . . . and also ran away again, and then came back
finally, said, "It's gotta be somebody that's fine [word
indecipherable]." And it was . . . it was me. And they were just
really mad at me, pulled my beard off and it was like, "Dave, how could
you do this to us?" And I grabbed my beard without saying anything, I
grabbed my beard put it back on, and star . . . and started talking like
an old man.
Mac: Oh, super.
Dave: And . . . and I was gonna try and weave some kind of a ghost story but .
. .
Mac: Yeah, yeah.
Dave: it just didn't come out. I just couldn't make up something about the
people that were buried there. I just didn't feel right about it. So
it turned out to be more of a . . . a kind of a . . . a general history
of the island there. And then I just kind of slowly walked off into the
darkness. And went . . . It was fun.

A further example of the type of story told to establish the
parameters of my research was told by one of the community's
oldest members. This story was one of the most obvious such
stories as is illustrated by the closing remarks that return
the narrator to the real world from the story world of his
narrative (Young 1987). This raconteur, Buff (short for
Buffalo), was born and raised in one of the southern states
of the union, and told stories in a very soft spoken
southern drawl with few, if any, histrionics of any kind.
Buff hardly ever put any intonation or change into his voice
as he told his stories. However, his obvious enthusiasm for
storytelling and his sincerity in the role of storyteller
prevented his stories from becoming dry and monotonous
incident reporting. It was, in fact difficult to extract
Buff's stories from his conversation as there was rarely, if
any, reported speech in his stories and they were told
almost as if he were reporting recorded history rather than actually telling a story. Despite being difficult to extract from the teller’s usual conversation, his stories were definitely narratives for it must be remembered that “the medium of anecdotes, speech, is continuous with the conversation in which they occur” (Young 1989:9).¹

The story recounted below was told on the first of my fieldwork days when chores for the day had been completed. Buff and I were sitting on the front steps of the community’s largest building. This building housed the community’s kitchen, dining room, common/television room and two or three balcony offices which were accessed via a verandah off the main common or television room. The front steps mentioned lead via a short concrete path to one of school’s three jetties. The panorama from these steps is of this jetty and of the channel of tidal water one has to navigate, via the school’s private ferry, to obtain access to the school. The story was told as we conversed while waiting for the dinner signal to be sounded.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 7/BUFFALO’S 1ST: STRUCK BY LIGHTNING**

Buff: One of the most famous er . . . pieces of information that gets passed from crew to crew to crew here is the . . . is the safety story. It’s a story because somewhere, er . . . several years ago, I don’t remember exactly how many years ago, but two instructors were . . . were . . . were knocked unconscious by ground current, and the crew saved their lives. And er . . . the crew had just . . . the instructors had just given ‘em their lightning brief, and they talked about lightning. They had done er . . . artificial respiration. They’d talked about it just right before this happened. And the crew revived them. And one of them had to go to the hospital I believe. Er . . . I know one of them, but I don’t know the other one, and he’s got little butt marks on his feet where the nails came through.

Mac: Is it Aaron?

Buff: Aaron yeah. See you know that story. But, you know, that story, I mean probably three-quarters of all Outward Bound instructors know this, and every time they do their lightning presentation they tell the story. I don’t know if that’s the kind of thing that . . .

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¹ Little other information is available in regard to Buff’s background or upbringing because shortly after my arrival he left the Florida Base to return to the mother school in Morgantown, NC. Attempts to locate Buff to clarify some of this missing information have failed.
The most significant phrase in this story's telling was the final phrase when the informant asks if that's the kind of thing, without finishing the sentence, that I am researching. This indicates that this story was simply prompted by my presence, a desire to contribute to my research, and to establish the boundaries for such contributions. This, and other such stories, was told as a question asked in order to clarify the types of narrative that were appropriate to my study. It must be stressed that these types of story were stimulated by my presence and may never have been told in this particular circumstance if not for my presence. However, it must also be stressed that I do believe that all such stories would have been told and indeed, according to my informants, were told, in either a communal setting or a teaching/instructing situation at the school.

I refer to this type of Helping the Research story as a Semi-Spontaneous Helping the Research story. This term is used because such stories were told as a spontaneous reaction to my presence in an effort to assist me with my research and to establish the boundaries for such assistance. This type of story was not restricted to the non-interview situation. The first afternoon interview I held was with a female instructor called Sue Spahn, a twenty-nine year old, single, instructor who was just completing her first full year as an Outward Bound staff member. The interview took place on the ninth day of my stay at the base, just after the noon hour, on one of the school's three wharves that provided access to the tidal passage between the Everglades and Everglades City. There was a blustery, fluky breeze blowing, but otherwise the
weather was glorious with a clear blue sky and hot sunshine.
The following introductory conversation preceding the story
clearly indicates that the story is simply told in order to
establish the parameters of acceptability in regard to my
research project.

Sue: People say, “Is this what you’re looking for.” I still am not really
clear on . . .
Mac: O.K.
Sue: What you’re looking for. So
Mac: O.K.
Sue: em . . . And maybe that’s real hard to convey so maybe I’ll just tell
you something and
Mac: O.K.
Sue: then you could just tell me if that’s it or not. (Laughs.)
Mac: Well that seems a good way to go about it.

Further indication of the fact that my presence as a
researcher into stories promoted the telling of this story
can be gathered from a continuation of this conversation
just prior to the telling of the story. During this
conversation Sue makes a number of references to how hard
the story is to tell. While this story may be told
elsewhere, Sue’s words here are an indication of the story’s
existence as a response to my being a researcher into this
phenomenon at this particular institution.

Sue: This is real personal too so erm . . . so it’s not about my students so
much as em . . . And it’s hard for me to tell also because it’s er . . .
well just for that reason of the bravado thing and em . . . or . . . I
do n’t want . . . It’s not a tooting my own horn it’s a . . . it’s just
something that was real em . . . (coughs once) both spiritual for me
and em . . . has to do with running.

This dialogue, then, preceded the following story that can
clearly be classified as a Semi-Spontaneous Helping the
Research story.

INTERVIEW STORY 23/SUE’S 1ST: FEELING SATISFIED.

Sue: I had done a 23 day course and . . . up in North Carolina and the last
day of the course you do your mini-marathon. It’s about thirteen-and-a-
half miles. [Sue asks me here about my own Outward Bound background in
order to ascertain if I knew what she was talking about. This prolonged
conversation is actually irrelevant to the meat of the story and has,
therefore, been eliminated from the transcript of the story.]
So when I first came down in June I had been running . . . just started
running in . . . in the spring, and I was running on the flats of
Massachusetts.
Mac: Oh, O.K.
Sue: So when I first got here it was kind of like, "Oh my God, what am I going to do?"
And we had to run that seven mile staff run for staff training and I thought I was going to die... [Some words missing here as the wind caused them to be inaudible]. All of a sudden people are asking me to run seven. So I thought, "Well, we'll give it a try, see what happens." So I made it and I... one of my goals for that run was to just keep moving... "If I could keep running that'll be fine." So a 23 day course runs around and all of a sudden I have to run thirteen-and-a-half. But you don't understand I... I've never run more than seven now [laughs]. "Now I have to run double that?" (Said questioningly.)
So my goal once again was just, "Well, maybe I can just keep running. If I can get that far..."
We did a little goal setting with the students the night before, as I'm sure you usually do. Talking about... "think about what you want to do for the run... It's your final challenge." The whole bit. And I had run a really good end of course run the last course and I had run it with my co-instructor. And we'd really helped each other, pushed each other and really had a real good bond, and we had some people who also really helped each other through that run cos he hadn't run that far in a long long time. So he was my co-instructor again, and I thought to myself "Well, I really would like to run with him again cos I don't know if I can just push myself for that long and that many miles," and, "Do I care enough to really do that myself?" So we're getting our little talk before the race... The person who was giving the talk said, you know, "Now's the time to go ahead and give it all the rest of your reserves, what are you," you know, "what are you holding back for?"
Mac: Yeah.
Sue: "You have nothing to save it for any more, go ahead and blast yourself out," basically.
Mac: Yeah.
Sue: So we started out running real casually and erm... going up Hawksbill Hill... I was running with erm... three other people... there's two women I know from there and my co-instructor. And we were just kinda bopping along, and we got to the end of the first hill... we got to the point all the way out Gingercake Acres Road where you make that turn and start to go over the ridge down to the lower road. And I thought, "Well gosh I feel good maybe I'll... maybe I'll just try and speed up a little bit." And so my goal then became that I wanted to... "maybe I could just do this myself and I'll just..." I think, "I do want to... do want to do this myself." So kinds my goal had changed to... changed to wanting to do it myself. And as I started running down the ridge I picked up some speed. And as I started running down the ridge I started thinking, "Well gosh I'll... I'll even set a time goal, now" Erm... "I'll make it..." My time goal was, "Well maybe I'll come in... two-and-a-half hours." I can't remember if that's exactly what it was but anyway... So as I started running... I kept running and I felt great-and kept running and kept running and I started thinking, "Well gosh maybe I can... maybe I can make it in less time." And my co-instructor and I started kinda racing.
Mac: Ah-ha.
Sue: I went... got down the hill first and he just came up behind me and I st... He'd already passed me, and I caught up to him... I would catch him on the down hills and he would pass me on the up hills.
Mac: Ah-ha. Ah-ha.
Sue: Erm... and er... so we just ran and ran and finally we finished and ended up that we came over the... over the finish line together. And that wasn't... 
Mac: Oh wow.
Sue: Just because we'd kinda been jockeying back and forth... and... and when I finished we kinda ran out as fast as we could and I had the most incredible feel... feeling of satisfaction that I think I've ever had in my life and it was... it was a brief time though it was just that short time and... Somebody later said, "Who was...?" I never considered myself a runner by any means. And somebody later said, "So who was the first woman to come in?" Somebody said, "Oh Sue was."
Mac: Oh, wow.
Sue: I thought, "I was!?" (Said with considerable surprise and emphasis.) So I was the first woman to come in out of sixty people and just felt like I'd worked really hard. And . . . and then shortly after that came all around to . . . "I . . . I could have run even harder. You know I could have run faster, I bet I could have . . . could have pushed myself even harder." And so kind of the outcome of it was me realizing how strong a person that I am potentially and I don't have a clue as to what my limits are . . . that I thought I did and I don't. And . . .
Mac: Yeh, yeh. Nice story.
Sue: So that was real . . . really empowering for me to . . . And if I hadn't been for Out . . . Outward Bound it would not have had the opportunity to look at that.

**SPONTANEOUS HELPING THE RESEARCH STORIES.**

A second type of Helping the Research story, of which there are very few, is more spontaneous. Hence any story of this type has been referred to as a Spontaneous Helping the Research story. These stories are still aimed at helping my research project and are therefore prompted primarily by my presence. They differed from Semi-Spontaneous Helping the Research stories in that they were told without any reference to their appropriateness to my research agenda. However, although overt reference to story appropriateness was absent, it is my belief that questions concerning this were raised covertly through surreptitious glances in my direction and very slow and halting starts to the telling of such stories.

I believe a number of reasons contributed to the sharing of these more spontaneous Helping the Research stories. First, all the instructors were informed, by the school's program director, of the purpose of my extended visit to the school. The instructors knew I was collecting stories, and, I feel, were spontaneously helping me, with my research, by supplying what they thought was suitable data. They were, at the same time, seeking clarification as to the appropriateness of their efforts as raconteurs. I also believe my past experience at the mother school at Table 221
Rock, and the fact that I was immediately involved in the day to day running of the school by performing the chores of an off-duty instructor, promoted the sharing of this type of story. Perhaps the instructors were helping me out by providing me with research data because I was quickly able to demonstrate I was a party to their world. Finally, the fluent nature of the personnel at an Outward Bound School means that there is a ready acceptance of strangers, which in turn, leads, as we have seen previously (Abrahams 1985:35), to a rapidly heightened level of story-sharing.

I have proposed that there are two separate types of Spontaneous Helping the Research stories. The first I have called Genuinely Spontaneous Helping the Research stories and the second Spuriously Spontaneous Helping the Research stories. The difference between the two types of stories being that the latter seemed to contain a certain degree of artificiality in telling spontaneity, while the former type seemed to be fairly genuine in this regard.

'GENUINELY' SPONTANEOUS HELPING THE RESEARCH STORIES.

The most obvious example of a Genuinely Spontaneous Helping the Research story occurred on my first morning at the center. The instructional staff at the school, assisted by the researcher as a co-worker, had spent an hour before breakfast collecting and loading onto the ferry, a large amount of recyclable metal that was 'trashing-up' the school grounds. Five instructors and I (a total of two males and four females) were ferrying across this huge load of metal to the mainland to be recycled. The storyteller was a Canadian lady from urban Ontario named Monica Bartmann who
had been with the Outward Bound Organization as an instructor and white water specialist for six years. Monica was the eldest of a family of three having both a male and female younger sibling. Although a fairly quiet person, Monica was not shy or reserved and enjoyed telling her stories enormously.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 4/MONICA'S 1ST: KAYAK BENDING.

Mon: Paul and I were staying with Mike on Lulu Key over New Year. A group came paddling in at dark, and they were real vague about what was going on. They were strung out for miles, at least from Lulu to Indian Key. One woman didn't even know how many were in her party. When we asked her she said, real vague, "Oh, eight or nine. I'm not real sure of the exact number." So Paul and I circled out in the dark looking for the rest of this party. Anyway we located them one by one nearer Indian Key than Lulu. We gave one a tow and picked up the last two in the party. We got them on board and laid their kayaks across the front of the motorized pulling sail boat. Their kayaks were sticking out over the side of the pulling boat, and they were sitting up front holding their kayak so they wouldn't fall back in the sea. They ask if I could see to steer the boat.

"Yeah, I'm o.k. just now." Then suddenly, "Whack!" I ran into one of the navigation pylons with their kayaks.

"Didn't you see that!?" they're shouting.

"Didn't you!? You're sitting right up front. You might have told me I was that close or something."

I really gave their boats a whack, and wouldn't you know, one of them was a fiber-glass one.

Nothing in the verbatim transcript of this story gives away the fact that this is a Genuinely Spontaneous Helping the Research story. The clues for this lie in the way the story was told. Monica was one of only three instructors who attended my initial meeting with the community and, therefore, had a better idea - than some of her colleagues - as to what my research entailed. She tells the story asking, with her eyes in particular, which glance in my direction on numerous occasions during the telling of the story, if this is the type of story in which I am interested. I am also ‘tapeless’ at this time as the job we are performing is such that it might have damaged the recording equipment. I also believe that there was a kind of pleading in Monica’s eyes during the telling of this tale.
that asked, “Are you able to record this? Is it O.K. to
tell this now?” She is steering the ferryboat at the time
of the telling, and, therefore, there is little accentuating
expression in the way of body language. Also, there is very
little tonal emphasis etc. except for a slight variation
which depicted the conversations involved in the story. Her
focus of visual attention is straight ahead as she is
involved in navigating the channel to the mainland.
However, despite the need for attention in this direction,
her glances in my direction during the telling of this story
were quite noticeable.

Although I believe this story falls into the category of
Helping the Research, I also feel that it is different from
the stories already examined. This story definitely had a
degree of natural spontaneity that the other stories, which
seemed to be told purely on the basis of my presence as a
researcher, lacked. The spontaneity in this incidence was
provided by a visual stimulus that was presented to the
storyteller. The huge load of metal was a direct reflection
of the canoes spoken of in the story. Both the load of
metal and the canoes obscured the storyteller’s vision of
the channel marking pylons. I believe this story may have
been told, regardless of my presence, as a spontaneous
reaction to the visual stimulus of not being able to see the
channel marker. However, I also feel that, in my presence,
there were sufficient clues to suggest that one of the
reasons for its telling was to help me with my research
project. This type of telling only occurred rarely and only
in the earliest days of my field work.
'SPURIOUSLY' SPONTANEOUS HELPING THE RESEARCH STORIES.

The incidence of the second type of Spontaneous Helping the Research stories was also rare and restricted to the early days of my research. The rareness of these Spuriously Spontaneous Helping the Research was guaranteed, because they were only able to be told by those members of the community who possessed the ability to slip readily into the role of artificial raconteur as opposed to those who literally became raconteurs. Although such stories were told with a definite air of spontaneity, certain flickering eye contact away from the addressee and in my direction, along with some over statement of the story introduction, seem to eliminate these stories from being classified as Genuinely Spontaneous Helping the Research stories. Indeed, these stories became a performance in the theatrical sense of the word rather than in the folkloric sense. On these occasions the narrator adopted the facade of a storyteller rather than truly becoming one.

Doc Klein, the director of the Florida Base, told such a story to me and Will Pooley, a six year veteran instructor with experience in both the USA and in Canada. The storyteller had spent the last eight years working for the North Carolina Outward Bound School, after spending a number of years previously working as an outdoor adventure education instructor in both the USA and Canada. He was 31 years of age, and the middle son of a three child family and was born and raised in middle class surroundings in Pensicola, Florida. Doc had a Bachelor of Science Degree in Education which was earned at Bowling Green State University, in Ohio.
SPONTANEOUS STORY 22/DOC’S 5TH: BALE OF MARIJUANA.

Doc: Will, did I tell you about the time erm . . . that er . . . I had a J.D. crew down here, with Naples leaders, and they found a bale of marijuana? (Laughter.) We were paddling along and er . . . we saw this thing floating out here. And er., they said, “Hey, man, what’s that floating over there?” I said er . . . I jokingly said, “Probably a bale of marijuana.” They go, “Let’s go and get it.” (Said with considerable mimicry of an over enthusiastic teenager.) And I . . . I suddenly realized that, “Holy shit, this looks like a bale of marijuana.” (Laughter.) And er . . . I ended up er . . . Basically I said, “You guys aren’t going over there!” And they go, “Fuck you!” And they paddled over. And they all circled around in their canoes, and nobody would touch it. You know, I said, “You guys touch anything, you’re going right to jail.” And er . . . So we had a long discussion. And it turns out that the park service had er . . . been keeping it under surveillance thinking er . . . they’d come back and . . . Cose they’d come for some other stuff that they’d found earlier. And er . . .

In this story’s case, the clues to categorizing it as a Spuriously Spontaneous Helping the Research story can be found in the way words were used and in eye contact hints. Noticing I had entered the kitchen where he and Will were conversing about the proposed video show planned for that evening while waiting for the morning break coffee-kettle to boil, Doc, glancing noticeably my way, interrupted his present topic of conversation with the phrase “Will, did I ever tell you about . . .” There was absolutely no prompt for the telling of this story other than my presence as a researcher. Doc’s desire to help out my research by providing data for the project took over once he became aware of my presence. Doc was the single most informed person in regard to my research. He was the person with whom I arranged the entire visit and with whom I had most shared the purpose of my fieldwork. At this stage there was no need to ask “Is this the type of data you are collecting?” Doc now knew my research focus and seems to be purely telling the story for the purpose of providing me with research data.
It can be seen, then, that the type of Helping the Research story examined so far were spontaneously generated by my very presence in the storytelling situation. In the case of the both Spontaneous and Semi-Spontaneous Helping the Research stories, few - if any - verbal prompts were exchanged between myself and the informant in order to stimulate the telling of such a story. Where such was the case, conversational stimulations were very general and usually restricted to a general description of the type of story that was of interest to me as a researcher.

**NON-SPONTANEOUS HELPING THE RESEARCH STORIES.**

A second type of Helping the Research story did involve the very direct request for a specific story or story type. I have termed these Non-Spontaneous Helping the Research stories because they were not stories that were spontaneously generated, except in the form of a reply to a direct request from myself, the researcher. I could never really be sure that such stories would be told if I had not asked the particular question that generated the narrative response. In this category of story there were two distinct types. These were; the prompt from me for a particular story-type, which I have referred to as Indirectly Non-Spontaneous Helping the Research stories; and the prompt from me for a specific story, which I have referred to as Directly Non-Spontaneous Helping the Research story. Both types only ever occurred in an interview situation. I found I did not have to resort to such story-prompting tactics in a normal group conversational setting where stories seemed to spontaneously arise at regular intervals.
‘INDIRECTLY’ NON-SPONTANEOUS HELPING THE RESEARCH STORIES.

In requesting story types, I initially stuck to Labov’s (1967) suggestion of asking the informants if they had ever had an outdoor adventure experience that put them in a close proximity to death. This type of question usually generated some type of storied response.

Typical of such occasions was the following exchange that occurred with Buffalo. This was the first exchange between us in an interview setting. During the second week of my stay at the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida Base, I arranged interviews with each instructor for the specific purpose of listening to their stories. The instructors booked an hour with me in their own time and at their own convenience, and in a situation of their choice. This particular story was told on the second morning of such interviews. Buffalo had arranged an eight in the morning meeting to take place on the center’s middle jetty which has the convenience of a small white painted wrought iron and lattice work table and a couple of matching chairs. The morning was beautiful. Cool, by Florida standards, (about sixty degrees Fahrenheit) with a clear blue sky and hardly a breath of wind. The jetty overlooked the passage down and out into the heart of the Everglades Wilderness Area.

INTERVIEW STORY 65/BUFF’S 1ST: MISSED

Buff: What have you got to say today?
Mac: I’m just checking that this is running. Good
    Well, What I’ve got is i . . . i . . . (coughs) if this is appropriate
    I have . . . I have a few prompts that might be er . . . of some use to
    you. Erm . . . they might . . . they might help you. One that . . .
    that . . . these . . . these come from sort of looking at the stories
    that I’ve got and having had {indecipherable two or three words} so far
    over the weekend. And its or . . . sort of themes . . . sort of a theme
    thing. Er . . . One thing that people have . . . have tended to make
    into a story is . . . is the hair raising incidents like the incidents
    that . . . that you might say “Gee,” you know, “I’m lucky . . . I’m
    lucky to be alive. and er . . . I could really have died, there.”
Buff: M-m-m (said very softly).
Mac: Like the Aaron Attariam Story [which Buff had told spontaneously earlier].
Buff: Well I've got one of those.
Mac: Go for it. (Spoken very quietly.)
Buff: It didn't take place here it was out at the Pacific Crest Outward Bound School and er . . . up in the North Cascades er . . . the . . . the imminent objective danger on O.B. courses is loose rock. It's a real Alpine situation, the mountains are real new mountains range so there's lots of crumbly kind of rock. And in the . . . in the Spring, whereas it usually pretty stable in the Spring because there's a lot of snow, but into the Summer when the snow starts to melt a little bit, especially in the gullies and stuff, then just loose rock just starts tumbling and you . . . . And so working courses out there you got to . . . just got to be constantly aware of that and always er . . . you know, keep you student's out of the fall-line of rock and stuff and . . . . So erm . . . one day we were doing this climb and we were going up this pretty step gully with my co-instructor and I er . . . decided we were going to need to put a fixed line, you know, because er . . . going in the gully was just too dangerous so we were going to climb on this little wall on the side of the gully out of the fall-line, but it was steep enough to where we felt they ought to be anchored into something. So I went up way ahead of everybody else to check out the gully and . . . and . . . and figure a route . . . route and put the handline up. Er. . . . And in that process I got about in the middle of the gully and I could see way back down, and way below me I could see the crew and they were kinda hanging out down there. And the co . . . my co-instructor was just trying to keep them over to the side so that if anything did come down it wouldn't hit 'em. And I just stopped taking a breather there for a minute and I looked over and there was this clump of snow, you know, that had receded, it had melted quite a way and underneath it was mud. There were a bunch of big boulders that big (cups his hands about eighteen inches apart to indicate the size of the boulders to which he was referring) which and . . . you know, soccer ball size, they weren't humongous but a lot of . . . and smaller little rocks. And they were like embedded in the snow and the mud, but as the snow melts those things . . . And this little . . . just this little era . . . forget what they call them that goes, you know, an ava . . . when an avalanche . . . when it plates off kind of er . . . just a little plate of mud just slipped down about a few feet it just went "schuhuuu!" And it thumped when it did it . . . I know it went bump. And about four rocks about this size, (as previously indicating the size of the rocks) soccer ball size, just started, "boom! boom! boom! boom! boom! boom! boom! boom!" You know, and I . . . and I . . . and I . . . I just started, "BooK!" as loud as I can. And er . . . . I could see my co-instructor's down there trying to corral the crew all over to the side as much as possible. And one of these boulders, you know, it . . . Probably a good hundred yards that boulder had come to build er . . . had come to build up momentum, missed the elbow of one of my students by about two inches. It just . . . If it . . . if it had just touched her body it's . . . I mean, I would have just h . . . I don't even wanna think what would have happened. Tha . . . that was just really scary to me. I mean I know . . . I know the potential of that, but it was just so vivid and so visual. I mean I saw . . . I saw everything happen, I saw the . . . the er . . . mechanics of how . . . of how a rock starts . . . and I saw the, almost, potential . . . potential . . . the almost dangerous end to a human being.

It can be seen, from the dialogue preceding this story, that interviews were held, after rapport with the instructors had been established, at a place and time in which the instructor would feel comfortable. In addition, the interviews were only to last for an hour. Both these factors contributed to my adopting, on this particular
occasion, the tactics of asking, at the outset of the interview, for stories of a particular type.

I did not always adopt such an immediately direct approach to soliciting particular types of story. While interviewing Steve on the afternoon of my ninth day at the base I allowed this instructor to set his own repertoire agenda before leading him into a *near-miss* narrative.\(^2\) This interview took place on a warm sunny afternoon behind the center's main headquarters and away from the sea. The only view was of this building, which was to my back; and the mangrove, Spanish Saw-Grass wilderness, to Steve's back. Steve told his stories fluidly and without many verbal or physical emphases. He was just recovering from a fairly serious bout of strep throat or similar contagious illness, and spoke very softly with a somewhat deep voice. During his storytelling he had told a couple of climbing stories and so I ventured to ask if he had any climbing stories where it would have been 'quite easy for you to have died?' This direct prompt elicited the following 'close call' experience narrative.

**INTERVIEW STORY 56/STEVE'S 9TH: THE WRONG LINE.**

Mac: Do you have any stories where er . . . climbing stories where . . . where it would have been quite easy for you to have died? And you've . . .

Steve: Erm . . . (Long Pause) Yeah, I guess.

Mac: Yeah

Steve: I don't know about, "Died!" but I wouldn't have been a pretty sight. (Laughs.) There was a mm . . . let me think. (Long pause.) Out in er . . . Smith Rocks in Oregon. I was out there climbing and er . . . This climb followed this . . . it's called Karate Crack maybe. I don't remember what it was. I think that's what it was but . . . . It was a long crack and at the top of the crack you traversed over to another crack system and then it opened up into this alcove. And I figured the er . . . the bolts in situ rock protection into which the

\(^2\) Not much additional information is available regarding Steve. He had been quite seriously ill and was confined to an isolation tent at the back of the home base compound for the week prior to our interview. He left on a kayaking expedition to Belize the day after our interview. This did not give me much opportunity to obtain biographical demographics. Unfortunately attempts to contact him since my fieldwork have proven unsuccessful.
lead climber clips his or her rope to prevent a long fall) to finish the pitch out were gonna be right around the alcove at the same level as this traverse crack. So I went up and I was getting pretty thin on gear [portable protection carried by the lead climber to supplement the protection provided by bolts] by the time I started that traverse. And er . . . the top piece of gear I had on the . . . on the crack was marginal [did not offer much protection], and I was getting pretty flamed [the burning sensation climbers experience in their forearms when they get extremely tired and weak from their exertions], I was really pumped out of my arms. And er . . . I made a couple of moves, sort of check out how the traverse was gonna be and decided just to go ahead and keep on going cause I was feeling all right, and I knew if I hung out too long I was just gonna burn out. And so I started across and was moving across, moving across and realized then that I had to make it. Realized that, you know, this was bad. And kept on moving, kept on moving got to . . . almost to the edge of that alcove, knowing that those bolts were gonna be right there when I came round the corner. Came round the corner and they were about twelve feet below me!

This specific narrative is particularly significant in regard to this category of Helping the Research stories. This significance did not come across in the story itself nor indeed in the telling of the story, although the beginning of the story was somewhat faltering with at least one long pause that was not characteristic of this raconteur’s storytelling style.3 The significance of this story can only be seen by analyzing the dialogue that occurs upon completion of the story.

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3. Indeed during the early part of this story I had to exchange so many pieces of verbal encouragement with the teller, using such phrases as “a ha,” “m m m,” and “yeah” that these were eliminated from the transcript above in order to facilitate flow and understanding.
Steve: There are times I think it's appropriate but there's times when you sit down and every table up at Table Rock and er . . . it's almost like you have to move to a table where there's no climbers so you have three or four inarticulate word.

This indicates the depth of the desire, of the informant, to help the researcher with the research project. Here was an informant who was willing to override his normal reluctance, to relate a particular type of narrative, in order to provide me with grist for my research mill.

The dialogue, cited earlier, that occurred during the interview with Buff mentions that the stories I had analyzed so far seemed to indicate a pattern involving 'close call' or 'near-miss' type experience stories. However, this was not the only type of experience story I sought through request. Indeed, in Steve's interview quoted above, only one narrative after his close call story, I asked him how he got into Outward Bound.

This question elicited the following narrative.

INTERVIEW STORY 58/STEVE'S 11TH: "1600 PEOPLE TOLD ME I SHOULD"

Steve: [The Wilderness Medical Associates up in Maine] were doing a course down in North Carolina. So signed-up for the course and er . . . about three-quarters of the way through the course, I guess it was Opie who pulled me out of the Hackey Sack circle and said, "Sixteen hundred people said I should hire you for the summer, why don't you come into my office and talk about it?"

"Hey, that's great."

Here again we have a story whose telling may have had a lot to do with my presence as a researcher, and, in this particular case, the specific question I asked in the interview situation. Other types of stories were elicited in the interview situation specifically because I have intimate knowledge of the individual components of an Outward Bound course. Because of this knowledge I was able to ask for different types of Outward Bound Course stories.
The motto of the Outward Bound Organization is: "To Strive To Serve and Not to Yield." Service is one of the ‘four pillars’ of Outward Bound, the others being craftsmanship and skill, physical fitness, and self-reliance, which the founder of all Outward Bound Schools, Kurt Hahn, believed were essential dimensions of the educational process (Bacon 1983:99). Although the prompt “do you have any service stories?” did not always promote personal experience stories, on a couple of occasions personal experience stories...
service stories were solicited by simply asking my informants if they had such a story to tell.

Doc told such a story during his interview which took place on the second of the interview days, Tuesday the 27th February. Doc was an extremely busy person and chose to share time with me only during the time he spent taking a lunch break. This interview, therefore, took place at noon during which time Doc consumed a lunch of a bowl of cereal, fruit and yogurt. It was held in the same place as that held with Buffalo referred to earlier.

**INTERVIEW STORY 112/DOC'S 6TH: IMMOKALEE BANKER.**

Mac: Do you have any stories that center around service or compassion or . . .

(pause) that dimension?

Doc: We went to Immokalee one time.

Mac: Ah.

Doc: There er . . . and er . . . there er . . . was an interesting story up there in Immokalee. . . . Er. . . . er . . . all the migrant workers couldn't bank in a regular bank cause many of them were illegal aliens. And so they would keep their money with this grocer. He would give 'em groceries and also er . . . kinda keep track of their money. And er . . . it's kind of like a savings type thing. And er . . . one day he just decided to keep all the money. It was like four hundred thousand dollars. And er . . . em . . . people were real angry, people . . . I mean, you know, migrant workers had saved money to actually or . . . buy a little . . . little shack or something, I mean, were out o' luck, you know, type thing and that. Er . . . so we went up and er . . . we toured the area. I got this whole story about what . . . what this guy had done and er . . . saw the places that people were living in. And er . . . ended up em . . . basically going back to this er . . . other building and . . . and . . . which we were helping to . . . we helped turn into a credit union for these folk, where they could actually keep their money safely and also, you know, if they ever needed to borrow or w . . . you know that kind of stuff. And so set up a system that was actually legal but er . . . didn't ask a lot of questions. Er. . . . just so these people. . . . And er . . . we painted that and built that, and actually felt like er . . . we were really touched by, you know, moving from that service for our particular group towards er . . . a greater service outside the community that really needed some help.

Mac: What happened to the guy? What happened to the shop keeper?

Doc: Oh, he still lives up there.

Mac: The Bastard.

Doc: Yeah. You'd think he would have left town, cause somebody would have done. . . . Yeah. But he still lives in a bigger mansion out there.

Jeff: And they're there during lunch time as its time to feed 'em and. . . . (Long pause with the narrative left hanging without either a true beginning middle or end.)
A similar question regarding service stories elicited the following response from Buffalo in his previously mentioned taped interview.

INTERVIEW STORY 66/BUFF'S 2ND: HAY OVER THE HIGHWAY.

Buff: Errr . . . Oh yeah I got a great service story.
Mac: Great.
Buff: Em . . . Table Rock with a group of going.beyonders, so people fifty-five and over. And er . . . we had er . . . because it was a short course, a nine day course we didn’t have time to schedule in a service. The night before we went to the river we . . . after dinner we had a real nice discussion about er . . . about service and how er . . . Outward Bound incorporates it into their programming and . . . and philosophically how Kurt Hahn felt about service and stuff like that. And there’s a really good reading that I like to do a lot, from a book called How Can I Help by Ram Dass.
Buff: Yeah, oh it’s a great book, and there’s some incredible readings. And one is a reading that deals with er . . . the frustrations of service, of not, you know . . . Seeing the need for all kind of help and not knowing who to help and how much you can give and still have . . . and do stuff for yourself and er . . . and realizing that er . . . that going to a movie and going out for dinner for yourself in this country could pay for an operation to give somebody their eyeglasses in a third world country; and just being . . . All these separations of anxieties about helping. And it’s a good reading because a lot of people relate to it real well. But it also stirs up a lot of thought and . . . about . . . about er . . . service. So, we had done that reading and . . . No no, the next day in the van, I er . . . we hadn’t done the reading, we’d talked about service and . . . and all during the course we’d been cleaning up, picking up trash and talking about . . . Ev . . . Everywhere that we go, if we just leave it a little better than we found it, and if everybody did that everywhere maybe we’d . . . the world would be a nicer place, and things like that. So that was about all we had done as far as service went, and then we were going to the er . . . to the river in the van so we were driving out to Ginger Cake Acres to . . . towards 101 and I . . . and I did the reading in the van on the way out the road. And I . . . about three or four minutes after I had finished the reading, I just laid it down and we came to where Ginger Cake Acres road runs into 181, into the highway, and then you turn left to go over and go . . . we were going to the French Broad. Well, as we came to the highway, the van just pulled up to the stop sign, I’d just finished this reading and I looked right to the left, right in the middle of the highway, there was this elderly gentleman, he wasn’t real old but he was in his sixties maybe, early sixties, was standing there and he had a little . . . and it was a little pick-up truck that he had loaded bales of hay onto, just stacked ’em up real high, it was fresh hay. And they had come lose so there was hay spread all over the highway, and his attack was hanging over the side, and he was standing there, and the traffic was zooming by. And er . . . and I looked at the situation and I turned around and I looked at the crew and I didn’t say anything, I just opened the door and stepped out, and as I stepped out the crew just piled out of the van. Everybody rushed over. This one guy was stopping traffic, everybody else was picking up the hay, you know, putting the bales of hay back on, stacking ’em up, talking to the . . . to the man, telling him, “Everything’s o.k., we’ll get it now.” You know, and we got some lines that we had in the van, tied it all up nice and neat for him, he got in his van and went on his way. And everybody piled back in the van, and nobody ever said a word about what we’d done ’til just, you know, as we were driving along and then somebody said, “Boy that really felt good,” And it was just one of those spontaneous moments, I just stepped out and it was really neat. Talking about service, reading about the frustrations of it, and then having an opportunity of just being . . . It was just like I couldn’t have made that happen, I couldn’t have programmed that to happen. And
This story from Buff has something of a spiritual dimension. The very concept of service from a position of strength and not from a position of servitude is an integral aspect of most religions of the world (Parrinder 1983). This type of service seems to hint at the spiritual side of humankind, because there is the feeling of giving oneself over to a greater good. Buff’s story talks of feeling good, of ‘just beaming’, and of this spontaneous service being a highlight for his crew for their whole course. The very synchronic nature of this particular service hints of some type of spiritual intervention. The incident seems to have been planned by supernatural forces as the instructor himself just couldn’t have made it happen more appropriately.

However, spiritual stories were rarely produced as a result of a direct conversational prompt for such stories. Rarely, for instance, were such stories told when I asked the informants if they had any narratives about the spiritual dimensions of Outward Bound. Paul, a quiet soft spoken, almost reserved, middle class, Canadian from Toronto with fourteen years of experience as an Outward Bound instructor and Course Director who had vast experience in many outdoor adventure activities including scuba diving and sailing, provided me with a typical response to this question during his interview which took place on the previously mentioned middle jetty, sat at the white wrought iron lattice work patio table.

Paul: Guess or . . . when I . . . when yo . . . the minute you said spiritual I just thought of an area . . . that is two places that I’ve been to where I had a feeling . . .

[at this point in the interview the microphone used to record the proceedings was blown down one of the holes in the wrought iron lattice]
work on the table and had to be retrieved before the interview could continue.)

Paul: Y’know just where I’ve had a (pause) sense of a . . . a greater power . . .
Mac: Yeah.
Paul: Another being.
Mac: Yeah, yeah.

Paul: One is . . . one is em . . . spending a . . . em . . . about a week alone in Canyon Lands and er . . . that is an area that I’ve been to twice and both times I’ve felt its a power source area. There’s something spiritual there that has caused me to reflect more than I normally do or em . . . just be more appreciative of the area. And another place is an island in New Zealand where . . . it was a very . . . it was the last Maori stronghold and there was a lot of spiritual presence there. You could sense it, feel it.

Mac: Yeah, that interesting. I think . . . we . . . we’ve tended to lose that haven’t we as (X5) white er . . . city dwellers . . .

Paul: Hmm.
Mac: home dwellers. Yeah, yeah.
Paul: Yeah and I’ve only felt it . . . I’ve only felt it when I’ve been alone . . .
Mac: Ah, ha
Paul: and in the wilderness and . . . and again in . . . in er . . . areas where there’s been a lot of human habitation of a spiritual nature.

Buffalo’s reaction to this prompt in the interview setting produced a similar non-story type response.

Mac: Do you have any spiritual stories? Any stories that touch a . . . a special dimension?
Buff: (Long pause) mmm. . . . Well my . . . my number one favorite er . . . er pin ceremony or closing ceremony is . . . i . . . is using i . . . the er . . . (a deep breath almost a sigh) the American Plains Indian Medicine Wheel and I do that all the time and I think that’s a very spiritual thing but its also . . . it . . . its o.k. to be adopted . . . adapted in many ways sort of like Outward Bound can be and . . . So that’s one spiritual metaphor that I use.

Jeff, a thirty-six year old, single, four year veteran field instructor with Outward Bound from Joliet, Illinois, had a similar reaction to this question. Jeff was an artist, having taught art at the Sierra Nevada College from 1977 to 1987, who had worked creatively in glass and iron. His reaction to this prompt was similar to Buff’s in that it could not be said to have developed into a full blown narrative.

Jeff: Furnaces just amaze me. You know its just like that hot molten stuff inside there. It just goes along with volcanoes and things. One of the things you have to confront within that whole part, and I still have to think about it is the whole concept of er . . . Earth . . .
Mac: Yes
Jeff: of deities so to speak. The local beliefs are in er . . . Pele. Pele is the goddess of the volcano and is either real seductive or is a real bitch.
Mac: Yeah, yeah.
Jeff: But your definitely in her (pause)
Mac: Domain.
Mac: Oh wow.

237
Jeff: And or . . . Of whether or not we should even be there (slight laugh). Of or . . . their con . . . and not from a safety standpoint.

Mac: Yeah

Jeff: Not from the state of Hawaii's standpoint

Mac: Yeah

Jeff: but just from (slight laugh and pause)

Mac: From a spiritual standpoint

Jeff: A spiritual standpoint.

Monica, during her interview which took place at nine in the morning on the school’s central wharf overlooking the tidal river passage out into the Everglades, told the following story as a reaction to the question concerning stories addressing a spiritual dimension of Outward Bound.

INTERVIEW STORY 91/MONICA'S 9TH: DRUMS ALONG THE SUPERIOR.

Mon: I was doing a co-ed course a few years ago, and we finished the river portion of it and we came out to the mouth of Lake Superior . . . early evening. And we had to paddle about eight miles up Lake Superior into the national campground where we're meeting our Course Director. And that portion of Lake Superior is very rugged. And if the waves start kicking up along that part then er . . . there's no way to get out. And to get to the mouth of Superior you either have to wait it out or portage out which is seven kilometers, unfortunately which is what I actually ended up doing the next course. So we waited and it was really calm and we got dressed really warmly and we ate dinner and when it was dark we set off. And there's no stars, no moon, and it was fairly foggy. But it was fog . . . just enough light to be able to see to take a compass bearing and be able to see the trees in the distance to the next point. Then after . . . a few hours later we thought we were at the mouth of the campground and we . . . it turned out we were . . . we weren't, and we weren't quite sure where it was. And then somebody heard something and we stopped and in the distance we saw above the tree line, lights flickering. And it was really, sort of eerie, sort of magical, sort of in between that; really neat. And we heard drums beating. And it felt like, while offshore — that we were gone back two or three hundred years in time. It was a powwow happening and shadows on the trees were from the native people dancing around the fire to the drums. So that was really . . . really neat.

Mac: So that showed you where you'd to camp?

Mon: It showed us exactly where we were. We were, sort of on one river over, so we just had to back track a bit. That was really powerful, I mean everybody was just silent, just taking it in and thought it was really beautiful.

One further type of story I attempted to elicit during an interview situation went one step beyond the spiritual and into the realm of the supernatural. It has been my experience that one common theme among certain types of outdoor adventure educators is the telling of spooky stories to their crews. This type of story occurs much less frequently in an Outward Bound setting and I was interested to know if such personal experience stories were simply
suppressed in an Outward Bound setting, or if such experience didn’t occur to Outward Bound instructors.

Paul provided me with the following Indirectly Non-Spontaneous Helping the Research story in answer to the following prompt:

Mac: When I mentioned the spiritual side of . . . of ourselves you came up with . . . with er . . . a spiritual side to . . . to . . . to a place; do you have any other. . . . I use the s . . . I use the word ‘supernatural’ but that doesn’t really cut it because if I say supernatural people say, “Oh no, That’s never happened to me.” Maybe the unusual . . . maybe the unusual would be a better word. Something that . . . that really is beyond chance.

INTERVIEW STORY 15/PAUL’S 8TH: UNIDENTIFIED FLYING OBJECT.

Paul: Beyond chance (said quietly almost to himself). As . . . I mean are you talking ghosts? Are you talking . . .?

Mac: Anything like that, yeah. Er . . .

Paul: Well I mean comes to mind is . . . er . . . being with a . . . a group of people in a . . . in a ou . . . sort of a er . . . it’s-was an outdoor setting being . . . being in a barn that is used for canoe trips and hiking trips and that . . . er . . .

Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha.

Paul: And this is . . . this is . . . we’re a group of students . . . I was fairly young, maybe fifteen, sixteen and having a friend come in and say, “Come on and look at this light in the sky.”

Mac: Ah-ha.

Paul: It was . . . It was simply that, it was just a green light.

Mac: Really.

Paul: erm . . . that was stationary

Mac: Oh my God.

Paul: Erm . . . and it was getting . . . it was . . . There was twelve of us that saw it, we weren’t . . . we weren’t drunk, high school students or anything we were . . . we were erm . . . definitely excited about being at this place, we were out of school and it was sort of a school trip type thing. But this light . . . Could never explain it. Erm . . . it just . . . it got . . . it seemed to swell up as if it was coming close although it didn’t feel like it was coming close. And then it . . . and then it . . . in a matter of half a second disappeared but not . . . not just vanished it flew a . . .

Mac: Wow.

Paul: It got extremely small and zipped in an arc.

Mac: Good heavens.

Paul: And that was . . . Once . . . once it did that everybody just looked at each other and goes “Well that was a UFO.” You know there was no way that was . . .

Paul continues in a similar vein without any further prompt with the following genuine ghost story:

INTERVIEW STORY 18/PAUL’S 8TH: GRANDFATHER’S GHOST.

Paul: I did a lot of hitchhiking in New Zealand. And in New Zealand people are extremely friendly and they’ll always take you home to spend the night, or a lot of times they do. And I got picked up by a farmer and he took me back to the farmhouse and they had three or four kids and erm . . . a pretty rickety old . . . old building. And we were having dinner and the . . . the woman said, “Oh, don’t be alarmed if you hear a
tapping tonight it's . . . it's grandfather. He died about three months ago and he's . . . he . . .

Mac: [Laughs.]

Paul: "He goes through the house, and it's . . . the tapping is his cane that you can still . . . that you hear."

Mac: [Further laughter.]

Paul: "And or . . . she said, "You'll be sleeping in his room tonight but don't . . . noth . . . you know nobody's . . ."

Mac: [Continued laughter.]

Paul: "People have slept there and nothing's ever happened and you won't see anything you'll just hear it." And or . . . sure enough at about eleven o'clock we . . . we were watching TV. and . . . and she said, "Listen." And you could hear this tapping

Mac: Good heavens.

Paul: And it did go from his room through the living room and into the kitchen. And that was it and . . . and my . . . I mean the hairs on my . . .

Mac: Oh, yeah.

Paul: And everybody else just . . . they were pretty cool about it you know. And it was . . . it was definitely there . . . I definitely heard it.

Mac: Oh wow. [Said through accompanying laughter.]

Paul: Of course I had a very sleepless night.

Mac: Yeah.

Paul: Every shadow in the room seemed to be grandfather. But nothing else happened.

To a similar prompt Monica told the following story, during her interview, about the very locale within which stories were actually being collected:

INTERVIEW STORY 85/MONICA'S 5TH: WEST COTTAGE GHOST.

Mon: The first night that I . . . stayed in our room in the West Cottage I woke up in the middle of the night really scared, and just knowing or feeling that there was something in the room. And I'm . . . I've had it in certain areas before, so I feel like I'm pretty sensitive to that and . . . I mean it was creepy and bothered me a lot. And it got . . . gradually it got less as the days . . . as the nights went on, and just didn't bother me as much anymore. But it was . . . I mean I didn't look . . . I mean I never saw anything cool I refused to look. I don't want to see anything, it's just that I feel it and it's like, "I'm not gonna look." And then about a month later era . . . I mentioned it to another instructor that came down to work a course, and I don't know why I told it to him but I did, and I just felt something funny from him. And he said . . . he said to me, "I was in the same room two years ago," or whenever, and on his first night he felt the same thing in that room. And that sort of got a bunch of us going in the West Cottage. "Are we ever going to see ghosts and . . . ."

Again without further prompting Monica tells a couple of additional personal experience ghost stories, one of which related an incident she had during a kayaking trip up the West Coast of Canada.

INTERVIEW STORY 86/MONICA'S 6TH: WEST COAST GHOST.

Mon: When we were out West, on our kayak trip, Paul and I . . . same thing. We were on an island, and woke up . . . in the night and just felt like there's something really unhappy or creepy about the island, or that something had happened in the past there. And I didn't
say anything to Paul cose sometimes when you talk to someone else and
you get going on it, it just makes things worse.
Mac: (Laughter.)
Mon: And two nights later, that following morning I mentioned it to Paul and
he s . . and he said the same thing.
Mac: Yeah, yeah.
Mon: He felt it too. So. . . . But it got better
Mac: (Jocular laughter.) You didn’t do any research to find out if that
island had been . . .
Mon: no
Mac: That would be interesting. (Laughter.)
Mon: It seemed to get more friendly the more time we spent on it. We were on
it for four nights I think and its almost like we gave it good energy or
something.

The spontaneous nature of the telling of both these second
two stories indicates that this type of experience is
probably inherently storyworth (Bennett 1987).
Nevertheless, these stories must be classified as Helping
the Research stories because they were initially prompted by
a direct question from the interviewer to which the
informant responded in a helpful manner.

‘DIRECTLY’ NON-SPONTANEOUS HELPING THE RESEARCH STORIES.

Two other types of stories may be classified as Non-
Spontaneous Helping the Research stories. These types of
stories were those that, on the one hand, resulted from a
particular suggestion made by one instructor that I obtain a
specific story from a second instructor who was that
particular story’s recognized raconteur, and, on the other
hand, resulted from my requesting the retelling of a’story I
had heard on a previous occasion and wished, for one reason
or another, to hear again.

In the case of the first type of these Directly Non-
Spontaneous Helping the Research story, Doc was recognized
by his staff as being a particularly adept raconteur. One
instructor suggested that I get him to tell a particular
story. The following conversation along with the story it
elicited, occurred as a repercussion of this suggestion during Doc’s aforementioned interview.

INTERVIEW STORY 110/DOC’S 3RD: SPINY NORMAN.

Mac: Somebody told me to ask . . . make sure you tell me the one about Spiny Norman.
Doc: About Spiny Norman? Oh about the . . . Er . . . down in er . . . the Ever . . . or in er . . . Big Cyprus, over here we hike. Er . . . and there’s a . . . a three day loop that we can do over there. We were hiking along the first day, water up to about our knees and er . . . this dog, this beagle type dog started following us. 'N' its like, “Wow where did he come from.” And er . . . it turns out he’d been shot in the paw. And er . . . there’s an old er . . . Monty Python Story about erm . . . er . . . Spiny Norman having his foot nailed to the floor and going around in circles, you know type thing. So er . . . we nick-named this dog Spiny Norman. He followed us through thick and thin. It was like we’d go through water up to our chests sometimes and er . . . we’d say, “No way can Spiny keep up to us.” And we didn’t want to have to, like, carry him around and that kind of thing, it was just, like, “He must be with somebody whose hunting,” that kind of . . . And er . . . just when we thought er . . . you know, he’d turned around or something like that he’d show up right behind us. And at night he would sleep right at the foot of our bags and stuff like that. Neat little dog and er . . . This dog could only hop on three legs. He couldn’t use his . . . his er . . . front paw. And just incredible perseverance. And er . . . so we . . . when we finally got out, he followed us on the whole loop all the way round. They finally got out we er . . . gave him to the ranger and the ranger decide to adopt him. And er . . . we felt kinda good about it cose we got close to Spiny Norman. And er . . . and we told him what his name was and he responded to it . . . the dog responded to it. And er . . . so when w . . . ever we were out . . . whenever that crew was out in a tough situation after that on the course er . . . somebody would say, “Remember Spiny Norman.” You know cose someone would be whining or complaining or that kind of thing. “Spiny Norman wouldn’t complain.”
Mac: Wouldn’t complain (said while laughing).
Doc: So he became kind of a symbol on our course of er . . .
Mac: That’s great.

The only other time that such a suggestion was made for a specific story occurred when, specifically because of my presence, Sue suggested that Dave should tell his ‘Live Ghost’ story. It is perhaps unfortunate that this story had already been told and recorded for the retelling of such a story may have established a precedent that would serve as a model for the re-telling of other such stories.

Unfortunately, Dave declined to share this story claiming, truthfully, that he had already told it to me on an earlier occasion.
By far the more common of these two types of story involved the retelling of a story I had heard on a previous occasion but wished, usually because of a failure to accurately capture the original telling, to hear again.

Doc had told, one evening during dinner - when my tape recorder was, unfortunately, not activated in time to catch his original rendition, a story about hitch-hiking in North Carolina. This error, and the story it produced, was rectified as follows:

INTERVIEW STORY 121/DOC'S 15TH: DOG TIED

Mac: Tell me that hitch hiking story. When you . . . when you were living at Ginger Cake and y . . . (spoken very quietly).
Doc: Er . . . Oh that's where er . . . I had to hitch-hike to work with my van . . . the engine er . . . blew up and . . . Er . . . A.M.S. was er . . . Appalachian Mountain Sports a shop with a back er . . . thirty miles into town. And er . . . is . . . One-eighty-one is, you know, is pretty quiet . . . quiet road. There's a dog that er . . . had been left with us and er . . . we were supposed to take care of it just for a week or two and it turned out to be months and months long. This dog would get in more trouble. And er . . . so er . . . tried er . . . tying the dog up with a . . . erm . . . or . . . webbing and that kinda stuff and er . . . was out there for like two hours trying to get a ride. So finally somebody stops and just as I'm getting ready to get in the car, this dog comes running up behind. I say, "What is the . . . " (said very quietly amid laughter from the audience), said, "Fuck it!" And the dog is getting into my car. I don't care anymore, you know, I'm just gonna go get my ride. Start going aboard, and he's chasing the car. I go, "I can't let him run, and go through this." And so I stopped the . . . the ride, get out, take the dog back er . . . and actually put a huge fucking chain around its neck (spoken very quietly with particular emphasis on the word huge). And the dog can't even barely move, y'know. And I finally end up getting a ride up. On the way back that night er . . . erm . . . got into this big empty er . . . Rider Truck in the back of it. And the guy forget I was there and wouldn't st . . . took me all the way to Marion. Course I was pounding on the . . . It was probably about thirty miles out of my way. And er . . . he . . . Ended up getting a ride back up to Pine Hill and walking about ten miles. So . . . didn't get back 'til like one in the morning. But it er . . . was pretty hilarious. But I can do without those kind of . . .

This is two separate personal experience stories linked together to form one narrative. The second begins with the words ‘On the way back’ and is the story of his ride back from the day’s work. This is story I had in mind when I requested this narrative for it is the story that I had heard on a previous occasion.
A similar specifically requested story concerns Monica walking through the snows of Ontario in her high heels and panty hose. I first heard this in the common room just before dinner one night and was provided with this version upon requesting its retelling during Monica's previously mentioned interview.  

INTERVIEW STORY 93/MONICA'S 11TH: HIGH HEELS IN THE SNOW.

Mon: The high heel one; that happened about . . . Suppose I was about nineteen . . .

Mac: Ah ha

Mon: and I was going to a wedding. A . . . I was borrowing my mother's or my parent's car, wasn't living at home anymore I was working on a farm. And I was dressed up in a skirt and high heels, and I think it was the first time I ever wore high heels, and I still don't wear high heels. And off I went. It was in January, it was about minus twenty Celsius out and my mother said . . . I had gotten dressed at my parents place. . . . And said, you know, "Make sure you," you know, "do you have boots?" And, "do you have this and all that? Because it is cold out side." And being a typical child, it's like, you don't think of that, and you don't want to listen to your mother. (Laughs.) So I returned about, I think, two in the morning, and it was howling out. Just icy and cold and windy. And I was driving back up to the farm and the car was using up more gas than I anticipated cose it was so cold. I was on empty. I was way back no where. "And where is there going to be a gas station open at two in the morning?" And here I was in my high heels; visioning myself having to walk on the ice, in the cold, panty hose on. (Laughter.)

Mac: Carrying a can. (Spoken through laughter).

Mon: Yeah. Thinking about what mother said. (Laughter.) But I made it.

HELPING THE RESEARCH STORIES: SYNOPSIS.

It can be seen, then, that one of the immediate reasons instructors at the North Carolina Outward Bound School's Florida Base told personal experience stories during my fieldwork stay at this establishment, was to help me with my research project. Such stories, which range from the spontaneous, through the semi-spontaneous, to the non-

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5. It should be noted that not all requests for retold stories were so successful. On at least two occasions, one involving Doc and one involving Mike Ward, the previously mentioned social hermit and honorary Outward Bound instructor, the stories I requested were looked upon as too insignificant to be stories in the tellers interpretation of the word. On such occasions my request was graciously declined. This emergence and decline of a story is an interesting phenomenon in its own right and worthy of further investigation. My brief conclusions regarding this is that such incidents, one involving Doc's recent visit to the doctor and the other involving a fishing incident, are only storyworth when the factor of immediacy becomes significant. With time such everyday incidents lose their storyworthiness.
spontaneous, have been referred to as Helping the Research stories.

*Spontaneous Helping the Research* stories, of which there were two types, the *Genuine* and the *Spurious*, arose during times of regular social converse. The *Genuinely Spontaneous Helping the Research* stories may have occurred if I had not been present. However, the way they were hesitantly told with side glances in my direction, indicated that their telling was prompted, to some extent, by my presence. *Spuriously Spontaneous Helping the Research* stories would probably not have been told if my presence had not stimulated such a telling. These were more of a theatrical performance, than a storytelling performance in the folkloric sense of the word. *Semi-Spontaneous Helping the Research* stories occurred in either interview or non-interview situations as a result of efforts, by the raconteurs, to establish the parameters of my research emphasis; and to discover, by providing a narrative example, what types of story were grist for my research mill.

Finally *Non-Spontaneous Helping the Research* stories were also of two types, direct types and indirect types. *Directly Non-Spontaneous Helping the Research* stories were told, in the interview situation, as a response to a direct request for a particular story. These could be ones that I had heard earlier and wished to hear again, or ones that I was recommended to request of a particular erudite raconteur. *Indirectly Non-Spontaneous Helping the Research* stories were those that were produced as a response to a request - from the researcher - for a particular type of
personal experience story. These included; course element stories, near miss stories, and beyond chance or supernatural stories.

2ND IMMEDIATE REASON: SETTING PROMPTS.

Although a large percentage of the personal experience stories shared among the instructional staff of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida Base were initially told to help me with my research project, this was not the exclusive Immediate Reason they were told. A second reason, for the existence of these stories, is that they answer the demands of the environmental circumstances present at the time of their telling. These environmental circumstances prompted the telling of a particular personal experience story as an answer to the demands they present. This type of story is, therefore, referred to as a Setting Prompt story. There are a number of different setting-prompt reasons for the telling of personal experience stories among outdoor adventure education instructors.

SENSORY SETTING PROMPT STORIES.

The first Setting Prompt reason for the telling of personal experience stories, among outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, has been referred to as the Sensory reason for story sharing. The reason for this title is that it succinctly summarizes the exact nature of this Immediate Reason for the telling of this type of personal experience story. These Immediate Reason stories are shared as the result of memory activation. The teller’s memory of a particular set of storyworth circumstances is jogged by the
sensorial stimulation provided by the current environmental situation. During my fieldwork stay, at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, I encountered both auditory and visual Stimulation reasons for story sharing. Each of these aspects will be dealt with separately.

The most common reason that stories were shared at North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base is because of the auditory promptings provided through conversation. Stories were constantly being told because something somebody said, reminded someone else of a story. Such stories were also told, on numerous occasions, as a follow-on or topping reaction. These were so common that their definitive value is somewhat limited. It is of greater significance to focus on the other sensorial reasons for the sharing of a personal experience story among the population under examination. This is especially so in regard to the first story in a storytelling session. This provides the promotional base for all the stories told in that particular session. To discover why this story was told will, therefore, explain the existence of all the stories in that session.

‘VISUAL’ SENSORY SETTING PROMPT STORIES.

Three stories stand out as being prompted almost exclusively by the presentation of a memory jogging visual prompt. The first of these occurred on the second morning of my fieldwork stay at the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida Base. Early, on this breathlessly still morning, just before breakfast, Will Pooley, a six year veteran, white, male instructor who had worked extensively as a Native Canadian Program Manager at the Canadian Outward
Bound Wilderness School in the Boundary Waters between Minnesota and Canada, was sitting on the steps of the community's main building looking out across the channel linking the school to the mainland. I joined him in his reverie, as it was obvious we were both early and were simply waiting for breakfast to begin.

At forty years of age, Will was one of the older instructors at the school. He was born in South Bend, Indiana and had spent much of his life in the Upper Mid-Western States of Minnesota and Wisconsin either attending, or teaching school. Will had, on the previous evening, returned from an interview trip to the Mother School at Table Rock, North Carolina where he was attempting to obtain promotion to the position of School Safety Officer. He seemed to be re-familiarizing himself with the beauty of the Everglades, as he stared at the view ahead of the passage out into the Everglade Wilderness Area and National Park. The tide was extremely low on this particular morning and certain stretches of "land" were exposed that would otherwise have remained submerged. The following story followed naturally from the visual stimulation provided by the lowness of the morning tide.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY NO. 18/WILL'S 1ST: SUNKEN LANTERN.**

Will: The tide sure is low today. Reminds me of the time a couple of courses ago when the tide was excessively low. We were just . . . we were camped out there (Indicates, by pointing, the nearest down river island to the basecamp which is about a quarter of a mile or so out towards the Gulf of Mexico and towards the Everglades Wilderness Area.) And the students were rafted up behind the island. And Nina and I were sleeping in the bottom of the canoe. And we hung our lantern out on a tree, you know, for visibility [in order to alert incoming marine transport of their presence], at low tide. And high tide came up and just sunk the lantern. (Laughter.)

This story was told in the complete absence of any other prompt. Will simply started straight into the narrative
after verbally identifying the visual prompt for telling me the story. Both these factors, the impromptu rendition, and the introductory identification of the stimulus prompting the re-telling of the story, indicate, very positively, that the Immediate Reason for telling the story was the visual stimulation of the lowness of the tide.

A second visually stimulated story occurred towards the end of fieldwork during my third last interview. The Interviewee was Robyn Cresswell, a thirty two year old female who was born and raised, along with her three elder sisters, in New Zealand and who had worked at the North Carolina Outward Bound School, as an instructor and master teacher for the previous three and a half years. Robyn opted to be interviewed on the school’s little used Southern-most jetty early (10:00 a.m.) on Tuesday the 27th of February. Robyn told her stories in a very quiet and unassuming way, with incredible enthusiasm and with a unique, in this particular setting, New Zealand accent. Any emphasis she made in her stories was accomplished by a drop in the tone and volume of her voice rather than the usual heightening of these vocal qualities.

We had only just arrived at this previously determined venue for our story sharing session when a large pelican descended from the sky and settled on the extended mooring post right next to where the interview was being held. It was this visual stimulus, the pelican circling and landing on the adjacent post, that prompted Robyn to begin her interview with the following story.

**INTERVIEW STORY 154/ROBYN’S 1ST: 7 PELICANS AND 7 STUDENTS.**

Robyn: When Liza and I worked a course last year with the C.L.G. Group, and they were a really young group. Lovely group. Attached to the school.
And at the end of the course . . . Well there were a couple of incidences on the course too.

At the end of the course Liza was just grabbing breakfast, and I'd just brought them out here on to the . . . on the wharf here, just to watch the sun rise and to have a few moments of quietness just to think about their course. And at . . . near the end of that time, that they were sitting here, seven pelicans just came down real close to the water and just skimmed past. And I was sitting behind the students, and there were . . . there was seven students and one instructor, I think that was about the right number of students and instructors. Anyway that same number of birds as . . . as the group. And I went something like, "Oooh! Seven pelicans and seven students" (spoken in a whisper). And they went, "Oooh!" like this. And then a moment later this one pelican all on his own came skimming down here and they went, "Aaah! And that's Mr. D!". It was just . . . Lots of little magic moments like that.

Incredible stories in their own . . . own way.

A very similar setting supplied the story prompt for the third story to be offered as an illustration of this Visual Sensory Setting Prompt reason for the telling of personal experience stories among outdoor adventure education instructors. David Johnson chose to be interviewed in the same location as Robyn but chose the early afternoon of the previous day. The interview place was the school's Southernmost jetty and the day was bright and clear, although there was something of an afternoon breeze beginning to spring up.

INTERVIEW STORY 149/DAVE'S 1ST: "WE ARE RIGHT HERE."

Dave: It was a day about like today, pretty breezy. And the crew was navigating confidently and we were coming into basecamp. And there was one student in the crew that had asked . . . had been asking for snacks the whole trip, the whole four or five days we were out there. He was . . . Every . . . every time we'd stop for anything, he'd say, "Let's have a snack." And people were starting to just really get on his case about it. (Laughs.) And finally, it was on the last day, we hadn't eaten any of our snacks, and people were getting pretty hungry, it was in the afternoon about like right now [1:00-1:30 p.m.]. And er . . . we were at the end of Lane Cove, and we'd just come into Lane Cove down here. (Indicates the area we are looking towards by pointing out towards the Everglades.) And er . . . he succeeded in getting the group to have a snack. And while we were having snacks we started talking about er . . . minute mysteries, and solving 'em. And they got . . . really into it. So they kept coming up with some and we came up with a bunch of 'em and then the snacks . . . . We just kept eating on our snacks. Nobody was paying attention to where we were drifting to. We'd just come into Lane Cove and up until that point, they had been navigating really bang on, just right on. And I suppose we were snacking for an hour, a little over an hour, and we drifted a good oh three-quarters of a mile. And they looked up from the end of our snack-time and had no idea where they were. (Laughter.) And em . . . they debated for quite a while. And decided to paddle down this way. And er . . . we got to within sight of the basecamp after several stops. It was probably two-thirty when they started paddling again. And we got down to this end of the bay at around er . . . I'd say four-thirty. It took 'em two hours just to paddle the short length of the bay, just because they were debating on
where they were, or which way to go. And finally we ended up right out here at this island. (Points out the nearest island to the basecamp which seems to be less than a quarter of a mile away.) In sight of the basecamp. And it got dark at that point. And they... they failed to recognize the channel markers there and it was funny because the whole communication process had broken down with... within the group. And they were all screaming the same thing. "We’re right here! We’re right here!" (An almost silent chuckle.) And there we were within sight of basecamp and nobody said, "This is it, here." And... and we could... we were out there for... probably for two and a half hours after that, just trying to figure it out. It was just so amazing that we were within sight of our goal and yet still couldn’t figure it out. But it was probably the best thing that... that happened on the course as far as erm... getting people to speak out.

The visual sensorial stimulations for both these latter stories is fairly self evident. Robyn’s pelican is really obviously a stimulation in and of itself, while David’s numerous references to elements in his story that were visible during the time of the story’s retelling, “it was a day about like today”; “we’d just come into Lane Cove down here”; “decided to paddle down this way”; “got to within sight of the basecamp”; “finally we ended up right out here at this island” etc. strongly indicate that both stories were told in answer to a visual stimulus provided by the environment at the time of the story’s telling.

‘SONAL’ SENSORY SETTING PROMPT STORIES.

One story sharing carries this reason for its telling into a different sensorial dimension; that of sounds other than conversation. On this occasion, which was late afternoon on my first full day at the school, I had spotted Will Pooley waterproofing tents just behind the Eastern corner of the main building and went across to see if I could be of any assistance. Even though he had just returned from a trip to the mother school in Table Rock North Carolina, Will was aware of the purpose of my visit to the school, so there was an element of helping the research process to the story. However, by far the most obvious prompt for the story was the sound of some revelry-making vacationers who were
singing songs as they made their way up the passage to Everglades City in their cruising yacht.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 18/WILLS 3RD: CHRISTMAS CAROLS.**

Will: That reminds me of a... The course... what I'm thinking about is a course that one of the women and I did. And we had... we had this... the group out and the weather was... the weather was horrible for the first couple of days it was windy and cold; rainy. But the kids were cheerful. They set the boards [used for making a sleeping platform on rafted-up canoes] up and put the tarp over them and they... they got a bit of rest one night, we camped. The night before we were... the night after that... And then that... the night before we were to come in, we were to arrive... It was early morning of the end of the course, the day the course was to end. And er... about oh, eleven o'clock the previous night, which was about December the... sixteenth or so, we had... we had rafted up. We'd... we'd stopped at an island and taken the kids on a bit of a nature walk. The woman I was instructing with was very good at identifying plants and animals and explaining them. So we did that about five and we had supper and then we rafted the boats together there, and then about eleven o'clock in the evening we had this raft constructed and we... There was this Huck Finn contrivance, and we er... we started out and we're er... They designated paddlers and er... a pilot er... a navigator. And er... they had a big cooler in the middle with the... with the two lanterns on it for... for lights. And er... they started out and they had their own... their own Huck Finn type journey on this... on this large raft. And they paddled all the way across the bay which is about three miles. And er... we were right behind them about fifty... you know, fifty feet or so. Within a safe distance, but also independent enough that they could have their own kind of journey of sorts. And they were just delightful. They were singing Christmas Carols, and we thought that they would... the wat... And it just echoed across the... across the whole bay. That was wonderful. Yeah. That's one of the images that comes back to me as memorable.

This story was unique in that no other story, except those that responded to a verbal prompt of some type, answered the promptings of an auditory stimulus. However, despite its being unique, this telling does indicate that purely auditory stimuli do have the potential to promote the retelling of a story among the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School.

**COMMUNAL SETTING PROMPT STORIES.**

Apart from specific sensorial prompts for telling stories such as those provided through visual and auditory stimulation, there were also a number of general communal
setting prompts for the telling of stories among the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. Such stories have, for obvious reasons, been referred to as Communal Setting Prompt personal experience stories.

'MEAL-TIME' COMMUNAL SETTING PROMPT STORIES.

One such communal story-prompting setting was the consumption of daily fare. Eating supper together as a whole community was a particularly strong story prompting situation. The first story I heard at the school was typical of such stories. This story seemed to have no obvious story prompting antecedents other than the gathering of the whole community around the dining table to share food.6

SPONTANEOUS STORY 1/DOC'S 1ST: MA & PA'S MILK BOTTLE.

Doc: When I was growing up my mother would always get breakfast ready for my dad. She liked to make things easier for him, and so would loosen the top on the milk bottle. Dad was of the old school who grew up when, you know, you had to shake the milk bottle up. (Imitates the action.) Dad would come down every morning and stand there at the table and shake the bottle. (Gives another demonstration.) All over his work suit. "God damn it! Look at this!"

This happened every day for years. I swear to God. Finally I said to Ma, "Your not going to do that again are you?"

She sure was. So after she'd done it, after she'd loosened the milk bottle top, and her back was turned, I just reached over and tightened it back up again. (Fits the action to the words.) Dad came down and wouldn't you know it, he was too late for breakfast. The only time in his whole life that he ever missed breakfast.

Hey, this was such a regular thing with Dad that he actually took to wearing white suits to work.

This story was told towards the end of the evening meal when everyone was finished eating, and were just sitting around the table exchanging general conversation. Evening meals were eaten in a long, narrow room at the back of the

6. This story was told during my first meal at the school, and therefore it is somewhat difficult to decide whether or not my presence as a researcher into storytelling among this population had a major impact on the telling of this particular story. However, this pattern of storytelling over meals was, in subsequent days, repeated sufficiently often for me to include this first story in this category.
school's main communal building. The room was just large enough to house the series of about four long trestle tables, that, placed end to end, served as the community's only communal eating facility. The room looked out over the lawn at the back of the building towards the Spanish Sawgrass and Mangrove Forest Wilderness beyond. A series of windows the whole length of this room provided access to this view. This story was different from the other type of conversation that was taking place at the time. While other conversations were addressed to one's immediate eating colleagues, the story reported above was addressed to the entire gathering. I was not party to the conversation taking place in the vicinity of the storyteller so I was not party to any conversational promptings that may have given rise to this particular story. However, this phenomena of telling stories as an accompaniment to eating was so common that the setting was probably all the prompting that tellers needed to break through into stories. Two other stories, again told spontaneously over the supper table serve to illustrate that this story telling situation was not uncommon.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 26/DOC'S 7TH: CAVING AT 5:00 A.M.?

Liza: Have you been caving lately Doc?
Doc: Liza, you know I hate to cave! I think Opie must just have forgotten that time he asked me at midnight to cave at five o'clock the next morning.
I was living in the motel [The motel is name that instructors have given to one of the instructor cabins at the North Carolina Outward Bound School's main base of operations at Table Rock or T.R.] at T.R. It must have been around midnight, I know I was fast asleep. Opie came all the way up from his duplex to see if he can persuade me to go caving the next day. He's shining his torch in my eyes and he's saying, "Hey wake-up, man. I need you to go caving in the morning. They're leaving at five in the morning and you're the only guy around the place that's available."
"You're joking, right, Opie? You have to be. No-one in his right mind comes all the way up here from the duplexes at this time of the night to tell me I'm going caving in five hours time! I hate caving, man."
He isn't joking. He needs me to go caving in five hours time. I hate caving!
This story was told on the evening of the 21st of February, my fourth evening dinner at the school. It was told with all the staff in attendance, and, as on the previous occasion, was told towards the end of a meal as people were beginning to contemplate clearing up and/or washing up duties. Perhaps this is some sort of procrastination tactic aimed at putting off a distasteful task that no one really relished performing. Although Liza’s question to Doc was in no way artificial, it did seem to be cued by the setting. It was almost as if her phrase was guaranteed to promote a story and almost as if it was said with this aim in mind. As if Liza felt that it was now the regular time for storytelling and she responded to this storytelling setting with a phrase that would guarantee a story addressed to the person on the instructional staff who was most likely to honor that guarantee.

The second of these stories was actually prompted by the dessert that was served during the dinner of the 26th of February. A number of the staff had drifted away from the supper table, but five of us, who had been eating in close proximity, remained to share a number of stories that arose when Monica, while eating the remaining delicious strawberries that were served as dessert for that particular meal, asked what type of berries grew in the wilds in the Florida Everglades. She went on to share with us the following story about the Pacific North-West of Canada, after answering her own questions by making a statement about the profusion of wild berries in this area of the Continent.
SPONTANEOUS STORY 54/MONICA'S 2ND: CAMPING ON A ROCK.

Mon: Actually we were out there for forty nine days so we did the whole coast of British Columbia. The whole vegetation was really lush, not just the wild berries. So it was a really hard area to find camping. It's very rocky, and where there is any non-rocky areas, the plants get so thick in there. Unless you have a machete or something you just cannot go camping in the woods. It's not like here, well some areas here anyway. And we did find a rock once that was above the high tide line, but it had a huge gap between it. So I had to spend about a couple for hours just filling it in with drift wood and other rocks just to make a semi-platform. But it worked and we camped there for the night.

As was the case with Doc’s story following Liza’s prompt, this story gave rise to a whole host of other stories which were told by a variety of instructors as a response to the stories preceding their narratives. Again, however, it is my feeling that the prompt which started the storytelling session was purely and simply the setting of a meal time gathering where the instructors were able to relax with each other without the pressure of being on duty.

Other meals at the school were much less formal. People turned up for breakfast and for lunch very much at their own discretion. Meals at these times were usually of the serve yourself type, although often buffet alternatives were made available in either the dining room areas or the pantry facilities adjacent to the formal kitchen. Instructors were encouraged to use this latter facility to put together their own meals. The actual place of consumption of such meals was again left to the discretion of the individual instructors. Therefore, some would eat outdoors - if the weather was nice; while others would eat in the dining room or common room. This last place was always a popular breakfasting and lunching area. It was also where most of the non-formal meal time stories were shared.

The first such breakfast story I heard was told on my second morning at the school by the honorary Outward Bound
instructor, Mike Ward. Mike was in fact a modern social hermit who spent his time living in three of four tents he had erected on one of the remote keys in the Everglades. On this particular morning he had come in to Everglades City for supplies. He had arrived at the base bright and early that morning, and, as was usual on such occasions, was in the process of leaving his canoe at the center in order to take the school ferry over to the mainland to do his shopping. Mike was quietly smoking his pipe in the common room as he patiently waited for someone to ferry him over to the mainland. Mike and Liza, the only other member of his audience, were sharing the common room's largest couch which was placed along the wall furthest from the front door and which, therefore, had, albeit somewhat restrictedly, a clear view of the channel to the Everglades.

As Mike sat relaxing with his sweet smelling pipe, Liza was eating her morning bowl of breakfast cereal. With little further prompting Mike told the following "fishy" story.

SPONTANEOUS STORY NO. 15/MIKES 1ST: ENORMOUS SNOOK.

Mike: Gwen bought her beau John to visit this last weekend and I've never seen a more remarkable fisherman. Gwen and I were playing cards in my tent the other evening, and we suddenly hear this screaming and yelling from down on the shore where this John is fishing. And Gwen gets up to go and see what the problem is. She comes back a couple of minutes later and says, "Mike, come quick. See what John's got." So off I go down to the shore, and this guy's landing this snook, the biggest snook I've ever seen in my whole life. And he's a pretty tall fellow, and this snook ran from his shoulder right down to his legs. (Indicates these two points on his own body.) I've got a picture of it. But that was really . . . And on top of that he then pulls out the biggest trout I've ever seen on the West side of the peninsula as well. That guy could really fish.

7. I was told of this position held by Mike Ward at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School during my first evening at the school. The person who referred to Mike in this fashion was Doc Klein, the school's program director. Although I was somewhat reluctant to use Mike's contributions, as he was not an officially employed instructor at the school, I feel that the title bestowed upon Mike, by the man in charge, legitimizes this use of this particular story, especially as it had been addressed to a recognized instructor in the school's communal setting.
Liza herself, Mike's immediate audience for the above narrative, told a morning breakfast story exactly a week later. Buffalo, Grant, Sue and I were gather, along with Liza, in the instructor lounge sharing our buffet breakfast of cereal and yogurt. Sue is contemplating her day off. She aims to go off camping for the day somewhere. Liza Carter, a 31 year old, single, female instructor and director of youth services at the school with two and a half years of service with the Outward Bound Organization and a bachelors degree in recreational administration with concentration in Outdoor Programs, tells Sue that she (Sue) needs to spend the full 24 hours away from the base somewhere. She then tells the following story to illustrate that this advice is much more easy to give than to actually carry out.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 65/LIZA'S 6TH: DAY-OFF CAMPING.**

Liza: On days off I just need to spend the whole twenty-four hours away from the base. But that's nearly impossible. I was shopping in Naples one time and was determined to spend my full day away from this place. But could I get a camp-site? No chance. I must have gone to three or four sites and every one had no room for tents. I ended up down here across from the national park, hoping they may have somewhere I could put up my tent. I was gonna pitch it on that spare grass on the national park grounds but then they told me they closed up for the night half an hour before sunset, or something. I ended up eating my supper while sunbathing in the national park parking lot. I asked the guy across the street if he had any places for tents where I could stay the night. And he said, "Yep. Fifteen dollars." I said, "What!" Anyway he must have thought I was homeless or destitute or something cause he let me stay in a back lot or something and shared his coffee with me from the back of his truck. But nowhere in the whole of South-West Florida could I camp. It was all just R.V. parks with generators and lights and **zurrer.** (Imitates the noise made by a generator at an R.V. camping park.)

It is, perhaps of some interest to note that the stories told during breakfast time gatherings did not, generally speaking, lead to the sharing of others. Lunch time stories, on the other hand, were similar to dinner time in this regard, and usually did lead to the sharing of numerous other stories as the first narrative would be the stimulus for the sharing of similar such stories.
The first genuine lunch time story I heard occurred during
the second break I spent at the center. Present at this
telling were Doc, the storyteller, Dave Johnson and two
maintenance workers as well as myself. We were each eating
our buffet lunch at various spots around the staff common
room. Doc was eating his lunch standing at the window
looking out across the channel to the Everglades, and simply
waxed into the following story.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 19/DOC'S 4TH: SAILBOARDING.

Doc: I'm gonna sailboard once everyday and get really good at it. (Here Doc
fits the actions to the words and pretends to be a sailboarder out on
the channel on his imaginary sailboard.) I went out yesterday afternoon
with Paul. I was doing fine. I had managed to stay dry for about an
hour. When I came in Paul said,
"Man, you've got to be more aggressive out there!"
Then he went out there and gave me a lesson in aggression. He was
really aggressively doing his own thing on the board. So I thought, "O.
K., I'll be aggressive."
So I went out again and I was determined to be more aggressive. The
first time I tried to be more aggressive, "Splash!" (Slaps the palms of
his hands together fingers pointing directly outwards, lower hand
stationary, imitating his own impact on the water.) That was the first
time I got wet all afternoon, man. I was doing o.k. 'till then.

A week after the telling of this story seven instructors
were gathered, along with myself, in the staff common room
eating our usual buffet lunch. We were seated at various
positions informally around the room gossiping randomly.
Robin Kinaird, a 34 year old, single, Texan, male
instructor, with extensive international white water
instructional experience, has only been an Outward Bound
instructor for a year. He was the eldest of three male
children born to a University of North Carolina Arts
Professor. He loved to tell stories and did so with
considerable vocal animation. On this particular occasion
he simply suddenly addressed the gathering without any other
prompt and proceeded to relate the following story.

8. During the first lunch break I spent at the school, Doc did tell one story, but I felt
this story was prompted more by my presence than by the fact that it was lunch time
and hence this story has been considered to be a non-genuine lunch time story.

259
SPOUTNEOUS STORY 66/ROBIN'S 1ST: CHATTANOOGA SCORPIONS.

Robin: I've heard that they've had an outbreak of scorpions on the Chattanooga recently. (The Chattanooga is the river bordering the states of South Carolina and Georgia where the North Carolina Outward Bound School takes each crew to complete its white water section of the course.) I was down there once with a crew and we'd set up camp and everything and I was just about to sit down with my drink and as I lowered myself onto this dry space I just glanced between my legs and there was this enormous scorpion. Euch! Just imagine if I'd sat down.

Both these lunch-time stories were followed by numerous other similar stories all piggy-backing on this first narrative. This characteristic seemed to be a feature of most of the stories told during meal breaks around the school. Breakfast time stories were the only exception to this general rule. They, it seems, are told too early in the day for people to respond in kind. Perhaps people's minds are not fully awake at this time in the morning, for the usual narrative responses that followed lunch and dinner-time stories such as piggy-backing and topping were noticeable by their absence during breakfast. Despite this anomaly, it has to be stated quite categorically that a reason for the telling of personal experience stories among outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School is the prompt provided by the setting of sharing meals together. This is so, even though there are at least two different ways in which meals are shared.

'TRAVEL-TIME' COMMUNAL SETTING PROMPT STORIES.

Another Communal Setting Prompt, that seems to promote the telling of personal experience stories among the outdoor adventure education instructors of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida Base, are the journeys that instructors take together. For want of a better expression these types of stories have been referred to as Travel-Time
Communal Setting Prompt stories. The first type of journey, stimulating stories, is that taken on the school ferry ride to and from the mainland. This school transport was the only egress, unless one used one’s own paddling power, from the school’s campus. Although I rarely left the school grounds to go to the mainland once I was in situ at the center, on both occasions I availed myself of the opportunity, stories were told. One of these, Monica’s “Canoes Bending”, has already been reproduced, as the overriding factor involved in its telling was my presence as a researcher into the storytelling habits of outdoor adventure education instructors.

This second, ferry riding story was told by Mark Wilson, a 32 year old, single, New Jersey native who both instructed at the school, and was employed on the logistics side of the school’s operations. Mark had only been with the school for a year, although he had some experience working in Summer camps in the New England states and he did have a bachelors degree in Political Science. Mark and I were taking the ferry, which Mark was piloting, over to the mainland to go for an early evening run together. We were accompanied by Liza who was going across to exercise on her cycle, and Monica who was going to pick up the mail and some equipment. Mark’s story was prompted by the whole setting of being in the ferry which brought to mind the recent incidents related in the story.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 52/MARK’S 4TH: FERRY EPIC.

Mark: Did any of you hear about last night’s epic with the ferry? (Murmured “no” from the other people on the ferry.) Tim and I came back to the base camp late last night and we met Doug’s parents waiting at the dock for Doug to come over with the ferry to take them over to the base. I looked out towards base and saw the running lights of the ferry. As I was putting away the spare key on the van, I thought, “How come I didn’t hear the ferry?”
Tim and I looked across and saw the ferry hard against the sea wall on the south bank away from the base. As it was late we paddled over to Doug in the ferry instead of yelling out to him. [Some instructors will paddle over to the mainland rather than taking the ferry. This is especially the case if the instructors know they are going to be late returning. Rather than disturbing someone to come and fetch them in the ferry they simply return under their own steam.] When we got to the ferry, Doug said that the engine had stalled in mid-river and that it wouldn’t re-start. During the attempt to re-start the engine, the outgoing tide had started to push the ferry out into the channel, so he had paddled the ferry over to the sea wall in an effort to avoid being swept out to sea.

Tim checked over the engine and determined that the fuel line was the problem. Unfortunately, the spare fuel line had been removed from the ferry. So, Tim and I paddled over to base and scrounged around for the line and a flashlight. We took these back to the ferry and installed them. The motor fired right up. And so we were able to go and pick up Doug’s parents. About an hour after we arrived at the dock, we finished the crossing to the base.

The second type of journey, stimulating the telling of personal experience stories among the outdoor adventure education instructors employed at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, is expeditions. I was only able to involve myself in what might be called mini-expeditions, and on both such occasions a story was told at some stage during the trip. The first was told by Grant Bullard, a guest instructor at the North Carolina Outward Bound School, who is on a one year’s sabbatical from his regular job of eleven years as the Associate Camp Director of the Eagle’s Nest Camp in Brevard, North Carolina. Grant was a 38 year old, single, white, male who was born and raised in Winston-Salem, NC. and who has a bachelors degree in Religion and one in Business.

Grant told his story, to me and seven members of the school’s community, who had opted to go for an afternoon’s sailing in one of the centers dory cutters. It was told at the end of the sail, as we were returning to the base under oar power. We had sailed as far south as we could without actually being in open water in the Gulf of Mexico. The sun was setting at the end of the day and it was this scene that
provided Grant with the final stimulation for the telling of the story.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 77/GRANT’S 1ST: WHITE LIGHTS IN THE SKY.**

Grant: Last week on my trip I had this weird experience. I was paddling from here to Flamingo and back again. On the first night, I’d been paddling all day and, after I set up camp and had my supper, I got a fire going for the night with drift wood and stuff. I’d been staring into the fire for a while, and then I walked away from the fire and looked out to sea to where the sun had set. There was this weird light shooting up from where the sun had set straight up into the sky. I thought at first it was my eyes playing tricks on me as result of my staring into the fire. But it wasn’t. It happened every night I was out.

The second expedition story occurred as I was being taken in the “Whaler,” the school’s rescue vessel and general run around boat, to interview Mike Ward at his hermitage residence on Lu Lu Key. Mark Watson took us out to the Key where my wife, child (two year old Robert) and I were to spend the night, sleeping wild and chatting to Mike. As we negotiated one passage between two islands, that formed a kind of Mangrove tree tunnel, Mark was prompted to repeat the following story because this passage reminded him of the last time he had made the run to Mike’s

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 49/MARK’S 1ST: TRIP TO MIKE’S.**

Mark: Last time I made this run was ... we came to this place where ... which Mike has called Le Mans because its a snaky little passage that cuts off some of Indian ... you know, it cuts off some of Indian Key Pass and takes you in to Gaskin Bay. And there’s a ... Last time I went through it at high tide, you know you ... I ... you go slow, but you can go a little faster than slow and it’s kinda fun because you’re sinking. With everything being so closed in like this it just feels like you’re going fast even when you’re not. So I’m ... I’m heading in and er ... So I see a lot of mangrove roots in the ... in there, and er ... and you don’t usually see those at high tide, but that didn’t click. And there’s one oyster bar on a left ... as you’re heading out, on the left hand turn. So we got to there and that was completely exposed, and that shouldn’t be at high tide. I mean I ... I’ve gone over it at high tide, you still have to go slow, and er ... and maybe ... I had ... first time I did it I had ... I hit it in neutral, but I didn’t hit. Well now I went over it and I, you know, I was ... If I had known how low the tide was I would have been going even slower because I saw the oyster bar, and I swung really wide. And all of a sudden there was a big, “Boom!” And I still hit something. I don’t know what the hell it was, but I just cranked it down into neutral and I hesitant to put it into gear again cause I’m thinking, “The shear-pin, I broke the shear-pin. Oh no! Now we’re screwed.” But I put it in gear and we were still going and I said, you know, “Maybe I’ll go a little slower.” And they said, “Yeah, you probably ought to go a little slower.” So O.K., so that’s er ... still not registering, I was attributing it
all to the wind, coss there was this strong wind blowing, blowing
everything out.

So then we got to where it opens into Gaskin Bay. And, well now I've
been here several times at high tide, so I just put the motor down and
tried to bring it up on plane and I looked behind me and it's just mud.
And it's almost stalling. So O.K. . . slow it back down lift the motor
back out. I'm going, "What is going on here?" You know, "There's just
no way . . ." And so now I'm having somebody erm . . . you know, pull a
Mark Twain up in front. And it's like, "This much water. This much
water." (Indicates about a foot with his two hands.) Which is enough
to operate the boat, but it's not high tide.

O.K., things aren't . . . are . . . are going. We finally get out into
Gaskin Bay. The water's . . . the water's deep, although it's still
only, you know, four feet. We go out past Tiger Key, and the whole
spit's exposed. Not on. Cose I can remember saying to somebody that,
you know, "Now Tiger's a great place to go shelling at low tide."
And then I'm thinking, "Low Tide! How come, hey, how come I can say
this to somebody?" (Laughter.) And then, you know, to go to Mike's you
have to swing really wide. Which I, you know, I ju . . . I do as matter
of course, as I did that and I'm looking into Mike's and, you know, you
start . . . you start to see his things.

So we come all the way to Mike's, and at high tide. . . . He's got a
little thing set up so that you can come in at high tide, pull your boat
all the way in, get out and then pull your boat back out so it won't
just be beached completely. So we get in and he's waving as we . . .
starting to come in. I'm about er . . . oh, fifty feet from shore, and
I'm out of water. I mean there's, you know, this much water (indicates
about eight inches with his fingers and thumb) and the Whaler is just
this heavy boat. And he says er . . ., "Well, you just made it."
And I go, as I . . . we were talking about trying to rig up the boat.
And I go, "We . . . well what do you mean just made it?"
He said, "Well, I barely made it in in my canoe, you know. It's a good
thing you're here."

I said, "Well, we weren't planning on, you know, staying." And I said,
"Isn't the tide coming in?"
He goes, "Oh no, no. It's going out. And it's gonna be going out. . .
It's not, you know. It'll be going pretty far out because of the
winds." He says, "I'll go put on some tea water." And er . . . "We got
enough room for all . . . you all to sleep and," you know. "We got
plenty of food."

There is no doubt that all these last three stories were
prompted by a particular set of circumstances that jogged
the memory of the storyteller into remembering, and
therefore, recounting – in the form of a story – the set of
circumstance that occurred at the time of the storied
incident. A claim could be made, therefore, that these
three stories belong in the previous category as being
immediately prompted by sensorial stimulation. While this
is indeed true, the fact remains that these sensorial
stimulations would never have occurred but for further
participation in the activities that prompted their original
occurrence. Therefore, I feel justified in categorizing
both riding in the ferry and expeditioning as being Communal

264
Setting Prompt Immediate Reasons why stories are told among the outdoor adventure education instructors of the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School.

'ENTERTAINMENT-TIME' COMMUNAL SETTING PROMPT STORIES.

One other Communal Setting Prompt Immediate Reason for the telling of personal experience stories among outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School remains to be analyzed. Two slide shows were presented by instructors at the school to their instructional and non-instructional colleagues during my two weeks of fieldwork at the institution. Both these occurrences gave rise to a number of personal experience stories. Again, for want of a better expression, and more from a sense of continuity than other considerations, these stories have been referred to as Entertainment-Time Communal Sensory Setting Prompt stories.

These slide shows were both presented during the evening hours when chores for the day were completed, and the instructors had no further obligations for the particular days in question. They were both presented in the staff common room after supper had been eaten, cleared away, and the washing up etc. had been finished. The actual starting time of both slide shows was around 9:00 p.m. They were given on consecutive evenings, the first being a stimulation for the second. All personnel at the school at the time were invited to attend the shows, but attendance was voluntary on both occasions. The first show was given by Paul Battle and Monica Bartman on the evening of the 26th of February. Paul and Monica had shared the expedition that was the topic of the slide show, a 49 day sea-kayaking trip.
up the whole coast of British Columbia in Canada. A mixed audience of three female staff members and five male staff members were present in addition to myself. Not many genuine stories were told during this first session. In all only two were told, the first being told by Monica, and the second jointly by Monica and Paul.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 80/MONICA'S 5TH: LIGHTS STILL BURNING.

Mon: This is a slide of an old deserted logging town right on the coast. We didn't spend much time here cause it was real spooky. But there's a real strange thing about this place. It's been deserted for ages, you know, for at least the last twenty years or so, and yet some of the electric lights in the houses are still burning.

It may be debated as to whether or not this is an actual story. There seems to be no complicating circumstances that are the true necessary components of a genuine story. However, this narrative is certainly typical of the style of Paul and Monica's slide show narratives as the next shared story indicates.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 81/MONICA AND PAUL'S 1ST: BOW DRILL FIRE.

Paul: Here I am with my first attempt at lighting a fire with a bow-drill.
Will: Well?
Paul: Oh, it worked. It was a successful attempt. My very first try I got a fire going and cooked our meal on it that night.
Mon: But the next night was another story. I was waiting for my supper, and Paul never did get another fire going that night. It was like, "Er, Paul, isn't it supper-time yet? Paul, I'm really getting hungry round about now."

The second slide show was presented by Will Pooley, and was the record of a canoeing expedition to the Hudson Bay Wilderness Area of Northern Quebec. Will's slide show stories tended to be lengthier and much more humorous. Here again, however, although one would have assumed that a slide show presentation would have been an opportunity for sharing numerous stories, only a couple were shared with almost the same audience as has attended the previous evening's show.
SPONTANEOUS STORY 83/WILL'S 8TH: JOHNNY "CASH"

Will: We paddled for about seven days and er . . . we came to this erm . . . Indian community on Family Lake. And found out that fires we'd seen for the past several days, were burning right down to the river's edge, and it was . . . it was unsafe for us to paddle through the river case of the fire. So, we had a choice of going on or getting flown out. And we thought, "Well maybe we'll f . . . we'll paddle down the lake into the Pigeon River which is another river we could've taken to get to Lake Winnipeg." That was also on fire. So we were left with trying to find somebody who could hop us over this and er . . . we were told at the Hudson's Bay Store that there was a guy who ran a . . . a charter service, "down the beach aways." So my friend Vic and I walk . . . he's about five-nine, I'm about five-eight, walk down the beach; passed these old dumpy houses, and it's pretty rustic. We come across this . . .

come to this point where there's this . . . all the trees are cut down, and er . . . there's this messy dilapidated cabin. And er . . . we're greeted by this snarling dog as we approached the cabin (said through laughter). And he barks. We see this old plane out at the dock, at the end of this rickety pier. Well the dog howl . . . you know, is snarling and barking and we stop of course. And then this decrepit screen-door, you know, flies open and out steps this six-four, beer-bellied, unshaven, unkempt, greasy figure. He says, "Yer!"

"Hi, er . . . we were told you could give us a ride into Horse Shoe Lake?" Which is past the fire.

"Yah!" It was the loquacious pilot. And er . . . So we . . . he came over to us and er . . . kicked the dog a couple of times. The dog slinked back under the house. And er . . . we said to him, "Well," you know we explained we had two canoes and two of u . . . four of us and our gear. "How much?"

Ponders a minute. "Three hundred and fifty dollars."

So we . . . Vic and I, you know, take a couple of minutes and we . . .

"Would you take . . . ?" Ask . . . We go back to him and . . . Now you have to picture this. Let me try to set this image up. Vic and I are about five-nine/five-eight are talking to this pilot who has dark glasses on, tooth pick out of his mouth and a old dirty raggedy greasy sweat shirt, and he's looking down at us from this six-six or so frame and he . . . We ask him, "Er . . . would you take a . . . would you take credit card?" And he just looks down at us. Silence. He rolls the tooth pick a little bit in his mouth and says, "Cash!" (Spoken very gruffly in imitation of infamous Johnny Cash.)

"Oh." So we take a minute, talk a little bit more. "Will you take er . . . travelers checks?" He does the same thing. "Cash!" (Again said with gruff emphasis.)

So we . . . then we said, "Well would you give us a ride to the Hudson's Bay Company so you . . . we can get . . . these traveler's check cashed?"

"All right. Get in."

So (laughing) he takes us up to this . . . this rusty old Plymouth that he has without any doors, and its seats are torn up. Puts us inside and away we go. And we get our checks cashed . . . travelers checks cashed. And he takes us back and he starts loading the plane, just tossing stuff in there. And he doesn't . . . he doesn't tie the canoes down very well, so we ended up tying the canoes on there. Turns out this guy was also a . . . kind of a rum runner type. He knew that he could take the local natives who had just got their welfare checks, and run 'em down to . . . fifty miles, charge 'em each fifty bucks, down er . . . down a coast, or out to another settlement, for booze. And in three days, all the natives welfare money was gone, and he was set for another month. And that was Johnny . . . so we nicknamed him Johnny Cash.

The presentation of a slide show was, then, another Communal Setting Prompt that led to the sharing of personal experience stories among the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida Base of the North Carolina.
Outward Bound School. It must be pointed out, however, that such a setting prompt may not be universal among outdoor adventure education instructors. I have rarely experienced slide show presentations aimed at fellow instructors at any of the British centers in which I have worked. Indeed, on those occasions when instructors did present a slide show, they were done as an instructional tool or as some other type of formal presentation to students. In such cases, the pictures were generally allowed to speak for themselves.

It must also be said that at least one of the North Carolina Outward Bound School instructors of my acquaintance will not attend slide show presentations. This instructor feels that slide shows are very artificial and are a poor excuse for avoiding the realities of the lived experience. This instructor further believes that, if ever he is in need of being reminded of outdoor experiences, which is one of the primary reasons for presenting slide shows, he will simply get back out into the wilderness and relive the actual experience. Despite the existence of this attitude it must be categorical stated, that slide shows at the institution under investigation did provide the instructors with a setting for relating their personal experience stories.

RE-ACQUAINTANCESHIP SETTING PROMPT STORIES.

The final Immediate Reason for the telling of personal experience stories among the instructors at the institution under investigation was the promptings provided by the return of instructors to the base after a break of some time away. This reason, a form of catching up with an individual's gossip, was difficult to classify as either a communal or a sensorial setting prompt reason for the
telling of such stories. It seems to contain elements of both. This reason for the existence of a story, then, has been referred to as the Re-acquaintanceship Reason for the telling of personal experience stories among the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. Outward Bound instructor Re-Acquaintanceship Setting Prompt stories, told as a response to this reason, would be similar to any such stories shared by any friends and acquaintances who had not seen each other for a couple of days or weeks.

One such story telling situation occurred when Will Pooley returned to the base after being away on interview, for the job of School Safety Officer at the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s main base of operations at Table Rock in North Carolina. Will returned to the base during the night of my second full day at the school. As Will’s appearance for a late breakfast on the next morning was his first appearance since his return, it seemed quite natural that some of his colleagues should be interested in hearing about his trip. Will seems to be a born storyteller and provided his audience with the following story as a response to questions about his flight up to the interview.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 17/WILLS 2ND: PUDDLE JUMPING G’ OLD BOYS.**

Will: That flight from er . . . Naples to er . . . Hickory landed late in Charlotte and er . . . The planes were oh, an hour-and-a-half late and I didn’t think I’d have a connection so I was surprised when I . . . when I got into Charlotte that the plane was still there. So it was just this little puddle jumper. So I ran from . . . from the er . . . the stairs of the er . . . the one plane I was on through the terminal, out the gate and er . . . stopped at this little plane that had just started to, you know, it’s engines were running ready to take off. And I got on there and er . . . it was like I was stepping into the nineteen twenties. Guys were . . . you know, it smelled of alcohol and that was . . . that was from some of these guys who were on it and er . . . And the whole ride was just . . . just a hoot. The pilot left the . . . the doors open so that we could see everything that was going on. You know, they pushed the tape recording and, you know, gave us the ‘stewards schpeal’. And er . . . these guys were just a stitch. And it was kinda raining, you know, and sort of rattling the windows.
And these guys were saying stuff like, "Well, how well can you swim?"
And he says, "Well, I can . . ."
"Can you float?"
He says, "Well I can . . . I can float, but I've got on my steel toed boots. We go down," he says, "I'll be walking on the wing."
He says, "Did you bring your fishing line along?" Said, "I'll be fishing underwater, you'll be walking on my shoulders."
These guys go on and on, you know, for half-an-hour. Just a riot.
The pilot left the door open, you know, and that added some possibilities for humor and . . . The lights were blinking and, you know, the radar screen was beeping out figures and . . . The ride was choppy and . . . It was fun. Little plane.

The other noticeable storytelling response to a returning base camp personnel was when the Doc returned after a couple of days off during which he had visited the doctor for a check up. Doc walked into the dining room at about 10:15 on the evening of his day off. A number of instructors were there at this time because the *staff orders* - which the logistics officer organizes about twice a year to give the instructors the opportunity to purchase outdoor adventure education equipment at wholesale prices - were due, and, therefore, various catalogues had been left in the dining room so that the instructors could make their choices quickly. Five male instructors were availing themselves of this opportunity while I was at the other end of the dining table completing my ethnographic notes for the day.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 63/DOC'S 23RD: DOCTOR VISIT.**

Dave: How was your visit to the doctor's Doc.
Doc: Man he was crazy. Told me I was stressed-out. Hardly took any tests and then started lecturing me about stress, and telling me I need to take it easy. He charged me sixty dollars and told me I should start taking some positive steps towards stress reduction. I said, "If you want me to reduce my stress level, then you can start by reducing the bill level." He didn't go for that idea. In fact he got quite pissed off actually. I didn't really like the guy. I mean, he didn't tell me anything I didn't know already. Then I had to wait fifteen minutes or so in the waiting room for my name to be called out so I could pay the bill. What a drag man. You'd think that if they were going to take your money off you they wouldn't keep you waiting to do it.

**CHAPTER SUMMARY.**

It can be seen, then, that we have two separate *Immediate Reasons* for the telling of personal experience stories among
the outdoor adventure education instructors employed at the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida Base; Helping the Research reasons and Setting Prompt reasons. Each of these reasons has a number of separate sub category reasons. I have stated that there were both spontaneous, and semi-spontaneous storytellings aimed at Helping the Research in which stories were told either as a result of my presence in the storytelling setting or as an attempt to verify their acceptability as grist for my research mill respectively. Additionally, non-spontaneous such reasons, in which informants were actually asked for a particular story or particular story type, have also been identified.

Instructors at North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base answer a Setting Prompt for telling personal experience stories by responding to various different environmental circumstances. I have indicated that such circumstances include the promptings of a specific sensory stimulation such as particular sights or sounds; and general sensorial stimulations that center around particular community settings. Such communal setting prompts are provided by eating meals with fellow instructors, traveling with fellow instructors either on the ferry or during expeditions, and attending slide shows put on by an instructional colleague.

Re-acquaintanceship situations are also thought to provide Immediate Setting Prompt Reasons for the telling of personal experience stories by the members of the community under investigation. This situation centered - in particular - around the return, to the base camp, of people who had been away for a period of time. I was told at the school that a particular time for storytelling was when the crews and
accompanying instructors returned from their expeditions. While it was impossible for me to verify this, because I was never at the school during the time of these returns, the suggestion is simply a verification of this final Re-Acquaintanceship Setting Prompt Immediate Reason for the telling of personal experience stories among outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School.9

9. It must also be stated that, as with all incidents of personal experience storytelling everywhere, there are particular conversational reasons why personal experience stories were shared among the population under investigation. People saying something would stimulate a storytelling; or, in particular, a certain story would stimulate a second and third story as piggy-backing and 'topping' occurred. This, Answering a Setting Prompt of a Previous Story, is particularly common among the population under investigation. Whole storytelling sessions were devoted to such topics as caving, scorpions and mice, snakes, and expeditions. However, this phenomena has been well investigated in the past (Robinson 1981; Young 1987; Butler 1992). While it is acknowledged that conversational and previous-story prompts do exist for the telling of personal experience stories by Outward Bound instructors, it is also felt that this line of inquiry is so well documented, and is so universal, that further investigation of this Immediate Reason for telling personal experience stories would add little to existing scholarship.
CONSCIOUS AND UNCONSCIOUS USE OF STORIES IN OUTWARD BOUND:
A FOLKLORIC EXAMINATION OF THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE STORIES
OF OUTDOOR ADVENTURE EDUCATION INSTRUCTORS

DISSERTATION
Volume II

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
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By
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*****

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Chapters:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Intermediate Reasons for Story Sharing.</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction.</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Intermediate Reason: To Entertain.</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment Through Humor - Irony.</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment Through Humor - Visual Imagery.</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment Through Humor - Tricks and Pranks.</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment Through Fear - Lost Students.</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment Through Fear - 'Rogues'.</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment Through Fear - Activities.</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertain Through Emotional Arousal.</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment Through Episodic Adventures.</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd Intermediate Reason: To Teach or Inform.</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teaching Stories.</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Information Stories: Re-Acquaintanceship.</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Information Stories: Autobiographical.</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Information Stories: Biographical.</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter Summary.</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Intermediate Reasons for Story Sharing.</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction.</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Intermediate Reasons: Catharsis.</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fear Catharsis Stories.</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anger Catharsis Stories.</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd Intermediate Reason - Rationalization.</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter Summary.</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ultramediate Reasons for Story Sharing.</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction.</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common Story Elements.</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common Story Elements: Character.</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common Story Elements: Settings.</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common Story Elements: Occurrences.</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common Story Elements: Synopsis.</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Analysis of the Common Story Elements.</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Proverbial Analysis of the Common Story Elements.</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Folkloric Analysis of the Common Elements.</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Symbolistic Analysis of the Common Elements: Introduction.</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Symbolistic Analysis of the Common Elements: Caves.</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xiii
CHAPTER 6.

INTERMEDIATE REASONS FOR STORY SHARING.

INTRODUCTION.

I have shown, in the previous chapter, that outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School initially tell their personal experience stories in order to answer the promptings of a particular contextual setting. A further reason for the existence of these stories may be ascertained by examining the external, initial conscious interpersonal motives of the instructors who share these personal experience stories with their instructing colleagues. In order to discover the specifics of this next ‘onion-skin layer’ of reasons for a story’s existence, I have, primarily, restricted my examination to the stories themselves. I have not consulted the raconteurs concerning this aspect of the investigation, preferring instead, as I have stated earlier, to allow the stories to speak for themselves.¹ I did, however, also consult, where applicable, the storyteller’s own words used to either

¹. This approach has been extensively justified in an earlier chapter. While this justification still holds, I believe that this approach is further justified when assessing the motivations of the storyteller for telling a particular story. Storytellers are not, as Sandra Stahl (1989:x) has pointed out, always consciously aware of their motives for telling a particular personal experience story. Seeking input from storytellers concerning their reason for telling personal experience stories, may, therefore, not be a particularly fruitful line of inquiry.
introduce the story or to return the story to the conversational world in which it occurred (Young 1987:9). I also consulted both textural and ethnographic notes taken at the time of a story’s telling, whenever I felt such a consultations added to the validity of this aspect of the investigation.

I have referred to this second-layer of reasons for sharing narratives of this genre as the Intermediate Reasons for telling personal experience stories. This expression indicates that, while tellers may not overtly state their specific motives in telling a particular story, there is, on the other hand, little that is either covert or ulterior in regard to this level of purposes for the story’s telling. This reason, therefore, lies somewhere between - intermediate to - the initial Immediate - contextual prompt - Reasons for a story’s existence, and the more hidden, often unconscious, ulterior motives for that telling.

After examining the personal experience stories of the instructors of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base from the perspective of the tellers’ initial, external, conscious interpersonal motivations, I discovered only two reasons for the existence of such stories. The first of these reasons is to entertain the audience, and the second is to teach or inform the audience. This finding seems to be in direct conflict with the findings of either Bascom (1965/54) or Oring (1976) and more recently, those of Sandra Stahl (1989). All these authorities believe that a story’s purpose is to entertain, to teach, and to validate
or maintain either personal or communal culture and values.² My contention, however, is that this third reason is rarely, if ever, the teller’s overt motive for sharing a personal experience story. I believe, as indeed does Stahl (1989:21), that the expression of cultural and personal values and philosophies are the ’hidden agenda’ of storytelling. Understanding the hidden agendas of storytelling requires the employment of a deeper level of inquiry than simply the assertion of the teller’s initial, external, conscious, motivations. Hidden agendas are some of the deeper reasons for a story’s existence, and, therefore, will be examined in a later chapter.

There are, then, two independent conscious interpersonal reasons why instructors share personal experience stories with fellow instructors. They share such stories in order to either educate or entertain their audiences. Each of these reasons will be dealt with in turn using different story types to illustrate the authenticity of this classification.

**1ST INTERMEDIATE REASON: TO ENTERTAIN.**

There are, in essence, four ways to entertain: to amuse, and therefore to entertain through the use of humor; to shock or scare, and thereby to entertain through the titillating use of fear; to arouse pathos, sympathy and empathy and hence entertain particularly, though not exclusively, through the use of tragedy;³ and to excite or entertain through an

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² I hope that the necessity for brevity here captures the essence of the work of these authorities without doing it too much of a disservice.

³ During the three week period that constituted my fieldwork stay at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, I only encountered two tragic personal experience stories. Indeed, I detected something of a reluctance to share such stories. Steve’s earlier reported hesitancy - when asked for a near-miss climbing
appeal to either a sense of adventure or through sexual arousal. 4

ENTERTAINMENT THROUGH HUMOR - IRONY.

A vast majority of the personal experience stories told by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School were told in order to entertain their audiences through the use of humor. It is perhaps somewhat unusual to note that a great many of these amusing stories were ironic in nature. Ironic situations in which reversals of intent, of fortune, and of character, abound. The person who should be the most fearless in an adventurous situation is seen as offering solace to others when in reality they are being self comforting; the individual who would seem - through appearance - to answer our stereotypical image of untrustworthiness turns out to be trustworthy; the student who appears to be getting the least out of a course is subsequently shown to be the one who obtains the greatest benefit; and - finally - the coincidental fulfillment of expectations; are all examples of the use of ironic humor in the personal experience story of the population under investigation. Some examples of this use will serve to illustrate the popularity of this type of storytelling humor

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4 Sexual arousal is certainly one method used to entertain through the use of excitement. This is witnessed through the vast use of pornography in all its many and varied forms in the entertainment industry. However, during my field work investigation, this form of arousal was never used in the personal experience stories of the instructional staff of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. This aspect of entertainment through excitement will, therefore, be examined no further during this investigation.
among the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. Liza Carter, the 31 year old female instructor from San Antonio, Texas who told the story entitled 'Day-off Camping' reported earlier, used this form of entertainment almost exclusively. Many, if not all, of her interview stories involved an element of irony. Liza was the first instructor from whom I collected interview stories. We met, at her request, outside her abode - a converted boat house on the center's middle dock - early on the morning of Monday the 26th of February, after I had been at the organization's base for eight days. Liza told her stories with considerable tongue-in-cheek humor throughout the interview as we sat opposite each other sharing breakfast while seated on the dock just outside her 'house'.

Liza's introductory preamble to one of her stories graphically indicates its ironic nature:

Liza: The other goofy thing about things that happen on courses are some of the people that you least expect to hear from... and this isn't... not even just consistent with here but outdoor work I've done other places. Where some of the people that pushed your buttons the hardest, and really challenged you as an instructor, sometimes, I mean, you know, they get the most out of a course, sometimes, you know. Sometimes they are also the ones that end up appreciating you the most. I mean, it's one thing to have a student you connect with write and we all have them because we have some wonderful students come through here?? - inaudible) and become just like your co-instructors. You go and have other students where you don't or they give you much more of a challenge. And yet some of them come back with much more of an idea what Outward Bound is, even though you'd never guessed it.

After setting the scene in this way, and preparing me, the listener, to hear an ironic story, Liza related the following amusing, because of its irony, personal experience story.

INTERVIEW STORY 6/LIZA'S 6TH: SOLO-SITE REVISITED.

Liza: I had a sixteen year old boy do that... fought the course the whole way. He was out on the course because he was having problems at home. And again his mother had got - through somebody else - it'd be a good
idea for him to develop some responsibilities as a young man. Thirteen or fourteen. (Laughter.) He just fought the whole thing, you know, and at the very end of the course, you know, he's leaving and he's like: "I'm out here," you know. "I didn't like the food, I didn't like this." Solo was very stressful to him. "I want a hamburger," you know. And he's going, "Well I don't think I'll ever camp again, but thank you for the experience." And that's always a problem with me is we work people so hard in the woods; do we turn them off to it? And I think some we do. Honestly.

Mac: I think so too.

Liza: But some . . . some we don't, and this kid came back a year later er . . . seemingly t . . . t . . . I wish I'd talked to him, but I never got a chance to. He talked to my course director. . . . Erm . . . as a different young man. And he had hiked from one point that he recognized as [inaudible]. He'd had his mom drop him off, hiked all the way around this loop, dropped down to our base-camp, with nothing on him but . . . or . . . like a raincoat and some granola bars (laughter). This was the kid that was bombed out about the food continually. And . . . er . . . was just going for a hike and wanted to see if Johnny - my co-instructor - or I were in and could he talk with us and just see us and . . . "No we weren't," and would he like to stay for dinner, you know, because it was around dinner time and . . . and eat a meal with us, you know, and then we'd set him up if he wanted to camp out or even with the cabins. He said "No," that he had a hard time with his solo and that he wanted to go back and re-visit his solo site. So he went back and found his solo site which was a mile or so down the road, spent the night at his solo site and then walked back the next morning, met his mom in Franklin. I mean this kid

Mac: Wow.

Liza: Yeh and you're like . . . I mean . . . and i . . . i . . . You don't want to say that every story's going to turn out like that because you do have times when you question whether or not you put this person through too many rings. And I would have questioned it with this kid and yet he turned it around, and decided he had . . . erm . . . seen something and I [inaudible] never would have guessed it.

An even more powerful example of the typical ironic humor featured in Liza's stories is her first interview story. In this story Liza is herself coping with a fearful situation when she is informed that the coping mechanism she employs for her own benefit is unnecessary in quelling the apprehensions of her fearful students. At the end of this story Liza herself recognizes both the irony and the humor of this situation by stating that: "This is just irony, I'm just laughing at this."

INTERVIEW STORY 1/LIZA'S 1ST: DON'T HAVE TO TURN IT ON FOR ME.

Liza: If I have to . . . operate in a fashion

Mac: Y . . . yeh.

Liza: with the integrity that I was asking of this person

Mac: Yeh.

Liza: can I do that.

Mac: Yeh.

Liza: It's always a challenge to be able to just walk that same

Mac: Yeh.

Liza: line you're asking them to do. And it's not always easy. And there's the funny things that come up . . . erm . . . about you dealing with . . . with your issues or your fears or whatever during a course. And er .

278
... one of the funniest things I... I've told this to other instructors, is about the cave which I... I complain more about just because it's kinda fun and it helps me vent about one component that's just one of those ones that (laughs) I just like to bitch about because it relieves the tension, you know. I can go up the Ropes Course and be nervous and things like that but erm... this is a whole different avenue for me. And er... so I made a lot of noise during staff training and I made a lot of noise during erm... just all the times I had to go in there and I was working as a winter staff one time and we had to go in there a lot. At least once or twice a week. And one time when I went in with a group of students... actually it happened twice, but this one time it was real memorable... was... going through the whole thing and going through the cave and having some students that were terrified of spending three days in a cave. And erm... first sitting down and talking about it and helping them kind of vent some of that stuff. And this one young woman (laughs) was sitting there talking... we're sitting in a circle and she'd start bringing up all those things that... very rationally, you know, she wasn't saying it with a whole lot of emotion, but what kind of made her nervous about the cave. And as she was saying it I could just feel the cave move because they were exactly the same as mine. And I'm like "O.K. No processing for now." (Said almost inaudibly amid much laughter from both audience - myself - and performer - Liza.) And er...
Liza: and you crawl back and you’ve got all your gear
Mac: Yeh.
Liza: and you have to lay down and you can only do it single file
Mac: Yeh.
Liza: And erm . . . these two are pretty nervous so I agree to stay in the back with them and Skip go ahead and take off with the ones that were a little bit more happy about the whole situation. So we are all together as a group but I was kind of focusing on them. And we get all the way to the back after going through this tunnel and . . . with our light on. And er . . . Ha Skip is sitting there and we’re regrouped at the back. And the students are . . . most of them are just loving it. And er . . . he says “Well . . . I wonder what it would be like to sit in here without our lights on?” And er . . . you know, again it’s not one of my favorite activities
Mac: Yeh yeh.
Liza: but I’ll turn my light off. So we’re sitting there . . . And usually, you know, we give them an opportunity to think about whether they want to go back in the dark
Mac: Ah-ah. Ah-ah.
Liza: and what they want to do about it. And we’re sitting in the dark and all of a sudden one of the students, it’s just like, “Let’s go back in the dark.” (Said with considerable mimicry and followed by a chuckle.) And usually you kinds have to . . . to process that
Mac: Yeh, yeh.
Liza: talk to them about it and say “Maybe we should try it in the dark.” No way, these guys were going to do it in the dark.
Mac: Laughs.
Liza: whether we want to do it or not.
Mac: Ha ha.
Liza: And my co-instructor’s just like “I could see the whites of your eyes. It’s like . . . “ (Liza indicates with fingers and thumbs enlarging circles around her own eyes.)
Mac: Laughs.
Liza: These kids they want to do it in the dark. (Laughter and considerable emphasis as indicated.) So we’re sitting around and
Mac: Oh wow!
Liza: I’m like “Now what am I going to do.”
Mac: Yeh.
Liza: I really . . . really have
Mac: Yeh.
Liza: a . . . hard time with (laughs) this. It’s like “M-m-a this is fun?” (Laughter.) And er . . . So with one er . . . the two students that’s really having a hard time being in the cave it’s, like, “No way”
Mac: Yeh. Yeh.
Liza: “I . . . it’s dangerous.”
Mac: Yeh!
Liza: “I can’t go back in there.” You can just see him . . . All of his alarm systems going off. “Danger! danger!”
Mac: Yeh. Yeh.
Liza: “I don’t want to go back in the dark.” (Amid laughter.) And so I thought, “Well you know you don’t want to force somebody into a situation like that.”
Mac: Yeh.
Liza: That’s a high anxiety thing. So we decided well . . . we’ll be back in the back with these two fell . . . with this guy and this gal that are nervous and er . . . allow them to turn on [inaudible] their lights but a little bit further back from the rest of them so it doesn’t interfere with their experience. And er . . . again I said, “Well,” you know, “I’ll hang back with these guys.”
Mac: Ha ha ha. “Phew!” (A ‘sigh’ of relief.)
Liza: So I’m hanging back with these guys going, “Yeh we’ll be very very,” you know what’s the word . . . “very discreet about it but we can turn our lights on.” So we’re lined up in the back. . . I hate being in the back because you cannot crawl over twelve people and blow out of that cave if there’s trouble (laughter). Last place you wanna be is in the back (laughter). So here you are in the back and er . . . people are climbing up and so we’re sitting in the dark
Mac: Yeh.
Liza: and laying down and just kinds getting everybody started and somebody just in front of us gets stuck. And you know you don’t really get stuck
but you kinda have to worm your way around for this one little entrance part. And I hate that. You're sitting there. . . . You can hear their helmet kinda banging and your like "Oooh!" (Laughter.)

Mac: (Joins in with the "Oooh!" and the laughter.)

Liza: And here you are sitting in the dark going (indicates growing fear and tension by extending her fingers and squeezing together an imaginary 'unsqueezable' ball).

And, you know, all the things happen where the dark kinda closes in on you and you start breathing a little faster and like "God damn it!" (Laughs.) And er . . . so I . . . I started getting a little stressed and I just sitting there going . . . (hunches her shoulders and half turns away from me indicating she doesn't want anybody to see what she is doing). Well, I'll have a look about this and I just about turned my light on just to kind of cool out a little bit and the one kid that's really, really stressed, was visible nervous about the whole thing turns around and just kinda looks back to me and says, "Liza, I think I'm going to be all right. You really don't have to turn that on for me." (Strained chuckling.) "For you! Are you kidding." And so both these kids decide (said while laughing) that they can do it in the dark. I'm in the back where I hate to be . . . (laughs)

Mac: And you have to do it in the dark.

Liza: and doing it in the dark.

Mac: Oh, that's terrific.

Liza: And so I crawl through the whole thing and well, I mean, (inaudible word}. Like this is irony, you know, I'm just laughing at this. And er . . . so I crawl up to my co-instructor as we come through the dark and he says, like, "So, they decided to do it in the dark, eh Liza."

"Shut up!" (Laughter.)

Little things like that happen a fair amount it seems to me, on a course.

This story is full of ironic humor. From the very fact that a Californian, earthquake-sensitive, person has to instruct an activity hundreds of feet under ground, through to this fearful instructor's students "wanting to do it in the dark" with blasé abandon; and from this instructor's self preservational use of a source of succor which was unnecessary for the comfort of her most fearful students, to her co-instructor's mocking statement, right at the end of the story, that the students had decided to do it in the dark "eh Liza;" the story exudes irony.

Other stories told by the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School may not have been as overtly ironic as those told by Liza. Nevertheless, other tellers did rely on an ironic twist of fate to provide the basis for the humorous undertones of the stories they told. Four such stories serve to illustrate this form of humor. Three involve a confirming ironic twist of fate, while the
other involves a disconfirming twist of fate centered around stereotypical type-casting.

The first of these three confirmationally ironic stories was told by Grant who shared the previously reported 'White Lights in the Sky' story. This was Grant's first interview story, the interview being held at midday while sitting in the shade of a couple of trees at one of the school's small white wrought iron lattice-work lawn tables, in matching chairs, about fifteen yards from the school's central wharf.

INTERVIEW STORY 19/GRANT'S 1ST: GODDESS OF OUTWARD BOUND

Grant: Having never worked in the O.B. system I er . . . was not sure how it was going to be.
Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha.
Grant: How er . . . how that whole stereotypical instructor thing would be.
Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha, ah-ha.
Grant: And, you know, you . . . I . . . I read brochures and a . . .
Mac: Ah-ha.
Grant: when . . . when I decided to . . . to try this on my year off.
Mac: Ah-ha.
Grant: Erm . . . I'd go through the brochures and I'd talk with people. And when I was going through the brochures there were . . . you know how you notice people in the brochures.
Mac: Yeh, yeh.
Grant: You . . . you see instructors and there was a . . . there was an instructor in several of the brochures. In the Florida brochure for here and also the North Carolina regular brochure. And erm . . . you know how you just . . . you see a face and you . . . you erm . . . you recognize it.
Mac: Ah-ha.
Grant: You say, "Well this must be an instructor." So you get it in your mind that this is your basic instructor.
Mac: Yeh, yeh, yeh.
Grant: O.K. so the time comes where I'm . . . I'm coming down here and er . . . you know I . . . I spent three or four days coming down and stopping off and seeing friends.
Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha.
Grant: I was coming into a new environment, didn't know anyone, didn't have any idea what it would be like, a little apprehensive, a little nervous.
Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha.
Grant: Erm . . . cose, as I said, I hadn't worked in the system. So I get here, I have no idea where Outward Bound is.
Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha, yeh.
Grant: I arrive over in Everglades City - I've been to Everglades City before. And I get there and I call the number. And er . . . Well first of all I got to Everglades City and I . . . and I . . . I didn't know . . . no-one knew, I even asked, no-one knew where the base camp was so I called the number I was given. Buffalo answers the phone, he said "Well, we'll be a'choo (sneezes) we'll be over in just a minute to pick you up on the ferry." And he tells me how to get to the dock. So I hang up and I go driving down the road and I find the dock and the ferry's not there yet and I'm . . . I'm just . . . I'm just getting more up . . . up-tight, more nervous and, you know, just unsure.
Mac: Yeh, yeh.
Grant: Who's going to be there? What's it going to be like? And . . .
Mac: Yeh, yeh.
Grant: So I get to the dock and there's another pick-up parked there. And there's someone taking things out of the back of the pick-up. And there's all these vans there and there's the big sign 'North Carolina Outward Bound' and I get out and this person is removing stuff from the back of the truck and comes around the side and it's the person.

Mac: In the picture.

Grant: in the pictures. And I'm going "Oh my gosh!"

Mac: Laughs. (Quietly over the next three or four sentences.)

Grant: This is it, th . . . then . . . this is the . . . the world's best Outward Bound instructor. The stereotypical thing that I have to . . . that I have to, you know, live up to. This . . . this is her. I mean . . . This is it. It's . . . It's a woman.

Mac: Oh God. (Spoken through laughter.)

Grant: So I kind of nervously walk up and I introduce myself and say, "Hi, I'm Grant Bullard and I'm here to . . . to work this season." She says, "Hi, I'm Deb Karne, welcome and la la la la." And I'm just kinda like "jajajaja!" (Spoken very gutturally.) You know. And we're talking a little more and it's really great because as we . . . as we talk within the first two minutes we figure out we have a mutual friend in Boulder.

Mac: Oh, great; oh, great.

Grant: And so I'm just like "Oh, God." But just to go through that experience of having seen this person . . .

Mac: (Quiet laughter for the duration of this section.)

Grant: in these two brochures and have read the thing up one side and down the other, and then the first person you see when you arrive on the sight is this same face, this same . . .

Mac: Yeh, yeh.

Grant: This goddess of Outward Bound! (Spoken with considerable emphasis.)

Mac: Oh no.

Grant: was kinda . . . was kind of er . . . a little bit interesting there in the beginning.

The second story I have selected to illustrate the ironically humorous aspect of the personal experience stories told by Outward Bound instructors other than Liza is very similar to the first in that it concerns a preconception by a male instructor of his female counterpart. This story was told by Steve at the culmination of his interview and its similarity to the previous story is fairly obvious. It was stimulated by a direct question for a story concerning his first instructional experience at the North Carolina Outward Bound School.

**INTERVIEW STORY 65/STEVE'S 16TH: ANYONE BUT HER.**

Steve: I remember being pretty scared of my co- . . . my er . . . the instructor. She was an ex-navy woman. You know, I'm not scared of her anymore. Now we're actually good friends, but at the time I was scared of her. She was kind of rough/gruff. Erm . . . let me think. I actually remember when they were starting to announce pairings thinking that, "I could work with anybody in this room except for her." (Laughs.)
Paul Battle told three or four stories during his interview that had an element of synchronicity that gave his stories an ironic and humorous twist. Perhaps the most unusual was a story concerning the sighting of a hammerhead shark.

**INTERVIEW STORY 9/PAUL'S 3RD: HAMMERHEAD SHARK.**

Paul: Another one that comes to mind is being... being in at... Banana Patch was a camp site at the south end of the park.

Mac: Ah-sh.

Paul: and having to explain to students they, you know, sleep... that... that swimming at night is not appropriate, know and... They always want to clean up at night and what not, and we walked out on the dock and I'm trying to tell them that they, you know, it's dangerous out there you can't... Turn my flashlight on and the first thing we saw was a two-and-a-half/three foot hammerhead shark swim by.

Mac: Really.

Paul: right there in the water. It was just perfect timing. I just turned round and... "See there's sharks in the water," and then there's also a... a... Gators come in at night to... to look at you. They just hang suspended in the water and there was a gator right there.

Mac: Really.

Paul: Yeh. So that was perfect timing, perfect teachable moment.

Mac: Terrific.

Paul: And I was really surprised myself to see a shark that far back in Banana Patch. And that ended all the questions about swimming at night.

Mac: Yeh. Wow.

The final ironically humorous story involved a disconfirming ambiguity. This story was narrated by Steve during his aforementioned interview. The irony in this story arises out of the contradiction of a usually accepted stereotype.

**INTERVIEW STORY 52/STEVE'S 5TH: THE GUY WITH NIPPLE RINGS.**

Steve: We'd met some people before we had went up. These two folks from California who were... Well he had these nipple rings, it was just hook wires. And we met them because all the camp-sites were full and we used to play this game that when you pulled into a... into this er... into a camp-site that was full, the driver would drive round and stop in front of the... and then the passenger has to get out and ask if you can split the site with them. So we'd been doing this, you know, for most of the trip, you know, whenever we came to a full site said, "Yeh!" And er... so one time Joe was driving and I was in the passenger seat and saw this guy with a weight belt on, biking shorts and nipple rings. Joe stopped the car and made me go out and ask. But he turned out to be a great guy.

**ENTERTAINMENT THROUGH HUMOR - VISUAL IMAGERY.**

The humor in this last story comes not only from the irony of the reversal of a stereotype, but also in the picture
story paints in the mind of the listener. One can imagine Steve’s trepidation as he asks this nipple-ringed biker if he and his climbing partner can share the biker’s camping site.

A number of other stories told by the instructional staff of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School were also humorous because of the pictures they painted in the mind’s eye of the listener. Monica told a number of such stories as did Will Pooley. Before outlining some of the examples of Will’s and Monica’s ‘visually’ humorous stories, it is perhaps as well to record the finest example of this type of story.

The narrative I consider to be the best example of this type of visually humorous story was told by the director of the school, Doc, on the afternoon of my second day at the establishment. The story was told to me while Doc and I shared a buffet lunch together in the school’s staff common room adjacent to the school’s formal dining room. Although the story seemed to be initially prompted by Doc’s desire to provide me with some history of the school’s geographical situation, the fact that we were overlooking the same scene overlooked by the story’s characters may have also contributed to the initial reasons for its telling.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 5/DOC’S 3RD: ONE-EYED CHARLIE.

Doc: One er . . . Christmas Bo Levin and I, Bo Levin I think you met earlier, erm . . . were sitting here and a sail-boat came by. And these are people that came by every Christmas Eve for the last sixteen years to this place. And er . . . they told me that er . . . they would celebrate er . . . Christmas Eve with the Stevensons [the previous owners of the property on which the school is situated] er . . . usually late into the morning on Christmas Day. And er . . . they told me about the time er . . . when One-eyed Charlie, who was actually erm . . . one of the local residents of this island, how he came to the island. And er . . . he was a man that had tuberculosis and er . . . the doctors told him that he should come to Florida to see if the . . . the air would be good for him and that. So er . . . the Stevensons were out celebrating one Christmas Eve, and it’s like one in the morning, and Mr.
Stevenson, who had a serious alcoholic problem, was out in his naval uniform yelling into the wind and there was just a raging storm going on. Well this guy had heard about this place. One-eyed Charlie, had heard about the place, tried to get him on the ferry-phone across the way. And couldn't ring him. The storm had apparently knocked the lines down. So he dove into the water and swam across the channel. And just as Mr. Stevenson, who had his sword raised up and yelling at the wind, and doing his big schpeal while all the guests were gathered round looking out the windows watching, this One-eye Charlie comes up out of the water just drenched and covered with stuff and scared the shit out of Mr. Stevenson. Who went back into the house and passed out. But so that was pretty funny.

The second of these three humorous picture stories was told by Will Pooley. Will, as can be seen from his previously reported stories 'Puddle Jumping Good-Old Boys', 'Sunken Lantern' and 'Christmas Carols' seemed to delight in painting both visual and auditory pictures in the mind's eyes of his audience. The particular story cited below was told during Will's interview, which took place on Thursday the 29th of February while we shared breakfast at eight o'clock in the morning. The morning was again bright, sunny and warm, and the interview took place outside on the school's lawn tables adjacent to the central quay.

INTERVIEW STORY 144/WILL'S 2ND: TRAIN LEAVING.

Will: This was an O.B.Y.C. [Outward Bound Youth Correction] course, a course for youth at risk, and it was an all male course, I was instructing with a fellow, a policeman from Toronto. Most of the kids were from foster homes and other institutions, Toronto and Sudbury. One of the kids was who also was the leader of the group, was this pretty husky kid named Chris, about seventeen/eighteen. And, of course, he sort of took on the role of the bantam rooster... you know, head rooster and able to... you know, just kinda strutting his stuff. And so early on in the course he was, of course, resistant and oppositional. And said stuff like, "Oh fuck this!" you know, "I can't..." you know, "I'm ready to go." And, you know, "This is sh... this sucks!" You k... just the usual. You know, "I'm too big for this."

So after... interesting thing happened is that we... we had beautiful weather. It was... I just thought of this. He was... he was crowing, you know, strutting about and er... we took a train from a small town out to this drop-off point. The train ride was about an hour; and of course every... everything was cool, you know, he loved to go on the train. He was strutting about, everything was, you know, he had somebody to... to show off to. And then when the train stopped, you know, everything was still, you know, was still er... or seemed... seemed so and... So we unloaded the gear and then... then the train pulled away. (Laughs.) And I have the image of these long steel rails coming from where we were and then just leaving. And the train this little box with these two little blinking lights pulling away. And Chris and a couple of the other guys just staring at it with...
their mou . . . with their jaws dropping. (Laughter.) "O-oh!"
So that tempered him a bit until we got to camp and then he started up again.

The humor in this story is almost entirely in the image of the delinquent youth's dropping jaw as his only connection to the 'real world', the train that brought him to the drop-off point, slowly disappears into the distance to be replaced by nothing but endless railway tracks which in turn disappear over the distant horizon.

Monica Bartman was another instructor who painted beautiful verbal pictures in her stories. Her previously recorded stories 'High Heels in the Snow' and 'Drums Along the Superior' both more than adequately attest to this fact. I have recorded below the first three stories from Monica's interview because they are all such good examples of the type of story under examination, humorous stories that rely on the painting of a verbal picture as a basis for the humor they contain. The contextual details of Monica’s interview were recorded earlier when reporting on her story 'West Cottage Ghost'.

INTERVIEW STORY 80/MONICA’S 1ST: SNORING BUBBLES.

Monica: I was working a Junior Boys course up at COBREBS [Canadian Outward Bound Wilderness School]. And er . . . it's about three quarters of the way through the course, and it's just before solo. We try to set the tone for solo. And one afternoon we set them out on duets. And they were to pick er . . . one of the other guys in the group that they didn't know very well, grab a tarp and their sleeping bags, and go off into the woods and go ahead and set up their shelter. And they had enough responsibility at that point that we didn’t need to check on them. But two of the boys came back, I mean within five minutes of going off into the woods, and we asked them whether they even set a tarp up or not. And they sort of, just sort of, shrugged their shoulders and pointed up to the sky which was just hot and blazing and not a cloud in the sky and said, "As if it’s going to rain." The next morning about five in the morning we had an incredible thunder shower coming down. And it poured for about an hour. And when these guys came back at breakfast time they couldn’t . . . they had so much water in their sleeping bags that they couldn’t even carry them. It was just running out like a river . . . water out of the sleeping bags. And one of the guys said he woke up to see the other guy with his face half in a puddle and snoring and creating bubbles as he was snoring. So there's a consequence for those two. Mother nature.
INTERVIEW STORY 81/MONICA’S 2ND: EXPANDING STOMACHS.

Monica: Another boys . . . junior boys group that I worked and ehm . . . they had packed all their food and they had their own menu and they knew exactly how much they'd packed out, and how much they were supposed to eat at each meal. But they went ahead and ate more anyway at each meal. So after solo when it came time for final they . . . they did not have any food left. Probably about one or two meals left, so for a three or four day final they were incredibly hungry. They were starving. So when we got into basecamp after final I just . . . It was morning, early morning's breakfast, and I kept bringing out this bowls of granola, and the kidney-bean cups that we issue for them and they're big. And they eat two or three of these heaping kidney-bean cups of granola. And they kinda sat back and we just sorta watched their stomachs expand, get bigger. Then after, we went down to rock climbing, and we had a fresh lunch from the kitchen and, I mean lunch time came and they were just shoving this food down. And we were warning them to be careful cause they could get sick. Sure enough, as we're tying the harnesses they were . . . just left, right and center they were just running to the bushes to be sick.

INTERVIEW STORY 82/MONICA’S 3RD: “NICE EDdy-TURN, WILL.”

Monica: A bunch of staff, we went down a er . . . a river. Some of us were in kayaks and some were in canoes. And Will Pooley and his partner Daniel were in a canoe. And we were at one rapid where it was a really fast out, and then hitting the eddy [the slack water that always appears to the side of fast moving water; at this point the water is very calm] down below on the opposite side. And you narrow shoot coming down. And we were going out of the eddy, peeling really . . . I mean it's fast enough that you really had to do your lean, you just couldn't miss it. And Will and Daniel, they peeled out and they weren't leaning the right way. And they were just ready to go over when somehow Will just tumbled . . . did a backward somersault out of the back of the canoe and disappeared. He was gone. And Daniel didn’t know this, and he just kept . . . this is Daniel Vokey, and he just kept paddling got in the boat, did a beautiful eddy turn down below. Was really proud, and he turns around and goes, “Nice eddy turn, Will.” And the canoe’s empty behind him and suddenly Will surfaces where he'd got thrown off. We were just rolling; it was so funny.

The humor in all three of these stories is self evident. It is very difficult to even read these stories without the spontaneous and hilarious pictures of Daniel’s beaming face turning around to encounter a confusingly empty canoe, of students one after another dashing hither and thither into the wood for self relief purposes and of an innocent sleeping face of a student blowing bubbles instead of ‘Zees,’ being created in one’s mind’s eye.

ENTERTAINMENT THROUGH HUMOR - TRICKS AND PRANKS.

The final type of humorous story told by the instructional staff of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School are stories relating practical jokes, tricks
and pranks, which were perpetrated usually, but not always, by the story’s teller, on either fellow instructors or course students. I have already recorded one such story, 'Live Ghost' told by David Johnston. This story involved the teller dressing up and pretending to be the ghost of a dead person rising from his abandoned burial site in order to scare the crew that was exploring the site. The visual scene created by this story is very similar to the one created by Doc’s story ‘One-eyed Charlie’ that was recorded earlier in this chapter. This must be a particularly relevant theme with Outward Bound instructors because the Doc told two prank stories that involved an almost identical climatic scene.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 28/DOC'S 9TH: HENRY BROWNING - GHOST.**

Doc: Henry Browning, I was with him caving once and er . . . he goes, "Doc, we’ll go up here and then slide down the back way and . . . and pull the rope up."

And he goes, "And then we can, like, swim in the river and, like, come out of the river at 'em and scare the shit out of 'em." (Here Doc is referring to the student members of his crew who Henry plans to scare shitless.) (Laughter.)

And er . . . I said, "Henry, I’ll go down the back way, but I’m not gonna swim in the river here, with my head down below the river." (This phrase was spoken with a high degree of mimicry as much as to say, "Do you think I’m crazy, Henry?") And er . . . sure enough he . . . he was like . . . got on his belly and sank down in the river and was like swimming through, and came up right at somebody's feet. Oh man. Talk about a safety issue.

Robin: So what happened when th . . . when this guy popped his head up?

Doc: Everybody ran in different directions. (Laughter.) We spent probably about forty minutes trying to find everybody there. (Laughter.) I said, "Henry, I don't think that was a good idea.

He goes, "I know, but it was fun."

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 41/DOC'S 17TH: LIZ CORNISH: CAVE GHOST.**

Doc: Liz Cornish we er . . . had her in one of those things [a cave rescue litter] and we heard these people coming from deep in the cave. And er . . . so we like . . . She was in the P.M.I. (These initials stand for Pacific Mountaineering Instruments. This is the firm that manufactures the caving litter in question, and these letters are often used to name that particular piece of equipment.) And we sat her up, propped her up and leaned her against the side of the cave and then all ran and hid.

(Laughter.) And these kids were coming. They had flashlights, and they were coming down and lights coming [inaudible word] along and talking and that kind of stuff. And er . . . she goes, "Hey! Help me!" (Doc speaks these words while mimicking a woman's voice.) And one kid drops his flashlight, kicks back at it to the other kid, and the other kid runs back about twenty feet and is like shining his light. (Uproarious laughter.) And er . . . and they both end up going back in the cave and then start and they would suddenly hear "t t tut tut." And er . . . she
sees them again and they're just, like, shitting their pants. And we're, like, sneaking up. And finally we all start laughing. Oh, I know what it is. We had er ... all had wintergreen lifesavers and we started crunching down on 'em at the same time, and they were all sending out these sparks and stuff. These kids were like losing it big time.

The similarity of these two stories, and their link to the previously mentioned stories involving similar ghost-like apparitions, is too obvious to need further elaboration. Both of these stories were told at different times during the same story telling session. This session occurred after supper on Wednesday, the 21st of February at about 8:30 p.m. All instructional, maintenance and catering staff were present. The session started almost immediately after folks had finished their supper, but before people started to drift away from the table to begin their evening activities. This session seemed to begin as a result of Doc being in a storytelling mood. He captured his audience, before they had a chance to depart from the table, by spontaneously breaking into performance as a response to a question from Liza, concerning his most recent caving exploits.

It is perhaps of some interest to note that this storytelling session began with the previously reported story 'Caving at 5:00 a. m.' in which Doc is sure his superior, Opie, is jokingly asking him, at midnight, to be prepared to go caving the next day at five o'clock in the morning. In fact, on this particular occasion, Opie is quite serious and is not, as Doc had assumed, playing a typical instructor prank. This story of a non-prank prank helps to illustrate the prevalence of the prankster among the instructional staff under investigation. It also helps to illustrate how these stories are used by Outward Bound
instructors to entertain their audiences through the humorous content in the stories.

Monica Bartman told a similar prankster story during her aforementioned interview session, as did David Johnston in his. The former story involved a straightforward incident of a prank played on a crew by an instructor. The latter, however, is a somewhat rarer type of prankster story in that it involves a prank played by a couple of instructors on their instructional colleagues.

INTERVIEW STORY 92/MONICA’S 10TH: SNAKE IN THE TENT.

Mon: A friend of mine and fellow instructor when er . . . we were working up in Northern Florida with the juvenile delinquents for HIOBS [Hurricane Island Outward Bound School]. He used to carry a black snake along. And at the beginning of a course, whenever you teach the kids about the tents and all that, you have to tell ’em that, you know, “Tents need to be z . . . zipped closed, otherwise snakes or scorpions could jump in.” And he would carry this black snake, and the moment one of the kids leave the tent open, he’d sneak the snake in there, and then come back and jump into the tent and wrestle the snake out. This big black long squirming snake. And they would be just flipping out because they were all inner . . . a lot of ’em are inner city kids, and they didn’t even like the woods, or been near them before. And just, you know, shouts, “See what happens when you leave your tent open!” (Laughter.) I think he got the message across really well.

INTERVIEW STORY 150/DAVE’S 2ND: ‘HELP! HELP! SHARKS!’ ‘A’

Dave: In staff training. . . . I . . . I tend to pull pranks on people, at times. (Laughs.) And I was getting a little bit frustrated in staff training. It didn’t seem like enough stuff was happening and so er . . . It was our second to last day . . . might have been our . . . oh it was our last day. We were coming in. And we hadn’t done a canoe over canoe rescue at all or hadn’t done any water rescue kinda stuff. And I just thought, “Why don’t . . . why don’t we just tip a boat over out here?” We were doing a bay crossing out on the outside. [Actually in the waters of the Gulf of Mexico.] Erm . . . and Debbie Naples was with me and she was really fired up about it. And we figured . . .

Mac: She’s a real prankster.

Dave: Yeh. (laughs.) The two of us together in the boat was . . . was probably a mistake. But er . . . we . . . we were crossing this bay, and it was fairly windy, and I definitely wanted to make it something hard. And we er . . . we planned to stay behind the group and so we hung back from the group and tied up all of our stuff nice and made sure nothing was going to get lost and tipped the boat over and started screaming “shark!” And both of us just got really panicked and started climbing on the boat and the boat would turn over and we’d fall off and there was just screaming, “Get me outta here!” People just turned around and sprinted back in their boats. And I was

5. The incidents outlined in this story were so impactful that they formed the basis of a story told on a completely separate occasion by a different instructor. Robin Kinaird, whose spontaneously told story, “Chattooga Scorpions” has already been reported, told his version of the “Help! Help! Sharks!” story during his interview. This second version of this story will be covered in greater detail later.

291
gonna turn the first person over that I could. And when I er. . . . It
was Robin and Sue who got there first and I grabbed the side of their
boat and just pulled myself up into it and it. . . . I didn’t tip it
over just case I saw camera sitting out and stuff and I didn’t want it .
. . I didn’t want people to be mad. And er . . . by the time I’d gotten
into their boat, I thought they had realized that it was a prank, that
it was a . . . a simulation. And as it turned out people really took it
seriously because, of course, they hadn’t been warned yet and . . . and
just to see something like that happening. And I think Debbie and I
really did a good job of acting and so rightfully so people were pretty
mad. (laughs.) And erm . . . So I do . . . I don’t know if I would do
that again. I would definitely let people know that there was a
possibility of an assimilation happening. But it was fun and I think
lot of people learned a lot from doing it so . . .

The final two examples of humorous stories relating
prankster incidents were told by Will Pooley, and Doc Klein,
respectively. These stories were different from the rest in
that they did not involve an instructional situation in any
way whatsoever. Doc’s story was told during his previously
reported interview, and concerned the antics of the
established comedian Tim Conway with whom Doc shared a
common university experience. Will’s story, on the other
hand, was a spontaneous story that was told during supper on
Tuesday the 27th February at around 7:30 p.m. Again a full
complement was present of eight male and seven female
instructional, maintenance and catering staff. The staff
had been involved in a ‘pass-it-on story’ which is something
instructors occasionally do as part of a regular Outward
Bound course in order to get their students to relax with
each other. This incident may have been prompted by my
presence, as an investigator of stories, for Will wanted to
know if such stories were folklore. I answered this
question in the affirmative, but stated that this was not
the type of folkloric incident I was investigating. Will
told his prankster tale perhaps as a form of question: “If
you are not interested in pass-it-on stories, are you
interested in this next type of story?” This story,
therefore, could have been classified as a helping the
research project story. However, the story Will offered,
for my approval, was fairly typical of other prankster
stories except that it involved the antics of an individual
he met in the army rather than one he met through Outward
Bound instructing.

INTERVIEW STORY 116/DOC'S 10TH: THE FLAMING ARROW.

Doc: Tim er . . . Conway, you know, with Carol Burnett Show and that kinda .
. . um . . . actually went to our school. And that was a . . . He was
in a . . . a fraternity Phi Delta Beta. And er . . . apparently er . . .
. . had a great dislike for the Sigma Chis, this other fraternity there.
And they had the . . . what they call a Derby Day: where all the er . . .
. . sorority girls, they got to chase around er . . . the Sigma Chis and
steal their Derbys and then they'd get a date to er . . . you know. So
er . . . wasn't particularly fond of the . . . particular fraternity.
Had the Derby Queen going around on this float that they made and
parading around campus and stuff. And he hid behind a building and shot
a flaming arrow into the float. So it's pretty hilarious.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 78/WILL'S 6TH: SPENCER THE RADIATOR.

Will: When I was in the service, in the late, well, early seventies, seventy-
one/seventy-two, it was down at er . . . I had my basic training down in
Lackland Air Force Base, in San Antonio. And there was a guy from
Tennessee who was in our unit. And er . . . his name was Spencer. And
he had the ability to sound like one of those old cast iron radiators
when it was leaking. With just this high . . . And . . . and . . .
and er . . . put out this high pitched whistling sound. And he also,
with that . . . and it was . . . was right on cue. He was right the
same pitch. And er . . . he also, Mac, had the ability to throw that
sound. I don't know how he did it. But if he were on the left side of
the room he could make it move around. And er . . . so I remember the
night in barracks when he started to . . . just play around with
that, you know. And then, my bunk was next to his so . . . There were
a few of us found out about it, and then . . . He had a great time
with that, with the er . . . drill instructors. And he'd be out there
and they'd . . . . And he used it in a classroom er . . . Because
they would initially think that something was . . . . Cose I had basic
in the winter and they would th . . . they'd initially think that
something was wrong with the heating system. And some of the more er . .
. . anal compulsives ones couldn't take it. We had . . . we h . . .
(said through laughter) we had this one guy who was teaching us about
communism. And this guy was intense. And Spencer starts this er . . .
you know, this radiator sound, whistling. And er . . . he did it in . . .
in intervals. And er . . . you could see that this guy was getting
visibly annoyed. Well, first of all he was curious. So he'd walk to
the . . . walk to the back of the room and he'd just listen to the . . .
to the er . . . to the radiators. And then . . . . He made a couple of
trips doing that when Spencer would make the sound. And then he
realized that somebody in the . . . in . . . in class was doing it. So
then we became the target of his . . .

Mac: Venom.

Will: Right. His irritations. So he starts walking among us, up and down,
you know. And just, you know, at first very . . . very casually, as if
he was checking out papers, but he really wasn't. And then finally
after about an hour-and-a-half; "All right, I know one of you out there
is fucking around. Please stop."

Well that was it. Silence for a couple of minutes. And you know he was
pleased and relaxed. And then Spencer starts up again. And he
couldn't . . . . And then the guy really got pissed off, and threatened
to keep us behind and everything. And then he, you know, started, you
know, with the, you know, with the . . . with the threats.
"O.K. you're all gonna stay behind unless," you know, "whoever does it
come forth." And course nobody . . . we, you know, we . . . we

293
congealed against that as a group, and nobody would be . . . would reveal Spencer. And I remember one time particularly he walked right up to Spencer and he just looked right at him. He must have been two feet away. And Spencer's making the noise, and he couldn't . . . didn't catch him. (Said through laughter.) Oh, it was so funny. So he finally let us go and that was it. Our appointed time w . . . came to leave in a minute or so . . . schedule called for us to leave and he had no clue as to what had happened. So we were out of there.

ENTERTAINMENT THROUGH FEAR - LOST STUDENTS.

The preceding examples adequately illustrate the use of humor in the personal experience stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. These examples also serve to indicate the three independent sources of such humor; irony, 'visual' humor, and prankster humor. However, it should be remembered that humor is not the only way in which a storyteller can entertain an audience. One of the most popular entertainment methods employed at the institution under investigation is the use of fear. I believe that many of the instructors share a number of their personal experience stories in order to excite their fellow instructors through something akin to scare tactics. This belief will now be examined using, as a basis for its support, the stories themselves.  

Obviously, a great number of instructor fear stories concern the activities undertaken. However, perhaps the greatest fear of any educator is to lose a student who is in one's care. This fear is a very real one for outdoor adventure education instructors, because some of the activities, they undertake with crews, have the potential to cause the loss of life. Some of the stories told by the instructors at the

6. It must be remembered that entertaining through the use of fear is a common feature of outdoor adventure education instructor storytelling in other settings. Urban legends type scary stories are one of the most common types of stories told by instructors to crews.
Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School centered around this theme of student loss both in its literal sense of having a student who cannot be found, and in its figurative sense of a student’s death.

Four of the personal experience stories told by the population under investigation directly concerned incidents in which students could have died. One of these, Buffalo’s ‘Missed’ has already been reported as it was told in response to a direct request for a ‘near miss’ story. The chronologically first such story was also told by Buffalo on the late afternoon of my first full day at the center. This story was told during the same session that produced the Aaron Attariam ‘Struck by Lightning’ story that has already been recorded.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 9/BUFF’S 2ND: MISSED SNAKE.

Buff: At Canaan Land, when we used to run courses at Canaan Land. . . Ern. . .
. . . There’s lots of rattlesnakes, ev . . . everybody saw rattlesnakes all the time. But right near base camp a crew was bushwhacking round the base camp. And it was in the early morning, kinda cool and damp, and er . . . not snaky kinda weather. I mean, they need a warm place. There’s just a little. . . . In the trees there’s thin little area of ferns . . . area of ferns. And I was the last in line. There were . . . there were ten people in a row. And the first . . . the eighth person went, “Aurgh!” Stopped and. . . . You know how you walk through ferns, really it’s just a nice neat little path right through these ferns, very distinct edges. And this big copper . . . I mean timber rattler er . . . was er . . . coiled, half of it was in the path and half of it was out of the path. And it was like this (indicates a circle, of about five or six inches in diameter, with his two index fingers and thumbs). And . . . and it had to have been there the whole time this crew . . . I mean it just didn’t coil up there. And then er . . . that eighth person stopped and we walked up and we looked at it a little bit. And it just kind of slowly uncoiled and crawled over about a foot away out of the path, coiled up again and we went on our way. But that . . . everybody either stepped over it or on it and it . . . just because it was so cold. . . . It was like a real cold kind of chilly morning. Real wet morning and er . . . it was just so inactive. It didn’t . . . and . . . and probably wasn’t hungry or anything, just laying there trying to stay warm.

The next story was told by Will Pooley during his interview, and was something of a follow-on from his previously reported story, ‘Train Leaving’. 

295
INTERVIEW STORY 146/WILL’S 4TH: HANGING AROUND.

Will: One of the other kids who acted out a lot, a pretty passive aggressive sort of a er . . . para . . . well not paranoid as much as just neurotic. The fashion was . . . this kid, named er . . . can’t remember his name, but anyway he . . . Like the first couple of nights out he only threatened to kill himself. After we caught the fish, same thing. "I’m gonna kill myself!"

"O.K., sure we . . ." You know. So we watched him closely, we, you know, we . . . But he was blowing smoke. But he would do all sorts of things to . . . to seek negative attention. And er . . . he’d cut down live trees, drop things in the water and, take swings at other kids’ li . . . limbs. And one of the things that he did . . . We . . . And I shouldn’t have taken . . . probably shouldn’t have taken them to this spot, but I wanted to take the boys to a place that was really one of my favorite campsites. And it’s this beautiful little island. And immediately this kid cut down a live tree. But before that, as soon the boat landed there’s a picture of this . . . the lake coming up and then maybe three or four feet of rocks and then a vertical cliff of granite. It’s about twelve feet high, and then a ninety degree horizontal juncture with thirty or forty feet of very horizontal, flat er . . . rock that overlooks this beautiful bay and lake. And er . . . soon as we landed the kids in the voyageur [the name of the type of canoe being used, identical to the eight man canoes used by the original voyageurs] er . . . ran up to take a look, to explore it. This kid was hanging upside-down, his feet hooked over the side over the rocks. “Look at me. Hey! look at this!”

So we err . . . snuck up behind him and each of us grabbed an ankle and just jerked him back.

Will is an excellent storyteller, with a real talent for appealing to the senses in his recounting of personal experiences. This story, therefore, could have been categorized, with equal justification, as a visually humorous entertaining story rather than one relying on fear for its entertainment value.

The final near-miss figuratively lost student story was told by Doc during his interview. This story was a follow-on story to the previously recorded ‘Immokalee Banker’ story. The “same standard course” to which Doc refers in this current story is the same standard course that was involved in the earlier story.

INTERVIEW STORY 114/DOC’S 7TH: HYPOTHERMIC BULIMIC.

Doc: I had er . . . a woman on a course er . . . who refused to eat. And she basically wanted to leave the course er . . . for reasons of er . . . sickness. But er . . . just because er . . . she didn’t . . . she didn’t really want to be there. Her parents had sent her. And er . . . this is a seventeen/eighteen year old er . . . girl and um . . . So she would basically get sick on purpose, or you know. She was bulimic basically. And er . . . for seven or eight days didn’t eat. And er . . . a cold front came in, and we’re in the middle of the park [The
Everglades National Park. And er... realize that er... you know, we needed to get her out coz she was hypothermic; she... she wasn’t safe and that kind of stuff. And er... it took us like three days to paddle out and er... it was... it was the same standard course [the usual 21 day course run by the Outward Bound Organization for ordinary populations as opposed to either one of their shortened/lengthened courses or one that is run for some type of special population] actually I mentioned to you about. Er... and that’s why we’re caught out with some weather and that kind of stuff. Erm... but it was amazing the kinda energy that had to er... to happen to see... get this one woman out. And er... she learned a lot from it though. She actually, even though she left, er... she wrote back later and said, “I’m starting to face some issues that I’ve never faced before.” But er... we slept in the canoes basically like er... eight night in a row. You can actually sleep in the canoes all right, but er... you know, it’s just not the... always the best sleep you can get.

All these figuratively lost student stories ended without encountering the serious consequences that could have occurred. Indeed, perhaps the dangers were more of a perceptual nature than real. This is why these stories are acceptable to the instructors as entertainment; they all have happy endings. One story told in a similar vein is of particular interest because it indicates that occurrences of this kind ending unhappily are not converted into stories as frequently as those ending happily. This particular story was told by Buffalo immediately after he had told the previously reported Aaron Attariam ‘Stuck by Lightning’ story.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 8/BUFF’S 2ND: JUMPED ON TO A SNAKE.

Buff: Same deal with the snake bite, you know. We had one instructor get bitten by a snake. And we’ve only had one other person... And anytime we tell about snake-bites that’s the kind of thing that... We did have one student get bitten. We had two students get bitten. One by a non-poisonous snake... snake erm... after jumping down off a tree. They were climbing a tree during solo [a component of the course during which all the students spent a period of time completely alone], which they weren’t supposed to be doing, and jumped down off a tree and got bitten by a non-poisonous snake. He jumped on to the snake.

Do any of you remember that person that got bit on the Chattooga a couple of years ago. (Long pause.) That was the sa... was actually the same month. It was a copperhead.

This somewhat amusing incident of a student jumping down onto a snake is storied simply because the snake that was jumped on was non-poisonous and, therefore, the incident did
not end tragically. This point, that tragic incidents are rarely storied, is vividly illustrated in this particular story by the silence following Buffalo’s request for the much more serious story of a student bitten by a poisonous snake. Presumably, someone in his audience knew of this incident, yet none were prepared to elaborate in story form. One could imagine that this silent reaction to the request for a direct hit story would stand in stark contrast to the clamor that would have accompanied a request for a near miss episode of a similar nature.

Serious climbers may be reluctant to convert really dangerous climbing incidents into stories. We have already witnessed, as reported in the previous chapter, Steve’s hesitancy in this regard, when he was specifically asked for such a story. Steve had been involved in something of a tragic incident, although how tragic I never did discover. However, it must be stressed that Steve only mentioned his direct involvement in this tragic incident, as a passing reference to a direct question from me during his narrative response to my request for a story concerning his initial involvement with the North Carolina Outward Bound School.

INTERVIEW STORY 58/STEVE’S 11TH: THE BACK DOOR.

Steve: I was in a . . . involved in a climbing accident on Devil’s Tower in.

Mac: Oh wow!
Steve: In eighty sssseven. (Said while mentally checking the accuracy of the date, and in doing so prolonging the first letter of the word until he was sure of its correctness.)

Mac: As a rescue personnel?
Steve: No I was a . . . I/we (blended together almost as one word) were the victi. . . I was . . . my partner was the victim.

Mac: Yeh.
Steve: And er . . . watching those er . . . the EMTs [Emergency Medical Technicians] work . . .

Mac: Ah-ah, ah-ha.
Steve: I always knew I wanted to be an EMT-er [indecipherable word], That that was like the bottom line. After seeing that and the . . . I felt that I had . . . I ha . . . I had to do it.

Mac: Yeh
Steve: So I started phoning around trying to find a place. . .
Mac: Ah-ah.
Steve: Where there's an accident. I heard about the . . . the Wilderness Medical Association up in Maine. Called down and they said they were doing a course in North Carolina. So signed up for the course and . . . (trailed off here to denote completion.)
Mac: Oh wow. Oh that's a neat way to . . . It's like the back door. You didn't come in as an . . . as an Outward Bounder but more as a . . . as a rescuer.

There is, then, a reluctance to share real tragic 'figuratively lost' student stories in which a student, or indeed close associate, ends up being either seriously injured or being killed. Stories of this type simply would not entertain instructors, who take risks involving such losses every day. This reluctance is reflected in a similar attitude towards stories concerning 'literally lost' students. Although some stories were told about students who may have had the potential to get themselves lost, or indeed succeeded in doing so for some period of time, I was never told any stories about students who were lost for a prolonged period of time. Nor was I told any stories of students whose loss ended tragically. Of the three stories I was told about lost students, two were provided by Will and Doc, two of the establishment’s most erudite raconteurs. The third story was told by Jeff Menzer, a 36 year old, single male instructor from Joliet, Illinois, as a part of long episodic personal experience story concerning a whole series of incidents that had occurred to one of his crews.

Will's and Doc's stories were told immediately after each other during the somewhat spurious storytelling session reported upon earlier. This session may have begun purely as a reaction to my presence as a researcher interested in storytelling. Both the stories recorded here, however, have a much greater air of genuineness about them than the previously reported 'Bale of Marijuana' story. This is because the act of storytelling had, by the time these
stories were shared, gained its own momentum as both performers attempted to entertain through the stories they told.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 23/DOC’S 6TH: MISSING STUDENT.

Doc: So we ended up going to New Turkey Key, and this one kid was so pissed off that er . . . he took off on New Turkey Key, he just took off running. And er . . . I wasn’t worried about it. It’s like, “Where is he gonna go?” you know. Well, he doesn’t show up in like an hour or so, and I’m going like, “Maybe we should go look for him.” So we started looking for him, couldn’t find him anywhere. And ended up er . . . we just were scanning the whole island like hours and hours, and we couldn’t find this kid. And er . . . so I said, “Er . . . well I guess we’d better . . . better go fix dinner.” And I was working with this woman Mary Day. She goes, “How can you think of dinner at a time like this, man?” It’s like, “This kid’s drowning, you know!” And it’s like, “Well, if he’s drowned, there isn’t much we can do.” And I said, “If he’s er . . . on the island and hiding some place and we can’t find him he’s probably gonna get pretty hungry soon.” And sure enough, er . . . he showed up as soon as dinner was ready. And he’d been hiding up in a palm tree.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 24/WILL’S 4TH: HEADING NORTH.

Will: I had this crew of JD [juvenile delinquent] kids at one time and they were . . . There was this one kid named Damien. And he was pretty passive aggressive, you know. He’d . . . he wanted everybody’s attention, kinda manipulate things, and just kinda sit back and wait for everybody to come to him. And we’d do something and it was like he wouldn’t participate or do what he was supposed to do and then everybody would get frustrated and angry with him and he’d have attention blah blah blah.

So one afternoon Damien decides [laughs] he’s had enough paddling. He’s going along about noon, “Well,” you know, “Fuck this, I’ve had it.” Puts his paddle down, and he just kinda lays back in the boat. And his buddy, a little guy named Joey, had really decided to turn around and, you know, really push . . . really get going. And course he was up there digging away and Damien was hanging back there just kinda . . . [Imitates Damien lounging back in the canoe dipping his paddle in the water with absolutely no real paddling effort.] Every now and then he’d take a stroke, you know, just about like this for about two hours and . . . So my partner and I decided, cop from Toronto, we decided, “Well, we’ll just let it go, see what happens.”

Well the other kids were making pretty good time and were working pretty good as a group except for Damien. So they got more and more pissed off at Damien and then he got more and more angry at them because they were mad at him and on and on, and the tension just built all afternoon, you know. Well about four o’clock they decide to pull over. So three of the boats pull in and Damien’s boat is last and he comes lolly-gaging [a very lazy form of paddling a canoe] in. And er . . . he gets in there. [laughs.] Everybody’s just pissed at him real angry with him. And er . . . he s . . . feels justified in saying, “What d’ya mean, man, I’ve been paddling, I’ve been working. Hey man, don’t get on my case.” And they were just really razzing him, really jumping on his case and . . . And then he lays down and points over to this one kid and he goes (imitates Damien leaning way back in the canoe). And then . . . [laughs] he just rolled right out of the boat and into the water. And then . . . and then . . . then they wa . . . then he got up and all the kids were laughing at him, you know, the other kids, and they were all boys. And they . . . they really humiliated him so then he felt real frustrated and so he takes off running down this shore line just full tilt phumph! (Uses his hand in a downward karate-chop type motion to indicate Damien’s accelerated pathway along the imaginary shore line.)
“Where you going?”
“I don’t know! I ... I’m going North.”
“Damien! Where are you going?”
“I don’t know, man, I’m going North!” Vvvvroommm! (Same hand action as before.)

So he just took off North for about an hour. I ran after him. Finally, you know, he ran outa gas.
“O.K. let’s talk about it.” Came back and . . .
Boy when he fell out of that canoe though. . . . (Laughter.)

Jeff’s story about lost students was told during an interview that took place under a cloudless bright blue sky, in what had become the usual place for such interviews, the front lawn of the school while seated at one of the school’s white wrought-iron lawn tables. The interview occurred at eleven o’clock on the morning of the 27th of February and, again, as had become the norm, the weather was hot, sunny, and virtually windless. This particular story was part of a composite of stories concerning a course Jeff had run the previous June when the weather had been atrocious. Indeed the students on this course had to endure 22 days, out of a possible 23, of intermittent torrential rain.

INTERVIEW STORY 71/JEFF 94TH: THE SCOUTS GOT LOST.

Jeff! Then the next day we . . . once we’re on this long time we er . . . walk along and then go off trail for . . . about three miles. It was meant to be a relatively easy day. And then we’d er . . . camp at . . . by this er . . . cemetery. (Gives one short laugh.) And I had been there before, it was the McColl family cemetery. It’s a little spooky site, but the camp site was real nice. But to get to it you have to go through a really thick rhododendron lowland. And it just poured, just poured. We couldn’t believe it was raining so hard. But we got down into the bottom where it gets really er . . . dense rhododendrons, and you’re only then maybe a quarter-mile away from this camp site, if you knew where it was. And part of the plan was that . . . you just have to pretty much go through that and find it. So, sent out scouts, and sort of talked about the idea of not being gone so long and gone away. Well, the scouts got lost. The scouts got lost. It took them almost an hour to come back. In the meantime I was getting sorta worried cause it was like only the second day of the course, “Aarrgh!” So I went out with a couple of other people to try and find them. And found their footprints, and found where they were, found the right trail, and everything like that, and ran up and down going, “Jeez, where are they?” And finally heard them coming back. (Laughter.) So we were supposed to get to this camp site by like . . . I figured two o’clock in the afternoon, or three o’clock. So we finally got there around nine o’clock that night. Said, “Here we are. Now it’s time for dinner.” (Laughs.)

But it was an excellent course, just er . . . I think that at times the weather is needed to help. And to realize that you can still be happy even if it’s raining. You know, and people go, “Ergh,” So what, so it’s raining, big deal.
These stories are particularly entertaining for outdoor adventure education instructors, because they provide them with strong hero-type associations. Fellow instructors can readily associate with the rising feelings of panic that begin to set in as the story’s hero realizes a student may indeed have gone AWOL. Other instructors cringe at the thought of this occurrence happening to them; wonder how they themselves would cope in such a situation; and pray that they will never be called upon to exhibit such fortitude. They can, however, in the meantime, be entertained by the antics of their fellow instructors who do find themselves in such a situation.

Many of the stories concerning lost students are also entertaining because of a visual element in the story. Any story about someone jumping out of a tree on to a snake contains some elements of slapstick humor, as do stories in which rogue students such as Damien get their just deserts perhaps, as occurred in Will’s story, in the form of a resounding dunking. The visual humor of Will’s ‘Hanging Around’ story is also too obvious to be missed. On the other hand, irony plays a part in the humor attached to Jeff’s lost scouts story. There is something ironically hilarious about sending scouts out with specific instructions not to “be gone so long” only to have them doing exactly what they were asked not to do by becoming lost. The most overtly humorous story concerning a danger to a student was, perhaps surprisingly told by the Outward Bound instructors with the least experience. Grant told the following visually hilarious story during his interview, the details of which, have been previously recorded.
INTERVIEW STORY 20/GRANT'S 2ND: BULLET UP HIS NOSE.

Grant: One of . . . one of the classic ones that I was involved with was . . . We had this kid named Ricky Bonnavena;

Mac: Ah-ha. Ah-ha.

Grant: and er . . . We used to teach riflery at camp . . .

Mac: Ah-ha. Ah-ha, ah-ha

Grant: and we've changed our philosophy on that; no more projectile sports, except for archery.

Mac: Laughs.

Grant: And er . . . Ricky was taking riflery, and he was a pretty crazy little kid and er . . . he somehow managed to confiscate a . . . a live bullet

Mac: Ah-ha

Grant: while he was in riflery. And one of my friends, Gary Kachera, who was a counselor in Ricky's cabin, came into the cabin between time to switch activities and er . . . Ricky was sitting on the toilet. Gary said, "you'd better hurry off to your next activity Ricky." So Ricky said, "Gary I can't" (Said with an increased southern accent and additional nasal twang: as is all of Ricky's dialect.) He talked like that he said, "I got a bullet up my nose." (Silent laughter.)

Mac: Silent laughter.

Grant: And Gary said, "Oh Ricky, you don't have a bullet, come on, you need to go to your next activity."

Mac: Further laughter, this time clearly audible.

Grant: And Ricky said, "Gary I really do, I got a bullet stuck up my nose and I can't get it out."

Mac: Oh dear. (Said through laughter.)

Grant: So Gary said, "Ricky, come on now, you can't have a bullet up your nose." He said, "Let me see." And Ricky said, "Feel right here." So sure enough Gary walks over and says, "Well, Ricky, go ahead and get off the toilet, I . . . I'll wait for you out here." So he . . . he came out and ended up Gary felt at his nose and there was this long cylindrical thing stuck way up here. (Points to the upper, firm, bonny part of his own nose.)

Mac: Oh dear.

Grant: Right, you know, the upper part of the nostril where it starts to get bone. And Gary was just dying inside. (Said with considerable emphasis especially over the words Gary, and dying.) He was just laughing like crazy and dying.

Mac: Yeh.

Grant: But at the same time he was very concerned because he didn't want to have to take this kid to the hospital. (Said amid laughter.) For heavens sake . . . "He's got a bullet up his nose, we're going to have to extract it." (Said almost as an aside.) And we had nothing there to take it out with so . . . And he didn't want to go to the nurse either. So Gary gets Ricky to . . . to lie down and he starts to kinda take his finger and push down . . . (Slides his index finger firmly down the right hand side of his nose from up above the bridge to the nostril.) And just kinda worm it down and it works it's way down a little bit. Fortunately the point went in first and not the other end otherwise it would have been really hell to get out.

Mac: Yeh, yeh.

Grant: So after several minutes they finally got this bullet out of this kids nose.

Mac: A live bullet. (Said through silent laughter.)

Grant: It was a live bullet. (Said with emphasis as marked.)

Mac: Crazy, crazy.

ENTERTAINMENT THROUGH FEAR - 'ROGUES'.

It can be seen, then, that the loss, figurative or literal, of a student can be the source of entertainment in the stories shared by Outward Bound instructors. Students are
also at the center of a second category of fear induced entertainment stories; that is the fear of the rogue student. Instructors do not relish the presence of rogue students in their crews. However, when the strife of the direct confrontation of a course is over, most instructors are able to look back in amusement at some of the antics performed by such students. We have already encountered such individuals. Will’s Damien and his hanging around student are typical such examples, as are Doc’s hypothermic bulimic and his disappearing juvenile delinquent.

Two stories offer something of a contrast to the rogue student concept, these stories concern rather the crew from hell idea. Mark Wilson, who had told the ‘Ferry Epic’ story reported in the previous chapter, actually used this expression to describe such a group during his interview. Mark’s interview was the only one that took place indoors, and the only one that took place spontaneously. On Tuesday the 27th of February, I had been interviewing Monica outside over the lunch break. I, therefore, came into the center’s common room somewhat late to grab a buffet lunch. At about two o’clock Mark did the same. While eating his lunch of granola cereal, Mark asked when we were going to get together to record his stories. I was somewhat taken aback by this request, as I felt - up to this point - that Mark bore my presence at the center somewhat reluctantly. However, I stated that we could conduct the interview right away, and set my recording machine up accordingly. I found Mark to be a very competent raconteur who would string together many temporally linked episodes into one long narrative. He told such stories during this session with a very dry sense of humor and with very little vocal
animation, while leaning against the common room’s mantle shelf eating his bowl of cereal.

INTERVIEW STORY 93/MARK’S 1ST: THE CREW FROM HELL.

Mark: This past Summer was the first Outward Bound Course that I instructed. And there were three of us that were on the course, two assistant instructors and one instructor, which was really good that it was set up that way. So the instructor was Eric and then Elizabeth and I were assistant instructors. And we had, at least what I thought at the time, was a pretty hard crew, I mean it was relatively hard, and when we were going through pre-course, er... I mean you can’t really talk about who you have, but you kinda can, and, when the kids got off the bus and we were looking around and before we knew names, we were figuring who was going to be in our crew, and it started looking like, you know, maybe we... we'll... we... were gonna have the crew from hell.

Steve told a very similar story during his interview. Steve however didn’t have the crew from hell, just a very Weird Group.

INTERVIEW STORY 63/STEVE’S 15TH: WEIRDEST CREW.

Steve: But it seems like stories come off er... (Pause.)
Mac: Stimulation, don’t they?
Steve: m m m and what a... just what was the recent things that... trying to think like the recent course what was in particular case that was a real weird crew. You know we only had six students, three of ’em were er... alumni from past course and three of them weren’t. One was eighteen years old from Missouri, a cement worker, another was a fifty-four year old physician from Manhattan. Those were the extremes. And or... just... we couldn't figure out how to... how to work this bunch. It was just real weird case... oh, in addition to that we had was a... a... a female surgeon who didn’t say a word. I mean she wouldn’t speak unless spoken to, she just... she never... she never said anything.

Mac: Wow.
Steve: Yeh, and eventually last day I said to her “So,” you know, “Is this... is there something you’re... have you always been this quiet?” You know, “Or are you this quiet around people at home or with people you know?” And she said... (Simply nods his head in silent agreement.)

Upon further reflection, both these storytellers felt their crews weren’t as bad as they had anticipated. In subsequent follow-on stories from the two recorded, Marks states that:

by this time things were starting to mellow out a little bit, and we were all realizing that these were, you know, they... they had their own sort of sets of difficulties, but they probably weren’t any harder than anybody else’s.

while Steve notes that:

It actually turned out to be a real neat course... And the whole time Jane and I had been sitting there thinking, you know, “What are we...
going," you know. "We can't . . . this is the weirdest crew I've ever been around."

Personal experience stories, are told then, by the population under investigation, about both rogue students and about rogue crews. Additionally, there are the occasional incidents of stories about rogue instructors, or perhaps more accurately, instructors who, on occasions, are guilty of demonstrating roguish behavior. These stories are again entertaining; firstly, through the use of humor, for such roguish behavior is often simply straightforwardly funny and secondly, again through an appeal to the emotion of fear. Roguish behavior in instructors is a sign of incompetence. Incompetence poses a very real threat when that incompetence centers around risk activities. First, lives of both fellow instructors and students are jeopardized; and second, livelihoods are jeopardized because the litigations that would accompany tragically incompetent instructional behavior would threaten establishments with closure.

The chronologically first such story was told by Mark Wilson during his interview. This was Mark's final interview story. It was a follow-on narrative from his penultimate story, and was, by his own admission - as can be seen from the transcript - a direct attempt to top the previous story. I believe that, as this was the last story Mark told before the conclusion of his interview, this story may have been the result of Mark's premeditated attempt to finish the interview on a high note. He does hint that he has no better stories left in his repertoire.

**INTERVIEW STORY 105/MARK'S/12TH: EMPTY DAM.**

Mark: The only other thing that . . . that topped that for the Summer was that it was in October. And or . . . there was a program. . . . Wh . . .
what would happen usually is there'd be a program that would start like Monday, again, now we're back to dealing with schools. So a program would start like Monday at noon, go to Wednesday at nine in the morning, and another one would come at noon and it would go Wednesday, Thursday, Friday. Then we'd have a weekend off. And then the next one would start, you know, the break in between would go Monday through Wednesday, and then Thursday through Saturday. So that was our schedule. So when we had this weekend off we went into town. And a bunch of us had worked there the whole Summer so we were pretty good friends. We went in and we were actually out. we're partying a little bit. And er... the property had a dam on it that they... and had always a dam, but the school had just built a new one. But when they built it, they built the spillway just a little too high, so that, when there was a lot of rain, which there was again, the water actually was leaking round the edges. So the answer to that was to open up the sluice, just a little, about a quarter to half a turn, and that would relieve the pressure. Well, I had done that a couple of times, Jill, if she had done it, didn't remember. So we came back in and we saw that the... this is about... it's Winter and it's probably only about six-thirty, and it's getting dark. We saw the... that this had happened. So er... Jill says, "Well, we've got to open it up. How much do you open this thing up?" "Well, not too much." "Well, I don't know, it doesn't look as if it's doing anything to me." So she opens it up all the way until it stops. And then we leave. So we made dinner, we watch TV, went to bed. And er... how we use this pond for... for in... initial canoe, you know, strokes and some games. It's not particularly big, but it's big enough. And then we use it for collecting like bugs and stuff for a little lab we usually do. Well er... I woke up in the morning (said through a yawn) and er... I mean the... the only thing I could think of was, "Holy shit! Holy shit! Holy..." That's all I could say because it looked and the pond was drained. Completely drained. There was about five feet of water in the bottom and there was just this big mud hole. And the only water flowing into it was from these two little springs. So it's "Oh man!" Brian was... Brian, the director, he went away for the week. So er... we were not enthused about... you know... its useless at this point. And the other thing that had happened was that it had partially washed away the road below, so much water had come through. And er... we just, "Well, wonder what Brian's gonna say?" And er... he came back and it was interesting cause he didn't notice it right away. And then he kind of... Cause, I mean you'd look and you'd just expected it to be there and then.... So he walked away. And er... we told him what happened and Jill didn't.... This was one of those 1988 sayings that fortunately has gone out of use, but the only thing she could think of to say to him was, "Oh, shit happens," and walked away. And he didn't really like that too much but... but there was... there was not much he was gonna do. (Said through laughter.) And we... just so we had a... We sat down, and we altered our plans a little bit and er... yer. So we just had this big hole to look at. It ended up being kinda interesting because we... we decided, "Well, let's," you know, "Let's use it, and let's see what's at the bottom." And there were some pretty interesting... There... there was... there was a number of... Usually we'd get these... water beetles that were about half an inch/three-quarters of an inch long, we had found a couple that were like two to three inches. It wasn't in the end a... a real big deal cause they drain the pond anyway, it's just they'd... in this case it was drained about a month earlier than had... had been expected.

The happy ending that makes this story acceptable is made obvious by the storyteller on two separate occasions. First, he tells us that he and his fellow instructors simply used the opportunity provided by the empty dam to conduct
some interesting biological fieldwork with their students. Then, right at the end of the story, he tells us that it wasn’t, in the end, a real big deal because the pond was always drained for the winter anyway, and it was just that, on this particular occasion, the pond was drained a month earlier than usual.

The second such story, told coincidentally by Doc in the very next interview, is made more palatable by the fact that the star of the story demonstrating the incompetence is an Outward Bound instructor of some renown and his overall competence is unquestionable.

**INTERVIEW STORY 120 DOC’S 14TH: SURROUNDED BY SHARKS.**

Doc: We were down in the . . . in er . . . Lake Ingraham. And er . . . we were running late and we were in the North Canoes. And er . . . we were just fighting against the wind and tide. And a boat comes by and goes er . . . “Hey, you guys wanna tow?” And Tom and I being kind of leaders of the group at that time said, “Yer!” So we grab on. And there were several people that er . . . needed to use the bathroom and thought it was unethical that we take a tow, and that kinda stuff. And er . . . it was like we were running really late, you know. And er . . . so we got out into Florida Bay, and we told them that we didn’t want them to tow us any further, you know. And er . . . Tom wants to er . . . go ahead and debrief right there. The wind’s just howling. And he goes, “I’ll just get out and hold the boats.”

So he’s standing in water up to about his chest, you know trying to hold the North Canoe. And I’m offering some resistance. I said, “Tom, let’s not do that here. Let’s just get to where we’re going, and then we’ll talk about it later.”

He goes, “No, no I think we ought to talk about it now.”

So, he’s exchanging things with people, and seeing what . . . how people are feeling and that kinda stuff, which is . . . which is actually good, cose there’s some people pissed off. And then I wan . . . at least wanted to get ashore to do it, you know. But he’s standing around in the Florida Bay here and I see six or seven sharks just surfacing out of the water about fifty yards away. And I go, “Tom, I think you oughta get in the boat, man.”

He goes, “Doc, leave me alone, we’re debriefing here, you know.”

Er . . . I go, “Tom but you get in”

He goes, “Doc! Leave me alone.” So I try a couple of more times and er . . . finally he gets in the boat and looks around, a shark hits the canoe.

“Doc, why didn’t you tell me there were sharks in the water.” And they weren’t huge sharks, you know, but then. It was like, “I tried to tell you”

Again the fact that the incident had a happy ending and the fact that the sharks weren’t big sharks anyway, helps to make this story more titillatingly fearful, and therefore
more acceptable to instructors as entertainment, than would have been the case with an unhappy ending involving big man-eating sharks. Again, there is also something visually comic about someone being up to his chest in shark infested waters refusing to listen to advice that the waters are so infested.

ENTERTAINMENT THROUGH FEAR - ACTIVITIES.

The most common type of fearfully entertaining story, told by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, concerns the activities undertaken. These stories, with the possible exception of caving, do not generally center around the activities themselves. Rather they usually tell of a fear inspiring encounter with some type of adventure activity epiphenomenon, such as weather changes, food deprivation and dangerous animals.

Caving stories have already been covered fairly extensively. However, two further caving stories are of some interest. The first because it addresses that worst of fears when one is underground, getting stuck, and the second because it suggests that instructors can’t escape course dangers even when they believe they can.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 42/DOC’S 18TH: STUCK!.

Doc: Mike Fischesser was part of that. Oh, man. But she really got stuck in the cave there. That was when Mike er . . . kinda liked Liz. And er . . . and kinda . . . he kinda liked a lot of people but er . . .
Liza: So he tied her in the P.M.I. Litter.
Doc: Yeh. And er . . . Mike and I were back there talking, just kinda shooting the breeze.
Liza: While she’s still tied up in . . .
Doc: And she’s er . . . stuck in the cave. And people are going, “Well, we can’t get her out of this.” She starts to freak big time. And suddenly Mike was like, “Grrr!” You know, he was just like, going up there and trying to pull and that kind of stuff.
Liza: They got her stuck going through a normal passageway?
Doc: The were taking her. . . . They took her through the Railroad Route.
This story was told as part of the previously reported spontaneous dinner time story telling session that centered around caving stories. It actually follows on from a story already recorded, 'Liz Cornish - Cave Ghost' and so picks up where this story left off with Liz being strapped in a cave rescue litter as part of a staff training assimilation. This particular story is acceptable to instructors as entertainment because of the extremely low incidence of getting stuck in a cave. This can occur, but occurrences are so rare that any careful individual can easily avoid this risk. Instructors, deep down, know that the danger here is much more perceived than real. However there can be no denying the skin-crawling feeling that this story can give anyone who is even mildly claustrophobic. The story is also acceptable as entertainment because of its visual component. There is something amusing and titillatingly scary about being strapped into a cave rescue litter unable to help oneself while being pressed into too close proximity to the roof and sides of a cave. Finally, the story is made even more entertainingly acceptable by Liza's ironic punchline ending.

The next story, taken from the same session, concerns Doc's endeavors to escape from the fear he experiences when
undertaking a caving expedition by absconding from the cave itself.

INTERVIEW STORY 36/DOC'S 14TH: GOING FOR WATER.

Doc: Then there was the time I went and had to get water out of the cave. The crew didn't take enough water in. So I, like, volunteered to, like, get the hell out of Dodge here, you know. "Oh, no, no, I'll go by myself." And so I . . . I got out there and or . . . and I just about stepped on a rattlesnake coming out of the cave. I'm going, "Shit! I'd better be careful here." So we're going across a field and erm . . . I finally go up and get water, and I come back in and there's this bull.

Jeff: Where did you have to go to?

Doc: I went into erm . . . I didn't get it from the house. He . . . their outside spigot wasn't working and they weren't home. So I went all the way into town.

Sue: Grabbed a cup of coffee.

Doc: Ye . . . well. And er . . . and so I was coming back and I had this full thing of water and there's this bull out in the field. And it's like . . . it . . . it came running up towards me and I'm, like, taking steps back and it's like . . . I set the water down and I, like, run back over to the stake. And he comes and stands right by the water. (Laughter.) Really incredible. It's like . . . it's like he almost goes to sleep standing upright. (Laughter.)

Jeff: He was probably just a nice bull, you know, if you'd petted him somehow.

Doc: Man, I . . . I wasn't gonna pet him. And I started throwing little er . . . er . . . things at him and stuff like that. (Laughter.) And he starts . . . he starts stamping his feet, and just like going around in circles around the . . . But it was almost like he knew it was home base, and he was playing that game . . . what's that game where you had to get to home base without being tagged?

Various Folk: Kick the can.

Doc: Maybe kick the can. We call it "Ghost" or something, but it's the same type of thing.

Jeff: He knew you had to come back at some point to get that water jug.

Sue: And so?

Paul: And?

Doc: Well, he . . . he . . . he eventually left.

Jeff: That's what you told the crew when you were two days late bringing the water. This bull has taken it.

Doc: It was a . . . it did take some time.

This story's acceptability again lies in the use of irony. All the instructors can empathize with Doc's reluctance to be in the cave, and can also relate to his jumping at an opportunity to leave. However, all are amused when his efforts to escape his claustrophobic fear are curtailed by him being involved in a situation that was equally, if not more, dangerous.

The encounter with a bull in this story brings me to the next category of fearfully entertaining stories shared by the outdoor adventure education instructors under
investigation. These are stories that involve the dangerous animals that may be encountered while conducting an outdoor educational adventure. Stories involving dangerous animals are acceptable by the instructors as being entertaining for two reasons. First, very few incidents of real danger arise from encounters with these types of animals. Second, all instructors can, with the right precautions and vigilance, ensure the safety of themselves and their crews even when they do encounter such creatures. There is also prevalent among instructors, the very strong feeling that 'if you don’t bother them, they won’t bother you.'

Alligators, crocodiles, sharks, scorpions, manta rays, manatees and even fire ants and bulls have all been involved in the stories of the instructors of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base. Snakes, however, have by far the greatest role to play in terms of story involvement. Snakes are, as we have already seen, the source of numerous such stories. Three further snake stories are transcribed below. All these stories contain an element of visual humor which increases their acceptance as entertainment and serves to off-set the flesh-creeping scariness of the occurrences described. All are taken from previously reported sessions, the first from Paul’s interview session, the second from the ‘Struck by Lightning’ session, and the third from the ‘Chattooga Scorpions’ session. Since all the contextual details of these sessions have been outlined already, these three stories will simply be recorded without further comment.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 7/PAUL’S 1ST: FALLING COTTONMOUTH.**

Paul: One time when I was erm. . . . We have a course that comes from HIOBS [Hurricane Island Outward Bound School] called the HIOBS Semester Course, and this is working down here. And they’ve been together for
three or four months and often times when we get them, I've worked a
couple of their courses, the crews are erm... they're used to being
out on sail boats and they're not erm... they haven't... So
they're in a confined space all the time. And when we get them we go
off hiking. Immediately we have problems with the group trying to keep
them together all the time. And erm... often times I'll tell this...
story of... there was one... One student on this course
... a black male from New York, who just wanted to be away from
the rest of the group. And in hiking back in the Florida trail it's
real important to... to be together and stay together, it's very easy
to get lost. We're on compass bearings all the time. There's erm...
there's a lot of things that can go wrong out there. And especially as
an instructor you want to be on top of things. And this guy took off
just way ahead and... and... at very, very fast pace, and before
long we were... we were totally spread out. Well he... he was
moving so fast that erm... typically you don't see a lot of snakes or
stuff out there because they get out of the way, but he was going so
fast that the snakes didn't have time and he... actually had a snake
land on him coming down from a mangrove... Because they erm...
they er... It was er... a Cotton Mouth, and often times...
they'll s... they'll be up in the mangroves and...
And it was the best person it could have happened to because he was
totally scared of... O... often talked about snakes. And he
knocked his glasses off and he ended up breaking his glasses and he
couldn't see for the rest of the course. (Laughter.) Which... which
turned out to be quite the er... quite the time in canoeing as well
but I... just that action of him going
forward and... and me talking about it before hand brought...
The group suddenly came together.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 10/BUFF'S 4TH: GRABBING THE SNAKE.

Buff: This past Summer er... we're paddling on the French Broad river and
we're... we were at er... what's that rapid where you?... There's that big pool at the bottom, that big eddy and you spend a lot
time playing there usually. Not... On the first day, Is it Swim Eddy? I think it's just Swim Eddy. Whatever, Swim... I don't know.
Er... we were playing there and I pulled my boat over to the shore, and I'm in the bow. And I reach out to grab hold of a limb, you know to
sort of pull us in. And I wasn't really watching, you know, what I was
doing. I saw the limb and I was, you know, looking around and just
reached out and grab it. And it doesn't feel like a limb. And I turn
around and look and, you know, it was just like... And I just,
like, nearly jumped out of the boat on the other side. It was a snake,
just sitting there sunning on this limb. And erm... it just...
It just jumped in the water and that was as scared as I was. And it later
came back and got back on that same limb to hang out and dry out after
being in the river. Erm... a... apparently it's like a non-
poisonous, you know, just a water snake. But boy that was... that
was so scary.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 77/ROBIN'S 4TH: SNAKE IN SLEEPING BAG.

Robin: It's a story involving a canoe trip to the Rio Grande river. A
commercial trip with South Eastern Expeditions. And erm... there was
a... We were canoeing along for several days out just below the...
actually below the Rio Grande park. And er... one night we decided
to... as often night we'd se... we slept out under the stars.
And er... decided we'd... to sleep out and not put up the tent
and... It was a beautiful night, nice full starry sky. And er...
the manager decided to sleep... the manager of the rafting company
decided to sleep in the kitchen that night. And er... we were
rotating turns to cook breakfast and it was my turn to cook the next
morning, so er... I was prepared to get up a little early and er...
In the middle of the night I hear this... I hear my name being
called. "Robin!" And er... I wake up and look up and there's stars
all up overhead and it's a pitch black and I thought, "Boy, this is early
for breakfast. I can't believe how early this guy wants to start." But
I guess he wanted to start early so we... I said... I rolled over
and, "Oh, boy!" And then I hear this insistent voice again, "Robin!" So
I thought, “Well,” I go . . . I go, “O.K., I’m up, I’m up!”

“Robin!”

Then I went, “I’m up, I’m up!” And someone next to me says er . . . “I thought he re . . . yelled help.”

So we go, “Well that’s strange, that’s strange.” So we run over to see what’s a-happening and er . . . as he . . . as we come near er . . . he says, “Watch out, there might be a snake in that grass around there. I thought there was a snake around. I don’t know where he is just now.”

And instantly this other friend who doesn’t like snakes was . . . he was gone back to camp. He just didn’t want anything to do with it. And we’re looking through our . . . through the grass with our flashlights and . . . erm . . . can’t . . . can’t really see anything. And he says, “I . . . I . . .” He says, “I think there is a snake in here with me in the sleeping bag. I’m not sure, but I . . . I can’t tell where he is now.” And he’s wide awake, of course, by this time and he’s just lying on his back staring at the sky not moving a bit. And so we come cautiously up and we can’t see the snake in the grass, it’s just not around. So we come a little closer and he says, “Well, be careful I think it may still be in the bag then, it may be, you know . . . . I thought I felt it on my neck.” And we just sort of went, “Oh boy, what are we gonna do here?” So we start unzipping the bag, and slooowly unzip it. And this friend of ours is stiff as a board. He’s just in . . . you can tell he’s just about to sweat even though it’s cold.

And er . . . he’s laying there. And er . . . we slowly unzip this thing thinking, “If this snake is on his neck...” we try and shoo it off there, it might bite him. Now what are we gonna do with this snake?”

So we unzipped it and carefully peel the sleeping bag back and our friend is just sort of cautiously waiting. He says, “What’d you see.”

“Well, not a thing! Not one thing.” But all there was was just a collar on the sleeping bag around his neck to keep the draught . . . to keep the draught out. So I think that’s all it was. He or . . . he ended up staying up, and we all had a good laugh at his expense. And he was embarrassed and a bit flustered and a bit undignified. But he couldn’t go back to sleep he just . . . he started the stove and started coffee and said, “I’ll start breakfast. Don’t worry about breakfast.”

In the same vein, three stories are taken from Robin’s interview that all deal with this same theme; frightening stories involving animals. These stories were all told one after another right at the beginning of Robin’s interview which took place in the middle of the afternoon (from two until three o’clock) on Monday the 26th of February.

Robin’s interview was the fifth on the first day of interviews, and so I believe I was beginning to perform them fairly well. The interview took place at the very landward-most point of the campus, far away from the disturbances of both the central buildings themselves, and the river access to Everglades City. At this point fairly adequate shade is provided by large cypress trees. This shade was certainly required as a counter to the hot sunny stillness of the day. The original stimulation for these scary animal stories was
simply the interview itself. Robin began the sequence with no additional prompting or input from me. Again, there is some justification in including these stories without further elaborating comments.

INTERVIEW STORY 29/ROBIN’S 1ST: ALLIGATOR CROSSING.

Robin: I remember a story of er . . . that happened during this er . . . this season when John Crawford from Wilderness South-east was down here showing the staff the area, the local area erm . . . taking us round to various places. And erm . . . we were driving to er . . . start a hike through one of the strands back to the Oasis Ranger Station and we were driving along the Tamiami Trail . . .

Mac: Ah-ha.

Robin: And hoping to find a little stopping place and er . . . begin our hike which was going to start right through a canal. And along the way people got interested in the canal and what it might contain and er . . . the depth of the water and er . . . started looking around and sure enough spotted an alligator and then two, three, four and five, and then a dozen or so the count. People began to lose interest in the count and eventually realized that the place was full of 'em. And er . . . came to our stopping point and a rather large reptile was there and erm . . . everybody was silent for a moment and watched as this big reptile eyed the van and slide into the water, never to be seen again. But the er . . . naturalist John Crawfish didn’t seem to mind. He just said, “Oh good, yeh big old alligator. Yer, right, that looks good. Yer, this’ll be the place.” And we jumped in and following his lead up to the neck and just swam across the canal.

Mac: (Laughs.) Gosh.

Robin: An eye opening experience to see his boldness. It didn’t worry him, it didn’t worry him in the least. He just charged on ahead. And er . . . we all made it through safely. No one was eaten.

Mac: Wow.

Robin: So that was a good sign.

Mac: Were you frightened?

Robin: Yer I was pretty frightened. Anxious. They’re big reptiles and they do move. But it was good because if I hadn’t seen that boldness from someone who knew it was o.k. to do that, then I would have been very scared taking a crew full of kids into an area where I thought there might have been a big alligator. He had an air of confidence about him and was fully aware of the presence of it. He just said, “They don’t bother people.”

INTERVIEW STORY 30/ROBIN’S 2ND: FIRE ANT HUG.

Robin: Caroline Maxwell one time . . . er with a crew on a nine day, we’d just finished bushwhacking, made it er . . . on into the evening and ended up at Oasis Ranger Station. And we’re standing round by the highway and decide to have a little group cheering up session. So we circle up and are giving a rousing cheer when Caroline realizes she’s standing in a fire-ant mound. And they’re swarming up her legs, inside of her rain-pants, and she’s hopping up and down, and eventually yelping . . .

Mac: Oh no.

Robin: Pulling down her pants and tearing off her shoes and trying to . . .

Mac: Laughs.

Robin: trying to brush the little guys out, and they bite her all over the place. Fire-ants can be a part of it. When we did an orientation for the er . . . Ransom Everglades School.

Mac: Ah-ha ah-ha

Robin: We went . . . we went to the school and er . . . we had a big athletic field and er . . . you know, in front of the school, and we were doing our activities there and er . . . a number of the staff were bitten. Seem to be part of the landscape.
Robin: Saw a manta, or several mantas just recently while canoeing near Jack Daniel’s Key. We were canoeing just a little bit at the start of the ocean and had got started again erm. . . . In the lee of one of these islands we must have surprised him and er . . . the water boiled up about three or four feet in diameter and great waves and took off and then it split into two, it was two Manta Rays and then it turns out there was a third one and it took off in between it was a lot bigger than the others; just phough (a sound made to accompany his hands both of which indicated boiling water; his hands were about diaphragm level, palms upwards, moving slowly and jerkily upwards) boiling.

Paul Battle told a similar story to Robin’s manta ray narrative about an encounter with manatees as part of his interview session. This story was similar to Robin’s in more than just content. Paul’s manatee story also continued on from his previous story which concerned the ‘Falling Cottonmouth’. This storied incident occurred to the same HIOBS Semester Course Group. They were still having problems sticking together, as a result of them having spent the previous three of four months in pulling boats.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 8/PAUL’S 2ND: MANATEE SHARKS.

Paul: And the same group when we got into the canoeing again they were used to being in their pulling boats. And we were paddling on the outside heading . . . heading down in the Gulf [of Mexico]. And they were always spread out and I was always having to call them together and try to get them together. And er . . . nothing was working, nothing was working. Well appropriately erm . . . we scared what they thought were sharks but they were just manatees. And manatees can move very fast for a short period of time. And they so . . . put up . . . put up about three manatees that put up this wall of water that just went in between two canoes and lifted a boat just up and down. And the next thing I know is whoosh (accompanied by an encircling arm motion gathering together the imaginary canoes very rapidly; and much laughter) they’re all within a paddle’s reach and they’d to push the boats off. And that was it. For the rest of the course they were really close. And I . . . Of course they played up that it was big sharks, they weren’t manatees. (Laughter.) No vegetarian these were carnivorous sharks.

We have seen from Robin’s comments that fire ants were a ‘part of the landscape’. The same could also be said of scorpions which initially seem to be more fear provoking than ants. This is because of their very overt poisoning potential. However, again instructors can be entertained by such stories because the are fully aware that serious incidents involving such animals are extremely rare. Again
the two stories selected were taken from the same story
telling session, and followed on directly from one another.
The session these stories were taken from was the one
started by Robin Kinaird’s spontaneous rendering of the
‘Chattooga Scorpion’ Story.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 67/ROBIN’S 2ND: THE KIWIS & THE SCORPIONS.

Robin: You New Zealanders are a bit panicky regarding scorpions. (Said to
Robyn Cresswell.) I was rafting down the Colorado one time, and a
couple of the crew members were Kiwis. We’d sleep out under the stars
every night, and every night it was the same story. The two New
Zealanders would fight it out for the middle-most sleeping position
under the assumption that if there were any scorpions about they
wouldn’t get to the middle sleepers without first stinging everyone on
the outsides. So by sleeping in the middle they figured they’d get
plenty of warning if the crew should suffer an attack.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 68/ ROBYN’S 5TH: SCORPION SQUIRREL.

Robyn: We were on the Grand Canyon. Sleeping out. And the first few nights,
it felt like I spent half my nights awake. And every little rustle and
sound around my head, I'd wake up and brush it off or get the flashlight
on it. By about the third night or fourth night I was so exhausted that
I decided that, "Stuff the scorpions, or whatever," and I was just
going to get some sleep. And then woke up to be ... have these two
little eyes just straight in my face. And he ... and he ... I'm not
sure he was a raccoon, he was more like a ... I don't ... I'm not
sure what they have in the desert. Robin might have a name for him.
He's more like ... he's more like a little desert squirrel or a
chipmunk-type thing. And it came running up and was sitting there face
to face. Yeh that was pretty funny.

The next activity epiphenomenon that provides the source of
entertainment in the stories told by the instructors at
Everglades City is food deprivation. The food supplied by
any outdoor adventure education establishment is likely to
cause problems for the regular meat-and-two-vegetables, or
MacDonald’s-hamburger American because it differs so much
from this usual fare. There is, therefore, the occasional
student who will have real problems simply consuming some of
the food because they find it unpalatable. Additionally,
rationing of food can also be somewhat problematic. Crews
are expected, after a very short period of instruction, to
ration their own food for the duration of the course.
Sometimes their calculations don’t work out as well as they
might and problems may, therefore, occur towards the end of the course or as new re-supply periods approach.

There is probably nothing realistically dangerous about the levels of food deprivations experienced on any Outward Bound course. No one is likely to die of starvation during a twenty-three day course even if they went on a very conscientious hunger strike. However, food deprivation does become a problem when linked to other aspects of wilderness life such as coping with the elements - keeping warm and dry, losing sleep, and participating in physically and psychologically demanding activities all of which require the expenditure of huge quantities of energy. When metabolic energy supplies are low because of diminished food intake, these other demands on the body's energy supply accumulate to such an extent that the occasional student may run the very real risk of becoming hypothermic. Food deprivation stories concerning students, then, are rare with only one such story, Doc's previously reported 'Hypothermic Bulimic', being encountered. Such situations do become very dangerous and, therefore, are only converted into stories when the outcomes are noticeably successful as was the case with Doc's student. Somewhat more common are stories about instructor food deprivation. This is probably due to the fact that trained instructors are able to cope with such deprivations more effectively than students. Therefore, such incidents are likely to make more palatable grist for the entertaining story mill.

Two stories were collected concerning instructor food deprivation. Both the stories narrated the same event seen from the different perspectives of both Steve and Jeff.
This dual telling indicates the impact of the original occurrence. Steve was the first to relate this story during his interview. This event must have had a particularly high impact on Steve because he converted it into a very elaborate story that contained three separate incidents.

INTERVIEW STORY 53/STEVE'S 6TH: SO HUNGRY IT WAS UGLY.

Steve: Last year at this time with er . . . erm . . . a trip that the RELPS [North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Residential Leadership Program] took, this was Jeff Menzer, Ned Corker, and Bill Murray and I. And er . . . we’d . . . we did this trip where we skied from Lake Tahoe down to almost Yosemite, following the Pacific Crest Trail roughly. And er . . . we were out for sixteen days, skied probably over two hundred miles, and just had a great, great trip, except for one thing. We didn’t plan our food right. And we had based it off the winter staff training trip that we had taken. And we had four food groups there. And all of us were in different food groups, and must have been the biggest eaters of each of those food groups. So we er . . . when we were making up our rations we er . . . you know, “Oh, we had plenty of food, you know.” And so we’d . . . we er . . . trimmed everything down a little bit, you know, skimmed a little bit up on our lunches cos we had plenty of lunches out there. Got out there, and from day three on, we went to bed hungry and woke up hungry. It was incredible. We had these food caches set along the way and er . . . I remember skiing into this one just hoping the coyotes hadn’t got to it. We were so hungry. And, you know, at any given moment we could have just eaten all the food we had with us. It just . . . it just would have been gone. I also had the most wild dreams in my life, being that hungry.

Mac: Did you? Just from hunger.

Steve: I’m not sure if it was just from that, but it was . . . . You know, I could recall the dreams to . . . in great depths even later on during the day. We used to do anything for food though. After the pot was cleaned up, Bill used to make this er . . . joke around about Uncle Bill’s Hot Butter Water. (Laughs.) He’d just take the scrapings from the pot and some butter, heat up some water, adds . . . add any kind of seasoning. And that was like heaven. Hot Butter Water. When we finally got out we er . . . We skied out, and then the first thing we ran into was this er . . . was like a Quick Stop and a place called . . . erm . . . it was a Mobile Station, it was a Mobile Mart. And we . . . we got there and it was ugly. (Laughs.) We started to eat and eat and eat. Then, when we were about ready to go, Ned was on the phone to his girlfriend and he was still on the phone so we’d keep on eating. And this girl scout came in started selling Girl Scout Cookies. We bought them all off her case. . . . We ate all those. I lost almost ten pounds.

Jeff’s story about the same event was also told during his interview. Again this event must have been particularly impactful because, on this occasion, it was the first non-solicited story told during Jeff’s interview.

INTERVIEW STORY 67/JEFF’S 1ST: “I DIDN’T LOSE ANY [WEIGHT].”

Jeff: Well, we went on this trip in the Sierras, mostly as . . . We had to come up with what our RELP trip was gonna be. We had this Residential Leadership Program, and we were supposed to go some place on a group expedition, the four of us. And it’s like, making up our mind was
almost impossible... (laughs)... as to where we were gonna go, or what we were gonna do, cause there were so many things open to us. And we got to have a van, and we were supposed to be ten days and we were supposed to be within a thousand miles. And we got like five hundred dollars plus food plus gas, which was actually quite a bit. You can go all kinds of places. So, as to where to go and what to do. So we went on Winter Staff Training out... this was like before then in early December. Winter Staff Training was supposed to be a time when you go out and er... 

Mac: Freeze your butt off.

Jeff: Yeh. (Laughter.) And cause the winter doesn’t always come with a real intensity in North Carolina, it’s usually wet, but it’s not always real cold, or you can’t count on early December as it being a real Winter time. So we went out to... or... the Absarokas, which are Bear Tooth Range in er... Montana just above er... Yellowstone. And it was minimal snow, there wasn’t a lot a stuff. So anyway I was the person that was in charge of the food for all that, getting it all together and packing things up and to whether we’d use school food or buy stuff from grocery stores or use freeze dried food or how much money we’d spend. And it went really well, we made up all kinds of new recipes, a good one was er... Potato Cheese Concrete where you mix like powdered potatoes, and powdered cheese and something that just sorts, like, fills the void when you’re real hungry. And we’d just the right amounts of food. Like everybody ate just enough. So when it ti... came time that we decided that we wanted to go on a ski trip, that all the four of us were fairly proficient at er... ski mountaineering and it seemed like an incredible opportunity to go and do something. And I was familiar with the Sierras from having lived there. That we’d go there. And so we decided we’d take the same amount of food on that trip. But turns out that... while we were on Winter Staff Training in the Absarokas, we were in groups of four, eating all the time and, each of the four of us were in different groups, with other people that didn’t eat so much. So we took that amount of food to the Sierras. We were... also we were... in the Absarokas we didn’t eat so much cause we weren’t working as hard, whereas in the Sierras we were ski-ing real hard all day long. So we ate all our food up. It was like gone. And you’d get this little bag of food, like, and you’d realize that it was supposed to last for the next week and you could really sit down and eat it all right then. And everybody else had these er... weenie little cups, you know, these little Outward Bound cups that were sort of small. And I swear I didn’t eat any more than them except maybe in liquids or things like that, but at the end of the trip when we weighed ourselves, I think Steven had lost ten pounds, and Ned had lost fifteen pounds and Bill lost five pounds, and I didn’t lose any. (Laughs.) So I got in kind of a lot of slack for that. (Further laughter.) But I figure it was all cause my cup was just a little bigger.

The final category of stories that center around the fear inspiring incidents encountered during Outward Bound experiences concerns the weather. Again, such stories are not particularly common. This is possibly because of the unpredictability of the weather, as well as the inability to control the weather. However such stories do exist, and where they do there is usually a positive outcome which is often the result of either luck or instructional expertise.

320
The first of these stories was told by Jeff during his interview. This is typical of Jeff's stories, long and elaborate, linking together a number of separate incidents into one continuous narrative.

INTERVIEW STORY 69/JEFF'S 2ND: THE ONLY ONE DRY.

Jeff: This June, this last June I was in working Cedar Rock. It was the wettest time I think I've ever had, maybe. Except for... here in North Carolina for sure. Out of twenty three days it rained like er... twenty two of those days. So I'd be... Like students were expected to show up at two o'clock. And at Cedar Rock there's pretty much no buildings there. There's a small warehouse, and a little pavilion. And like fifteen minutes before students arrived it poured, just poured. Just dumped rain. Just like a minute before the students arrived the clouds miraculously cleared and the sun came out. You know, and it's like we made... they just came in, thought it was wonderful, great place, you know er... Well, come under the pavilion, and there's a little opening talk from the Course Director and they welcome and tell you not do sex and drugs and all that stuff.

Mac: Rock 'n' roll.

Jeff: Yeh. And what a wonderful time you're going to have, and you have to push yourself and that. They have a big talk. And then right in the middle of that it just starts pouring down again. It goes "bckrough!" (A sound made to imitate thunder.) Going, "No way." So he gave everybody raincoats and... That first day, it's... so much stuff to do I... you know, it's how you fit it all in there. They went to this camp spot. It's normally a pretty nice camp spot, it's about a half-a-mile walk to it and... But the more I looked the more I realized that the whole camp spot might just flood. (Laugh.) You know, it sort of could. And I, though, was the one that picked it. You know, it's like, "Well!" And so everybody's sort of looking around, so we set up tarps, and get dinner cooked. And sort of in the midst of cooking dinner it just starts to rain, then it rains a little harder and a little harder, and everybody's going, "Oh Shit!" Then everybody sort of gets to sleep, and around three in the morning it's just pouring, just pouring. And there's, like, a whole river running through where we're camped. You know, it's like maybe this deep. (Indicates about a six inch depth with his two hands.) Some people get totally wet sleeping bags. And somehow through all of it, I was sleeping on like a slight rise about three inches higher and this wasn't planned or anything like that, but I was dry, and everybody else was soaked, you know. So then, like, it's like, "All right, well..." Finally, sort of, then people ask, "Well, can we sleep in these sleeping bags when they're wet?" So I said, "Well," you know, "Ring them out." And it's sort of like sleeping in a wet-suit, but it works.

The next such story is similar to Jeff's in a number of ways. First, it was told during an instructor interview, this time by Mark; second, it was a narrative about the exact same temporal and geographical location - the rainy period featured in each story is the same rainy period; third, it was part of a whole conglomeration of incidents that Mark had, like Jeff, coalesced into a single narrative, and fourth, it was an incident that had no real detrimental
impact. Indeed, the opposite was the case in this particular incident. The fact that it rained so much seemed to have a cohesive effect on the group and led to Marks’s realization that perhaps this group was not the 'Group from Hell' that he had - at first - imagined. This was Mark’s second interview story, and was a direct continuation of his ‘Group from Hell’ story.

**INTERVIEW STORY 94/MARK’S 92ND: NOT THE GROUP FROM HELL.**

Mark: So er... we are er... it rained the last few... out of... on this course it rained for nineteen out of twenty one days. Not necessarily every... for the whole day, but it rained a lot. And er... that made for... You know, the first night there it rained a lot blah blah blah. So anyway we’re heading to the Chattooga River, were we’re gonna do, you know, the white water component. And we were going via the Bartram Trail. And er... we all were heading towards War Woman Creek, which we foolishly thought we could cross. Actually we could cross the creek, but it was getting across the Chattooga that would have been the difficulty. So we get to War Woman, and it’s just... it’s just... It’s roaring along. I mean, these logs were just going down it. And there’s now a steel bridge across the creek. So we got there and we realized that, you know, there’s... we’d never be able to cross the Chattooga. So our plan was to stay there and er... er... camp, and then hike back out to the road next morning and call base and so forth. So we got everybody to... It had stopped raining for a while, and we got everybody, you know, to set up camp. And every time it stopped raining, just everybody’s morale went up somewhat. And er... and by this time things were starting to mellow out a little bit, and we were all realizing that these were, you know, they... they had they’re own sort of sets of difficulties, but they probably weren’t any harder than anybody else’s.

The final two entertaining stories, involving the dangers of weather changes encountered by Outward Bound instructors, were told during the party I gave at the end of my fieldwork stay at the center. The party took place in the school’s staff common room on Friday the 2nd of March. The story reported here was told towards the end of the evening at about eleven o’clock at night. Music for the party, which provided the setting with the required relaxed atmosphere, was supplied courtesy of one of the instructors. All the instructors were invited to the party, which was my way of saying thank you to the school’s instructional, catering and maintenance staff for making my fieldwork stay at the school
so successful. However, because of busy schedules, course preparation, and subsequent early morning rises, few instructors put in an appearance, despite the fact that I had provided all the liquid refreshments. The stories in question were told by Saul Rosen and Bruce Warner about whom I know very little. They were away from the school for the duration of most of my fieldwork and only returned during my penultimate day there. This gave me very little opportunity to become acquainted with these instructors although they were both very willing raconteurs. Saul was very obviously a non-American and told his stories with a noticeable, though not thick, Eastern European accent. These two stories concerning the weather were told one immediately after the other, and therefore they will be recorded in this same manner without further intervening comments.

INTERVIEW STORY 95/SAUL'S 5TH: THE REFRIGERATOR DOOR.

Saul: Talking about Fakahatchee.
Bruce: Oh yeh. I know where that is.
Saul: It was really kind of warm, but the bugs didn’t bother us.
Bruce: We didn’t have any no-see’ums where I was camping.
Saul: Yeh, and they were getting bad as we got to . . . to the campsite. But then just as we are like standing there, suddenly, somebody opened a refrigerator door. Right? The whiff of cold air out of nowhere. And the weather just changed like that.
Bruce: And we were like, “Yeh!”
Saul: So we said, “Right, get up the tents guys, it’s gonna rain.” Everybody put up the tents, we put up a tarp, and then it rains. We were like running out of water, and we didn’t have enough water, so we . . . collected rain from the tarp.
Jeff: Are you serious
Saul: Oh we came here with a full jar, but we didn’t want to stretch it. Because, I mean, timing.
Bruce: Perfect.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 96/BRUCE'S 1ST: CAUGHT IN THE RAIN.

Bruce: Unlike Saul and I and our group. We said, “Oh, this is a great night. Let’s just sleep in the bug tents.” Midnight, “burggh!” [Makes the sound of thunder and pouring rain all at the same time.]
All: Laughter.
Saul: It was, like, the one big rain of the season, you know.
Mac: This is it.
Bruce: The most it had rained all season. But the whole crew was in tents and Saul and I are like . . . We sat up late talking. . . . We were like, “It’s not going to rain. It’s clear, it’s a little cool, it’s nice.” Boy, midnight, I wake up and like, “Saul, it’s raining.” It was just sprinkling, and all of a sudden it just started pouring. I mean pouring hard. And Saul and I are setting the tent up in the pouring rain with
my Helly Henson [A set of waterproof pants and jacket named after their manufacturer] on. "Phew!"

Mac: Why does that always happen. You know, I mean, God!
Saul: You know, we should have just crawled into the girls tent.
Bruce: I know.
Saul: We were like, "We’re gonna put up the tent. We are gonna be self reliant."

Bruce: Next morning our gear’s strung out drying off on the bushes there were.
... And that’s day one. [Laughter.]
Saul: Actually, we were pretty impressed with . . .
Bruce: That we got the tent up in the rain, yeh.
Saul: That we got it up so fast in the rain.
Bruce: We did, that tent was up like that.

These final two examples bring to the fore one of the crucial ingredients in the scary stories told by the instructors of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base; instructor competence. In the first story Saul tells his crew to get the tents up because it’s going to rain, and sure enough it rains. In the second story, initial incompetence in deciding to sleep without a tent is compensated for with real competence, when it really counted in getting the tent up quickly in the middle of the night in pouring rain. This is a key ingredient in these scary stories because competence is one of the ways an instructor can compensate for the dangers that undoubtedly are going to be encountered in this particular profession.

It can be seen from the volume of stories recorded in this section that many of the stories told by the population under investigation concerned the risks involved in outdoor adventure education instructing. It has been noted that such scary stories are centered around both figurative and literal loss of students, the risks encountered in undertaking the activities themselves, especially it seems the activity of caving, and the epiphenomena involved in participation in such activities including food deprivation, weather dangers and the dangerous animals that may be encountered.
ENTERTAINMENT THROUGH EMOTIONAL AROUSAL.

Outward Bound instructors, then, at the North Carolina School's Florida base use both humor and fear as a source of entertainment in the personal experience stories they share with fellow instructors. Additionally, they also use an appeal to the emotions as such an entertainment source. Such stories were never tear-jerking narratives as would be depicted in a Hollywood movie or a romantic novel. Rather, this type of story relied on generating sympathy or empathy for their entertainment value.

The two most notable instructors in this regard were Sue Spahn and Steve. Indeed, this type of story was almost exclusively restricted to these two instructors. There was something about some of the stories these instructors told that engendered, in the listener, a feeling of resonance. As the principal listener to these stories, I was moved to respond with a resounding 'YES' to some of the stories these instructors told. It is of considerable interest to note that these instructors were not particularly erudite raconteurs. They both told their stories with considerable, but low key, and soft-spoken, enthusiasm, without very much animation. Unlike the stories of other instructors, theirs contained little differentiation between straight narrative and reported speech. Also, unlike other narrators, Sue and Steve rarely, and indeed in Sue's case never, used humor as a source of entertainment in their stories; while neither instructor ever shared a story in a communal setting.

Sue Spahn's two stories based on this theme were told, during her interview, as follow-ups to her first, previously reported, story about her own mountain marathon experience,
which was told in order to establish the boundaries of my research. This initial story has also something of this element of pathos in its telling, and it set the tone for these two subsequent narratives. Both these follow-up stories are also about mountain marathons, and the connection between the three is obvious.

INTERVIEW STORY 24/SUE’S 2ND: HELPING MARATHONER.

Sue: I know one of the students had similar stories about...
Mac: Did they?
Sue: Just wanting to keep moving. You know their goal was ...
Mac: Not to stop.
Sue: Ah-ha. So that was pretty good.
Mac: Yeh.
Sue: One student in that same race has erm... has run four or five marathons. He was a real hard runner and his buddy on the course was not a big runner; very athletic guy.
Mac: Yeh.
Sue: Great at baseball, was looking at a college baseball scholarship and... played... just was a real hot athlete. And he had never run more than... He’d probably run nine miles he said. He was nervous, but he was ready to go. And the other guy, Bruce, who was a marathon runner, made it his goal to help this student run, and to help this student make it. And as they went through the run, erm... the real athletic student was, you know, had a real hard time and Bruce just kinda kept with him and just kinda kept moseying along and... and that was his personal challenge was to let go of him wanting to be competitive and run and it was his challenge to help his friend. And his friend ran the whole thing, he ran in good time. And his friend pretty much stumbled over the finishing line just gripped from working so hard and he said, “I have never worked so hard in my life.” And Bruce of course was just “titidididi.”
Mac: Yeh (followed by a whistle of nonchalance).
Sue: But he said it was hard to... to let go of all that.

INTERVIEW STORY 27/SUE’S 3RD: “BECAUSE WE’RE A TEAM.”

Sue: I’ve definitely have seen a lot of stuff on... you know, come through on these runs. In the parent/child course at the beginning of er... at the end of June into July we had ten participants and we had several parents and kids and... obviously it’s a parent/child course. Erm...
Mac: (Laughs silently.)
Sue: I’m thinking of one... there was four fathers and one mother.
Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha.
Sue: And two sons and the rest were daughters. And the mother had an older daughter.
Mac: Ah-ha.
Sue: Erm... Her daughter was twenty three.
Mac: Ah-ha
Sue: Everybody else was ri... was seventeen...
Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha. Yeh, yeh.
Sue: Pretty much sixteen or seventeen. And when it came time to run they were asked to run as a pair.
Mac: Oh, O.K.
Sue: They had to run together with their partner. And some people came back erm... One really super competitive dad... Phew man, erm... was able to let go that his son had to stop and take a dump twice.
Mac: Oh, wow... wow.
Sue: Do you know how long they were? (Laughs.)
Mac: (Laughs.) Wow.
Sue: So he was able to let that go and let other people pass him and... One father and son combo that had been having a real hard time era... just communicating at all, you know, s... son was doing real bad at school and dad was, "Why can't you do well at school, phfftt" (the sound of a whip cracking).

Mac: Yeh. (Laughs.)

Sue: You know, cracking the whip. Those guys ran together and... and his dad was super physically fit, he was a physical trainer as his job, and his son was not. And era... his son was not, his son was, you know, a tiny bit over weight... big guy and the other guy was just... (Expands her chest and upper arms turns her palms inwards and spreads her fingers to indicate the father's physical stature and fitness.) And so they had to work through that a whole lot waiting for them. But the mother/daughter pair was the real interesting one. And they started out running and the daughter, Karen, was era... had not run that far in her life be... and was real excited to meet the challenge, you know, she had... she had run to prepare for the course but, you know, she wasn't as... she... she cert... she was by no means, you know, a physical animal, and she was a little bit overweight too. Her mom era... has... did a little bit of running and lots of walking and things like that...

Mac: Yeh, yeh.

Sue: So her mom was like... I guess this... this run was seven miles, seven-and-a-half. And her mom was like, you know, "I don't know about this... you... you... I... I'm just going do what I can," d'you know, "I've had enough. This course has been a challenging enough already... that's enough." And er... and her daughter had an incredible investment. So they started running and her mam stopped and she was just furious with her mom you know.

Mac: Oh wow.

Sue: "Come on! Come on!" And... and they got into this whole thing about, you know, her mom saying, "You have... you have all this investment, why does it have to involve me." And her daughter goes, "Because we're a team." And... and...

Mac: Oh wow.

Sue: "And I feel that you should rea... you should try your hardest," you know, "to meet," you know, "to help me meet the challenge and for you to meet the challenge as well." And they busted their butts...

Mac: Oh wow.

Sue: and they came in, you know, holding hands over the finish line.

Mac: Oh super.

Sue: Yeh it was really neat and that really... that was a real important step for them.

The team work involved in both these stories, and the self sacrifices made, is sufficient to engender our sympathy. However, the visual image of the mother and daughter pair crossing the line together holding hands, really does provide the listener with an emotional charge.

This same emotional charge is obtained, when listening to many of Steve's stories. During his interview he told four such stories, two of which provided the introduction to his interview session. The fact that these two stories were told at the very onset of Steve's interview, illustrates how important this type of story was to this instructor.
INTERVIEW STORY 48/STEVE'S 1ST: "LET'S FUCKING DO IT".

Steve: This is a story from last . . . two Augusts ago now. It was an all boys crew and I was working with a guy named Paul Lewis. And er . . . Paul Lewis was a . . . he was a naval in Malaysia. A real . . . comes from a real sort of formal background in terms of how the Outward Bound system works over there. And so there was he and I, and it was his first course as an assistant . . . or his first course as an instructor, and then er . . . it was my second course as an assistant instructor. So we were a pretty . . . pretty new pair. And we had ten of the rowdiest boys ever. . . . They were . . . they were really something; into everything. We were trying to figure out different ways to . . . to really work with these guys. And nothing we challenged them with physically was doing it, and they were working fairly well as a group but, you know, they had a lot of barriers that they had set pretty firmly before, you know. So I don’t know even how the idea came up, but it was during solo, and er . . . we had all their gear there and they were all out. And er . . . we had er . . . decided to make this proposal to 'em. And er . . . the proposal was to hike forty miles non-stop, just to see . . . just to see what would happen. And er . . . we had to take this risk to do it because, the only way we could work it out logistically, was to . . . at a time on solo, just to decide it er . . . decide that this is what they would do. And er . . . Paul was er . . . he’s really good at being able to er . . . articulate, you know, what Outward Bound is and stuff, but he didn’t really connect so much with the students. He . . . he did good, but he was . . . that was something that he was working on. And er . . . so it sort of came down to me to . . . to try convince these guys, after we’d already decided that this is what they were gonna do. So we er . . . we brought 'em out on solo, brought 'em off it, I guess, and er . . . we er . . . sat ‘em around and started talking about this. And, you know, I tried to build it up as much as I possibly could. And er . . . there’s one guy named Mickey who . . . I knew if it was gonna go it was gonna be because of Mickey and if it wasn't gonna go it was because of Mickey. And I went through, did the whole schpeal, you know, and it got kinda quiet and er . . . Mickey goes, “I’ve only got five words to say about this.” And there this pause. I was like, “Oh well, shit.” And he goes, "Let’s fucking do it." (Laughs.) I said, “That’s four words, Mickey.” (Further laughter.)

INTERVIEW STORY 49/STEVE’S 92ND: 40 MILES IN 36 HOURS.

Steve: So er . . . so we started out and er . . . we, you know, just gave it all to them. And I knew it was all trail walking so it wasn’t . . . wasn’t much difficulty in terms of that, it was just one of those endurance pushes. And they got themselves up real early that morning and were walking by like four-thirty and er . . . they hiked all that day, ‘till about seven-thirty that night and it was then they realized they weren’t halfway there yet. And that’s when things finally started happening with that crew. And so they decided to hike on into . . . into dark, and get something to eat. So they hiked on into the dark, and stopped, had something to eat, and then er . . . half of them said, “Well, let’s just take a nap here.” And some of them took naps everybody finally says, you know, gave into it and er . . . slept a little bit and they got themselves back up again at about five that morning and er . . . continued walking. And they ended up walking those forty miles in thirty-six hours. And er . . . I don’t know, I think back on it myself quite a bit so I’m sure they do too. They were definitely tired when they got there.

The emotional appeal of both these stories is summed up in the storyteller’s own words at the end of the second story. Steve says he thinks about this incident a lot. Hiking 40 miles in only 36 hours while carrying heavy packs really is
an accomplishment of a lifetime, and one that each participant will cherish always and consider often as a source for inspiration and fortitude. The listener to this story is granted similar vicarious inspiration through the story’s telling as it is a narrative acclaim of the positive side of human nature. Steve’s other two emotionally charged stories are similar examples of this aspect of our humanity. In telling both these stories, Steve narrates this benevolent side of our humanity in a manner which is both powerful and at the same time reserved. A fact that possibly adds further to the empathetic effect.

**INTERVIEW STORY 57/STEVE’S 10TH: “PAID OPIE.”**

Steve: I was . . . I was in Bolivia last July on a mountaineering trip and I came back, I just had a day or two and I was right in ‘pre-course’ and then out in the field again. And erm . . . . I was trying to catch up on all my mail, and I didn’t have a chance to, until solo. So I was going through all my bills and letter and stuff and I . . . . I came across my phone bill, and the thing was opened. Er . . . , “That’s kinda odd,” you know. So I opened it up and er . . . the amount due had been highlighted and said, “Paid, Opie,” with date on. “What the hell’s going on.” Couldn’t figure it out for the life of me. And then er . . . dug through the rest of the bill and I found a note from him and er . . . said that er . . . Ray Cooper, who was the office manager up there erm . . . said that she was sorting mail and saw that bill come in and knew that I was in Bolivia and didn’t want my card to get clipped. And so she peeked through the window and saw that I had an . . . a . . . a balance due on it and so Opie forked out a personal check for seventy bucks to cover my phone bill and er . . . . he signed the letter saying something like er . . . . “Pay me back as soon as you can or er . . . or I’ll make sure you have all the trouble kids on all future courses.” (Laughs.) So that’s . . . that’s the kind of story I’ll tell people about the type of people I work with.

**INTERVIEW STORY 60/STEVE’S 13TH: HORSE AND BRIDLE.**

Steve: Have you ever played Horse and Bridle?
Mac: No.
Steve: Its a way of, like, distributing little pieces of food, you know. If you have, like . . . its sort of a numbers game where, like, if there’s one item of food left and a few people want it, rather than dividing it up eight ways, you play this game called Horse and Bridle. And whoever wins the Horse and Bridle round gets it.
I was with a crew, another all male crew, adults. We really bonded pretty well together. I really enjoyed those guys. As er . . . sort of closing ceremony were going on, one of the last things that happened was . . . one of the guys . . . end of the course er . . . one of the guys pulled out a plane ticket to London, one way lick . . . one way . . . the back half of a round trip. So he’s not gonna use it. Puts it on the table for Horse and Bridle. That was great, somebody took it and went.

329
ENTERTAINMENT THROUGH EPISODIC ADVENTURES.

The inspirational nature of these two stories is explicit as the positive aspect of human nature comes across strongly in each one. They are both excellent examples of the third manner in which the stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School entertain; which is through an appeal to the emotions. The final way in which these stories entertain is through excitement and adventure. Many outdoor adventure education activities are inherently adventurous, exciting and risky. The instructors who narrate these activities are, then, likely to produce adventurous and exciting stories. While this may be true to some extent, three instructors, Jeff, Robin and Mark, stand out as focusing on this type of story.

The exciting adventure-type stories told by Jeff, Robin and Mark gained their excitement as much from the way the personal experiences of these raconteurs were storied, as from the actual excitement of the experiences themselves. All three instructors told stories episodically, thus creating the excitement of an Indiana Jones-type, or Saturday morning serial-type film. These stories, then, were long accounts of extended adventures. They differed noticeably from the usual stories told, in that they gathered together a number of exciting incidents into one long story. Analysis of these stories was facilitated by splitting them into their separate episodes. In reality, however, they were a collection of hair raising events that occurred usually on the same expedition. These events were
linked together to produce, and accentuate the excitement of, a single narrative.

Each of the instructors telling this type of exciting episodic personal experience story did so to differing extents. Robin told two such stories, Jeff told three and Mark told this type of story to the exclusion, except on one spontaneous telling occasion - the previously recorded 'Ferry Epic' - of all other types of story. The stories themselves, however, had a definite consistency in their structure. From a fairly quiet scene setting beginning with a mildly adventurous occurrence, the stories would build to the climax of the adventure and then gradually return out of the storyworld via a less exciting and often anticlimactic conclusion. These stories never returned to the original conversation after their high point. There was always some intervening sub-story which helped to facilitate this return.

To transcribe any such episodically exciting story in its entirety would be unwieldy. Their very length prohibits such a process. I will, therefore, cite from each raconteur, the introduction, the climax and the conclusion from one or two of their episodic narratives.

Robin's two episodically exciting stories both involved his guiding experiences as a white water rafting instructor in countries other than the United States. His experiences in Costa Rica provides a good example of this type of story.

INTERVIEW STORY 36/ROBIN'S 7TH: COSTA RICA EPIC: INTRODUCTION.

Robin: We had an interesting story in Costa Rica. With rather a well to do family, the Cole family, that has a plumbing company and they make generators, had come down for a raft trip, a three day raft trip. And or . . . or . . . lets see we'd just celebrated er . . . er . . . New Year's Eve the night before. And took off and er . . . got to a rapid
in the afternoon and the er... we had several passengers, members of the family, in the er... in one oar boat or rather in a paddle boat, and I was paddling and guiding - captaining - and then there was an oar boat that had most of the gear, and er... one passenger. And the oar boat got pinned on a rock. There was this real sharp cut back around a rock and it couldn't quite make it, so the boat bumped against a rock, and with an oar boat full of gear you can't shift enough weight to keep it from, you can't do an effective over. And the boat wrapped firmly around this rock. And it was pouring down rain and we couldn't get the damned thing off. We were out there with a climbing rope and a winch - which I hate, I hate those things - and we're working on this thing and trying to get it off and darkness is coming on rather fast. And erm... we had no way of getting it off. And so the only thing we could rescue off of it were the tents; no food, no light, no stoves. And er... we er... got the tents off, and then er... got the two people off, and barely managed to get them into a raft without being swept downstream ourselves.

This story is somewhat unusual for this type of narrative in that the climax is reached immediately after the introduction. In this particular case, therefore, these two elements have been transcribed together. The narrative continues with episodes involving: the argument that ensues between guiding personnel and the customers about "hiking out" through the dangerous Costa Rican jungle; the subsequent and futile such hike - they had actually landed on an island; the oral re-inflating of the remaining raft which had originally been deflated to facilitate its removal during the aborted hike out; the subsequent rescue by other instructors working for the same firm, and even a section involving dishonest policemen rifling through and 'requisitioning' the supplies on the lost raft once it had beached itself further down stream. Even when the expedition is safely returned to base the excitement in this story is maintained as can be seen from the following conclusion to the narrative.

INTERVIEW STORY 37/ROBIN'S 8TH: BICKERING OVER PAY.

Robin: After all that, too, the owner of the company was rather tight with his money and didn't want to pay us for the extra day we were out with the customers. And we bickered over thirty-five dollars for one days wage.

Jeff told three episodically exciting stories, one of which has already been recorded as two separate stories; 'The Only
One Dry', which is itself really two episodes linked together to form one story, and 'Scouts Got Lost.' As was the case with both of the episodic stories told by Robin, Jeff's other prolonged episodic story also narrates an incident from outside the United States. This story concerns a RELPS staff trip to Bolivia undertaken by the same personnel who had been involved in Jeff's previously reported "I Didn't Lose Any [Weight]" story which itself has some episodic elements to its telling.

INTERVIEW STORY 72/JEFF'S 9TH: BOLIVIAN EXPEDITION: INTRO.

Mac: Do you have a story about Bolivia? That sounds like a neat environment. [Steve, in his earlier interview, had told a story about the RELPS Trip to Bolivia. Jeff had been one of the RELPS involved in this trip.]

Jeff: Yer in f... some... we're... [Pause.] The neatest part of Bolivia is just... probably the people who your with there... Some of the Bolivians; but also er... was with Tex and er... was with C. J. and Steven and Ned and I... just spending time there. Altitude's hard. You know, I just... I felt, like, I sort of got my arse kicked around around er... 20,000 feet. You know its just like I was going "Ergh." [Laughs once.]

Mac: Wow, Yer.

Jeff: Which I'd like to spent more time up there but I don't know if I will. But er... we went to this... after we'd been there about three weeks we went up to go for a... larger, longer climb on Illimani, which is sort of a main peak just outside of er... La Paz. And it's er... twenty one thousand three hundred I don't... something like that.

Mac: Big mountain.

Jeff: Yep.

The story here is continued with a narrative concerning the climbing party's transport to the base camp. This storied incident is then followed by the climax of this particular story.

INTERVIEW STORY 74/JEFF'S 11TH: BOLIVIAN EXPEDITION: RESCUE.

Jeff: As we got there [Illimani base camp] there was er... what's it called Corpo de Sucero, the er... first aid for Bolivia, the Search and Rescue. And somehow they'd driven in on another er... four-wheel drive track. And there's a group of er... Chilean climbers that had fallen, and er... the guy had gone up to see if they were alive or dead er... just, like, that was two days before we got there. And so as he came down we talked to him and they were all dead, they'd found their bodies, and so we pretty much said, "Well, we're here for the next er..." We'd seven days-worth of food and by that time we were pretty well acclimatized, we had been going up and down. Said, "We'll be up at the next high camp," which was at er... eighteen-six. And he... case he was going back to La Paz to get more people and er... gear to come up and help do things. So that day, er... Tex and Ed and I ferried a big load up to the high
camp. So the hard part though is here we are. So we got loads up there, I remember even St ... that day Steven was sick as snot. He was throwing up and ... er ...

Mac: Just from the altitude?
Jeff: Well, work or water or something, but he was definitely sick. So he hung out down base camp and just sorta moaned. (Laughs.)

Mac: Oh gosh. Poor guy.
Jeff: But then the next day it was like miraculous recovery and he was better so I figure there's still hope. So the next day more and more people showed up down there and so there were a group of like eight of us. And they really had ... The one person, Bernardo Arratche, who was that sort of main guide from em ... Bolivia, had a lot of climbing experience, but nobody else did at all. And there was also a language problem of ... My Spanish is real poor. And C.J. is a woman with our group, she speaks excellent Spanish but there's sort of that difficulty of male/female ... I think at times they've ... especially with the Spanish ...

Mac: Yeh, “What are you speaking to me for?”
Jeff: Yeh, exactly. “What do you mean you're the person in charge?”

But they were ... they'd fallen off the main route on a ... m. m. m wouldn't call it a real steep ... maybe a forty-five/fifty degree ice pitch. But there was pretty solid ice and then somehow their whole two ropes teams of three had fallen on that and then fell down a good two hundred meters of rock and then landed in a crevasse at the bottom. And so we ... luckily we just had ropes and pulleys and everything with us to ... to bring them all back up to that main place. But it ... The part that was real sort of scary to me was how familiar ... how similar they were to our party. They had some of the exact same equipment. Like one person had the exact boots that I had, another person had the exact ice-ax that I had. And ... and it was good equipment, it wasn't abused, you know, so it's like they weren't ... they knew what they were doing and things.

Mac: Yeh, they weren't beginners.
Jeff: Yeh. They were a mixed group, males, females erm ... it's ... and erm ... So probably the worst day was just the aspect of er ... They didn't have body bags or anything like that. So it was ... er, you know. ... So they had, like, backpacks with them, so it was sort of, like ... had to stick at least their head and upper body into the backpacks so you didn't have to look at 'em.

Jeff continues this narrative with a description of how tragedy had overtaken this 'similar party' and what they should have done to prevent the tragedy occurring. Jeff then describes his own party’s summit push, and tells of the tactics they employed in order to prevent themselves from encountering a similar fate. Finally, the narrative concludes with a description of a mild restitutional event centered around the rescue.

INTERVIEW STORY 76/JEFF'S 13TH: BOLIVIAN EXPEDITION: BANQUET.

Jeff: But meeting the folks from the South Bolivian er ... (long pause) climbing group we made some real tight friendships. But they did not have the capabilities to run a rescue very well and so we got invited to come back and do a rescue seminar there. So we're going not this Summer, but next July. And they had a big giant banquet, you know, there and we got little awards and speeches and all sorts of things which ...
Some extracts from one of Mark’s episodic stories have already been reported. Mark’s ‘Group From Hell’ story, and his ‘Not the Group From Hell’ narrative were the introduction and first episode of one such story. This particular story continues, and indeed concludes with what is probably the most exciting two episodes from any of this type of story recorded. These two sections of this story are recorded consecutively below. It is perhaps significant to note that the excitement in these stories is not created by an adventure activity, but rather by that most dangerous of risks, an encounter with hostile human beings.

INTERVIEW STORY 95/MARK’S 3RD: AFRICAN WARRIORS.

Mark: So the instructor... We had... the three of us had gotten into the habit of setting up our own sort of instructor larp, because these guys would take forever, and we felt, you know, we had gone over things at this point, and we weren’t gonna be soaking wet. So Eric and I are broiling up some hot chocolate, and Elizabeth was with them, trying to get some dinner going. And all of a sudden there’s this like, “Raaarrr!” (A guttural roaring sound.) This big sound. Everybody stops what they’re doing and looks like, “What the hell was that?” And er... we thought maybe it was a cat, cause they still exist. And then, I don’t know quite... I don’t know what the interval was, but it happened again. So... and this... this is right at the time when it’s just starting to get dark. So, o.k. everybody’s blood is running, especially mine. You know, “What is this thing?” But what I remembered hearing about the sound was that it sounded... the second time it happened we was really listening carefully, and er... one, it kinda had a mechanical sound to it, 'specially at the ends, the way it trailed off. And two, it sounded just id... so identical, and it... although I mean you hear birds and birds sound exactly identical their... something about it sounded strange. But, not only was it repeating itself in regular cycle, it was coming towards us. So we really... Eric and I really didn’t know what the hell this thing was, and actually the... our worst thought was that it was people, drunk people. But erm... So we let it go, let it go for... The kids were really starting to freak a little bit. (Laughs.) And er... and some of ‘em were freaking, and some of ‘em were like starting to pull out their Swiss Army Knives, you know. And that got us even more scared, actually. So what we decided to do... When we heard it in the woods now, and, you know, so Eric and I were standing now and we... we went and got these big sticks, and our plan was to er... We got everybody across to the other side of the bridge, and our... our plan was we could defend the bridge O.K. cause we could... we could do that. So we stood... and we’re... And just in mind I had this picture and I... and I think of some sort of African warrior. We had these ten foot long sticks and we were standing there guarding the... actually er... the pathway, blocking it. Eric had a... he had a big... a pig poker knife, he had that in one hand, and his big stick in the other, while Elizabeth who really didn’t... Elizabeth was really scared, er... and was scared because she just figure it was people too, but she didn’t know, it was really a loud sound. So she had the kids gather up some sleeping bags... some... enough so we could bivi [bivouac]. And then go to the other side. So we’re standing there guarding, and it was like, you know, mi... military maneuvers.
because first we had all the students go over, and then at the last minute Eric and I sort of broke and covered for each other. Cose, by the time we left, we were talking to like, "Are you ready?" Because it was really close. So we got to the other side of the bridge, and then all of a sudden it made one more sound and, you know, we could hear them, that they were at Eric and I's and Elizabeth's tarp. It went into some kind of monkey sound. So we knew it was people, and that . . . that sort of diffused one set of fears, but created another set. So er . . . then it was like . . . then . . . what it . . . what it had was one of those electric P.A.s, you know, a bull horn, electric horn. And all of a sudden it was, "Hher, hher, hher (course laughter). Welcome to Rabun County." (Said with considerable mimicry but without a noticeable change in accent.) And, you know, "Come on out you guys, we're just wanna be friends." You know, I'm just . . . And . . . and the plan was that we just . . . we weren't gonna say anything, so we just stood there. So we couldn't really see 'em very well, cose you know it was right at that spot where your eyes go from seeing colors to dark and we didn't see anything. So er . . . they hung around for a while and er . . . and left the way they came. O.K. So we waited it out and finally we went back over and just, you know, talked to everybody that er . . . this is the problems we run into, that . . . that people are the bigger problems.

INTERVIEW STORY 96/MARK'S 4TH: ELIZABETH'S COURAGE.

Mark: We started going about cooking dinner. Well, now all the kids are . . . they're incensed, Elizabeth is . . . is scared but incensed. And all the kids are, you know, their bravery has just flown into them like crazy and, you know, "They're gonna beat the crap out of these guys if they ever show up at our camp." You know, just, "These people can be so mean and blah, blah, blah." So we're back to cooking dinner. About half an hour goes by, and er . . . we hear 'em coming from the other way. "O.K., hear we go!" So we got everybody out, everybody goes through the routine, you know. We go across the bridge, and Eric and I are standing there with our sticks and our flashlights and er . . . they come almost into the clearing, but only one guy comes out, and they're not dealing with the bull horn anymore they're just asking. And then across . . . from across the river one of 'em says, "Did you get that little girl to the hospital?"

And what had happened is, earlier today we had this . . . this one girl who er . . . as it turned out was really suffering from acute homesickness, but it was amazing how debilitating that can really be when . . . when somebody's got it. And er . . . we had gone to a . . . a local place and asked for er . . . just for some help and some information. And when this guy came out of the woods, Elizabeth couldn't make him out very well, but made him out well enough that this was a guy who had been . . . had offered her help. And she was shaking, she was so scared, but she just came walking across the bridge, walked between Eric and I, and went up to this guy and started giving him what for, because he earlier had . . . you know. And so was . . . was . . . I thought was . . . was just courage. Cose she went up to him and said, "Do you know how you've made me? Do you know how scared these . . . ?" You know, "You've . . . you've made these kids?" Cose I mean there were, there were people in hysterics cose they didn't know what was going on. And then the thing was to hear this guy to say . . . he made this reference about this girl, it was like, "How did he know that? What do they know?" Or, "How long have they been, you know, there?"

And er . . . you know, the other two guys are just sort of, "Awe shucks!" and th . . . in the woods. And this guy was saying, "Well, you know, we live . . . we live two hollows over." And, you know, they were just out trying to have some fun and . . . and to . . . And the . . . the . . . the. . . . While Elizabeth is doing this, which was amazing to watch, these two kids Bobby and Richard come up to Eric and I and . . . and this was the . . . my last vision of the whole thing . . . it wasn't . . . but this winding down of our conversation, and this kid Richard, he's got a mouthful of braces, he . . . and I had my flashlight on . . . on and shining. He comes up and I feel, you know, his shoulder his . . . his elbow sort of leaning on my shoulder. And I turn to look at him and he's got his knife out in my hand. So when I turn my head it
just about stuck myself on his knife. And, you know, he’s just got this big grin on his face, which with the flashlights in his braces just looked incredibly evil. And, you know, they wanted to go stick these people. And, you know, so now they realize that these guys were... were harmless, they weren’t ev... I mean it wasn’t even a matter of them being drunk, they were just... thought this was fun. And now we have to deal with these guys ready to go out and be Rambo and... 

Mac: Kill 'em.
Mark: Kill, yer. So that was our buzz. And that was just one... one buzz at camp that night was everybody had their version of the story now.
And little details that came out, oh were incredible.

Marks’s next story was probably his longest and concerned an overnight canoeing expedition he had undertaken with a group of students, while working for a different outdoor adventure education institution. The weather again was horrendous, and this second story was probably prompted by recollections stimulated by the previous narrative.

INTERVIEW STORY 99/MARK’S 6TH: MISSING CANOE: INTRODUCTION.

Mark: This is all pretty new, working outdoors. And er... my first job was with a place called the Manus Edu... Education Center up in the Berkshires, in the North Western corner of Mass. Where I was was in the North Western corner of Massachusetts. So you’re almost in Vermont, and you’re just outside of New York. And er... they run a pretty neat program with ac... whole classes of kids from certain schools. And then from those classes er... people to come up for Summer programs. So they have two, like twenty two day sessions. And er... then two other sort of specialty ones. And er... it’s a combination of... It’s not really camp. I mean, there’s no basketball or tennis, but, I mean, we do have sort of fields, so we do have some softball, and play capture the flag. But we also teach more of the same thing we do in the Spring and Fall. We do more extended lo... er... some soil, some... some environmental games. But we also do, like, two to four nights out flat water paddling. Kinda boring after the first time. And then we do some hiking on the AT [Appalachian Trail] in the area, cause it comes through. Well er... insurance regulations had changed, as they do. So we couldn’t go... the year I got there, er... a lot of what the trips were gonna be like were unknown. Because they had never had to be confined to that close an area. The one loophole in the insurance, well sort of a loophole, was that you couldn’t... that you could go outside of this area for like one or two trips a year. So it was the last er... trip of the season with this group of high school kids. And it was intended not to be like a... they weren’t gonna be environmental lessons that week. The deal was that they had been in... in school for the Summer. They were involved in a program to help them do more with college. And... and as part of this program er... the... this Summer school would send them up here for a little adventure. So we got to er... paddle on the Otter Creek is what we’re gonna do.

Hadn’t been done in a long time, and er... So we thought it was going to be fun. And it ended up being really fun because the Otter Creek was in flood stage. And it’s... it’s... the creek is... was not a lot wider than this room [about fifteen to twenty feet]. And would be considerably less so in... in low water. So, I didn’t know anything about strainers [a dangerous feature of white water rivers] and things like that. All I know is that we put in the water and it was raining. And this first day we had a blast doing things that were probably very dangerous. I mean, the water wasn’t real roaring and it wasn’t white water, but what we did the whole day was, there was just all these trees in the water. So we were kinda going through them and...
around them. And... and because of them some of the water got pretty tight. Nobody ever fell out of their boat, in which case we, I mean, we probably woulda had a... something serious going on. We... I mean it was really exciting for everybody. It was the most fun I had had all season, just seeing people weaving and... bobbing we were.

This story continues with Mark’s crew setting up camp for the night on a cow pasture; and, as the rain continues to pour, and the river continues to rise, with Mark being informed, the next morning, of the absence of the canoes, which they had purposely dragged a long way onto the riverbank to prevent this exact calamity from occurring.

There is then an episode in which the easily retrievable canoes are rescued. This episode is then followed by the following climax to the story in which the seriously swapped canoes are retrieved.

INTERVIEW STORY 102/MARK’S 9TH: MISSING CANOE: CANOE RESCUE.

Mark: So we have everybody else work on breakfast, and we take two boats. We had pulled one... the other on around the bend, and we took some people and brought 'em down. Well we found this little spit of land below this strainer, and we really didn't know what the hell. Andre [his unofficial co-instructor] knew a little more of what the hell we were doing, but I didn't know much. And... so first... Well the short of it is that we couldn't reach 'em from the bank. What we ended up doing was sort of wading out into this and... Andre got the first boat free, and as he got it free, I was down below in another boat, cause once it... we let it go, the idea was to... to get it. So this was my... this was a big learning experience for me. So he let it drift down and I said, "No problem!" And I paddle up next to it and I... you know, I really thought that I was going to tie the painter on and drag it back up river. This is a canoe full of water. So I tie the painter on, I turn my boat around and then I get just about jerked out of my seat. And... and I'm traveling down the river at a pretty steady clip, and I realize... not only that but it's sort of... pushing me towards the bank, and I've managed to become between the boat and what I'm about to hit. And I'm thinking, you know, "I'm... if I... I could break my wrist or I could get hurt really bad. I'll be stuck here." And somehow I managed... I got it rocking a little bit, and I managed... I don't know how I did this, but I managed to do a pretty decent canoe over canoe [a technique for emptying a swamped canoe]. I got a lot of the water out. So I was able to paddle up, and now we had another canoe. So now we'd to... the other two were forwards, they were in the middle, and there was just a ton of logs and debris that had accumulated around them. So we tied up our boats on this one pretty big log, and we got out and we just kept, you know, rocking and clearing and... Well, it took an hour or more and we finally got the canoes free. And then we went through the same process of going down the river. And this one time we... I mean, we probably drifted half-a-mile down. And Andre was paddling down trying to get me. And the... the scary moment came at one point trying to free the second boat and... Erm... what neither of us really thought about is that as we freed the canoes it... where there once had been a dam there was now a place for the water to go. And the water picked up quite a bit, and he got washed down. And I thought... I... I... that was potentially scary but he was able to... ch ch ch (sound
accompanying a wrist flipping action of both hands indicating a person sculling on his back in water). You know . . . he did all the right things, he was on his back, and he . . . he got himself to shore. That was a little spooky.

Mark narrates one further episode in this saga in which the crew members - inner city kids from either the Bronx or Brooklyn - are pleasantly exposed to a type of down home, up-state hospitality they rarely experienced at home. He then concluded the story as follows:

INTERVIEW STORY 104/MARK’S 11TH: MISSING CANOE - CONCLUSION.

Mark: So we called them up {Base Camp}, we told them. And he was like, “Well, you know.” He was pretty g ... pretty good role model for being mellow. And er . . . we . . . we told him the stretch of . . . of er . . . river we were on and he was gonna come and check it out, I mean see it, whatever. So we continued on our trip, and it . . . it wasn’t nearly as interesting after that, but it was still a pretty fun trip. And er . . . he and this woman, Jill, came and they never found the canoe. So we talked to him on our way back. He asked us if we would stop and look again. So we . . . so we stopped off and of c . . . were . . . were this put in was at a covered bridge, and it was at a rendering plant. Er . . . which was not a particularly pleasant place to come in at. It was just foul smelling er . . . So here’s this beautiful old covered bridge and then this disgusting smelling rendering plant. So we actually had a difficult time putting the canoe in cause the water had gone down so much. I was just er . . . kinda interesting kinda reliving this. Just being amazed at how much the water had gone down. But the canoe doesn’t show up. And you know, we checked at all strainers and the canoe wasn’t there. So we got back, and like four days later we had, you know, this . . . this whole thing was over and he asked us to go back again and we did. And I mean now the water’s gone down ten feet. And it’s down to this thing that is by and large the only place where you had to drag the canoes through. And, you know, we had . . . we had left messages at there, well, “If you see a canoe,” you know, “we’re a non-profit organization, please call.” And fishermen use the river, but not a lot. And er . . . this . . . the canoe just never showed up. I . . . I . . . I don’t know, I can’t imagine what happened to it. It just . . . I mean it submerged and it got trapped under something is my guess, because this one strainer, especially as the water went down I . . . I can’t see how it could have gotten passed it. Erm . . . and it never sh . . . showed up. We just lost a canoe and that was it. It was a very interesting occurrence.

The examples cited above serve to illustrate the manner in which some instructors at the institution under investigation enhance the entertainment value of their stories by combining the various events of a single incident into an episodically exciting and suspenseful narrative. The examination of the these exciting episodic narratives draws to a conclusion the investigation of the entertainment aspect of the personal experience stories shared among the
instructional staff of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. In this investigation, I have shown how these stories obtain their entertainment value through humor, through fear, through arousing empathy, and through creating excitement.

Entertainment, however, is not the only conscious interpersonal reason outdoor adventure education instructors tell personal experience stories. Instructors also tell such stories in order to teach or to inform those who listen. This aspect of outdoor adventure education instructor storytelling will be the next focus of this investigation.

2ND INTERMEDIATE REASON: TO TEACH OR INFORM.

The claim has been made, albeit inquiringly, that all personal experience stories are didactic in nature (Daniel Barnes personal communication 23/5/94). While this idea may be moot, what is obvious is that, while some instructors may not tell their stories for overtly pedagogic purposes, others undoubtedly do.

TEACHING STORIES.

Certain instructors will use stories specifically to introduce some educational aspects of the course. Buffalo, for instance, uses the First American's stories of the Medicine Wheel and Jumping Mouse to introduce his own course closure ceremony aimed at promoting the educational philosophy of the Outward Bound Organization of self

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7. This idea will be explored in greater depth when the ultimate reasons for the existence of personal experience stories are examined in the penultimate chapter of this investigation.
reliance, craftsmanship, physical fitness and compassion. Will Pooley uses the, again, First American’s story of the Vision Quest as an introduction to his course’s solo experience. Will also uses an old Inuit tale from the Farley Mowett book *Snow Walker* called *Walk Softly My Brother* to “get to” (his directly quoted words) the gender issues that always arise on Outward Bound courses. Grant told his students stories from Richard Chase’s books, *Jack’s Tales* and *Grandfather Tales*, much as a grade school teacher would tell them to a class, allowing the metaphorical contents in the stories to speak for themselves. However, none of these are personal experience stories and they are also more likely to be told to crew members than to fellow instructors.

Buffalo hinted at his use of personal experience stories in an educational setting when he said that he uses both the snake bitten instructor story and the Aaron Attarium ‘*Struck by Lightning*’ story when introducing these aspects of the course to his student. Paul Battle told me he uses his personal experience stories, as appropriate, to teach his students educational aspects of the course at ‘suitable teaching moments.’ In telling any of this type of personal experience story to fellow instructors, the teller is offering another alternate teaching tool. They are actually teaching fellow instructors another useful method by which students can be shown the need for adopting a particular operating procedure or safety practice. Many stories are, therefore, shared with fellow instructors so that they may be further shared with students at appropriate subsequent teachable moments.
The greatest exponent of such stories was Paul Battle, whose first three stories, 'Falling Cottonmouth,' 'Manatee Sharks,' and 'Hammerhead Shark' - all of which have been previously reported - were all pedagogical in nature. Indeed, one of Paul's later stories was an even greater example of this teaching technique.

**INTERVIEW STORY 14/Paul's 7th: NO NATURAL CONSEQUENCES.**

Paul: Often times . . . I work a lot of junior courses and one of the hard . . . one of the hard things to do is to . . . to look after themselves.

Mac: Yeh. Yeh.

Paul: Er . . . pick up their own stuff and er . . . and I worked a twenty one day course where eighteen . . . eighteen days into the course er. . . Everything we had tried verbally er . . . to get these . . . those guys to have a good campsite. It was a junior boys camp and every night they'd go to bed and there would just be clothes scattered everywhere, bags open, and er . . . erm . . . and there were just . . . there were no natural consequences, it hadn't rained at all, you know. So Michelle and I got up in the middle of the night and proceeded to soak the campsite.

Mac: (Laughs).

Paul: We took the . . . took the pots and pans and filled them up with water and just soaked everything that was lying out. And only the stuff that was lying out. And in the morning . . . the kids they never clued on that we'd done it. They just . . . they couldn't understand why.

Mac: Everything was wet.

Paul: Everything was wet. But they didn't hear the rain and the . . . the tent wasn't wet.

Mac: (Laughter).

Paul: But the next night everything was away. We didn't have to say it. I mean everything was cleaned up, put away nice and neat, tidy.

Mac: Oh dear.

Paul: You know it's just having . . . you need to have those consequences and sometimes you need to have the old night gremlins come round. I mean there has to have a consequences there. And now when I work a junior course I . . . If that's happening er . . . then I . . . then I become the night gremlin . . . I introduce the night gremlin. And, "night gremlin is gonna . . . If anything is out he collects it and he barter.

Mac: (Laughs.)

Paul: You know I got food, I barter for extra food.

Mac: (Further laughter.)

Paul: You know, "You want your cup back, well you've gotta give me two scoops of your . . . of your dinner tonight." And do that kind of stuff.

Mac: Yeh. That's great.

Paul: And it works. It also keeps the instructor well fed. On junior courses that hard sometimes.

Here, Paul is not only sharing a story with me so that I may subsequently share it with other instructors, he is actually teaching me an instructional technique. He is showing me what to do on those occasions when nothing is working, or there are no natural consequences, to get a crew to keep a
clean campsite. Furthermore he is showing me a technique that 'works', a fact that serves to further verify that he is teaching me the technique.

Paul was something of an exception to the other instructors at the school in that his stories were predominantly told with the serious air of someone who was adopting a teaching mode. Paul's stories did contain humor, but they were told without the frivolity adopted by Doc, Liza, Will or Robin. On the other hand they also lacked the episodic excitement Mark's or Jeff's stories contained. There was little animation in the way Paul told stories, and generally speaking a low keyness to his storytelling that seemed to indicate he was teaching through telling stories.

Three other instructors did tell pedagogic stories that were interspersed within their repertoire among their entertaining or exciting ones. Usually there was something different about the way these stories were told. This change was most noticeable in Will who told his 'Walk Softly My Brother' and 'Vision Quest' stories much more seriously than he told his 'Hanging Around' or 'Train Leaving' stories. There was much less humor in Will's voice when telling this teaching type of story, and considerably less animation than had been the case, for instance, in his previously reported stories, 'Johnny Cash' and 'Spencer the Broken Radiator'. Also his introduction to these stories

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8. It should be noted that the need for a tidy campsite is not just a foible of this particular instructor. Untidiness can, perhaps somewhat ironically in this case, have serious consequences. Untidiness around a campsite attracts the curiosity of the wild creatures that inhabit the wilderness. Not only can this lead to illness and disease, but some of these creatures could be attracted to an untidy wilderness campsite, even in the Florida Everglades, could be overtly dangerous. It should not be forgotten that alligators and, although they are very rare, cougars do inhabit this wilderness area. These animals should be discouraged from entering a campsite by keeping that site as tidy as possible.
was much more formal. Whereas the introductions to Will's entertaining narratives very quickly became part of the story, his teaching stories were prefaced by an, often long, introduction which explained why he was telling that particular narrative. Compare, for instance, the following introduction to his 'Walk Softly My Brother' story with the preamble he uses to introduce his 'Train Leaving' narrative.

Will: One of the things that I think Outward Bound ... a one dimension in Outward Bound er ... can address is the whole notion of ... of gender.
Mac: Oh yeh, yeh. Yeh.
Will: And the different er ... roles that are at least socially expected or anticipated for ... for males and females and... And er ... sometimes (clears his throat with a cough). So I do a variety of things to address that at the beginning of the course.

This introduction goes on for quite some time, addressing such gender different roles as lighting the campfire, collecting the fuel for the fire, cooking and washing up. It also addresses the non-sexual aspects of gender relationships that often occur on co-educational Outward Bound Courses. The difference between this prologue and the introduction below which leads directly into Will's 'Train Leaving' story after the words OBYC Course, is obvious.

Will: I've just thought of another one. Talk about Damien-type students. A couple ... a couple of 'em occurred to me about Damien. In fact one of 'em was ... actually two other things happened on that course. Lots of other things happened on that course, but ... There was a guy, one of ... one of the young men that was ... It was an OBYC Course.

Another instructor who used some of his stories pedagogically was Jeff. In Jeff's case, his teaching stories were used to convey certain facts and philosophical outlooks. Again, an air of seriousness crept into Jeff's teaching story voice that was otherwise absent. This was, however, not as noticeable as it was with Will. With Jeff, the words he used were more of an indicator that he had slipped into teaching mode than any alteration in storytelling style. The first of Jeff's teaching stories
came in the form of a geography/geology lesson about the volcanoes of Hawaii. The pedagogical aspects of this story are obvious from the use of such phrases and words as subducted, plate tectonics, lava tubes, Pelé’s hair, endlessly ductile and the blatantly obvious teaching phrases “it’s lava actually when it hits the surface, when it’s under the surface it’s magma;” and “that kind of lava there is called Puu Hoi Hoi.”

INTERVIEW STORY 76/JEFF’S 9TH: PUU O OU TECTONICS.

Jeff: As I went over to visit them [his sister and brother-in-law] over there in Hawaii, within about ten miles of their house Puu o Ou . . . was erupting. Puu o Ou . . . is this small little dent off the side of Kilauea that . . . And it was officially in or . . . the State of Hawaii lands right . . . right adjacent to er . . . Volcano National Park lands. You couldn’t get access from Volcano National Park to the State lands. It was slightly trespassing in the sense that it was . . . physical detriment could be endangered. The area was officially closed by the Department of Civil Defense. So you’d end up going in more often at night. And you could get right up to it, you know like right there it was like that . . . that furnace but like on a scale of a thousandfold. Without a doubt one of the most scary and intriguing places that I’ve ever been in. The whole ground would shake, you know and there’d be explosions and big lava shoots. And there’s this lava flow that’s like from here to the building [45 yards] twice that big, about a hundred meters across. And it’s like plate tectonics happening right in front of your eyes. Big huge plates of lava would come sort of sliding across and would get subducted, sort of like sucked under, and another one would come over the top. And the lava . . . its lava actually when it hits the surface, when it’s under the surface it’s magma. And it cools pretty quickly on the surface, and that surface is real elastic, because it’s so well insulated. So right underneath it, like an inch beneath it, it could be liquid and flowing. And then that would go to . . . into the lava tubes flowing from there out to the ocean, which is about six miles away. And now and then those lava tubes would come up to the surface. And that kind of lava there is called Puu Hoi Hoi, it’s a real smooth flowing kind. And it turns out that you can work that almost like you could work glass, in fact in many ways it’s glass . . . in it’s . . . in terms of it’s silica and erm . . . what it does and . . . One of the properties of glass is that it’s endlessly ductile meaning that you can stretch it, and stretch it, and stretch it, and stretch it until it’s just thread. And that’s what Pelé’s hair is. Pelé’s hair is the stuff that when bombs go off and shoots out it just makes little tiny threads that falls to the earth like that. So from being a glass blower for all this time we would take like er . . . guava poles, like green poles, turn it and pick up actual pieces with a shovel, pick it up, open up that skin and the lava would then be right there working with you. You’d take it . . . It was amazing. So my brother-in-law, Steve and I, we had a big show through the state of Hawaii of showing all that work. And then the lava would come down and just inundate these big forests of er . . . Eo trees. These giant trees would crash as the . . . So actually it was an outrageous place.

Jeff’s next teaching story had more to do with his philosophy of life than geographical or geological facts.

345
Jeff was a self confessed "child of the earth mother" (Informant Questionnaire p.2) and he uses this next story to teach me certain aspects of this philosophical approach to life.

INTERVIEW STORY 77/JEFF’S 10TH: OFFERINGS TO PELÉ.

Jeff: And then one of the things we had to confront within that whole part... . I still have to think about it, is the whole concept of... Earth. Of deities so to speak. And erm... the locals er... believes erm... in Pelé. Pelé is the goddess of the volcano, and is either real seductive or is a real bitch. And, erm... But we were definitely in her domain completely. And er... of whether or not we should even be there. Of er... the concee... And not from a safety standpoint, and not from the State of Hawaii’s standpoint, but just from (a short laugh) a spiritual standpoint. And er... just er... dealing with that and what we’re doing. So a lot of people would go and first give little offerings of bottles of gin and flowers and things like that.

Mac: Did you do that?
Jeff: Mmmm. On a couple of different occasions I did. Working with my brother-in-law he always keeps saying, “Awe this is just a bunch of junk.” and I’d bring along a bottle of gin and say, “Well, maybe it is, maybe it isn’t but er...” (Laughs.)

Jeff’s final story in this teaching vein came after an elaboration on his philosophical outlook on life. He explained that humans and all non-human inhabitants of the world “were on the exact same level,” (a direct quote) and that in order to live effectively in the world we, as humans who communicate verbally, have to learn to understand the communicative processes of our non-human co-inhabitants. Jeff believed that it was not just non-human animals whose language we needed to learn, but also that of all non-human co-inhabitants of the world. He went on to say that one of the values of an Outward Bound Course was that it provided opportunities for the generation of such understanding.

INTERVIEW STORY 79/JEFF’S 11TH: SWEAT LODGE EXPERIENCE.

Jeff: One of those (an opportunity to ‘listen’ to nature) came as er... after we were being involved in er... a sweat lodge kind of thing.

9. Jeff’s philosophy takes on added significance, in regard to storytelling, when it is considered in light of the following quotation from Jane B. Wilson, the great advocate of the story experience (Wilson 1979) and past winner of the Grolier Foundation Award for librarianship: “It takes a lifetime for the storyteller to hear all the stories told by the trees in a wood” (Wilson 1979:20).
and I'd just been doing numerous sweats for like er . . . like three
days in a row, then sort of fasting in between times and of just coming
out and feeling that it was real possible to talk to plants. And not in
words but as much as just feeling their presence of being there. And it
seems like since that, that sort of affected my whole way of looking at
them. And even if I look at the difference between say plants and
animals somehow I'm still brought back again to the plant. (Pause.)
Trees should be honored, they should be paid attention to, and . . . but
they could be of great use, you know for buildings and for . . . I also
think that we've just sort of taken them for granted, just taken them as
something to cut up and use.

The final storyteller to use stories as an overt teaching
tool was, perhaps surprisingly, Robin. Robin's stories were
usually of a very entertaining nature about the fearful
occurrences that one encounters through outdoor adventure
activities. However, after telling four at the beginning of
his interview, Robin told the following story, without any
real alteration in his narrative style. This one did,
however, have a really different emphasis.

**INTERVIEW STORY 35/ROBIN'S 6TH: ROLLED IN SUGAR FLOUR.**

Robin; One night . . . sleeping out on Tiger and er . . . waking up in the
morning. It had rained a couple of times and I'd decided to sleep in a
tent er . . . erm. . . . In the morning I wake up and the kids look
like they've been rolled in sugar flour. Awe, they just were a mess. I
couldn't believe how . . . Er . . . everything was coated in sand and
. . . and they wore sand in their eyebrows all day long. They looked
like they'd just been dipped in sugar. Uncomfortable, but that's kids
for you. That night I saw the clouds coming and er . . . actually two
of the instructors slept out that night and saw the same clouds. And
they said it didn't rain too badly. They discovered it was hard to
ignore when it rains and it's raining in your face. If you can shelter
your face you can ignore just about anything. And er . . . they didn't
mind they . . . things were a little damp in the morning, but not . . .
nothing was terribly soddened. Certainly, oh not as much of a deterrent
as the thought of it might be.

Initially, there is the perspective that this is simply in
keeping with Robin's other stories. It contains the amusing
elements, particularly in the form of visual humor, which
were a feature of all Robin's preceding stories. However,
upon analysis it becomes clear that this story does contain
at least one significant difference.

All Robin's narratives up to and including this story were
about the local Everglades environment. This was in spite
of Robin's wealth of experience elsewhere, and also in spite of the fact that he actually saw these experiences as being storyworth, purposely referring to the incidents he narrated as being stories. Why then did Robin restrict his stories to narratives about the Everglades? I came to the conclusion that the answer to this question lay in the fact that Robin considered me to be a beginner instructor in this particular environment. All his stories up to this point were aimed at teaching me the dangers, both literal and instructional, of the particular environment in which Robin was currently employed. The particular story recorded above differs from Robin's preceding stories in that it did not just inform me as to the dangers of the immediate locale, it was also directly aimed at improving my hypothetical instructional techniques. I was actually being taught to keep a very careful eye on changes in the weather.

The difference between this story and Robin's preceding ones, when linked to the previously mentioned similarities, led me to the above conclusions. A further verification of this conclusion lies in the fact that Robin, having clarified, albeit allegorically, the pedagogical intentions of these early stories, now went on to tell distinctly different types of episodic adventure stories concerning his escapades in New Zealand and Costa Rica.

**INFORMATION STORIES: RE-ACQUAINTANCESHIP.**

In addition to teaching something about the techniques and philosophies of Outward Bound, the personal experience stories of Outward Bound instructors have another overt teaching purpose. That purpose is to supply the listener with certain information concerning the tellsers themselves,
and, in some cases, mutual acquaintances. Tellers of this type of story are attempting, quite consciously, to let the listener know something about themselves, the storyteller.

We have already seen how this type of story is told when staff members return to the community. Doc’s ‘Doctor Visit’, Will’s ‘Puddle-Jumping Good Old Boys’ and Mike’s ‘Enormous Snook’ are the already recorded examples of such. They tell the listener what has been happening to the teller since the two parties last met. The only other example of this type of story was told by Doc on his return to the school after a two-day break in the local city of Naples.

Doc’s story concerned what happened to him when he went swimming in the sea off the Naples beach during his recent stress-relieving break from the school. The initial prompt for this story was undoubtedly my presence as a researcher. However, two of his instructional colleagues were present and it is with these individuals that Doc is sharing this informational story. The story was told at a meeting at which I was to discuss, with the staff, the purpose of my presence at the school. This meeting took place on the night of my arrival at the school at about 9:00 p.m., as soon after supper as was appropriate. The only other two staff members who attended this meeting were Paul and Monica. The story was the first one told after I had

10. It is my experience that this latter type of story is very popular among Outward Bound instructors. The transient nature of such employment means that it is easy to lose contact with one’s acquaintances. Telling stories about these acquaintances is one way of staying abreast of the current status of such absent friends. However, possibly because of my stranger status in the community, and possibly because new community members, who could have been the source of such stories did not appear while I conducted my fieldwork, I was never party to the sharing of such stories. I was somewhat surprised to note that these stories were conspicuous by their complete absence from the stories shared by the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. As this type of story was not in existence during my fieldwork at the institute under investigation, no further examination will be made of this particular genre.
indicated that a folkloric study did not have to involve stories from the dim and distant past, but could, and indeed should, include stories about recent occurrences.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 3/DOC'S 2ND: SWIMMING WITH THE DOLPHINS.**

Doc: I just went and took off for two days here. And er... went up to Naples and er... was on the beach. And er... it drops off pretty fast right off on... on the beach. And it was like seven in the morning and all these people were standing around looking out. And er... I decided I was going to go for a swim. And I'm looking out and there's some dolphins like five or six feet right off, and... and just these small little baby ones, like four... four to five feet long. And er... I'm just standing there and er... I just took off er... my clothes except for my trunks, and walked in and started swimming. And er... they circled around me. And er... they were like, I mean, I could almost touch 'em. And the water wasn't that deep, it was probably maybe three or four feet deep. And so I practiced er... trying not to kick like a human being does, but actually put my legs together and tried to... to kick like that. And er... they must have hung out for about five or ten minutes playing. It was scary too because it was like er... I wasn't sure how they were gonna react, and that kinda thing. And they suddenly looked real big. And er... I tried to talk these German ladies into coming in, and they waded into about knee... knee deep and they pretty much took off then, the dolphins, but er... it was pretty fun.

**INFORMATION STORIES: AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL.**

It can be seen, from the absence of other examples of this type of information sharing story, that such stories were extremely rare, at least in terms of my experience at the school. Almost as rare as this type of informational story in which the tellers share with the listeners recent past events, is the autobiographical narrative. All truly personal experience stories are, to some extent, autobiographical. They relate some significant incident from the teller's own past. However, as we have seen, the stories shared by outdoor adventure education instructors tend to be about the activities they undertake, or of recent past event and not about the narrator's distant autobiographical past.

Although a number of the instructors told one autobiographical story, only two instructors told more than
one. Doc was one of these exceptions and the other was Robin. One of Doc's autobiographical stories, the already reported 'Ma and Pa's Milk Bottle', was the first story I heard during my fieldwork stay at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. This was perhaps of some significance because Doc was the only instructor who told such stories in some quantity, although even with Doc this was the only autobiographical personal experience story he told in a spontaneous storytelling situation.

The three other autobiographical stories shared by Doc were told at the beginning of his interview. They would have been the first three stories except for the fact that in between each autobiographical story he told a regular outdoor adventure activity story. It was almost as if he was somewhat embarrassed by his autobiographical type of story and was attempting to redress the balance by offering a story more akin to those told by his fellow instructors. These three stories are very overtly autobiographical concerning how he obtained his nickname, how he secured a job in Canada, and how he ended up working for the North Carolina Outward Bound School. All the stories were told specifically as autobiographical stories, and were shared without any prompting in this direction from myself as a researcher.

INTERVIEW STORY 107/DOC'S 1ST: HOW I GOT MY NICKNAME.

Doc: I was in a bar out in Lander, Wyoming. And I was taking a NOLS [National Outdoor Leadership School] Course, it was going to be a Semester Course. And I was wearing a hospital shirt, and they were real popular for a while, the surgeon's green. And er... an Indian comes up to me and kind of pushes me a little bit and says er, ... "Are you a doctor?" And I go "No, no, no." And he goes "Doctors killed my people." And I'm going, "Oh, man, get away from me," you know. So er... he walks away. And he comes back up to me and pushes me again. I go "Look, man, leave me alone!" He goes, "You a Doctor?" (Using the mimicked stereotypically Indian voice.) And I go, "I'm not a doctor. Get away from me." So he goes away again, and gets up a pool stick, breaks the pool stick
and comes running after me with a pool stick (laughter). And er... it er... it’s pretty hilarious though.

So, in any event, I kinda shove him out of the way, and the bartender grabs him and throws him out. And it... he’s obviously real drunk and that kind of thing. The people I was with are just laughing their asses off. So they called me the doctor.

Well it turned out the Indians on the reservation won this big law suit against these surgeons in the area who had... supposedly done brain surgery on an Indian that needed knee surgery or something like that. And they won like three million dollars. And he thought I was one of the surgeons that operated on him.

So it turned out er... he ended up er... I ended up going up to Canada. And I was per... I was prepared to drop the nickname after my three month course. It was kinda just being out there and er...

This lady that was on the course came up er... to work there too, and introduced me to everybody as “Doc.” And er... so it stuck and I’ve had it for about ten years now.

INTERVIEW STORY 109/DOC’S 3RD: HOW I GOT TO CANADA.

Doc: I was taking this... and this is pretty strange. I was taking a NOLS Course, the Semester. And you get er... a day-and-a-half/two days in between each segments of the... the semester. And er... we were between our fourth and fifth er... segment which was the last one.

And everybody wanted to go out and whoop it up and party. And I just felt like being quiet that night and stuff. So I was sitting in the lobby of the hotel. And er... er... the pay phone rings. And I’m, like, looking around and nobody’s there so I get up and I walk over to the pay phone and er... pick it up and er... I go, “Hello?”

And he... the other voice goes, “Hello, is Kevin Klein there?” (Said with some voice mimicry.) And I go, “Er... erm... this is Kevin Klein right here.” And he goes, “Good, good. I’m glad I’ve got hold of you. I’d like to offer you a job up here in Canada.”

And I’m going, “You wanna do what?” He says, “You don’t already have work do you?” He goes, “But. I need to know tonight or I’ll have to give it to somebody else.”

And I’m going, “No, this isn’t real.”

So er... what happened, I applied for a job up there two years earlier, two or three years earlier. They... I didn’t even get a response back so I forgot all about it. And they had this résumé on file. And he tracked me down through my parents and just happened to catch me right there.

Mac: Crikey! The only one that stayed back. Wow!

Doc: Yeh, yeh. And r... if I hadn’t have er... been there I would have been doing something else. So er... it was pretty wild. Life is... life is strange in that regard.

INTERVIEW STORY 111/DOC’S 5TH: HOW I GOT A JOB HERE.

Doc: I was up at... living up in Canada, and decided to... Well these two ladies talked me into er... going down to Yosemite with them. And I was just getting into climbing, and that kind of thing. A... and... er...

“I don’t know I...” I said. “I only have sixty three dollars, Canadian.” And er... they go, “You got a car and we got money, so let’s go. Have car; will travel, you know.” And I go “I don’t know, you guys.”

And so finally I decided, “What the hell! I’ll just be spontaneous. I’ll go down.”

Got down there and er... it turns out that erm... I... I sell my car, I like it so much down there. And I end up spending four-and-a-half months in Yosemite Valley just climbing. Didn’t mind going skinny dipping in Merced River and that kind of stuff.

And then I’d call home. And the same thing happened. It was like er... two years earlier I’d sent an application with OB, they er... didn’t accept it. I never really heard back from them. And er... the next thing you know, I call home, which I hadn’t called home in months and months. And now I said, “Er... I’m thinking about coming to North Carolina,” you know. “Basically because I’m broke.” But er... erm... my mom said, “Well we already sent your money in for this
North Carolina Outward Bound School thing."
And I go, "What thing?" And she goes, like, "This thing." She said,
"There's an instructor invitational."
I go, "Instructor invitational. What the hell is that." And er . . .
she says, "Well, that's where you learn more about OB and er . . . they
learn about you and then they hire you if they like you, you know."
So er . . . I started hitch-hiking back and realized that I was gonna
take too long, and had my folks wire me some money, and . . . I got
there and er . . . just er . . . right time, right place. It's pretty
wild.

Although two other instructors did tell one personal
experience story with some autobiographical elements
involved, the only other instructor, apart from Doc, to tell
more than one was Robin. Robin's two autobiographical
stories occurred right at the end of his interview, when, it
seemed, he had exhausted his repertoire of alternative
stories. After Robin had told numerous stories in which he
had risked his life against alligators, manta rays, and, on
numerous occasions, raging rivers, he told these two
autobiographical stories as something of a closing
procedure. The first of these two stories was almost a
fore-shadowing story in which he relates a near fatal water
experience from his early childhood. The second story,
Robin's final narrative, is, strictly speaking in the same
vein as his others - a close encounter with a watery grave
story. However, as members of his own family enter into
this story, and as his mother sums up his chosen career
humorously, ironically and honestly, I feel justified in
including this narrative with the other more ostensibly
autobiographical stories.

INTERVIEW STORY 45/ROBIN'S 15TH: JUST JUMP IN AND SWIM.

Robin: I almost drowned when I was young. Erm . . . I never realized how
close I'd come until years later. But er . . . I lived in Alabama and a
. . . er . . . my best friend, he was from Florida. And er . . . coming
from Florida he had swum a lot. And er . . . we'd always played in a
creek and I always wanted to learn how to swim. Well he was going to
teach me. And so, one day he . . . we coaxed our families to take us
out to this state park outside of town and they had a lake and a little
pier out there. And er . . . he said, "Yeah, I'll teach you how to
swim." And this is totally unknown to the parents at this time of
course. And so he erm . . . he tows me out to this little pier out
maybe some thirty feet off shore on an inner tube, on a tire tube. And
we get ready, we climb out on the pier, and we’re talking about it a little bit, and we’re looking into the water, you know. And I ask him, as I look in, “Well, what do I do? What i... what is this to this swimming? What do we have to do?” And he goes, “Well, you just jump in and swim.” So it sounds reasonable enough to me. And so I said, “O.K. I’ll try that.” And I jump right in and of course I sink like a rock as little kids, you know, with not much fat will do. And, “Blub, blub, blub, blub, blub, blub” (said in descending pitch to depict his literal decent) as I’m sinking, thrashing about weakly. And I’m thinking, “What...this is stupid. That was... stew. Bit late now, but it was dumb. Well what...I...I hope he figures out that I’m not coming to the surface, and I hope he throws me that tire tube.” And sure enough just about then er...I’m just about to drown, it’s murky, typical southern Alabama water and er...he comes splashing down there and drags me to the surface and I’m spluttering and coughing and...He’s got the tire tube with him and he had the good sense to throw it in and jump right after me and pulled me up to the surface and then... We decided that that was about enough swimming lessons for the moment. “Well sure!” And it was just years later that I realized how much I owed him. No, way. I think I couldn’t have been more than maybe six or seven; just young.

INTERVIEW STORY 47/ROBIN’S 16TH: INTERESTING & EXCITING CAREER.

Robin: This is another Chattooga story. This is when I first started to...to learn how to guide a raft in about 1980. Er...I’d just signed on as an eager young buck to a rafting company and they were gonna take me on this training trip. I had several...I had about ten training trips per section of river. And er...they decided...it was a rather loosely run informal sort of trip, even though the water was fairly...fairly fast moving. It was a good two-and-a-half feet right at the cut-off level. And we’re going down section four, and they decided to put myself and my mother and my middle brother and this other trainee, in a raft. This other trainee who had been training for a while and was fairly comfortable though not quite a guide by this company’s standards. And er...just er...He had done most of the training that day, most of the paddling or the guiding that day. And then we get down to the Five Falls and says, “Well, would you like to guide?” And I said, “Well...” I’d been down there a couple of times in a kayak and so I sort of knew what was there; I’d been down there once I think and so I said, “Well, I think...I think I do. Sure I’ll give it try. What’s down around the corner?” He says, “It’s entrance rapid; First Falls.” I said, “Well what’s the route right now.” He says, “Well you run it at this level on the far right.” And er...So I said, “O.K.” So of course I went straight down the middle. Couldn’t control the damned thing and just got completely washed into one hole after another after another, and just er...catapulted people out of the raft and filled the raft full of water and tossed and turned. And washed through the next rapid full of water and out of cone roll. People are running along shore with ropes running past trying to find us and trying to keep up with us and er...We finally....People falling ju...get just vacuumed out of the raft in Corkscrew Rapid, I run right through the top hole there. And finally er...we’re coming up, in the pool below it, the water’s moving rather fast towards Crack in the Rock. And at two-and-a-half feet they really don’t run any of them commercially and...and very few people run them in a kayak; it’s kind of a tricky one. And so we’re full of water, we can’t stop, it’s like a freight train that you can’t stop. And er...people are swimming everywhere and my brother’s floating near the raft and my mother’s a little farther away. And so I make a reach for my brother and he goes, “No, no! take mom, here take mom.” And so he shoves my mother towards the raft and thereby...when he does that it moves him further away. And er...I’m pulling my mother in and the other guide is getting in meanwhile, and shouting at the top if his lungs, “Go for Right Crack! Go for Right Crack! Go for Right Crack!” Middle Crack, where you normally would...where the water would push you is real narrow and it’ll fold up a raft like a suitcase. So don’t want to go doing that, squeeze through this drop...narrow little three foot drop. And so I’m pulling for all my might, I don’t have time to pick up my other brother and er...
swims through left crack all balled up in a little ball. And erm . . . scene of several fatalities. And they thought for sure he was a goner, and I didn’t know any better, and he didn’t know any better, he just balled up. And er . . . we go through Right Crack and pop through the hydraulic [a dangerous feature of white water in which fast moving water folds back on itself creating white bubbles of foam] on the other side, no problems. Filled with water I guess we were like a freight train, again we couldn’t stop. And they finally rope us over above the next rapid, the fourth rapid, and er . . . my mom looks over at me and she says, “Er . . . my goodness, you’ve certainly picked a very interesting and exciting career.” And decided at that point that she’d had enough of rafting. She had a wild ride.

Three other instructors told just one autobiographical story each. These stories were all told spontaneously by Monica, Robyn and Paul. The first two were told as part of a series of three stories, that came at the end of an evening of post-dinner story telling. These three stories concerned driving in the snow and were told while a number of instructors were sitting around the dining table on Monday the 26th of February. The session began as dinner was ending at 8:50 p.m., when, stimulated by having strawberries for dessert, Monica raised a question concerning the edible berries that could be found in the Everglades. The three Winter driving stories, one of which is recorded below - the other instructor story, Monica’s ‘High Heels in the Snow,’ having been recorded earlier - were told as the tables were beginning to be cleared ready for washing-up at about 9:30 p.m.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 62/4TH ROBYN’S 4TH: TRUCKS IN THE SNOW.**

Robyn: For me that was the first time actually driving in snow. And er . . . I was going in to stay with a friend in Saranac. And er . . . I’d come across the top of the lake up above Toronto there. And coming across, it had started to rain, it was raining quite steadily, and then it slowly turned into sleet. And er . . . as I was driving in, it just . . . turned more and more into s . . . pretty heavy snow. And as I got in pretty near Saranac, I was probably about twenty miles away, and I was in a four-wheel drive and driving pretty slightly, that er . . . I called into a garage there and had asked someone whether the roads were still open, cause people were telling me on the roads that I shouldn’t be out on the roads. And er . . . and they’d said their daughter-in-law had come through from the hospital maybe half-an-hour earlier, but that it was the worst they’d seen it in a long time this time of year. And er . . . so I got back out there and decided that I was gonna do this last twenty miles and . . . And er . . . pretty much snuck along at . . . Early on in that twenty miles I actually had to get passed a big logging truck that was screwed right across the road. And I was able to sneak around the side
and er. . . . And then, from then on, there wasn't really a lot of traffic on the road. But I . . . but I was driving down this real long hill seeing these light coming up in my rear vision mirror thinking that it's the snow plow coming back in the other direction and . . . I pulled off to the left to let him clear the right hand side of the road and had a . . . a logging truck, double trailer logging truck come screaming through at about forty miles an hour; and that's pretty scary having it so close. And that happened twice on this same hill. So that was pretty interesting. But I was also pretty prepared to be out there. I, you know, I had . . . my car was full of camping gear and sleeping bags and all that kind of stuff. It was a . . . an exciting wee drive.

The last of these instructor autobiography stories was told by Paul on the morning of Friday the 23rd February. It was the beginning of a very quiet day, the first day of the weekend, with a number of instructors preparing for a weekend's relaxation. Paul, Robin and Doc were gathered, along with the researcher, in the common room - sharing a buffet breakfast - looking out over the channel and deciding what the day held in store. Doc was again talking about becoming proficient at sailboarding and was hoping that Paul would be available to give him lessons. Paul's cycling story arose from Paul making the comparison between sailboarding and cycling.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 47/PAUL'S 1ST: MY FIRST CYCLE.**

Paul: It's [sailing a sailboard] like riding a bike. Once you've got it, you never forget it.
Robin: Yeh, do you remember the first time you rode a bike on your own?
Paul: I do. It's on film. Dad took off the training wheels and got out the family movie camera. I was doing o.k. at first, then ten seconds after starting I ran into a hedge. And all that was caught on the family film.

**INFORMATION STORIES: BIOGRAPHICAL.**

Paul followed this story with an interesting variation on the autobiographical story theme. Immediately following the story recorded above, Paul told another, in elaborating to Doc a method of learning to sailboard, a biographical story concerning Monica's first sailboarding experience.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 48/ PAUL'S 2ND: MONICA'S FIRST SAIL.**

Paul: I got Mon. to lay flat on the sailboard and got the thing sailing with her lying down. She then gradually stood up and got hold of the boom,
while I held it at the same time. I then gradually let the boom go.
Mon. was holding the boom on her own. She was sailing. Then she looked
around and realized I'd let go.
"I'm sailing, I'm sailing," she yells. Then, "Splash!" down she goes.

This biographical narrative, a story told by one instructor
about another instructor's past, was of interest because it
remained unique until almost a week later. On Wednesday,
the 28th February, at noon, I interviewed Doc. He told me
two stories that were similar to Paul's story in both
character and content. As was the case with Paul's story,
both Doc's were about a female instructor acquaintance, both
concerned this person's learning experience with some
activity or other, and both teachers in the stories were
male instructors.

INTERVIEW STORY 118/DOC'S 12TH: "DOES THIS WHITE STUFF WORK?"

Doc: There's a story of him (Lyall Bean) er... climbing with this woman
called Kitty Calhoun, who has the biggest Southern accent you ever
imagined. He er... basically taught Kitty how to climb. Went
climbing with her one day and she refused to wear chalk. She was just a
purist, you know. And er... they were up this... she was up in
the middle of er... this horrendous lead. [A lead is a section of a
climb negotiated by the first person up that particular section. This
is a much more adventurous aspect of climbing than being the second
person up the section. The lead climber takes the added risk of a fall
of some distance should an error be made. The 'second' does not run
this risk as the lead climber uses the ropes they have taken up the lead
to safeguard any second climber fall.] You know, kinda cranking out,
cranking out the moves and stuff like that. And er... She yells
down to Lyall, she goes, "Lyall, does this whit stuff really help?"
(Said with much mimicry of a female Southern accent.)
And er... and er... Lyall passes her up the chalk bag and she dips
all the way up to her elbow, did the moves... and now I understand
since then er... she's cranking with er... with chalk.
[This story perhaps needs a little explanation. Chalk in rock climbing
acts as it does in gymnastics. It dries the sweaty hands of the
participant and facilitates a better grip of the contact surface. In
essence, chalk can make a person a slightly better climber in the same
way that it can make a person a slightly better gymnast. Some purist
climbers believe that this is cheating, in that one is not relying on
one's personal prowess to achieve success, but upon the artificial aid
provided by the chalk. The purists also offer the argument that the use
of chalk leaves unsightly white marks on the rock which will remain
there until the next heavy rainfall. These marks firstly, impact on the
aesthetic appreciation of the climbing experience, and secondly, impact
on the adventurousness of the experience in that the chalk will
indicate, to the climber, the exact position, because of the marks it
leaves, of all the holds on the climb. Finally, the use of chalk on a
climb makes the none use of chalk on the same climb almost impossible.
It actually makes the holds very slick, smooth, and polished. Only by
adding more chalk to the holds can the climber counteract this increased
difficulty. This explanation should help to clarify Kitty's reluctance
to use this substance while rock climbing.]
INTERVIEW STORY 119/DOC'S 13TH: HOW TO DRINK BEER.

Doc: I remember him [Lyall Bean] sitting in the lounge and er. . . there were four of us; er . . . Jeanna Nesco, myself, Henry Browning and Lyall.

And er . . . Jeanna wasn't a big beer drinker. But we were all sitting and we each had a beer. And there were only four beers left. So we . . . the three of us er . . . drink our beers, and Jeanna's just like nursing this beer, you know. And er . . . just taking a little sip, you know. And Lyall goes, he goes, "Jeanna, do you wanna learn how to drink beer properly?"

And she goes, "Well, yeh. How'er we supposed to do it Lyall?"

And he goes, he grabs the beer out of her hand, takes this huge go. He says, "You've just got to open your throat. Gulp, gulp gulp!" (A swallowing sound, not a spoken word.) And then hands it back, and there's like half the beer gone.

She . . . and she takes it and she tries to hold open her mouth and . . . "Gulp," Er . . . just like a little . . . a little sip.

And he goes, "No woman. Here, let me show you."

He goes . . . (imitates one throwing one's head back and drinking deeply). And like drains the thing except for just this little swallow. And then hands it back to here. And she looks at it and she goes, "Lyall, you mother-fucker!"

These last two stories are somewhat different from the previous story. Neither Kitty nor Jeanna were tyros in climbing and drinking in the same way that Monica was in sailboarding. Nevertheless, both Kitty and Jeanna were being introduced to new techniques by a male instructing colleague. They are also similar in that all the stories provide us with background information about the character in the story.

CHAPTER SUMMARY.

From the preceding examination, it can be seen that there are only two overt and conscious interpersonal reasons that outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School ostensibly tell personal experience stories. These two reasons are to entertain, and to teach or inform. In regard to the former of these two reasons, I have shown that there are four methods in which these stories are made entertaining. These are: through humor in amusing stories, through fear in scary stories, through excitement in episodic adventure stories, and through arousing empathy in emotionally moving stories.
It has also been intimated that outdoor adventure education instructors rarely tell tragic personal experience stories.

In regard to the latter of these two categories; I have indicated that there are two distinct ways in which instructors attempt to teach and inform through the personal experience stories they share with their instructional colleagues. First, the stories are used in an overt pedagogical manner. Through their stories, instructors are attempting to accomplish some of the following objectives: promote instructional improvement; explain and rationalize standard operating procedures; highlight instructional dangers and how they can be avoided; and finally expand upon philosophical underpinnings of the program. Second, instructors use personal experience stories to keep each other informed as to recent, or even distant past, occurrences befalling either themselves or fellow instructional acquaintances.

It is of some interest to note that the third last story examined, 'Monica's First Sail' told by Paul Battle, vividly indicates that stories may not be told exclusively either to teach or to inform. Paul is an archetypical teacher, as has been indicated through his previously examined stories. This particular story is an obvious combination of this pedagogical aspect of Paul's storytelling - in that he is teaching those present how they could assist others in learning how to sailboard - with the informative aspect of storytelling - he is also informing his fellow instructors about a past event in the life of a colleague. We shall see in the next two chapters how the stories told by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the
North Carolina Outward Bound School serve, as does Paul's story, a number of different functions at one and the same time.
CHAPTER 7.

INTRAMEDIATE REASONS FOR STORY SHARING.

INTRODUCTION.

I have proposed that personal experience stories exist and are told for a number of different reasons. I have also indicated that these reasons are layered like the skins of an onion with each subsequent layer corresponding to an ever more significant reason. As with an onion, the exposure of each subsequent layer of reasons for a story's existence is gradually more difficult. This is so because, each layer of reasons for a story's existence is, like the layers of the onion, successively more hidden from view than the preceding layer.

Two of these reasons, the Immediate Reasons and the Intermediate Reasons, for a story's existence have now been examined in some detail. I have shown that these two reasons correspond to separate aspects of a story's telling. The Immediate Reasons concern the contextual aspect of the telling. In order to determine the details of these aspects of a story's telling, the sensory stimulations that gave rise to the story were examined. These reasons are the external reasons for a story's existence. They are, as it were, the outer layer of the onion skin and, therefore,
reflect what is occurring in the external environment at the
time of a story’s telling. I have indicated that
environmental situations influence the selection, from
amongst a raconteur’s sometimes large repertoire, of a
particular narrative to suit those situations.

The first, **Immediate Reason**, layer for a story’s existence
is, then, a reflection of the external environment at the
time of the story’s telling. The next layer of reasons for
a story’s existence, the **Intermediate Reasons**, reflect
factors, not external to the teller, but rather those that
are superficially internal. These superficial internal
motivations for a story’s telling are those obvious and
overt reasons a teller shares a particular story. These
**Intermediate Reasons** for a story’s existence concern both
textual and textural aspects of a story’s telling. Both
what was storied and the manner of a story’s telling were
examined in order to determine the overt reasons why a
narrator told a particular story. Evidence has been
presented to indicate that these **Intermediate Reason** are the
audience reaction reasons a teller tells a particular
personal experience story. I have further proposed that
there are only two of these ostensible reasons. These two
exoteric reasons for a story’s existence are: to entertain
through humor, fear, excitement and emotional arousal; and
to either teach techniques, philosophies, and facts; or
inform of past occurrence befalling either the teller or the
teller’s acquaintances.

I have referred to the third level of reasons for the
telling of a particular personal experience story as the
**Intramediate Reasons** for that story’s existence. These
reasons are those ulterior motives that tellers have for telling their stories. These reasons have been referred to as *Intermediate Reasons* because the focus of examination concerns primarily, though not exclusively, the tellers internal reaction to the incident that was storied. In examining these reactions, I am attempting to determine the personal, and often unconscious, reasons a teller tells a particular personal experience story. In this way these reasons are internal to the teller, hence the expression *Intermediate Reasons* is used to describe this third layer of motivations for the existence of the personal experience stories shared among the population under investigation.

1ST INTERMEDIATE REASON: CATHARSIS.

Two factors stand out in the preceding examination of the personal experience stories shared by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. These two factors are the quantity of amusing and humorous stories on the one hand, and stories involving an element of fear on the other. Evidence has been presented suggesting that these two elements are also combined in some profusion.

The reason that Outward Bound instructors express their fears through humorous personal experience stories in such profusion is one of catharsis. A case can also be made for

1. Certain of the *Intermediate Reasons* why outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell personal experience stories will not be examined in this investigation. Egotistical ulterior motives, such as those involved in being - as a storyteller - the center of attention, or 'topping' preceding stories, will be ignored. First, such motives are extremely difficult to ascertain, and second, they are not exclusive to the telling of personal experience stories by outdoor adventure education instructors, indeed they may be part and parcel of all storytelling everywhere. This particular examination will focus exclusively on the population under examination's *Intermediate Reasons* for sharing personal experience stories.
claiming that the emotion of anger is likewise expressed, and - therefore - catharsized through these stories. Outdoor adventure education instructing is perceived as being a high risk occupation. While these perceptions may not be an accurate reflection of reality, they do, nevertheless, cause considerable emotional tension in those who are so employed. Release from this tension is sought through the telling of amusing stories which dissipates the power of the original perceptions. By telling such personal experience stories instructors are simply attempting, unconsciously, to relieve the fear and anger induced tensions generated by being employed in such a high risk occupation.

The Outward Bound instructors at the North Carolina School's Florida base seek some type of purgation of the emotional tension that occurs as a result of this constant exposure to either real or perceived danger. To seek this through some form of artistic expression, such as the telling of personal experience stories, is only natural. The instructors at the institute under investigation catharsize this emotional tension through telling personal experience stories that graphically, and often humorously, illustrate the source of the fear and anger that give rise to this tension.² In this way the instructors reduce the emotive effects of these perceptions of danger.

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² The concept of catharsis was originally applied to the effects of tragic drama on the audience by Aristotle. It is of some interest to note that tragic personal experience stories are the type of narratives most notable through their absence among the population under investigation.
FEAR CATHARSIS STORIES.

The most notable emotion, catharsized through the personal experience stories of the instructors of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, is undoubtedly fear. Of these fear catharsis stories the most numerous are those involving, as one would expect, fear of death or physical injury through participation in outdoor adventure education activities. One would expect this because there is a definite possibility that this will occur in this profession and therefore this fear is very tangible in the psyche of the instructors. A great many fears are so expressed by the population under investigation.

We have already seen how instructors story the fears induced by, and the dangers involved in, the instructional activities of white water canoeing, kayaking, and rafting; swimming - in, for example, Paul’s ‘Hammerhead Shark’ story, and Robin’s ‘Jump in and Swim’ narrative; rock climbing and mountaineering; and caving. The dangers of four other activities are storied to a much lesser extent than the aforementioned activities. These four others are flat water canoeing, sailing, soloing and ropes course instructing. Stories involving these activities are not as profuse as those mentioned earlier. I believe this is simply because these activities are much safer than the ones storied extensively such as caving or white water river work. Storyworth incidents occur much less frequently in these activities than they do in the more overtly dangerous activities.

Of these remaining activities, the one which is ostensibly the most dangerous is ropes course instructing. However,
this perception is somewhat inaccurate. A ropes course is a set of linked activities involving balance, strength, coordination, perseverance, and emotional control that are conducted over a specially constructed combination of ropes, swings, beams, and trapezes etc. They are usually situated high off the ground in the trees that grow on the grounds of the various schools. At every stage of every ropes course an elaborate and well backed-up, but simple to operate, safety system is employed. Each section of any ropes course is, therefore, doubly safe. All the instructor has to do, to guarantee the safety of all participants, is to ensure that the safety system is used effectively. Even so, two stories were told which hinted at some of the dangers that could be encountered while instructing this particular activity.

The first such story was told jointly by Doc and Liza after supper on my third full day at the school. It was narrated in the same session as the one containing many of the caving stories already reported. These stories had originally been prompted by Liza questioning Doc about his recent caving experience.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 33/DOC & LIZA’S 2ND: PIPES ON ROPES COURSE.

Doc: I’ll never forget, I was so evil then, during that . . . when the HOBS er . . . Semester Group came up and I was like er . . . the point person. And I asked for some support. So Liza and Johnny Lowe were hired. And er . . . and we were supposed to take them climbing. Well, it turns out that er . . . it was snowing wasn’t it, or it was raining.

Liza: It was cold, yeh.

Doc: Yeh. And er . . . so we decided to do the Ropes Course. And we go up to the . . . the upper ropes course, and it was like . . . there was a cable hanging down out of Houdini’s, [one of the Ropes Course elements] and nothing . . . the cable wasn’t attached anywhere. O-oh! “Well, we’ll go down to the lower ropes course.”

So we go down there and the two er . . . guy lines on the swing aren’t tat . . . attached. And er . . . nobody had made any notice that it was closed or anything. So we get up there to demonstrate and somebody’s

3. Ropes courses can be low to the ground, and involve artificial structures such as telegraph poles, but this is rare in Outward Bound schools.
left all these pipes up on the team-beam. And I step on the team-beam and they all come tumbling down and there’s students all down below. (Laughter.) And I’m going, “Shit! Man.”

Liza: It’s like, “Liza, would you go ask Lawrence if there’s anything wrong with this ropes course?” (Laughter.)

Doc: This . . . this is totally professional. HIOBS are gonna think that.

Liza: “Just go ask him if it’s o.k. if we use the swing.” (Laughter.) He was in a staff retreat meeting or something, and they’re talking serious shit. And I stick my . . . “Lawrence, could I talk to you for a second?” (Said through laughter.)

He’s like, “Yeh, come on in.” (Laughter.)

“No, I think it’s better if I don’t.”

“No come on.”

“The ropes course.”

Doc: “Both ropes courses are fucked up.” (Laughter.)

Dave: “Guess we’ll have to go caving.” (Laughter.)

Doc: Well no . . . Let’s step back here. So it starts snowing and lightening at the same time. And we’re trying to do the lower ropes course. And we’re like, “Outer here.”

Three of the dangers of being involved in ropes course instruction are readily apparent from this narrative. One of the dangers is knocking things down onto people below the ropes course. This does occur on the ropes course, with carabiners and wrenches being the most common such descending objects. The next, and possibly more serious, danger of instructing the ropes course concerns ropes course maintenance. Apart from the human errors that occur through carelessness, tiredness and fatigue etc., little can go wrong during a ropes course session if the instructor maintains vigilance. The exception to this general rule concerns the maintenance of the course. All aspects of the ropes course, even the trees themselves and the tensile steel wires from which most items and safety lines are suspended, deteriorate through time. Screws, bolts, nails and carabiner-gates can become loose and ropes can become frayed and useless with age and use. The pipes in this story are actually a positive comment on this danger for they indicate that the ropes course is being maintained. The fears involved in doing a ropes course that hasn’t been maintained for some time are appeased through this story. The presence of pipes on the ropes course tells instructors
that the ropes course at the North Carolina Outward Bound School is well and regularly maintained.

The greatest danger faced when instructing the ropes course is being caught in a sudden electrical storm. This is so serious that instructors are taught, and have to rehearse, elaborate escape procedure for such an occurrence. Such storms do come-in very quickly in most mountainous areas and it is difficult to legislate for the suddenness of a mountain squall. The only way to really appease this fear then is through catharsis. This is successfully achieved through this particular humorous personal experience narrative. Liza and Doc are able to get their students "outa there" without encountering too much difficulty.

The next personal experience story referring to the ropes course was told by Robin as his third interview story.

INTERVIEW STORY 32/ROBIN'S 3RD: GUAVA EATING RACCOON.

Robin: I remember being up in the ropes course during staff training with Saul Rosen, a staff member here. We looked down and noticed that the raccoons were rather bold and in fact there was a Guava on a tree just below the course and Saul had his eye on this Guava because he wanted it. Here comes a raccoon slowly, surely, steadily climbing this tree reaching up this guava and Saul yelling down, "Hey! Go away, scram, go on, scoot." Raccoon, paying him no mind, harvesting the guava and (the noise here, which is untranscribable, is of Robin's lips smacking together as he imitates, with both actions and sounds, the raccoon eating the guava.) Just enjoying his meal right there.

Mac: Oh wow.

Robin: Raccoons are definitely part of it.

On first inspection this does not seem to be a fear-catharsis story. There is nothing to fear from a raccoon stealing an instructor's guava. While this is indeed so, the fact of importance here, is the raccoon's proximity to the ropes course. Animals such as raccoons, mice, rats, and squirrels etc., are renowned chewers and gnawers. Such animals could do literally untold damage to a ropes course; untold in the sense that the unsuspecting instructor may
have no notion of the damage until too late. This is, in truth, something of a hypothetical, rather than a real, danger. In reality all the safety aspects of a ropes course are secured through the use of tensile steel wire. Nevertheless, serious damage could be done to one or more elements of a rope course. Serious, though probably not life-threatening, complications, could ensue. The claim could again be made, therefore, that catharsis is at work even in this seemingly innocent narrative about a guava stealing raccoon.

One of the only activities I undertook, during my fieldwork stay at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, was sailing. I went for an afternoon’s sailing in the school’s cutter with seven of the school’s instructional, maintenance and catering staff. While a literal sailing experience was present, storied sailing experiences were, on the other hand, conspicuous by their absence. While I did encounter a number of sailboarding stories of an instructional type, only one story involved straightforward sailboat sailing. This particular story was told by Robyn Cresswell spontaneously during the story telling session that followed a dinner-time dessert of strawberries on Monday the 26th of February.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 56/ROBYN’S 1ST: "WILL THE DAUNTLESS."

Robyn: The ferry comes in the main channel, and that back home in New Zealand. And er . . . we’re not meant to get in their way at all. They have legal right of way. And so it . . . it’s pretty typical for crews to be sailing along out of the sound and get in the way of the . . . the ferry. So this one . . . one time was that they were sailing almost right in front of the ferry path. And . . . and on their loud speakers and across the radio, they were pretty much abusing us and telling us to get the cutter out of the way. (Pause.) And the line was more like er . . . er. "Will the Dauntless. . . ." The Dauntless is our escort boat. "Will the Dauntless please get the cutter out . . . out of the way," or "Will the dauntless just," you know, "Remove the cutter!"
This story addresses one of the fears of sailing small boats in narrow channels; encountering larger ships with no maneuverability, having, perhaps only momentarily, lost control of the sailing vessel. Again, this is a very real fear for all sailing instructors working in this type of environment. The fear is appeased in this story by the humorous incident of having the captain of the powered vessel chastise the instructors rather than the crew members, and ask them to tow the offending sailing ship to safety. The captain of the ferry recognizes that the crew of the sailing vessel have a right to be incompetent as they are only beginners. Rather than blame the students for the predicament, therefore, he makes something of a backhanded comment concerning the competence of instructors who would allow beginners to have full control of a sailing vessel in such a tricky sailing situation.

An interesting cathartic aspect of this story is the actual spoken words used in the narrative. I heard this story twice during my fieldwork stay at the school, and on both occasions part of the dialogue used in the narrative was identical. Narrative repetitions of this type may be a key factor in a story’s cathartic value. Such repetitions provide the story’s telling with ritualistic overtones which Robyn uses to give herself a feeling of control over the emotive power of the dangers storied. I have stated that the dangers faced by Outward Bound instructors produce psychological tensions that stories help to release. The rote repetitions, “Will the Dauntless . . . ,” contained in Robyn’s narratives, promote this release in much the same way that chanting a mantra allows for deep relaxation in
meditation; they both have a soothing effect and help to bring peace and calm.

Another type of activity conspicuous by its absence in the personal experience stories of the instructors under investigation was flat water canoeing. Only one story was told about this activity. However, this absence can well be understood when one realizes the sedate nature of flat water canoeing. Flat water canoeing rarely involves the type of fearful incident that warrants conversion into narrative. The story outlined below does, however, concern such an incident; one that was very similar to the events narrated in the preceding story. The reason for this similarity is that the one story prompted the other. The story below was told by Monica who answered her own question, at the start of this storytelling session, concerning local wild berries, by commenting on their profusion on a canoe trip she had taken up the Vancouver coastline of Canada. In elaborating on this trip she told the story below which then gave rise to Robyn’s follow-up narrative.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 55/MONICA’S 3RD: WEST COAST TUNNEL.

Mon: Actually we were out there [kayaking on the west coast] for forty nine days so we did the whole coast of British Columbia. And we got to one section where there was mainland, and there was a huge island on the west side of the mainland. And it was just fifty miles straight up through what we called the tube or the tunnel cause it wasn’t gonna be any different. (Laughs.) And it was just sheer mountains and cliffs along the side of it. And we’d be paddling all day and just . . . we’d wonder, “Where are we gonna camp?” because the cliffs met the ocean as we’re paddling, you know. We didn’t even have a place to get out for lunch. Er . . . as it got nearer that time to start finding campsites we sort of start saying, “Well, you ever slept in a kayak before?” “No and I don’t plan to.” And one day, it was a particularly miserable day, it rained all day and fog start really setting in and . . . We could just see on the side that we were on that it was just continued that sheer cliff. Then Paul spotted off on the other side, which was two miles across, a difference in the tree colors, and there was a waterfall right behind it. And we thought, “Well, can’t see anything else so let’s go across.” And it was that time of day too approximately where the big boat, the big car ferry, drove by, and it was misty so you couldn’t see it away in the distance. So it was something else to er . . . be paddling across and just sort of be conscious of this white boat that could appear, that
was the size of an ocean liner. But we made it across and sure enough there’s a small enough spot to put our tent.

The fact that Monica makes light of the fearful aspect of this event serves to heighten the cathartic nature of her narrative. It is probably unlikely that the big white power-driven steamer would come chugging out of the mist to plow down the unseen paddlers. Even if this did occur, the expertise of the instructors involved in this incident, would allowed them to forestall any real danger. Monica, therefore, only seems to mention this danger very briefly in passing at the very end of her narrative. However, because a large boat’s radar system would probably fail to detect something as small - and as low to the water - as a canoe, and because large boats are so large and move so quickly that even expert paddlers may be inconvenienced by their presence, there is a slight - but very real - danger of such an occurrence. In mentioning this fearful situation only in passing, Monica appears to be diverting attention away from this danger. In fact, partly because she does make only such passing reference, and partly because she does so only at the very end of the narrative, the opposite is the case as greater attention is generated in this direction. Indeed the lasting impression of the story -on the listener - concerns this danger. This is seen by Robyn’s follow-up story which focuses solely on this fearful aspect of Monica’s narrative. The cathartic nature of this narrative is then accentuated rather than diminished by the casual reference in the story to the dangers faced by the two instructors.

The final activity that is rarely storied by the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound
School is solo. This component of an Outward Bound Course was the brain-child of the North American Outward Bound Organization. It is a time when the students spend an extended period completely alone in what is ostensibly an adaptation of the First American’s initiation rite of the Vision Quest. This activity is really quite unexciting from the instructors’ point of view, although some neat things often occur in regard to student development. Students on solo are forbidden knives, asked not to climb trees and are expected not to leave their solo sites. The greatest danger to students on solo, therefore, comes from marauding animals. This is reflected in the cathartic stories told concerning this activity. One solo narrative in which a student jumped down from a tree onto a non-poisonous snake has already been reported. The only other scary solo story also concerned the potential danger of an encounter with a snake. Saul Rosen told the following story, as he did all his stories, at the ‘thank you’ party I gave for the staff upon the completion of my fieldwork stay at the school. This was the first story told during the evening’s entertainment.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 83/Saul's 1ST: SOLO-SITE RATTLESNAKE.**

Saul: We’re doing solo at er . . . Sandfish Cove.
Mac: So this is; late August, with Margie, in Sandfish Cove.
Saul: Yes. And the . . . the longest . . . the place is this pretty open piece of the . . . of the forest. And there’s huge ferns and in August they are, like, starting to die, so they are a little brown, but still very big. So we set . . . it’s a pretty . . . pretty young crew, and we get up early in the morning and we do a . . . we have a . . . a fire going all on . . . all . . . all night, and then get up early in the morning and do er . . . you know, a sweat lodge. So everybody’s really psyched for the solo and clean for the first time in the course. Erm . . . we put everybody in their solo sites, and everything is good. And we go back and we relax a little, and eat something and, matter o’ fact at last we get . . . we get some break from the group. But early afternoon, I go to make a check. I go along this little trail, little. . . . There’s no real trail just the place we stepped on the ferns. So I go and check everybody, and everybody seems to be doing fine. Most . . . most everybody was sleeping. Then I make my way back, and towards the . . . a . . . a second person . . . near . . . near . . . near the second person’s site, I suddenly hear a little “sss” and I . . . and I jump and look around, and there’s this big, erm . . . maybe three inches
thick snake just crawling across the path. And as I turned around the
snake was also er ... scared by me. And he, it’s a ... it’s a
little big old rattlesnake. To be curled around, curled up and stuck up
his head and his rattler and started rattling, rattles like “RRRRRR”
like a loud rattle. And I just ... “Oh my God!” And my heart is
pumping and I ... About ... about thirty feet from there is a
student, and she's asleep. So she doesn't know what's going on. So,
what do we do? I just stand there for a while, and I study the snake.
Then I ... and then I er ... walk a little away from the snake, and
he stops rattling, and I go a little closer and he starts rattling
again. So I said, “O.K. I'll ... I'll run to camp and get Margie to
come check it out.” I run to camp and say ... say, “Margie, Margie,
come ... come see the ... check out the biggest rattlesnake you’ve
ever seen.” She ... she comes running, and the snake is still there,
and as we approach, started rattling again. And it’s like ... really
old snake, and as they get old their body is like, or the lower half of
their body is black. And they get ... when they get old they get
darker and darker. And, sh ... you know, don’t know ... don’t know
what to do. And ... and this ... this woman, this student is still,
kind of asleep ... asleep. And ... and it’s really close to her
site. So we think, “Well, to kill it, not to kill it.” It’s like ... cose we are ... we’re the ones that, you know, intruded, we’re the
intruders, not the snake. So we er ... we decided to leave it for a
while and go back to camp, to the bay ... to the er ... watch camp.
And ... (Long pause.)
We try to, you know, go back to our routine but we can’t, cose we know
there’s a big snake there. So eventually what ... what we did is er ...
... (Long pause.) We had this ... these little coals left from ... 
... from the fire that ... last night ... that ceremonial sweat lodge.
So we er ... took some m&ms ... took m&ms ... took m&ms er ... brown and yellow. We did this little ceremony of er ... making peace
with the spirit of the snake. It was really ... really neat, kind of
said a few things and ... and buried the ... the m&ms in the coals.
And did some erm ... sort of meditations tried to really relax and ... And after we done that we felt much better. So we decided to go
back and see where the snake is. We went back and the snake was gone.
(Slight chuckle.) Er ... this really worked. We ... we didn’t see
the snake any more. Everybody felt good. We are not ... we were not
nervous about it anymore

Mac: Wow! Wow!
Saul: That's it.

This story is especially interesting because it is a
cathartic story that narrates a cathartic incident. In the
story, Saul believes he can influence the behavior of the
snake, not through evasive actions, instructional
techniques, scientific methodologies, or the employment of a
trained mongoose, but through ceremony. Tellers of scary
story are attempting to exert some influence over the
emotive power of the dangers that are being storied. If
feelings of greater influence are necessary, perhaps because
of the lack of real such influence, then ritualistic
elements, for example the rote repetitions contained in
Robyn’s 'Will the Dauntless' story, may begin to appear.

374
When ceremony becomes involved, then even greater influence is being sought over these dangers. When dangers are completely beyond the instructor's range of influence, ceremony helps by giving the instructors at least a feeling, albeit imagined, of control over the danger.

Saul's 'Solo-site Rattlesnake' story brings us to the next category of cathartic stories. We have already seen how the instructors at the institute under investigation tell many stories about the epiphenomena of outdoor adventure education activities. Such epiphenomena have included animals, weather and food deprivation. Many of these epiphenomena stories concern, as does Saul's story, animals that could be a threat to the safety of both instructors and students. Alligators, manta rays, and especially snakes are all storied to some extent and all such stories have some cathartic value.

One story, told by Monica during her interview, adds whales to the list of outdoor adventure activity animalistic epiphenomena. This story has some added connection to the previously reported story told by Saul, in that the element of magic is involved. The ritual and ceremony involved in Saul's story attempt to exact some control over the snake's behavior. The performance of this ceremony was not aimed at accomplishing this control through rational, scientific or logical means but through the supernatural means invoked by the ritual. The control of the snake in this way, through ceremony and ritual, can only be likened to control by magic. Magic is the exact word used by Monica to describe her experience with killer whales off the West Coast of Canada.
INTERVIEW STORY 83/MONICA’S 4TH: KILLER WHALES.

Monica: A few years ago my mother and I, we did a sea kayak trip on the West Coast of Van . . . er . . . British Columbia. And it was the first time for both of us in a sea kayak. And we were going in an area that was known for it’s large amounts of killer whales. It’s actually a reserve. And we’re paddling along, and we’re quite a ways from shore, and I wasn’t too sure. Because it was a new environment for me, I didn’t like being that far from shore, but it didn’t seem to bother my mother at all. Then we started hearing blow holes off in the distance and got real excited that they were killer whales around the area. So anyway we were . . . so we’re excited that we’d seen them at quite a distance, and kept paddling. Suddenly we heard ‘em behind us again and they’re getting closer and closer and closer and they’re heading right for us. And they were getting . . . and they . . . kept getting closer and suddenly my mother’s like shooting off for the shore. (Laughs.) It didn’t bother her before, it’s only now that she’s li . . . going off towards the shore. And three really big killer whales came and one was er . . . a bull and two were females, the cows. And they turned within twenty feet of my boat. And it’s just beautiful to watch them. And the bull, his eye came up just at the last moment, just to see me above the surface. And the dorsal fin was about three-and-a-half feet high. So it was impressive to be that close to the water and that high up. And they went off and they started just launching themselves out of the water and going half up on shore and . . . Just really magical.

Monica’s partner, Paul told another activity epiphenomenon story with similar mystical overtones to those contained in Monica’s story. This epiphenomenon was the weather. This story was Paul’s sixth interview story and was told without any external prompt.

INTERVIEW STORY 13/PAUL’S 6TH: LIGHTNING IN THE WIND RIVERS.

Paul: I was on a NOLS course [National Outdoor Leadership School] and . . . we were climbing in . . . in the Wind River Range on . . . on Gannet Peak erm . . . And we’d . . . we had climbed the climb beautiful, clear, clear, clear day not a . . . not a cloud in the sky. (Coughs.) And er . . . we’re having our . . . a . . . a . . . a summit photo taken and . . . and . . . and the instr . . . one of the instructors was taking a photo and he . . . his face just dropped. And its like . . . we looked . . . So everybody turned our heads and here’s a . . . this cloud bank just racing at us.

Mac: Oh no.

Paul: So we . . . we got off the . . . the peak and er . . . it turned out to be a dry electrical storm.

Mac: Ah-ha.

Paul: Buried all our ice-axes up above us and came down and we all did our little lightning drills and squatted on our . . . our packs and it was a . . . was a very, very intense er . . . electrical charge. Everything was . . . ice axes were glowing, our hair was standing up on end . . .

Mac: Oh wow.

Paul: Erm . . . a couple claimed that they saw these balls of fire rolling down the snow and . . .

Mac: Oh wow. Wow.

Paul: It was a very, very exciting . . .

Mac: Yeh. Yeh.

Paul: Exciting time. And it only lasted like ten, fifteen minutes and it rolled through and it was gone.

Mac: Yeh. Yeh. Ha ha. (Short laugh.)

Paul: But er . . . I’ve never felt that kind of power before or been that scared before.
Both these last two stories are cathartic, because they hint at the benevolent side to the dangers faced by outdoor adventure education instructors. These stories help the instructors to face the dangers because they tell of the power, the beauty, the awe and the magic that can be experienced in risk activity environments. The stories are telling the instructors that these benefits are so enriching they compensate for the risky side of the activities undertaken.

It can be seen, then, that many of the stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School are cathartic. They help to appease the fears involved in undertaking these activities. These activities are perceived as being inherently dangerous and, therefore, these fears are an inescapable repercussion of involvement therein. Telling stories about the fearful side of these activities is one way that the instructors dissipate and appease these fears. Their stories accomplish this appeasement by humorizing the fear, ritualizing the fear, and contrasting the fear with the benefits to be gained from being in such fearful situations.

ANGER CATHARSIS STORIES.

A second emotion, catharsized by the personal experience stories shared by the outdoor adventure education instructors of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, is anger. A variety of types of
behavior and types of individuals provide a focus for this anger. Each of these will be examined, again using the stories themselves, to illustrate the extent of each focus.

There is occasionally some talk within Outward Bound of an administrational/instructional staff split. The administrational staff have regular, year round, nine to five, secure jobs. Instructional staff are on call every hour of every day for 23 straight days and then, after sometimes less than five days break, repeat this level of commitment. Instructors are more than likely to have either a different job or no job at all at the end of each Summer; and some of the jobs they are asked to perform are really, as well as perceptually, dangerous. This seems to be somewhat unjust and could be the source of strife. However, I saw very little evidence of such strife in the personal experience stories shared among the instructional staff of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School.

The claim could be made that Liza's story 'You Don't Have to Turn That Light on for Me, Liza' in which she complains and bitches a lot about caving and "ma[kes] a lot of noise during staff training and . . . a lot of noise during erm. . . just all the time . . . [because she] had to go in there a lot", and Mark's 'Group from Hell' story are expressions of anger aimed towards school administrational policies. However, if this is so, as well it may be, these are still the only occasions such a focus of anger was encountered in the entire duration of my fieldwork stay at the institution under investigation.
A number of stories contained expressions of anger aimed at fellow instructors. It may be, therefore, that there is more conflict between the instructors at an Outward Bound school, than between the instructors and the administrational staff. However, in reality such stories are also few and far between, although some such examples do exist. We have seen how Lyall was a “motherfucker” to Jeanne for drinking her beer, and Monica may have been really angry with Paul for his failed attempts to provide her with a ‘Bow Drill Fire’ supper. However, it may be stretching a point to claim that these particular stories are expressions of anger aimed at fellow instructors.

One story expressing mild anger of one instructor for another has already been recorded, at least in part. I believe that Liza was really angry at Doc for sending her down the cave when ‘Pipes on the Ropes Course’ made participation in that activity impossible. Liza’s continuation of this previously reported story illustrates this point much more explicitly.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 35/DOC & LIZA’S 4TH: CAVING INSTEAD.**

- Doc: Well no. Let’s step back here. So it starts snowing and lightning at the same time. And we’re trying to do the lower ropes course. And we’re like, “Outer here.” And we go to the dining hall and there... there are folks hanging out or something like that, and we’re all in a circle.
- Liza: Addressing all kinds of issues.
- Doc: Yeh. We’re in a circle around a table, Johnny Lowe, Liza and I and their three staff. And Johnny goes, “Well, there’s always caving.” (Laughter.) And er... thinking quickly, I er... said...
- Liza: You asshole.
- Doc: “Well, you know you really only need two cave leaders.” (Laughter.) And er... I said something about having paper work er... a course report to catch up on. And that er...
- Liza: “You both are qualified.”
- Doc: “And er... you are both qualified.” (Laughter.) And that er... you wouldn’t need me. And I’m er... would you mind if I bowed out.” (Laughter.) And their staff to me said, “Oh no, no. That’s fine.”
- Amy: And Liza’s going...
- Doc: You see that’s...
- Liza: Whose lungs do I rip out here.
- Doc: I... I honestly didn’t know that Liza loved caving as much as I did.
Liza: Bullshit. You knew what you were doing (said through laughter). You knew I hated that place.
Doc: How could I help. No, no. (Laughter.)
Liza: Oh, man. It's like, I'm sitting there going, "Er ... John can I talk to you for just a minute. We need to step over here."
Doc: Oh, you were sick too.
Liza: Yeh, and I got sick too. I go, "Do you mind if I ... I hate caving."
"Well whose agenda are we on?"
"Mine!" (Laughter.)
Sue: "Why? Do you have a problem here?".

Liza's anger is fairly self evident in this narrative. Doc, himself catharses Liza's anger through the story by explaining its justification right at the beginning of this narrative. In introducing his 'Pipes on the Ropes Course' narrative, he foreshadows and excuses Lisa's anger by stating himself that "[he]'ll never forget, [he] was so evil" on this occasion.

An even more graphic illustration of anger being aimed at a fellow instructor, and subsequently being catharsized through a corresponding personal experience story, again concerns an incident already narrated. During his interview, David Johnston told a prank story involving an impromptu simulation, during staff training, of a hypothetical near-miss situation involving imaginary sharks. The incidents involved in this story must have been highly significant because they provided the basis for a second narrative, this time told from the other point of view. Robin told the following story in his interview, after providing the prompt for this story with his preceding story about 'Jack Daniel's Manta Ray.'

INTERVIEW STORY 33/ROBIN'S 5TH: 'HELP! HELP! SHARKS!' 'B'.

Robin: We had a erm ... an interesting story; again during staff training, how ... have a ... Erm ... Several canoes fanning out going towards the destination. It was a warm afternoon, after lunch people were being lazy. And er ... shallow waters; we'd seen a shark earlier that day. Er ... nothing ... nothing ... not a big one just a couple of feet long and ... enough to get people concerned, you know, er ... looking and checking out the bottom. And then one of the canoes ... I start ... I look over and they're starting to tip over. "What's the problem here?". And it's two staff members so I figure
there shouldn’t be any problem, but I look over and. . . “They’re going to tip over if they’re not careful.” And sure enough they tip over. And so we come paddling up and they’re going, “Help! Sharks! Sharks! Get us out of the water. Get us out of the water.” And we were quite concerned and so erm. . . we looked up and er. . . Doc, the manager, was there and er. . . and er. . . Sue Spahn back in my canoe said, “Doc, is this an assimilation or is this real.” Doc just shrugged, he didn’t know. Said, “I don’t know.” So we come stroking up and they’re screaming in the water, “Help! Get me out of the water, get me out. There’s shark! Shark.” And I kept looking to see bloody wounds or blood in the water, or things like that and . . . they were scrambling furiously over this submerged canoe, it was just rolling like a pencil in the water. And er. . . as we got up close, Doc and I were going to er. . . group together so we would, you know, form a stable raft. Well, we over-shot and er. . . before we knew it we were on top of them. So Doc split off, and our momentum carried ‘em right. . . carried us right up to the two victims in the water. And er. . . we tried talking to ‘em but they were just. . . swam over and immediately grabbed onto our canoe. And er. . . we tried to make, you know. . . “Hey, stop! Stop! Stop! What are you doing! Be careful! Look at me,” you know. But er. . . and they. . . and they wouldn’t looking at us, and then some questions started happening. “Hey, is this real or is this. . .? Are you guys in trouble here?” No. . . no answer. “Hey, is this a simulation. I can take a joke with the best of them, but is this real. I need an. . . I need a real answer here.”

Mac: Laughs.
Robin: Tempers starting to rise a little bit. No answer, no answer. And ern. . . come to find out that they were. . . by the time they scrambled in, that they. . . it was just kind of an unplanned assimilation. And then, by this time several people were quite shaken and very angry, and tempers were running high.

Mac: Laughs.
Robin: Erm. . . they just had decided, “No, it’s ti. . . it was time for an unscheduled simulation.” And got everybody’s. . .
Mac: Oh gosh.
Robin: And I felt bad cause I’d been suckered into the whole thing too by reacting just like someone typically would. I’d been sucked right in.

The anger and frustration comes across powerfully and dramatically in this narrative. However the cathartic impact of the story is made even more significant by its obvious difference from most of Robin’s other narratives. The main theme for Robin’s stories was dangerous situations. His few stories that diverged from this theme brought added attention to themselves and their purpose by this divergence. The purpose of this narrative from Robin, then, is clearly seen as an expression, and accompanying catharsis of anger.

Another body of people around whom angry-cathartic stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School center, are people in authority. It may be stretching a
point to claim that the alternative lifestyle promoted through working for a wilderness adventure organization in remote and isolated areas, nurtures an antiestablishment firmament. However, such stories did exist, albeit in small numbers, among the population under investigation. Doc’s ‘Doctor Visit’ is a good example of this type of story. I first heard this story just prior to its previously reported telling. Only three people were present at this initial telling, myself, Grant and Doc. Grant and I were on our way to the dining room when we encountered Doc in the adjacent common room.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 54/DOC’S 20TH: DOC’S DOCTOR VISIT VERSION I.**

Grant: Is everything o.k. with you Doc?
Doc: Yeh, the doctor said it was just stress, which is what I thought anyway. He gave me a few test E.C.G.s and stuff and then gave me a lecture about stress and how to avoid it, then told me I should take it easy. And then charges me sixty dollars!
Mac: (Feigning being stressed out.) **Sixty dollars! What!**
Grant: Good point, Mac.

The anger in this version of Doc’s story is much more evident than in the later versions. In the second telling, Doc had interwoven my tangential comments on the inappropriateness of encouraging stress release through the presentation of a stress inducing bill. This addition to the story gave it a humorous twist which tended, in the later version, to divert attention away from the anger.

A second authority figure to be storied in the personal experience narratives of the instructional staff of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base were the police. Here again to claim that the police are a general focus of anger for the average Outward Bound instructors, is probably stretching a point too far. There was only one
such story, and this one was only told, by Robin, as a minor episode in his lengthy Costa Rican rafting story.

**INTERVIEW STORY 37/ROBIN'S 8TH: DISHONEST COP.**

Robin: It turns out our raft had gone down to the take out. There's a big bend in the river and it had eddied out all by itself. And erm... this train had stopped, seen it, turned it into the police, the police had picked it up and opened up all the black bags and stolen money that was in the black bags, and were busting the camera cases open to see what was in them when the driver came along to the village and as an what had happened. And they told him and he went to the police station and put a stop to it. And then he looked in the cooler and from our menu he could tell what food was left and where we were then roughly and eventually figured out where we were.

The most unusual story of this type was told by Paul during his interview. The following story was Paul's fourth story and was, as were many of Paul's stories told without any noticeable prompt from the researcher.

**INTERVIEW STORY 11/PAUL'S 4TH: SMUGGLED OWL**

Paul: My parents have lived on a boat for about six years. Erm... and I'd... I'd just come back from traveling and I met them in the Bahamas. We were... we were going back up to Canada. And we s-s-s... a lot of the time we s-s-s... we go on the intercoastal waterway.

Mac: Ah-ha. Ah-ha.

Paul: And one morning very early we were going down the intercoastal waterway and it was very misty out. Came across an owl in the water. And m-my mother and myself always try to rescue any... any birds we find or anything like that. So we picked up this owl. And... It didn't seem too bad. It was pretty docile and we wrapped it up in towels trying to dry it off and warm it up and. Had no idea why it was in the water. But as we... we s... s... motored for about an hour down the canal - there was no wind - we came to a bridge. And on the intercoastal waterway, a lot of the times the bridges are... are timed and you can only go through in the mornings at certain times.

Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha. O.K.

Paul: So we had to wait about three quarters of an hour for this bridge to open. And there was a small... a couple of small islands off to our left. So we decided, that would be a really good place to drop the owl off cause it seemed like it was recovering. So we took a crab trap one of those erm... kind that you pull and they fold up together.

Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha.

Paul: And stuck the owl in that, put a towel over it so it was blinded so it wouldn't spook. And we dropped our dingy down in the water and... and paddled it ashore and dropped it off. Came back and the bridge opened and we went through. About an hour later this... we start getting followed by a coastguard cutter.

Mac: Ah-ha, ah-ha

Paul: Which is... and the cutters are... are the bigger coastguard boats. They're about thirty feet, and they have gun-turrets and these guys with hard hats on.

Mac: (Laughing.) Oh dear.

Paul: They were all... they were all at battle stations. We didn't think much of it. We thought they were on exercises or something and we went for about another hour. Then just staying behind us. And then, all of a sudden, a... another boat came up. A smaller boat with eight... eight guards in it, and all with rifles, and told us that erm... they
had received permission from the Canadian Consulate, cause we're a
Canadian vessel, to board us.

Mac: (Laughs.)
Paul: "O.K., come on aboard." So they came aboard and they had us all on the
back deck and at gun-point.

Mac: Oh my gosh.
Paul: And held us there. And they searched the vessel. Searched our boat
and... Then they started to question us and asked us a lot of
questions about er... you know, where... where we're coming from,
where we're going to, and er... where's the last place we went
ashore. We didn't think about this little island. We were thinking of
the last place we er... stopped at, and we said something like...
This was in Georgia this happened. And er... they kept asking us
questions about going ashore and er... anything to d... you know,
"Are you," you know, "Are there any drugs aboard; any guns, weapons?"
And they kept... meanwhile these two guys are asking all these
questions, and the other six are searching. And we still this... now
this cutter is like right behind us.

Mac: Gosh.
Paul: It a very nervous situation.

Paul: And then they s-s... they asked, "Well, we have..." Then they s.
. They all got together and they say, "Well, we... we have a report
that you went ashore at an island and dropped off a package."
And immediately it all, I mean every... All our family, all four of
us; said "The owl! It's the owl." And er... all the guards at once
said "The owl!" They had found the owl on the island. That's the
only thing they found. And this... and er... this wet owl that
was hissing at them and didn't fly away.
So we explained what had happened.

Mac: (laughing.) Oh dear. Scary.
Paul: Yeh, it was scary and it was... it was funny and just... 

Mac: Gosh.
Paul: And the bridge tender had reported that we had gone ashore.

Mac: Huh. Stealing state secrets or... or ha ha ha.
Paul: Yeh, well, at that... at that point in time, er... that was after
the drug trade had been cleared out of Florida and... and it was
moving further up the coast so there was a lot of action that way so
they were really looking for it.

It must be stressed that all three of the stories concerning
authority figures; doctors, police and coastguards, are
unique. They are one-off stories and even though the anger
contained in each story is evident, this does not constitute
a consistent concern of the population under investigation.
The anger in Outward Bound instructors' stories is not aimed
at any single body of people. However, in the 'African
Warrior' story, the extended narrative that subsequently
contains the single most obvious display of anger in any
story, Mark's "worst thought was that it was people" who
were about to become their protagonists. People in some
form, then, do generate anger in the population under
investigation; anger that is catharsed through the
personal experience stories shared by this population. Because anger aimed consistently at any single body of individuals is absent from the stories shared by the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, and because some anger about people in general is present, it can be assumed that the behavior of people, rather than people per se, is the source of this anger.

What is likely to anger the instructional staff of the North Carolina Outward Bound School is, therefore, not a class of people, such as administrators, authority figures or fellow instructors, but the behavior of individuals. One of the most common forms of behavior to anger Outward Bound instructors is incompetence and unprofessionalism. Doc and Liza’s story, ‘Pipes on the Ropes Course’ which was reported earlier in this chapter, has a section in which such anger is expressed most explicitly. Using such expressions as “totally unprofessional” and “both ropes courses are fucked up” Doc makes his anger in this direction obvious. However, the subtle and subdued anger expressed by Liza in the same situation has equal – if not more – impact, precisely because it is understated. When Liza has been invited into the conference room to talk to her Course Director about the situation, she quietly but forcefully (one imagines) states “No, I think it’s better if I don’t.”

The anger expressed in this story is not directed towards the administrational staff per se, but is rather directed towards their incompetent behavior. In this way, this story is no different from similar expressions of anger condemning a great variety of incompetence in people other than
administrational staff. Indeed, instructors are equally as condemning of their own incompetence as they are of incompetence in administrational staff or other people.

One such incompetent instructor story was told during Monica and Paul's slide show and therefore has already been recorded. This story concerned Paul's failed attempts at lighting a 'Bow Drill Fire' which caused Monica to go without supper. Monica told a second incompetent instructor story highlighting her own and Paul's incompetence in camp site selection. The anger in this story is not readily apparent because of the amusing aspects of the story. However no one can be particularly happy about having to spend "most of the night. . . . very wet."

**INTERVIEW STORY 88/MONICA'S 6TH: CAMPING BELOW HIGH TIDE.**

Mon: On our third night out too we were er . . . we were on a really nice grassy area, and we were sure that it was above the high tide line. At about midnight, I rolled over and my hand fell of my thermarest [a very elaborate sleeping pad named after the manufacturer] into a moat around this . . . around our bed. And then realized that, I mean, our sleeping bags were soaking up all this water. And I got up and I looked out and just as I looked out I could see the tide receding. So we were passed that point, luckily. But the water came in easy enough, but it did not go out of the tent. So we spent most of the night. . . . [Laughter.] Yer, that was a very wet night.

A second incompetent instructor story aimed at one’s self was told by Mark using his usual narrative technique of linking a number of episodes together to form one continuous story. This 'Trip to Mike’s' story has already been reported because it was very obviously prompted by the visual stimulus of a low tide which reflected the low water level mentioned in the story. Two sections are recorded below that help to illustrate the anger aimed at the incompetence that is present in the narrative.
SPONTANEOUS STORY 49/MIKE'S 1ST: TRIP TO MIKE'S.

Mark: I like to drive 'The Whaler' [the school's rescue launch]. I mean, it's an excuse to go out and have a little fun. It's fast, I guess, is the main thing so. There's a lot of reasons not to drive it, but I go out and do it anyway. So, who is it, Melanie was here, she hadn't been out in a while, and Debbie's brother was here, so we thought we'd go out. So I got . . . I did a good job of getting everything ready for the boat. Making sure we had charts and safety gear . . . gear and enough PFDs [Personal Floatation Devices - Lifejackets]. But somehow in my mind I'd got it . . . and I had talked to Debbie, and she had never looked at it, and collectively we came up with the opinion that the tide was coming in, in the afternoon. And that's as much information as we ever checked for, we just kept building on each others assumptions. (A skip occurs here to the very end of the narrative.) But Jesus, so much for not checking the tidemarks for the future.

Although much of the anger in this narrative speaks for itself - expressions such as "there's a lot of reasons not to drive it, but I go out and do it anyway" and "but Jesus, so much for not checking the tidemarks for the future" being obvious such examples - the best expression of anger occurs right at the end of the narrative, and is actually spoken by a member of the teller's audience. Doc, who had just returned to the center from a break, and to whom much of the narrative was addressed in order to keep him abreast of developments around the school, asked Mark casually, after laughing at the narrative, who was with Mark on the trip. After being told the names of Mark's 'partners in crime' Doc says jokingly but nevertheless pointedly, "Oh good, that's someone to share the cost with you."

Much of the anger directed through stories at instructional incompetence is aimed at targets other than Outward Bound employees. Outward Bound instructors are carefully selected and well trained, and their level of competence is, therefore, high. This is especially so when Outward Bound instructors are compared to instructors elsewhere who are employed by organizations with less stringent operating codes. Two non-Outward Bound instructor incompetence stories were told by Robin during his previously reported
interview. The first story providing the prompt for the second. As these stories followed on from each other they will be transcribed without intervening comments. It must be noted, however, that, as the first of these stories is one of Robin's long episodic narratives, only the section most pertinent to instructor incompetence has been recorded.

INTERVIEW STORY 39/ROBIN'S 10TH: SOMETHING FROM MOBY DICK.

Robin: Had a trip in er . . . New Zealand that was similar to that. We were guiding for New Zealand River Runners and er . . . (A jump is made here to the relevant instructor incompetence section of this narrative.) And we come back and we were unloading equipment and putting everything away and er . . . I call home and tell my room mate, the New Zealand room mate there, I say, "Oh well, we're coming home c . . . would you like anything from town?"

And he goes, "No you're not."

"What?"

He said, "Well, Neil," the owner of the company, "Erm . . . said that er . . . another rafting company had called up today and they'd pinned a raft on another river and er . . . Neil volunteered you two to go along to this river and help 'em unpin it. And you wanted to see this river anyway." (Laughter.)

And so we were a bit stunned. Silence there on the phone. He goes, "Don't worry, we've packed everything for you. The bags are on their way. Just stay there."

Decidedly feeling pushed around this day we go, "Er . . . well o.k." and we left it at that. (Another jump is made here to avoid Robin's long section about the journey to the rescue site.)

We look around us and we look at all the implements that they have brought for the rescue, and one of them is a grappling hook, and long poles and big knives and we look at each other and we go, "What have we gotten ourselves into." And not only that, they guide from the front of the raft which was totally unusual for us. And we go down and the raft is pinned under a rather large rock perhaps the size of er, a small building. And it's . . . the rock is moving, shifting. It's still a . . . not settled it's . . . it's like. . . . We'd raft up to it and we'd get out on it and then we'd realize, you know, "This thing's shaking every once in a while, it's shifting, it's moving."

And the raft, to make a long story short, was slowly being eaten on the upstream side of it, shoved slowly under this rock that was sort of moving and munching it. And er . . . we just worked for most of the day to try and erm . . . free this thing and . . . It was an effort to just lower down into this rapid in front of this rock and er . . . the upstream face of this rock and get a rope onto it. And . . . they thought if they deflated it they might be able to peel it off, and so at one point they actually took a knife, strapped it to a stick, were standing on this bucking thing stabbing it looking like something out of Moby Dick. And we looked at each other and went, "I don't believe what's happening here. I don't like this."

But we couldn't . . . couldn't get it that day. We went down stream. And they were imported rafts and were worth quite a bit of money to the company and they really wanted to do it, so they treated us to a money . . . to a meal at a tavern and said, "Well, can we coax you into just staying and we'll try again tomorrow?" And we reluctantly agreed, and that meant another drive up the dirty . . . dirt road there and we'd drive for hours again, this time without much beer. And we put on . . . and we work all day and we eventually push a knife through the bottom of the floor of the raft to try and tie a rope around the tube. And we have this huge logging winch that pulls a chain, and we just end up tearing the raft to bits. Nothing comes out of it, they lost the
raft, lock, stock and barrel. And we ended up with a tangled knot of ropes.

INTERVIEW STORY 40/ ROBIN'S 7TH: H&H&H\textsubscript{2}O/ANYBODY WANNA GUIDE

Robin: I've worked several seasons on that river. It's . . . as a photographer and as a guide and it always amazes me. It's a river that I would consider dangerous. It's just a . . . the river . . . the stones are sandstone and they're cap-rock from the top of the gorge that has settled into the bed so they're not connected on the bottom, and water flows underneath them, so there's lots of cavities under there. Erm . . . and yet it's a big money maker, it only runs in the fall because they drain a lake for the winter. . . . And it . . . everybody and his brother is out there with a fly-by-night company. There was a company I worked for called H & H & H\textsubscript{2}O; Hell and High Water. And they would hire literally out of the parking-lot, going up and down, "Anybody wanna guide. Anybody wanna guide." And erm . . . I worked for them for . . . for often. They . . . they paid more than anybody else, much more than anybody else, but they had long days and the frustration factor of not having a smooth act to work with was the reason. You nev . . . e . . . eventually I just declined, I just did not want to be there and be part of that scene. I just said, "This is not for me, and someone's gonna get hurt and . . . and I don't wanna be a part of it." And no-one ever did. I was . . . it was amazing really erm . . . And since then I've worked for other sort of dubious companies for above average wages doing it, you know, cause it's only short term work, a weekend here or down here. But er . . . I'm always a little nervous.

Although the anger in this story is definitely aimed at "dubious companies [paying] above average wages" there is, additionally, something of the previous type of story in this narration. Anger is also aimed at the narrator himself. Robin seems upset that he prostituted himself by working for a "fly by night" organization that would hire guides for a river Robin "consider[ed to be] dangerous . . . literally out of the parking lot."

Caving stories are one of the most popular types of narrative with the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. As one would expect with an activity so narratively popular, a story was shared about incompetent non-Outward Bound instructors in this environment. Doc told the following story during the spontaneous session that took place around the dinner table on Wednesday the 21st of February which centered completely around the topic of caving.
SPONTANEOUS STORY 38/DOC'S 16TH: QUESTIONABLE ANCHORS.

Doc: Oh, then I came back in to see this cave rescue going on. This simulated cave rescue, that could have been a real rescue. They were hauling somebody up over by the railroad room passage and what they were using for an anchor [artificial rock attachments that ensure the safety of climbing, lowered or hauled participants] was pretty questionable. (Mild laughter.) And some guy slips from the top, up there, is trying to erm . . . He wasn't belaying he was, I guess helping with thing, and he wasn't clipped in and he slipped and then slid on his face all the way down. Which isn't that far, it's maybe twenty feet but er . . .

Sue: On his face?

Doc: Yeh. Little epics in the cave. You can see why . . . why I don't like caving as much anymore in Worley's Cave with a group of ten or twelve people.

Liz: And tight, small passages.

A similar comment on incompetence is made by Paul in telling his interview story 'Rockclimbing Film Star.' As was the case with Monica's earlier story 'West Coast Tunnel,' the cathartic impact in this narrative is maximized by including the incompetence only at the very end of the story.

INTERVIEW STORY 12/PAUL'S 5TH: ROCKCLIMBING FILM STAR.

Paul: I was working as a climbing co-ordinator, which is you're responsible for the climbing program and this is at the Canadian School up in Northern Ontario. And our school is quite isolated, we're the most isolated Outward Bound School.

Mac: Yeh, yeh.

Paul: We're about two hours up a . . . up a dirt road erm . . . in st . . . still quite a . . . isolated spot. And we got a call at about eleven o'clock at night, people were just ready to start to go to bed and that. And it was from the O.P.P. [Ontario Police Patrol] who said we might be needed for a climbing rescue, can we be on call? And we said, "Sure." So two of us stayed up and then at midnight they gave us another call said, "Yes we need you." So that means that we had a . . . a three hour drive to get to this place. So we drove two hours down our road to the main highway where a O.P.P. vehicle picked up John and I up and took us at . . . probably the most exciting car ride ever I've had. Another hour at very fast speeds. And . . . and arrived at this site and what happened was a television crew shooting a . . . a series had two stunt people that frozen up this . . .

Mac: Oh wow.

Paul: On this cliff. And it was not a very hard climb but we arrived at three o'clock in the morning and they'd been up there for eight hours and they were . . . they were hypothermic when we got to them. But the scene we came on was . . . we were expecting just, you know, a few O.P.P. and maybe the local fire squad. But we came on the full movie crew. The entire cliff . . . this two hundred foot cliff was lit up . . .

Mac: (Laughs.)

Paul: The whole thing was just lit up with these big, big lights that they had. And th . . . and they had all the cameras going so suddenly we've turned into this . . .

Mac: (Further laughter.)

Paul: This theatrical, you know.

Mac: STARS!

Paul: We looked the . . . John and I walked up and . . . and we both realized that we could both climb up there without a rope no problems. But we though, "Well, we'd better put our helmets on cause we're associated with
Outward Bound and we'd better er . . . we'd better make a good show of
this."

Mac:  (Laughter.)  Oh wow.

Paul: So we . . . we climbed up to them and we . . . and we . . . we spent
about half an hour just warming them up. And er . . . then the . . .
they were in er . . . They were about seventy feet up in a little
alcove, but to get them down we realized we couldn't put any protection
in there. (The same thing as anchors in the last story. Protection is
an artificial or natural anchor in the rock that protects climbers and
decenders and prevents them from falling.) So we had to go above and
set up some rappel lines. (Anchored ropes used to quickly reversing a
climbing route by descending those ropes using friction devices.)

Mac: Ah-ha.

Paul: And then we . . . we rappelled them down er . . . And then climbed
down ourselves.

Mac: Yeh.

Paul: And the whole thing was on . . . was being videoed the whole time. Erm
. . . so that was kind of neat. And then er . . . once we had got them
down, they were very, very thankful and fed us and we had to go . . . we
had to leave.

Mac: Yeh, yeh.

Paul: I mean it's like . . . It took us a couple of hours to get them down.
And they said, "Oh," you know, "We'll send you a film of the whole
rescue." But it turned out afterwards they were very . . . we . . .
we had called them up about a month later to find out if they could send
us the tape and they'd . . . and they had sort of hushed it up.

Mac: Really, really.

Paul: Because of . . . I'm not sure of the reasons.

Mac: The politics?

Paul: The politics involved but . . . Never . . . never did get to see it.
That was a . . . We became local heroes and there was a lot of
newspaper people involved, which was fine.

Mac: That's great. (Pause.) That's terrific. Outward bound does it again.
(Laughter.)

Paul: Yer, I tell that a lot . . . a fair amount. An exciting rescue. I've
been on a couple of other rescues but not as . . . as theatrical as that
one.

Mac: Yer, yer.

Paul: The . . . the biggest part of it was just that . . . W . . . what
John and I couldn't get over was their safety systems. It was just
ridiculous what they were putting people under. Frightening.

Outward Bound instructors are particularly conscious of
their impact on the wilderness environments in which they
work and play. They endeavor, both as individuals and as
instructors, to minimize their impact on this environment.
This attitude was exemplified in Saul's disposition towards
the rattlesnake that was disturbing his solo experience.
Rather than simply dispose of the snake, which would have
been fairly easy to do, he selected a less drastic
alternative; one that showed considerably more respect for,
and awareness of, the environment and also recognized his
position as the intruder. Behavior that contradicts this
philosophy is likely to anger Outward Bound instructors.
One instructor, Sue Spahn, expressed this anger most succinctly in an impromptu comment about such behaviors “burn[ing her] butt [and] fir[ing her] guns.” Behavior of this type was storied on a number of occasions during my fieldwork stay at the institute under examination. These stories will be referred to as Pollution Stories because they all concern different types of pollution of the wilderness environment by those using that environment.

Not surprisingly, the first such story involved caving. Caves are very easy to disturb, ecologically. They are a very finite resource, and anything left in a cave, even though it may seem to be ostensibly biodegradable, is likely to be there for eons, and will have considerable negative effect on this pristine environment. Anger, then, arises when human pollutants are encountered in a cave. Doc told a story that addressed this very issue on Wednesday, the 21st of February during the evening of storytelling entirely devoted to caving reminiscences. His anger at this encounter is somewhat appeased by storying this incident for his audience.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 37/ DOC'S 11TH: WHO'S TAKEN A SHIT?

Doc: I went caving with Opie. Took a group in there. And Opie kept putting his dip in. And it was obviously dark, so nobody could see.

(Laughter.) {The amusement here is caused by Opie’s clandestined contradiction of Outward Bound’s own abstention policy.) And er . . . this older guy, he was, like, in his late forties, or . . . took a shit in the cave, like, in a corner some place. And it’s, like, “That shit’s gonna be there for a long time.” And er . . . It just stunk to high heaven. I mean it was real obvious that somebody did not use the Honey Bucket [A contraption used for defecation when down a cave so that the effluence may be removed from the cave.] and er . . . they just decided to go. And we’re all sitting around and there’s this . . . there’s the evidence right there. We’re sitting around, we got our . . . we got our lamps burning out. And er . . . Opie goes, “Somebody took a shit didn’t they?” (Laughter.) “We’re not leaving here . . .”

Liza: “I’ll somebody cleans that shit up.”

4. This fact was recognized by the federal government in 1989 when a law was passed forbidding any cave users to either take anything natural out of, or leave anything unnatural in, caves.
The second low impact story also involves caving. It was told jointly by Doc and Liza early on in the previously reported cave-narrative session. This is a rather strange story involving devil worship in the cave. I have selected this as a Pollution Story simply because it illustrates how anything left in a cave detrimentally affects the wilderness experience of anyone else encountering those objects at a later time. I believe this is the direction of Liza’s animosity in this story.

INTERVIEW STORY 30/DOC & LIZA’S 2ND: DEVIL WORSHIPPERS.

Doc: Were you in there when the devil worshippers were in there?
Liza: Well I didn’t actually run into them, but I saw all the stuff.
Doc: But you felt the presence.
Liza: The presence of the devil.
Doc: Well, weren’t the candles fresh or the lights were burning?
Liza: Er... not when I was in there, but there was a story about that too. When I was in there, we just found some of the candles, and some other stuff that looked like an alter or something.

A more overtly pollutant story that expresses Liza’s anger at such behavior was told just before the previous story.

SPONTANEOUS STORY 28/ LIZA’S 1ST: WHAT WEAPONS?

Lisa: I had some guys ask erm... Some local guys came up and er... drinking beer, you know, and how they drink beer, after, they pitch it over the side with all the beer cans in the cave there. And they ask us what kind of weapons we had with us.

Again this story may be taken as concerning issues other than pollution. However, one can clearly detect Lisa’s dissatisfaction with this type of disrespectful behavior.

The final story in this category was told by myself. It is openly a pollution story and the anger in the story is
obvious. The story was told during my interview with Sue Spahn on the 26th of February at one o’clock in the afternoon. This was my fifth interview of the day, and I believe I was beginning to relax in this situation and share some of my stories with the interviewee. The story was prompted when Sue spoke of promoting a responsible attitude towards the wilderness by stimulating environmental awareness.

**INTERVIEW STORY 28/MAC’S 6TH: RICE IN THE LAKE.**

Mac: I have in mind a . . . a crew in Minnesota where they were on their final expedition and . . . and we were . . . we were camping away from them but we would check the camp sites out that they’d left.

Sue: Oh that’s good.

Mac: And . . . and seeing . . . and seeing one of the camp sites that they’d left being not how we would have left it. And . . . and am . . . and . . . and certainly not how they found it, I’m pretty sure. Erm . . . and . . . and I was really upset by that. Er . . . and really didn’t know at . . . at that stage, this was their final expedition, and we really didn’t know what we could do about it at that stage, other than clean it up. And ask them not to do, you know, not to leave that again in that . . . in that . . . it just seemed . . . it just seemed a little bit futile at that time.

Sue: Ah-ha.

Mac: Erm . . . I was very upset by that.

Sue: I can understand that. I would have been in tears probably.

Mac: It was just rice and we could see . . . the rice was just on the bottom of the lake that they’d just dumped it in. And we . . . you couldn’t even clean it up very well.

The final focus of anger in the personal experience stories shared among the instructors of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base can be described as involving the various types of behavior exhibited by sundry malcontents. The anger aimed at cheats and bullies is contained most graphically in the stories of the ‘Immokalee Banker’ told by Doc, and ‘Elizabeth’s Courage’ told by Mark; both of which have been recorded earlier. Additionally, perhaps somewhat surprisingly considering its popularity among Outward Bound instructors, prankster behavior has also been previously condemned. This condemnation was seen in Robin’s story ‘Help! Help! Sharks!’ ‘B’ and in Doc’s story...
'Dog Tied' in which Doc's anger is clearly visible in his final words of the story - "but I can do without those kind of . . ." Criminals were added to this list of pranksters, cheats, and bullies in the follow caving story told by Doc as a follow up to the first of his caving story session narratives 'Caving at 5:00 a.m.'

SPONTANEOUS STORY 27/DOC'S 8TH: CONVICTS IN THE CAVE.

Doc: Liza, were you with us that time there were some escaped convicts down there?
Liza: No.
Doc: Well, we got there this one time and the owner lady just said, "You'd better be careful down there today, there's some escaped convicts on the lose."
   I said, "Your joking!"
   She goes, "No, no, I'm serious." And she goes er . . . "Just make sure you lock the cave up after going in."
Liza: Yer, sure just lock the cave up. "What are you, born in a barn."
Doc: Well there's a gate on it so . . . and then you lock it. And so we were in there that night.
Amy: Did you lock it?
Doc: And er . . . Yes we did.

The final type of malcontent behavior that generates anger, subsequently catharsized through personal experience stories, is Checkbook Service. The place of service in the educational philosophy of Outward Bound has already been addressed. It is, along with tenacity, curiosity and self denial one of the four pillars of Outward Bound educational theory. The hardships, challenges, and self denials of an Outward Bound Course are expected to develop a self respect from which "flows compassion for others" (Huie and Fischesser 1979:7). This compassion is "best expressed through service" (Huie and Fischesser 1979:7) and therefore some type of service to others is - at least theoretically - an essential element of all Outward Bound Courses. The Outward Bound outlook towards service is seen most pointedly through the organization's motto; "to strive, to serve and not to yield."
The idea of compassionate service can easily become despoiled through the quick and easy use of a checkbook. For the wealthy, there is no real service in this action because it involves no compassion. It is this prostitution of truly compassionate service which angers Buffalo in the following story, told to Doc and myself on Wednesday the 21st of February just before supper. The story was prompted by my comments to Doc and Buffalo, as we waited in the staff common room adjacent to the dining room in anticipation of the call to supper. I had recently seen the film *Mississippi Burning* and asked about the mind-set changes that must have occurred in the South with the introduction of desegregation. Buffalo, being someone born and bred south of the Mason-Dixon Line, told the following story to indicate the feelings of responsibility now prevalent among southern aristocrats.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 24/BUFF’S 5TH: CHECKBOOK SERVICE.**

Buff: The alumni organizes an expedition based around some study idea. One year they went to Ireland. One of their members was Irish, and they got a bunch of poetry and books together about Ireland, and then after reading them they went off to Ireland to study about what they’d read. Anyway the group I worked with had read a lot of stuff about the wilderness. You know, Walt Whitman, Thoreau, John Muir, that type of stuff. Then they went off into the wilderness to experience and discuss what they’d read. These are always high powered groups. They have all either got their masters degree or they are working towards it, and some of them have even got their doctoral degrees. This particular group didn’t really know each other at all. Some had graduated at completely different times, others had graduated at different times during the same year, and still others may have known each other vaguely having been on the same course but been in different groups. No one was from the same group and there were no prearranged friendship groups.

Anyway they were discussing service one day and this doctor guy started to cry as he told how he realized that he never gave anything of himself back to the community. Sure he would give something back to the community by writing a check. But once his checkbook went back in his pocket, the matter of service would end. He said it was always very difficult for him to know which organization he should give to, because he knew that giving in one direction meant that some organization in the other direction missed out.

So there’s this doctor guy crying like a baby because he’s never given anything of his personal self in the form of service. He’s there crying as he makes a commitment to the group to become more personally involved in some form of service, to give more of himself. The point was that he was committing himself to this action while at the same time saying how difficult it was for him to decide where to give of personal service, to decide who should receive his service and who should miss out. He felt some kind of responsibility to maintain some kind of balance.
That was a real neat group to work with, there were some really neat people in that group.

The personal experience stories shared among the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School have now been shown to provide catharsis in two ways. They appease the tensions caused by having to face fearful situations on a regular basis, and they appease the anger that arises when the movement towards goal fulfillment is forestalled. The last story to illustrate this aspect provides an interesting bridge between this category and the next, for this story also attempts to justify and gain support for the service aspect of an Outward Bound Course. The final Intermediate Reason instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School share personal experience stories is to gain support for, justify, rationalize or validate a particular course of action or philosophical outlook. These Intermediate Reasons for a story's existence will be examined using, on many occasions, stories that have already been used to illustrate other aspects of a story's existence.

2nd Intermediate Reason - Rationalization.

Anyone telling a personal experience story is, as Sandra Stahl (1989:x) states, inviting the listener to know them intimately or personally. They do this, not by telling where they are from, who they know or their means of employment, but by telling what they have done and how they feel on certain issues. Furthermore, they do not allow themselves to be known by telling of the everyday things they have done, or of the mundane issues they support.
Rather, a personal experience narrator facilitates intimacy by storying the unusual, and the controversial.

Writing earlier, Bascom (1965/54) put on a cultural level what Stahl puts on the individual level. Bascom (1965/54) stated that one of the four functions of folklore is to validate culture and thereby to maintain conformity to that culture. However, the mundane and obvious aspects of culture need no such validation, nor is it necessary to promote conformity to such aspects of culture through folklore.

In telling many of their personal experience stories, instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School were, at one and the same time, exposing something of their individuality to their audience, and attempting to ascertain the reactions of that audience to that portrayal. Generally speaking, they were hoping for a positive reaction to that portrayal for it is simply human nature to seek the approval of one's peers.

It could be said that all the stories told during my fieldwork stay at the institute under investigation were aimed at gaining support for certain types of behavior and, as is the case with Jeff's 'Sweat Lodge Experience' and 'Offering to Pele' stories, philosophical outlooks. David, in telling his prankster story 'Help! Help! Sharks!', was attempting to gain support for the prankster behavior illustrated in the narrative. Robin's converse story of the same incident was, on the other hand, attempting to gain support for his angry reaction to this prank. Doc was seeking to gain support for his abandonment of Liza in the
‘Pipes on the Ropes Course’ story, while Liza was attempting to gain support for her angry reaction to this abandonment in the same jointly told story.

Stories about facing the dangers undertaken during, and in preparation for, Outward Bound employment solicit approval for such behavior. They seek this approval by making light of such situations, as in the many humorous narratives; by making such situation exciting, such as in the episodic narratives of Mark and Robin; and by explaining the benefits of being in such situations as in Paul’s ‘Lightning in the Wind Rivers’ story, Jeff’s ‘Puu o Ou Tectonics’ story and Monica’s ‘Killer Whales’ story. Mark even seeks approval of his incompetent behavior by presenting himself as being “pretty new, [to] working outdoors” or by presenting the activity as being an “excuse to go out and have a little fun.”

Two other stories rationalize strange or risky behavior through an appeal to its fun value. The first of these stories was told by Robin as a reaction to my vague recollection of a strange phenomenon on the Chattooga river whereby one could get inside a waterfall. The story, told during his interview, is typical of Robin’s narratives in that it inevitably involves a near-miss experience.

INTERVIEW STORY 44/ROBIN’S 14TH: THREE MEN IN AN AIR POCKET.

Robin: People play hide and seek in there. There’s actually a bit of an air pocket. When the water cascades over into the pothole it creates an air pocket that . . . that grows and diminishes within size depending on the water level. I remember one hot day we ha. . . . We always have a pig roast every year. And er . . . up since four in the morning and cooking a pig and drinking beers all day and it’s sort of low water, and we’re taking . . . well moderate water, and were taking a little trip down there just to cool off in the afternoon and . . . . And this one fellow has never been in; and he decides that it’s his day to see it. And so we wade out, and there’s slippery rocks wading out to the middle of this thing, and you’re perched right above the drop so it’s a bit intimidating. It’s . . . it’s a bony rapid. [Lots of exposed rock that
The second such story was told by Steve and was, for Steve, something of an exception. There was, indeed, an amusing aspect to the story missing from many of Steve's other narratives. Again this was an interview story, told, this time, without much in the way of an external prompt.

INTERVIEW STORY 51/STEVE'S 4TH: PARTY CLIMBING DAY.

Steve: Climbing staff there [Green Cove North Carolina Outward Bound School's Georgia Base] three years ago . . . I don't even know how it got started, but there were these old dresses. . . . And on our party climbing days [Party as in the sense of full crew rather than individual crew members], Gerald Hutchinson . . . he and I, Saul and Joe Lacky were the three climbers that hung out. And there was this one crew that was especially really fun. And we thought we'd, you know, do the two-and-a-half hour approach up to White Rock, and got there, hid out behind some trees and slipped on these full length dresses. And led students up. Had a little trouble . . . with a quick draw [a type of easily placed piece of protection], pull my skirt up so that it wouldn't dangle in my feet. That was pretty good. I don't know quite what the students thought of that though. They were pretty jittery as it was but then seeing this person who they thought they trusted . . .

One of the most unusual narratives aimed at gaining support for controversial behavior was Paul's story, 'No Natural Consequences.' This narrative is unusual in that the behavior the story attempts to support is morally questionable. Paul easily gains support for the marginally questionable behavior of the "Night Gremlins" who soak the strewn clothing that makes for an untidy, unhealthy and, possibly, dangerous camp site. Such support is gained because the night gremlins only appear as a substitute for absent 'Natural Consequences' on the eighteenth night of the course after many other tactics have failed. However, the behavior of Paul's postscriptive 'Bartering Night Gremlins'
is quite reprehensible. To justify pressuring students into exchanging some of their food for the night gremlin’s acquisitions is stretching the credulity and vindicating powers of narratives a little far. Even though this stratagem “works,” and “keeps the instructor well fed” in spite of the culinary failings of junior crews, the story fails to promote our validation.

Although, ultimately, Paul’s story fails to justify the actions of his bartering night gremlins, it does gain in persuasive powers because of the personality of the storyteller. Paul is a quiet, soft spoken teacher whom we feel would behave in a morally justifiable way in all instructional situations. Doc, on the other hand, would tend to be disbelieved in a similar situation because his boisterous, blustering, robust storytelling personality presents him as a rogue, quite capable of amoral – if not openly immoral – behavior. Listeners, therefore, are not persuaded when Doc claims in his ‘Pipes on the Ropes Course’ story that he “honestly didn’t know that Liza loved caving as much as [he] did.” Instead they are more inclined to believe Lisa who thinks that Doc’s remarks are “bullshit” because he “knew that [she] hated that place.” However, Doc does gain some narrative support and justification for his behavior by openly admitting his own roguishness in his preface to this story and telling his audience that he’ll “never forget” the time he “was so evil” in his attempts to ‘cut’ caving.

Despite Doc’s open roguishness he still attempts, on a couple of other occasions, to generate acceptance of questionable behavior through narrative. Again, he almost
accomplishes this through his use of humor and irony. The first of these stories was told spontaneously on the morning of Friday, the 23rd of February as a prelude to the original version of his previously recorded 'Hitching to Boone' story.

**SPONTANEOUS STORY 45/DOC'S 19TH: DUANE'S CAR.**

Doc: Duanne had this square-backed Volkswagen. I bought it for a hundred and fifty bucks. It had a bike rack and a ski rack on the top that must have been worth more than that between them. He came to me one day and asked me if I would lend him $150.

"Listen Duanne," I said, "I've known you a long time and I know that I'll never see it again."

"Hey," says Duanne, "I've just got to have some cash. I'll sell you my Volkswagen for a hundred dollars."

"No, Duanne," I said, "I'll buy it off you, but I'll give you a hundred and fifty dollars for it."

Anyway I drove the car for ages. I certainly got value for money. Sold the car for six hundred and fifty dollars about a year or so later.

Mac: Oh! exploitation!

Doc: Listen Mac, you simply don't understanding the capitalistic process. He was really desperate for cash and I helped him out, man.

The ironic quip concerning capitalistic philosophy and ethics at the end of this narrative almost, but not quite, persuades me to validate Doc's actions in this story. His next such narrative, told right at the end of his interview session, this time as a sequel to 'Hitching to Boone' uses more open humor as a persuasive device. Employing this device appears to work as Doc does indeed gain my support for an action that may not have been entirely ethical.

**INTERVIEW STORY 123/DOC'S 17TH: FIFI VERSUS THE PHANTOM STRAY.**

Doc: My room-mate and I had a . . . two dogs, or had a . . . each had a dog, you know. And er . . . the old er . . . secretary who worked at the school lives up there too. Character called Gracie. And then she called up er . . . one day, and she goes, "Doc, your dogs have torn Mrs. McNichols' little poodle to shreds, and I think you should call Mrs. McNichols and apologize and offer to pay the vet bills." (This entire dialogue is spoken in the classic voice of the female impersonator.) And I go, "Well I don't think our dogs did it, Gracie, but I'll call."

So I called up and I said, "Mrs. . . . Mrs. McNichols," I said, "Er . . . did you see what dogs did it?"

And she goes, "Oh no, no, I didn't see what dogs did it." She goes, "Little Fifi is kinda in . . . is . . . is recovering," you know, and that kind of thing. (Spoken, as are all subsequent passage involving this character, in the same voice as that adopted for Gracie.) And I go, "Well, we've been having problems with a phantom stray around our . . . our area too, and I bet it was the same dog."

She goes, "Oh, really." She goes, "Oh, I must keep Fifi in now." I said, "I think that'd be a good idea, you know."
So or . . . so next thing you know, about twenty - thirty minutes later, a lot a time goes by, and Gracie calls back up, says, "Doc, I really must apologize." She goes, "I understand there's a phantom stray in the neighborhood."
And I was on the floor. I was like, I was holding my sides. I was hurting. So that was pretty wild.

By far the most obvious justification narratives are those concerning either individual elements of an Outward Bound Course or those concerning an Outward Bond Course as a whole. Sleep deprivation and physical challenge aspects of a course were justified in Steve’s story ‘40 Miles in 36 Hours.’ Food deprivation was justified in Jeff’s narrative ‘I Didn’t Loose Any [Weight]’ and Steve’s narrative ‘It was Ugly.’ The long and grueling mountain marathon component of an Outward Bound Course was supported in Sue Spahn’s two narratives ‘Because We’re a Team’ and ‘Feeling Satisfied,’ while the service component was validated through Doc’s ‘Immokalee Banker’ story and through Buff’s ‘Checkbook Service’ and ‘Hay Over the Highway’ stories. The solo component of a course was supported through Liza’s ‘Revisited Solo Site’ story and, as many instructors incorporate a sweat lodge experience into this aspect of the course, through Jeff’s story ‘Sweat Lodge Experience’.

In regard to the more adventurous course activities, even the much maligned activity of caving achieves some narrative support as a positive learning experience. In Liza’s narrative ‘You Don’t Have to Turn That Light on For Me, Liza’ the student making this comment is demonstrating considerable courage, a positive quality that - one suspects - would not have been demonstrated without such an experience. Of the other adventure activities only canoeing received direct support in the narratives of the instructors at North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base, and
even this support is somewhat tangential. Both Monica’s story ‘Drums Along the Superior’ and Will’s story ‘Christmas Carols’ however, do speak volumes for the benefits of this activity.

The general hardships involved in the course are also validated through the stories of the instructors. Mark spoke about the hardships of facing a “lot of rain” together as having a positive cohesive impact on his ‘Group From Hell’. Doc says much the same thing in his story of facing inclement weather “down here” in the Florida Everglades. This story was told during Doc’s interview as a prelude to his ‘Hypothermic Bulimic’ story in order to set the scene for that story.

INTERVIEW STORY 111/DOC’S 6TH: BROUGHT PEOPLE TOGETHER.

Doc: I worked a . . . a Standard Course er . . . quite a number of years back that er . . . erm. . . . We came . . . became really close, partly because we got in some situations out in er . . . in the gulf and along, you know, White Water Bay down there, where we really had to er . . . I mean it was a dangerous type situation. A storm came in, caught us off guard. Er . . . we didn’t have as much experience down here as we thought we did, and that kinda stuff. And er . . . it really bought people close together in terms of having to really work hard to keep the . . . the bows into the wind.

Even the closing ceremony of an Outward Bound Course obtains some validating support from the stories of one of the instructional staff at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. Buffalo explained to me, at the end of his interview, the manner in which he adapts the First American’s story of the Medicine Wheel to his own Outward Bound Closing Ceremony. In so doing he clearly validates the use of this method in this situation, as well as supporting the Outward Bound closing ceremony in general. This story is too long to be transcribed verbatim.

Therefore, I have included his introduction, but missed out
various sections when I felt they were irrelevant to the validating aspect of the narrative.

INTERVIEW STORY 67/BUFF'S 3RD: MEDICINE WHEEL ADAPTATION TO OB.

Mac: How does that work? [The Plains' Indian Medicine Wheel when applied to an Outward Bound closing ceremony.]

Buff: And the way you get that [to be a complete human being] is you live your life. You travel around the medicine wheel. And that's what life is, it's a journey around the medicine wheel. And it's not necessarily around the medicine wheel, it can be here... you know, it's not... it's not a designated thing. But to be a full skilled human being you need to make the journey. And that what life is, is the journey. The way I adapt this to Outward Bound is I take... I tell that little story and sometimes the night before I read the story of Jumping Mouse because you can really tie that in to the medicine wheel once you've heard it. And er... you know, usually I talk over with my co-instructor and we'll do a certificate... a more, what I call, conventional certificate ceremony, where they present 'em to each other. (Another skip is made here to avoid Buff's explanation of ritual, and his explanation of the convention Outward Bound Closing Ceremony in which each student presents another crew member their pin and explains to the... the crew why this person has earned the right to be presented with the coveted Outward Bound pin.)

I sort of take... take the Indian's thing and turn it into... to the... to my little O.B. thing is... I'll... I take four stones and... I always take a... You can do it any way, it doesn't have to be stones, I've done with... with er... I've done it with plates (laughs), I've done it with rocks, I've done it with blocks of wood. You can just stop and make a circle, you just do the direction thing and spread it out. I erm... I take four things and put them in the middle of the circle. And I say, "O.K., now." Let's see how do I do it. I gotta go back. I er... (long pause.) Before I do... before I do this I... I say "O.K., I'm gonna ask you to buy into something now. If..." I'm under the assumption that I know enough about this... this works. I've never done this with real young kids, cause... although I think it might work, I just haven't tried it, because I haven't worked that much with young kids, but... a... a... I'm assuming that most adults know themselves well enough that... that they... I say, "O.K., twenty three days ago, when you came here, you know, in your... in your minds that when you came here you were stronger in one of these four attributes than the others. That you had a sense of yourself enough to know that you were a very introspective person, more so than... than you were an enlightened person, or you were a very enlightened person and..." And so I ask them to go stand in the medicine wheel by where they felt they were twenty three days ago. And it... and people just go. I mean there's no... very little... I mean, I've done this a lot, and it always amazes me that somebody doesn't stop and say, "Hell, I don't know, I don't wanna do this." Cause people just run... they get into it. Anyway, so they'll go and stand by that place. Then I put the four things... or I may have already put 'em in there when I set it up, but I don't say anything about 'em. Then I say, "O.K., now, if you'll give me this much, that life is a journey," you know. "No matter how it... whether it's in the medicine wheel or whether it's just getting in your car and going to work, a certain amount of time passes by from here to here, you know, you go from here to there and something happens as you go from here to there. And twenty three days has gone by, you know. No matter what's happened, this time's passed, something's happened. We've proceeded on our journeys." And erm... then I talk a little bit about the pins and... and... and h... h... that how much
they mean to the school and just . . . and . . . and . . . . . . And for us to give 'em is a real important thing for us and . . . . And that we also don't feel like it's something that . . . that we award, it's something that you earn. And . . . . So I ask them that if somewhere on their journey that they have probably grown in one of the other attributes that they weren't as strong as when they came here. They've experienced something about themselves and . . . . And on that journey they have also went . . . . have passed by a unique exposure to, and then I rattle off the Four Pillars; which are; self reliance, and craftsmanship which the four things represent. And then I have the pins in a little pile laying in between. So basically I ask them to go through the circle, reach between the four pillars, pick up their pin, go stand in the new place, and then share what . . . . why they feel that they may be now are more enlightened than they were when they came, or that they feel wiser than when they came. And . . . . and it's really neat stuff happens. Plus they've . . . . they've er . . . symbolically picked their pin up.

This story not only provides a narrated validation of the closing ceremony, it also provided a validation of the whole Outward Bound Course. Buffalo's students are expected, during the course, to undertaken a journey of improvement.

Steve was another instructor who provided a number of narratives which powerfully validated the whole outward bound experience rather than just one element. The following stories were told at various times during Steve's interview. The first story was a follow-up story to his earlier recorded narrative 'Lets Fucking Do It', and the next two are follow-up stories to his 'Weirdest Crew' story. The fact that Steve tells three such stories provides a powerful indication of the regard Steve has for the beneficial effects of an Outward Bound Course. There is no doubt that the adventures and the hardships endured by those who obtain these benefits are justified.

**INTERVIEW STORY 50/STEVE'S 5TH: 'DON'T NEED TO PROVE ANYTHING.'**

Steve: It er . . . it brought down some barriers that had been pretty firmly set there, and what it did for this one guy especially was that er . . . you know he was . . . . he sort of had this real macho image of himself, of how he had to be and he was the one who really didn't want to go to sleep. And er . . . he was the one who finally said, "Well," you know, "Shit, I don't need this." This was, like, at two-thirty in the morning, and everybody was as tired as hell. And he said er . . . "You know, I don't need to prove anything to anybody. If I'm satisfied with what I did for me that's all I needed to do. So . . . whipped out the sleeping-bags and went to sleep.
INTERVIEW STORY 63/STEVE'S 17TH: BLEW HIS SOCKS OFF.

Steve: It actually turned out to be a real neat course cause those three of 'em that had been on an Outward Bound course before had only been exposed to an emotional level so far, and they anticipated that this was.

Mac: The step up?

Steve: Well no, they didn't think that there was any more to it. That you just go this far and that was it. And that was what an Outward Bound course was. And they'd been on three and four of these Outward Bound courses. And er... it was really neat when er... this eighteen year old boy who... this was his first one er... He just had an incredibly powerful course for him. Just... just blew his socks off. And there in the closing circle you know he's... he's shedding the deepest tears I've ever heard from an individual. Just telling about wha... how he wanted to be and things he was letting go of.

INTERVIEW STORY 64/STEVE'S 18TH: I DON'T THINK I'LL BE BACK.

Steve: And that old physician guy said to me as we were walking away, he goes, "Now I understand that this... Now I understand this is my heart, you know. Before, I used to think, I could think that this is a good thing for me to do. If I sort... sort it out in my mind. But erm... what actually I'm feeling now is that I feel with my heart. I know why it is. So I don't think I'll have to come back to another one of these."

So I was like, "Yeh!" And the whole time Jane and I had been sitting there thinking, you know, "What are we doing," you know. "We can't... this is the weirdest crew I've ever been around."

CHAPTER SUMMARY.

There are a number of purposes served by the telling of any personal experience story. First, the story is a response, by the storyteller, to a particular set of environmental circumstances. Next, the story serves the purpose of entertaining or teaching and informing the audience. A story next serves the purpose of expressing the inner concerns of the teller. It is impossible to access some of these inner concerns. We cannot tell, for instance, if the teller has a pathological desire to be the center of attention, nor if there is a need to top the previous narrative, or one to simply prolong an enjoyable experience or to show the listeners a particular side to a personality or identity. However, what has been ascertained from the evidence contained in these particular stories is that there are, again, only two reasons why, from an internal standpoint, outdoor adventure education instructors at the
Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell personal experience stories. These reasons are to catharsize the emotional tensions of fear and anger, and to validate the life-style and educational philosophies and methods of the Outward Bound Organization.

I have now examined the surface personal Immediate Reasons a teller narrates a particular personal experience story. These are the external individual - sensory - reasons for the story's telling. I have also examined the open interpersonal Intermediate Reasons for sharing a particular personal experience story; these are the external transpersonal - audience reaction - reasons. Finally, I have examined the subsequent personal Intramediate Reasons for a story's telling. These reasons are the covert, internal personal reasons a teller tells a particular personal experience story.

The final process in this examination logically follows the previous three. The conscious or external personal, the conscious or external interpersonal and the unconscious or internal personal reasons have been established for the sharing of personal experience stories among the instructor staff at North Carolina Outward Bound School's Florida base. It now remains for the unconscious internal interpersonal reasons to be so examined.

All tellers of personal experience narratives hope their stories have both an initial and subsequent impact on their listeners. The final step in analyzing these stories will be to determine the teller's ambitions concerning the second of these hopes. In undertaking this aspect of the
investigation, I will identify the impact these stories have on those who listen to them, and, thereby, establish the subsequent internal interpersonal reason the instructors at the institute under investigation tell their personal experience stories.
CHAPTER 8.

ULTRAMEDIATE REASONS FOR STORY SHARING.

INTRODUCTION

In the last three chapters I have examined the context, the text and the texture of the personal experience stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. By examining the context of each story’s telling I have ascertained the Immediate Reasons, the initial conscious personal reasons, a teller tells a particular personal experience story. By performing a surface investigation of the text and by examining the texture of the telling I have established the Intermediate Reasons, the initial conscious, interpersonal reasons, for the telling of such stories. Finally, a further scrutiny of the text, with particular reference to language used, and the original incident storied, has allowed me to draw some conclusions about the Intramediate Reasons, the subsequent unconscious personal reasons that account for a teller’s choice of a particular personal experience story in a particular situation.

The fourth and final reason, a teller tells a particular personal experience story in a particular situation, concerns subsequent unconscious interpersonal reasons for
the telling of that tale. These reasons center around what the teller ultimately wishes the listener to gain from the telling of the story. The message that is contained in the story is the grist for the mill of this aspect of the investigation. Discovering these messages involves a deeper level of inquiry than those already undertaken. This is because tellers are often not consciously aware of the messages they are transmitting to their listeners. The transmission of these significant messages is also the ultimate purpose served by personal experience stories. I have, therefore, referred to this set of purposes as the Ultramediate Reasons for the telling of a particular personal experience story.

The Ultramediate Reasons a teller tells a personal experience story cannot be ascertained through examining one telling of one story. Indeed the Ultramediate Reasons need to be examined in the light of the corpus of such stories told by the particular population under investigation. The message conveyed by any story depends upon the cultural context of its telling. An example would be a caving story told by cavers and the same story, perhaps told second or third hand, by non-cavers. The story told by cavers would probably have a verificational purpose, whereas, the same story told by non-cavers would probably have the opposite purpose. Conclusions could only be drawn concerning the typicality of either of these, or indeed any other such, narratives by examining the corpus of personal experience stories told by the community under investigation.

It can be seen, then, that the repertoire of stories of the entire community must be examined if we are to discover the
Ultramediate Reasons for the existence of personal experience stories among the instructors of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base. In this aspect of the investigation, the common character, setting and occurrence elements of all the instructors’ personal experience stories will be determined in order to discover the unconscious messages that tellers are attempting to convey to listener. These messages are the, often unconscious, interpersonal reasons a teller tells a particular personal experience story. They are the lessons the teller wishes the listener to learn from such stories.

COMMON STORY ELEMENTS.

What then are the common elements, those factors that are numerosely repeated, in the personal experience stories told by the population under investigation? There is a three-fold focus to the common story elements of the personal experience stories of the Outdoor Adventure Education instructors of the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. These stories have been determined to possess common character, setting and occurrence elements. Each of these elements will be dealt with using the stories to illustrate their appearance.

COMMON STORY ELEMENTS: CHARACTER

In regard to a story character focus, there are three\(^1\) common elements in the personal experience stories of the

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1. A fourth character, a benevolent helper, does make some appearances in the stories. Steve’s story ‘Paid Opie’ and Sue’s story ‘Because We’re a Team’ both contain appearances from such a character. However, the appearance of the benevolent helper is too infrequent to classify this character as a common element in such stories. Additionally, there may be an element of the hero character in all the stories told. However, such a character is no more obvious in the stories of the Outward Bound instructors under investigation, than in the personal experience stories of other populations and is not seen as a particularly dominant character-type in these stories.
Outdoor Adventure Education instructors of the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. These three elements are roguers and tricksters, benevolent animals, and omnipotent instructors.

Rogue and trickster stories are many and quite varied. First there are the stories involving instructor roguishness. Paul's 'Night Gremlins,' Doc's 'Henry Browning - Cave Ghost,' and Dave's two trickster stories about an unscheduled assimilation and a 'Live Ghost' are examples of this type of story. Student rogue narratives include Will's 'Damien' stories and Doc's 'J. D.' stories. Roguish outsiders appear in such stories as 'Spencer the Broken Radiator,' 'One-eyed Charlie' and Doc's stories about Tim Curry, the 'Immokalee Banker' and 'Hitching to Boone'.

Benevolent animal stories are profuse. The personal experience stories of the instructors at the school contained a vast array of animal helpers. These animal helpers range from raccoons, mice and squirrels through whales, dolphins and manatees to snakes, sharks and alligators. Although it is perhaps something of an exaggeration to claim all such stories involve benevolent and helpful behavior from animals, it is, nevertheless, true to say that very few stories contained incidents in which an animal had been openly and provocatively malevolent. The only two exception to this rule were stories told about

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2. Although not as yet reported, a whole storytelling session, involving seven narratives, was devoted to personal experience mouse tales. This session occurred on the 27th of February at lunchtime in the staff common room. The staff were sharing a buffet lunch and were sitting around the common room fairly randomly. The scorpion story session, begun when Robin Kinaird spontaneously broke through into narrative with a story concerning the 'Chattahoochee Scorpion,' was just beginning to wind down. Robin, following on from Robyn's story about the 'Scorpion Squirrel,' mentioned that he had watched a mouse last Summer, in one of the Table Rock Cabins, zap itself to death by chewing through the insulation on some electrical wiring.
fire-ants. The first of these stories, 'Fire Ant Group Hug,' was told by Robin, and has already been recorded. The other such story was told by the researcher as a follow-up to this earlier recorded story, and was simply a 'memory-jog' response to Robin’s narrative.

INTERVIEW STORY 31/MAC’S 7TH: ROBERT AND THE FIRE-ANTS.

Mac: We were playing soccer, not the Friday that’s just gone but the Friday before that, and we were just warming up and Robert always comes out and kicks a ball around. And then I want away to move the goals in line; they’d just re-marked it. And I’m moving the goals and I hear Robert screaming and I thought, “Oh, someone’s taking his ball away from him,” you know. “It is their ball. It is ours to kick around.” And it just stuck me that somebody must have taken his ball. And so I’m just moving the goals thinking that he’ll come to terms with it. He goes on screaming, and when I turn round, he’s naked. Ha! (a short laugh.) He’s at the far side, but he’s just no clothes on at all. He’d encountered a marauding gang of fire-ants there on the soccer field and reacted accordingly.

Robin: Had he taken his own clothes off?

Mac: Started to and then his mum had come and run across and stripped him and one of the guys had helped. And as I came up, “I hate these guys,” he was saying. I thought he was talking about the guys that had taken his ball.

The benevolence of animals even extends to sinister animals, such as scorpions and, most notably, snakes. In some cultures, our own Judeo-Christian one is such an example, the snake is seen as the “embodiment of Satan” (Biedermann 1992:310) and as the evil that is “inherent in all worldly things” (Cirlot 1971:286). However, a negative incident concerning a snake was never shared as a story during my fieldwork stay at the school. Furthermore, the incidence of snake stories was disproportionally high when compared to almost any other type of story. Doc, Paul, Monica, Buffalo, Saul and the researcher all shared snake stories with fellow instructors. Snakes, therefore, must be considered as a special class of animal helper in the personal experience stories of the instructors at Everglades City.

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3. One could claim that the sharks in Doc’s story ‘Surrounded by Sharks’ were demonstrating such malevolent behavior; after all one of them did bump into the canoe as Tom clambered aboard. However, these sharks helped Doc to achieve his goal of getting an inappropriately convened de-briefing session postponed.
The character of the omnipotent instructor in the personal experience stories of the population under investigation has three major areas of omnipotence. First, such instructors always seem magically capable of knowing where the snakes (Paul’s ‘Falling Cotton Mouth’ story), sharks and alligators (Paul’s ‘Hammerhead Shark’ story), dry sleeping spots (Jeff’s ‘The Only One Dry’ story) and even trail markers are situated. The story below, which I told as a response to Paul’s ‘Hammerhead Shark’ story, is illustrative of this last capability.

**INTERVIEW STORY 10/MAC’S 1ST: WHITE BLAZE ON A TREE.**

Mac: We were erm . . . doing a night exercise just last year with the . . . with the college students and . . . there were some real hot shot erm . . . ROTC. Erm . . . two . . . two guys who virtually took command of the group er . . . on this night exercise. They knew what they were doing and erm . . . an . . . and . . . i . . . it . . . i . . . i . . . it became difficult to navigate because the trail wasn’t really going where they were supposed to go and er . . . they weren’t seeing what they should see. And er . . . and I thought it was appropriate because they were beginning to really be worried.

"Hey," you know. "Are we going to get back to our camp site. It’s . . . it’s pitch dark." And these two marines or ROTC guys were just blazing, you know, blazing ahead. And they began to . . . the rest of the group began hav . . . they had confidence in these guys but . . . but were worried. You know. "Does Mac know what he’s doing." (Laughs.) And I . . . and I’d a little head torch [a flashlight that attaches to the head]. I said er . . . I said, “I think we’re on the right trail, lads,” I said. And I just turned this light on. And the light . . . the light picked up a blaze marker. As I just turned it on there was the white blaze on a tree.

"Yeh," I said “I think that’s the. . .” (Laughs.) And turned it off.

So that’s kinda similar, but not nearly so impressive, as having a Hammerhead Shark to your call.

Second, omnipotent instructors always seem to be able to predict the weather with uncanny accuracy. Saul’s ‘Refrigerator Door’, Jeff’s ‘Only One Dry’ and Robin’s ‘Rolled in Sugar Flour’ are stories that provide examples of this type of omnipotence. Third, when levels of omnipotence involving predictability competence prove wanting, the omnipotent instructor is saved by relying on a second level - technical competence. Paul’s ‘Lightning in the Wind Rivers’; Soul’s ‘And That Was Day One’; and Steve’s ‘Bolts
Twelve Feet Below' and even Jeff's 'I Didn't Lose Any [Weight]' show how competence comes into play on those few occasions when prescience fails.

The stories of the omnipotent instructor and those of this instructor's alter ego, the inept instructor (see for example Paul's 'Rockclimbing Film Star'; Doc's 'Surrounded by Sharks'; and many of Mark's water-based stories) paint a picture of competence contrasted against one of incompetence. These two types of story provide the community with an instructor continuum ranging from the competent to the incompetent. Instructors are able, through the stories, to assess their standing on this continuum and hopefully not be found wanting in this regard.

COMMON STORY ELEMENTS: SETTINGS.

Concerning settings, a common theme is, as one would expect with outdoor adventure education instructors, an environment which promotes outdoor adventure. Mountains, cliffs, lakes, rivers and seas are predominant settings, in the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors, precisely because these are the settings in which instructors spend most of their time.

One particular setting stands out as being especially thematic. A vast majority of the activities undertaken by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the North Carolina Outward Bound School take place either in the mountains or on water. Only a small proportion of activities are conducted underground. Indeed, standard course students at any of the school's bases rarely undertake underground activities during their three week
experience. The incidence of caving stories is, therefore, out of proportion to the hours spent instructing this activity. Caves, then, should be taken as being of particular thematic concern to the instructors under investigation.

Another place is also the focus of particular emphasis in the personal experience stories of this population. Many instructors spoke of sacred places. Paul spoke of the 'Lightning in the Wind Rivers', the Canyon Lands and an ancient New Zealand Maori island stronghold with awe, as did Jeff in regard to 'Puu o Ou Tectonics'. Buffalo speaks of the Florida Everglades in much the same way in the following story told in his interview in response to my questions concerning being scared.

**INTERVIEW STORY 66/BUFF'S 3RD: BEING IN THE MIDDLE OF NATURE.**

Buff: I’ve been scared but . . . I've actually been as frightened in this environment as any other. Erm . . . just because the elements can be so erm. . . . Just a simple thing like a strong squall or a storm, it doesn’t have to be a major storm but, if you’re on one of those little keys on the gulf and er . . . and the wind’s blowing, and it’s lightning, and the tide's real high, the tides are always higher than normal when its storming, so you could be on one of those keys and be standing in knee deep water. And it’s er . . . it’s a real scary thing. Even though intellectually I know that probably nothing’s going to happen. It’s just like being in the middle of mother nature. In the mountains that happens but, I’m more familiar with the mountains, I feel more comfortable in the mountains, so you can always tuck down off a ridge line or something and there’s trees covering you. But out here you . . . if you are on one of those keys in a storm you’re just like . . . The wind, the water, and the rain, it’s all coming at you at the same time.

Additionally, many instructors told sacred scene or magic moment stories. Magic moments could be, as in the song of the same name, memories that one would treasure forever. Previously recorded examples of this type of story are Will’s 'Christmas Carol'; Robyn’s 'Seven Pelicans and Seven Students'; and Monica’s 'Drums Along the Superior'. Liza told two further examples of this type of narrative during
her interview as a follow-up to her 'Solo-site Revisited' story.

INTERVIEW STORY 3/LIZA'S 3RD: "I MISS MY MOM."

Liza: Students, they... they create some wonderful things for us in as much as we do for them, you know. I had an all boys crew one time and, you know, you think, "God this could be wild!" They definitely had their conflicts, but they had some really incredible young men in the group. You know, you're sitting on this... this bushwhack in the middle of the night, it's been pouring down rain and... couple of the kids find it a little bit upsetting, start crying and this one kid... It's like, "I really miss my mom." What... what an incredible thing for this young man to sit there on the side of a ridge and go "I miss my mom." (Laughs.) "Well I miss her too." (Said with considerable emphasis.)

INTERVIEW STORY 4/LIZA'S 4TH "AMAZING GRACE."

Liza: Or you're sitting you know at... at the river and you've been singing songs and just goofing around and you start singing Amazing Grace, you know, and this little Jewish kid comes up to you and goes, you know, "I've heard that song somewhere before." (Laughter.) And he's such a sweet little kid, well, he's not little, he's a fourteen year old guy, but he's not very big.

"Well, would you like to learn it, like." And there's these ten, fourteen or fifteen year old boys, singing Amazing Grace at the top of their lungs around a campfire. This is really weird. I like it but it's weird.

Magic moment stories could also be told about literal encounters with magic or the supernatural. Previously reported such stories have included Paul's 'New Zealand Ghost' and Monica's 'West Coast Ghost' and 'West Cottage Ghost'. A further example of this type of story was told by Doc during his interview as a follow-up to his 'Are You a Doctor' narrative.

INTERVIEW STORY 108/DOC'S 2ND: "GHOST OF MY GRANDFATHER."

Doc: There's another Indian story actually that... that happen... while I was up there. And er... we're paddling along the North Saskatchewan river and er... an Indian comes up and er... we've set up camp and that kind of stuff, and he had a gun. An' he goes "You people cannot camp here." He says, "The ghost of my grandfather resides here." (This, and all of this character's subsequent dialogue, is spoken with a halting exactitude imitative of this character's original manner of speech.)

He says, "You cannot camp here."

And I go, "Well, you know, its getting late; we'd like to do... ." You know, "We'll be gone in the morning." You know.

And he goes, "No! you cannot camp here. The ghost of my grandfather does not feel right about this."

And so we get talking, and after about five minutes he goes, "Well, the ghost of my grandfather would feel all right if you paid me forty dollars. Then you could stay here." (Laughter.)

And I'm going, "If the ghost of your grandfather needs forty dollars,
then he can get it."
"Well no, it would be all right if you paid me forty dollars."
And I go, "Ah-ha" So I ... we loaded up the canoes and went down to
their property edge which is, like, a hundred yards down and pulled out
right there, and kinda laid down.

Some of these stories should, perhaps, be classified as
containing common occurrence elements rather than common
place elements. However, I have chosen to categorize them
as examples of common setting elements because they all
pertain to sacred space. "Almost all instructors actually
believe that the wilderness is sacred" (Bacon 1983:57).
This fact is reflected in the many different aspects of the
sacred that are included in their stories. I believe that
all these different aspects can be classified as a common
setting element of sacred space. The common setting
elements in the personal experience stories of the outdoor
adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the
North Carolina Outward Bound School are, then, caves and
sacred space.

COMMENS STORY ELEMENTS: OCCURRENCES.

Further common elements in the stories of the population
under investigation coalesced around the occurrences that
were storied. Many of these occurrences mirror, to some
extent, the educational philosophy of Outward Bound’s
founder, Kurt Hahn. Instructors at any Outward Bound school
are charged with "‘impel[ing]’ people into experiences which
increase physical fitness, appreciation for others, care and
skill and self reliance" (Huie and Fischesser 1979:np). It
is hardly surprising, then, that many of the stories told by
these particular Outward Bound instructors contain a
thematic element of challenge.
Of the stories examined so far, Robin’s kayaking and rafting stories were the ones most addressing the theme of challenge. However, it should also be stated that Liza’s caving stories, Sue’s running stories, Jeff’s food deprivation stories, and, most obviously, Steve’s ‘40 Miles in 36 Hours’ hiking stories all contained elements of challenge. Perhaps the best example of this type of story did come, predictably, from Robin. In the following interview story, Robin illustrates how difficult it is for an adventurer to resist a challenge even when the consequences are, from the outset, seen as dire.

INTERVIEW STORY 42/ROBIN’S 13TH: DUBIOUS LITTLE LINE.

Robin: I got caught in one on a . . . on a creek that was a little too high for us, perhaps. Steep little creek in western North Carolina with . . . . Boating with friends, kayaking with friends. We walked the one difficult rapid case it was so high it just looked deadly. If you made a mistake, there was just no chance. And er . . . I’d actually gotten pushed around a fair bit and er . . . I just wasn’t in a good space mentally to be there that day. I’d just broken up with a girlfriend and I was . . . I was not all there. And er . . . several of us were walking, one person was still running [kayaking] this one stretch as we hiked along to the railroad bridge. Came across this falls, last of the big falls. And my friend and I looked at it, you know, and we thought, “Boy it’s an amazing sight.” And suddenly our stomachs start to tighten a little bit and we look and realize, “There’s a line through it! It can be done. Oh no!” (Laughs.) And we looked and sure enough there is a line through it. It’s a devious little line. It’s a blind drop where you have to compensate for the water pushing sideways as it goes off this drop. You have to drop off this er . . . ten/twelve foot drop just to the right spot against this . . . into this horrendous giant hole against an undercut . . . sweeping under an undercut rock. And er . . . well. “Yeh, we can do it, it can be done.” So we’re gonna do it. So my friend takes off, “Good luck. Good-bye. See you at the bottom.” And peels off and runs it just . . . at the horizon line, just where he’s planning to, comes through, and er . . . and I don’t know what’s the outcome, you know. And my friends are on shore and I look up and I question them with a, “Thumbs up?” (Elevates both thumbs in front of his chest.) And they look back and go, “Thumbs up!” (Repeats the action.) And then they look back down to my friend and then they look back at me and they make a vigorous paddling motion (suiting the action to the words). “Paddle hard, paddle hard.” So, “O.K. I understand.” I peel out and I’m off my line. Instantly I realize, “This is not the line I want to be. Well it’s too late; I’m committed. Here I go.” I’m paddling forward, I come over the edge, sure enough I’m off my line by maybe a foot, and that was all, that was enough. I had a small volume boat, er . . . whereas my friend had a larger one. And I just said, “This is not good.” Went in and disappeared into the hole, the . . . disappeared under the water. The force of the water coming back on itself stopped me and I proceeded to ender [the kayak does a complete lateral somersault]. End, over end, over end, over end; just out of control. Erm . . . my paddle broke, it was a wooden paddle, a real nice one, broke and I never saw it again, the two pieces got pulled out of my hands. Erm . . . things got wild, my helmet came off, my life-jacket came off over my head and I grabbed it as it came off. And erm . . .
then I got . . . the boat and I got stuffed underneath the rock for a bit and then pulled back out into the hole and thrashed around again. And I decided it’s time for me to get out. So I’m holding onto my life-jacket with one hand, in my fist, trying to get out of my boat. And it’s a tiny, little race boat that’s really tight to get into and out of. And the boat’s flailing end over end wildly getting its ends torn off. And eventually I come out and I figure, “This is it. I’ve had it. I’m done for.” And, “I’m gonna come to the surface and that’ll be it.” But I wanted that life-jacket, I wanted that floatation. So I was gripping it with my fist. And it got dark and still and I waited and I waited. It was an old jacket, probably should have been replaced, and it didn’t float me very well. And I eventually popped up outside of the hole. So I was quite lucky. I’d hurt my knee cause the boat was flailing whilst I was getting out and my boat was destroyed, my helmet was lost and my paddle was gone. (Laughs.) It started to actually take off my paddling jacket it unzi . . . unzipped the Velcro and had started pulling it upwards. It was quite wild.

Mac: Wow! Frightening . . .
Robin: Yeh it was. It set my nerve back a bit for a while. And an . . . an expensive day to boot.
Mac: Yeh, yeh. (Said through laughter.) No boat, no paddle.
Robin: No paddle, no helmet. And I got a new jacket after that too. My friend said, as he saw me . . . as he . . . as soon as he finished, he barely made it through the hole, and as he turned around to face the people on . . . on shore he was going, “Tell him not to run it. Tell him, ‘No! Don’t!’” (Suits actions such as vigorously shaking his head, and waving his hands, fully extended upward and outwards at about forty-five degrees, across each other to these words.) Too late here he comes, here comes Robin.

Linked to the element of challenge in the personal experience stories of the population under investigation is the theme of warnings. Warnings are not always explicitly stated. They are, however, no less obvious for being less explicit. The warnings contained in Paul’s teachable moments stories are very overt. Paul warns his students about swimming, and about getting split-up. On the other hand, the warnings contained in Mark’s canoeing stories, Jeff’s food deprivation stories, and Robin’s kayaking stories are more covert, though of equal impact. In these stories there is an implicit warning against the overestimation of ability and the need for careful planning.

The most obvious warning story centered around Jeff’s previously reported ‘Bolivian Rescue’ narrative. Steve, who accompanied Jeff on the expedition to Bolivia, narrated the following account of this incident. This particular narrative occurred during his interview as a response to a
direct question concerning his experiences in Bolivia. Steve’s story very obviously focuses on the warnings provided by the similarity between his party and the party they were helping to evacuate.

INTERVIEW STORY 61/STEVE’S 14TH: BOLIVIAN RESCUE

Steve: We had a wild experience down there (Bolivia). We er . . . we were on a recovery for six Chilean mountaineers who died . . . at about twenty thousand feet. And er . . . there were all sorts of things that happened with that. We ended up meeting the ambassador and erm . . . It was a pretty miraculous thing. It was also real hard. Er . . . we were the first team there, y’know, and there’s six of ’em piled in this little crevassae. And had to pull ’em out. ‘Z-drag’ ’em up about two hundred meters, up fifty degree snow to get ’em back on to the ridge to get ’em back off. (Z-dragging is a method for hauling something or somebody up a rock face using ropes and locking knots as an improvised pulley system. It obtains its name from the Z-shaped configuration that the ropes are forced to adopt in the hauling system.) There was a . . . there was an icy area and they decided to . . . to cross it roped, as two roped teams of three and er . . . somebody in the upper rope team slipped and er . . . pulled off his rope team and then that rope team clipped the second rope team. It was a tragedy really. They were definitely playing their odds, you know. And it was . . . it was wild too because as we were erm . . . pulling the bodies out they looked just like us. They were a group of six, we were a group of five. They had one woman, we had one woman. You know one of them had an identical pair of pants on as me, you know. And you looked at the boots sometimes there’d be their boots, our boots, their; and, y’know. And erm . . . Steve Tex’s ice ax we had to make sure, we couldn’t remember which was which.

"These are . . . Is this yours or is this yours?"

It definitely makes you analyze what you’re doing out there, why you’re doing it, and erm . . . makes your decision making processes pretty erm . . . sharp.

A further theme in the stories under investigation was linked to the previously mentioned components of warnings and challenges. Many of the stories concerned some degree of synchronicity. Paul’s teaching stories are liberally peppered with this thematic element. His students ignore his warnings and synchronistically encounter snakes, sharks, alligators and manatees that cause a reversal of their previously reprobate behavior. Liza’s caving stories, in which she is forced, synchronically, to confront her own issues and, Buffalo’s ‘Hay Over the Highway’, narrative, in which an opportunity to perform service presents itself immediately after this component of the course had been discussed, are further examples of this thematic component.
The similarity between these stories and those told by Paul is too obvious to be missed.

Perhaps the most unusual of the synchronistic stories told during my fieldwork stay at the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base is the second of the following two narratives. These stories, both concerning the finding of arrowheads while hiking, were told simultaneously during Mark’s previously reported interview. The second story, a memory-jog reaction to the first, is the more striking, because the fulfillment of the wish to find an arrowhead, had more long-term implications. Both these stories, one of which was Mark’s and one my own, were simply told as Mark, attempting to help my research, probed his memory for stories he’d shared in the past with his fellow instructors.

INTERVIEW STORY 97/MARK’S 5TH: FINDING AN ARROWHEAD 1.

Mark: At Green Cove, you know, the climbing ... the ... there er ... student climbing day is up there by, what is it? White ... White Rocks? Is that what it’s called or is it White Face; ... White Rock. Whatever it ... and I can’t believe I can’t remember it. Anyway, we were heading up and er ... Eric, this same partner, looked down and found an arrowhead. They turn up from time to time. And er ... cose that got everybody looking at the rocks on the way up. And I told myself, “You know, there’s another one here.” And within ten steps I found it. That’s the end of the story except I just couldn’t hardly believe it. I since lost it at another solo site, which was too bad, but ...

INTERVIEW STORY 98/MAC’S 15TH: FINDING AN ARROWHEAD 2.

Mac: I had a student that er ... came on I think it was the middle course. Yeh, that’s right it was the middle course that I ran. And she came all the way from California. Hot shot swimmer she was, big girl, erm ... broad, muscular girl. And er ... she found an arrow-head. We were walking up a draw one time and she found an arrowhead. And she said, “The one thing I wanted to do, when I found out I was coming to North Carolina, was find an arrowhead.” Isn’t it weird when that happens. And nobody else found one.

COMMON STORY ELEMENTS: SYNOPSIS.

From this analysis it can be seen that there are three common occurrence elements in the stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the
North Carolina Outward Bound School. These three elements are synchronicity, challenge and warnings. The final consistent element contained in the personal experience stories of the population under investigation is humor. This element has already been addressed in some detail as it was felt that tellers specifically and consciously aim to regale their audiences using this device. However, in determining the Ultramediate Reasons for the sharing of personal experience stories among the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, this consistent element is too ubiquitous to be ignored.

The common elements contained in the stories of the population under investigation, then, are the character elements of rogues and tricksters, omnipotent instructors, and benevolent animals – especially snakes; the settings elements of caves, and sacred space; the occurrence elements of warnings, challenges and synchronous happenings and the entertainment element of humor. The ultimate reasons why the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell their personal experience stories must, therefore, be linked to these common elements. However, these reasons cannot be determined by examining these common elements in isolation.

ANALYSIS OF THE COMMON ELEMENTS.

The Ultramediate Reasons why the population under investigation tell their personal experience stories can only be identified by examining the common elements of the stories in the cultural context in which they occur. The three aspects of culture which most assist in determining
the Ultramediate Reasons why Outward Bound instructors share personal experience stories are proverbial aspects, folkloric aspects and symbolic aspects. These three aspects of culture correspond to an analysis at the local Outward Bound instructors level; at the national folktales of Indigenous Americans level, although - when analyzing non-indigenous Americans - this may be stretching the point a little, and at the international level of Western society as a whole.

A PROVERBIAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMMON ELEMENTS.

The first level of an analysis of the culture of Outward Bound instructors remains at the level of the population under investigation. Using my own wealth of experience in this area, I have determined the common proverbial expressions used by those employed in this occupation. By examining the proverbial expressions common to Outward Bound instructors, further insights should be gained into the important concerns of this body of individuals. When these proverbial sayings are combined with the elements contained in their personal experience stories, a common pattern should emerge in regard to the reasons Outward Bound instructors share such stories.

One of the rallying calls of Outward Bound instructors is don’t let the bastards grind you down. This maxim is sometimes aimed at the administrative staff who send instructors “caving a lot”; and ensure that instructors get the ‘Group from Hell’ or “all the trouble kids on all the future courses”. It is also sometimes aimed at students; be they standard course bulimics who refuse to eat, adult course going beyonders who prefer check book to genuine
The link between this proverbial expression and the personal experience stories of the population using this expression is fairly self evident, especially in light of the types of stories told. A good number of the stories illustrate instructors' attempts to uphold the interdiction contained in the proverb. Doc's cooking dinner while one of his students is lost; Will's refusal to panic even when one of his students is 'Hanging Around' upside-down somewhere twelve feet off the ground; and Jeff's wringing out of soaking wet sleeping bags in order to make them work attest to the refusal of instructors to be ground down. The general upbeat tenure and humor that has already been noted in the stories lends further weight to this premise.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this proverbial maxim on the one hand, and the humor and general positiveness contained in the stories on the other, is that one of the Ultramediate Reasons that Outward Bound instructors share personal experience stories is to convey a message of positivism. The message contained in many of the personal experience stories of the Outward Bound instructors employed at the North Carolina School's Florida base is; always look on the bright side of life, keep your sunny side up; and don't let the stresses of the job get to you.

This message of positivism is especially important in light of the stress level experienced in the type of employment examined. Instructing is a job which requires the instructor to be, literally, on call twenty four hours a day.
for three weeks in a row while performing highly adventurous educational activities. It is a job that does generate a considerable amount of burn-out, and therefore the message is extremely apropos to this population. It is no surprise then, to find that one of the ultimate reasons an instructor at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tells a personal experience story to a fellow instructor is to convey a message advising how to function effectively in the stress-ridden job of Outward Bound instructing.

A maxim of outdoor adventure education instructors in general is know what you know and know what you don’t know. I first heard this maxim, stated in this formal manner, in the Summer of 1989 while I was attending a Wilderness Education Association Instructors’ Course in Jackson, Wyoming. Paul Petzoldt, the co-founder of the National Outdoor Leadership School and - at a later date - the Wilderness Education Association, was the instructor on this course. Petzoldt used this maxim verbatim on a number of occasions throughout the course’s three weeks duration.

It is perhaps significant to note that Paul Petzoldt was the first chief instructor of the first Outward Bound school in the United States which was situated in Boulder, Colorado (Templin and Baldwin 1976). This maxim, then, has some historic significance in regard to the traditions underpinning the American branch of the Outward Bound Organization.

The maxim, know what you know and know what you don’t know can be closely linked to the competent and incompetent
outdoor adventure education instructor-continuum that is painted by the stories of omnipotent and rogue instructors. An awareness of an ultimate reason for the sharing of this type of personal experience story begins to emerge from an appreciation of this link. Through this type of personal experience story, instructors are asked to make an accurate assessment of their own levels of competence. They are also urged to undertake a level of instruction and personal adventure that lies within this accurate assessment. The many stories concerning the disasters that were only avoided through happenstance and good fortune attest, most powerfully, to the conveyance of this message.

A final proverbial maxim of Outward Bound instructors is unstated in its verbatim form, but none the less powerful for this lack of literal expression. A whole atmosphere of somebody up there likes me pervades much of what Outward Bound instructors think, do and say.

"There are many similarities of religion but differences are also numerous" (Parrinder 1981:15). It is difficult, therefore, to make sweeping statements about the universality of religious practices. However, one of the common elements of Western religions are gods who have an impact on human life. While it would be stretching the point to claim that all these gods are benevolent, indeed some are downright capricious, there is the feeling that these gods hold their worshipers in a special light.

The philosophical ambiance summed up by the proverbial expression somebody up there likes me pervades many of the personal experience stories of the Outward Bound instructors...
under investigation. There are many stories of encounters with the supernatural told by these instructors. Never did such stories relate incidents where this encounter was anything but benevolent. Many of the stories also speak of a synchronistic element that lends added support to the concept of benevolent interference in the life of instructors by a force that cannot be explained naturally. The same type of support may be obtained from the large number of lucky escape stories told by the instructors. These stories, of which 'Missed', 'Dubious Little Line', 'A Very Interesting and Exciting Career' and 'Jumped on Snake' are probably the most representative, hint, by the very narrowness of the escape, at divine intervention.

One of the Ultramediate Reasons that Outward Bound instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell their personal experience stories, then, must have something to do with the concept of a benevolent universe. Perhaps there is some link between this benevolence and the environmentally friendly attitude of Outward Bound instructors. This population really do believe that they "have a responsibility to act wisely with regard to the natural cycles and balances of the planet" (Saline 1984:4). Perhaps there is some type of reciprocation involved in this benevolent universe message. The stories may be told in order to preserve and maintain this responsible behavior which would in turn promote continued supernatural benevolence. However, I believe that this stretches the point a little too far. I believe that the benevolence in the stories of the instructors is unconditional. The message seems simply to be that Outward
Bound instructors are special people who come under the special protection of a benevolent universe.

The third, proverb generated, Ultramediate Reason for the telling of a personal experience story among Outward Bound instructors at the North Carolina School’s Florida base is, then, to express the special connection that exists between a benevolent and caring universe and the instructor population at the school. This reason can be linked to the first of the two, previously mentioned, proverb generated, Ultramediate Reason for sharing such stories. If there is a benevolent presence in the universe with special concerns for Outward Bound instructors, then this makes looking on the bright side of a situation so much easier. Maintaining a positive attitude in the face of adversity is a definite possibility, because the universe’s benevolence and protective demeanor provides a powerful reason to be positive. This ultimate reason for telling personal experience stories, then, is something of a rider to the first ultimate reason, and therefore lends added emphasis for maintaining a positive attitude to life.

A FOLKLORIC ANALYSIS OF THE COMMON ELEMENTS.

The next level of examination in determining the Ultramediate Reasons for the telling of personal experience stories by the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School lies at the national and the folkloric level. In 1963, Alan Dundes examined the Structural Typology of North American Indian Folktales. It may be, as mentioned earlier, stretching the point of nationalism a little far to suggest that the culture involved in North American Indian folktales is reflected in
the culture of the Outward Bound instructors working in the Florida Everglades. However, there is some justification in making this broad leap.

First, the structure of a North American Outward Bound Course has been adapted, from the British model, to accommodate certain aspects of the Aboriginal American culture. Solos, an extended period of time in which students are completely alone in one place in the wilderness, is a direct reflection of the Vision Quest undertaken by North American Indian youths. An Indian-type sweat lodge ceremony is now included by many instructors in the courses they offer their students. This is reflected in the stories told by Jeff and Saul, 'Sweat Lodge Experience' and 'Rattlesnake Ritual', that mention such a ceremony. A further reflection of the Indigenous American culture is seen in activity debriefs. The debriefing process is usually initiated by asking one of the crew members to tell the story of the activity being debriefed. These debrief sessions, then, become a direct reflection of Indian formal tale-sharing ceremonies.

Second, some of the instructors, for example Will and Buffalo, actually use the stories of Indigenous Americans during their courses. Such stories are usually used in order to accentuate certain teaching points, promote certain philosophical ideas, or prepare crews for certain experiences. Third, the high number of instructors - Monica, Doc, Will, Buffalo, Mark, Saul and Jeff - who tell personal experience stories involving Indigenous Americans must reflect an interest in the culture of these people.
The final reason for making this broad leap to link the culture of the Outward Bound instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School with that of Indigenous Americans is probably the most significant. The enormous similarity between Dundes's findings in regard to the structure of North American Indian folktales, and my own findings in regard to the structure of the personal experience stories told by the population under examination, is too striking to be coincidental. Certain structural components of these personal experience stories are a direct reflection of the structure of the folktales of the North American Indians.

Dundes found that one of the common motifeme sequences in North American Indian folktales was "one with the following four motifemes: Interdiction, Violation, Consequence and an Attempted Escape from the Consequence" (Dundes 1965c:209). This structural type is uncannily similar to that of the personal experience stories told by the instructors at the North Carolina Outward Bound School's Florida base. In light of the fact that many of these stories do not contain the Escape Motifeme, what is of added significance is that Dundes goes on to say that the Escape element of this quartet is an "optional rather than an obligatory structural slot" (Dundes 1965c:209).

In the personal experience stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors employed at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, the interdict is sometimes assumed rather than actually explicitly stated. I have already mentioned that many of the stories are warnings of some kind, encouraging right practice. Many of the
interdictions in the stories, therefore, center around these warnings. Warnings such as don't swim or wash-up in the Gulf waters, don't split up while paddling or hiking, and don't leave your clothes out at night are contained very explicitly in Paul's teaching stories. On the other hand, the interdict don't forget to plan food carefully is only implicitly stated in Jeff's and Steve's stories about their ski-mountaineering expedition to the Sierras. Similarly, the interdict don't forget to account for tidal conditions is equally oblique in Mark's story about his 'Trip to Mikes'.

A complete absence of interdict is seen in those cases where the interdict is assumed to be known by all the instructors. All instructors know that relaxation is a forbidden luxury when operating in a wilderness adventure education environment. They also know that over-estimation of ability can prove to be fatal when undertaking adventurous activities. Stories such as Robin's 'Dubious Little Line', 'Fire Ant Group Hug' and 'A Very Interesting and Exciting Career'; Paul's 'Lightning in the Wind Rivers'; Mark's 'Missing Canoe' story; and Saul's 'Just Day One' story contain no specifically stated interdict. However they are all examples of an interdict story. The interdict in such cases, not to relax or overextend one's capabilities, is implicit in the circumstance of the story.

In many of the stories examined, the interdict is, as with the Indian Folktales, violated and the consequences are faced. In all cases but one, the consequences were successfully negotiated through either instructor expertise
as in the stories by Paul and Saul; or through pure good fortune, as in the stories of Mark and Robin.

The 'Bolivian Rescue' stories told by both Jeff and Steve provide exceptions to the general rules surrounding the interdict stories of the population under investigation. First, the outcome is not favorable, and second, the admonitions, although different in both versions, are very specific. In Jeff's version the party violates both the early start principle and an interdict regarding a turnaround time. In Steve's story, recorded earlier in this chapter, the interdict is much more technical and involves climbing roped-up directly above another party of roped climbers. The outcome is the same in both cases in that the consequences prove fatal. Both stories were told in the respective instructor interviews and both were responses to direct questions from me concerning the instructors' Bolivian experiences, about which I had gathered so much indirect information. Recorded below is Jeff's interdict/violation aspect of this narrative. Typical of this narrator, this element of the story is just one part of a very long episodic narrative concerning Jeff's whole Bolivian experience.

INTERVIEW STORY 74/JEFF'S 7TH: BOLIVIAN EXPEDITION: SUMMIT PUSH.

Mac: So these guys were well equipped? You know, crampons, ice-axes?
Jeff: Erm . . . with one . . . They were coming down the mountain in the dark. In order to summit you'd need to leave by like six a.m. They . . . they hadn't left, I guess, 'til about nine-thirty. And I think it's real important to have a turn around time climbing. Say . . . like, we had one at three o'clock. We said that no matter where we are at three o'clock we had to turn around. And that's where it's real tempting though when you're . . . you know, and the top of the summit's right here and you're here, (makes a steeple with his index fingers and indicates a point just on the first knuckle of one of these fingers) through the clouds, you can say, "Well, Jeez if we could just get there." But erm . . . so we didn't actually, didn't get to the summit when we . . . Finally, at the end of all this rescue stuff, we decided we had one more day, so we were going to go for a summit attempt that day. And just by three o'clock we weren't there so we said, "Hey, well." But especially by seeing that other stuff we decided, "No, we'd
And it was, we got back to camp just at dark. And then we packed everything up and hiked all the way down and... and then we were just beat.

One other structural aspect of the personal experience stories of the Outward Bound instructors in Everglades City needs to be examined, before drawing some conclusions concerning the folkloric cultural aspect of these stories. Some of the stories did not involve the violation of an interdict. Indeed, quite the opposite is the case as the interdict is not violated and the consequences provide some type of validation concerning the correctness of this action. Such stories in Dundes's (1965c) terms, or perhaps more accurately - as Vladimir Propp (1968) provided the basis for Dundes's later work - Proppian terms, would be referred to as Interdict, Non-Violation, Consequence, Validation stories. Some of the stories under examination are very obviously of this type. Saul's 'Somebody Opened the Refrigerator Door' and Robin's 'Rolled in Sugar Flour' are good examples of this type of story. The very end of the previously recorded story, when Jeff's party turns around at three rather than risk the consequences of a summit push, is another good example of this type of narrative.

In some of the stories under examination, the interdict is an implicitly stated admonition to achieve one's potential or pursue one's dreams; the interdict being don't fail to grow and develop. Sue's marathon stories were of this type, as was Steve's 'Let's Fucking Do It' story. Robin's 'Dubious Little Line' and Steve's 'Bolts 12 Foot Below' stories could also be construed as being of this type. The claim could be made that Steve and Robin undertake such dangerous
activities in order to provide themselves with the challenge needed to grow.

The most noticeable of the stories, with an interdict not to stagnate, involve synchronistic occurrences that push those in the story, instructors or crew members, in the direction of achieving their potential. Perhaps such synchronistic occurrences are a sign that they have been inadvertently violating the interdict. Synchronistic occurrences, therefore, take place in order to push them back in the direction of the interdict's non-violation. Liza's caving stories, Buffalo's 'Hay Over the Highway' story and the spiritual dimensions of the stories told by Monica, Paul, Will, and Robyn, who perhaps were missing out on the spiritual side of their development, are all stories that could be viewed in this light.

The most dramatically synchronistic stories were actually told by Doc. Both concerned his future as an outdoor adventure education instructors, which would, possible, have been less successful if not for the synchronistic occurrence that took place in his two narrative 'How I Got To Canada' and 'How I Came Here'.

Perhaps the most direct mandate for the suggestion that the instructors are pushed back in the direction of the achievement of their potential, comes not from a story per se, but from Steve's comments on one of the stories he told.

Steve: It was a . . . it was a neat . . . neat er . . . experience sort of being that hungry. Sort of gave me a little feeling about erm . . . people who deal with hunger on a continual basis. You know, and how you function continuously with this hunger. How you, sort of, have to block it out of your mind to achieve er . . . living.

Two Ultramediate Reason messages come across very powerfully in this brief folkloric structural analysis of the personal
experience stories of the instructors at North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base. The first is one of right practice. The interdicts first examined, all had to do with, and warn against, behavior that compromised safety. The message is clearly one that advocates the correct way to conduct oneself either as an Outward Bound instructor or as a personal adventurer. One could sum up all these story interdicts - don’t relax, don’t get caught by surprise, don’t ignore the danger signs, don’t break the safety rules, don’t forget to plan everything carefully - proverbially in the message Watch out or they’ll getcha.

The second Ultramediate Reason message, contained in the personal experience stories of the population under investigation and discovered using a folkloristic structural analysis, has to do with self actualization or the achievement of potential. The message transmitted by many of the stories is don’t fail to achieve your potential. The power of this message is further accentuated when the interdict/non-violation stories are considered in light of the numerous stories that contain elements of synchronicity. It is very often the case that such synchronous elements actually promote the non-violation of this interdict.

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4. I am somewhat reluctant to use the word folkloristic to describe the discipline of folklore. As we have seen, there is some debate about the appropriateness of the use of this word, with at least one authority considering it an “ugly and useless word” (Jackson 1985:99). However I have condescended to use the expression in this particular case as Dundes, the author of the article in question, refers to his structural typology as being a “folkloristic rather than a linguistic” (Dundes 1965a:206) analysis.
A SYMBOLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE COMMON ELEMENTS: INTRODUCTION.

The final level of this analysis concerns the symbolic. By examining the symbolism of the recurring element in the personal experience stories of the instructors at the North Carolina Outward Bound School's Florida base, we can learn something about the ultimate messages contained in these stories. Such an analysis would invoke something of the cultural heritage of the entire Western world as the symbols examined are ubiquitous to this culture.

Three recurring elements with symbolic implications have been identified in the stories shared by the population under investigation. These elements are those of caves, snakes and the trickster. However, before we can undertake an examination of these symbols, a brief explanation of symbolism in general is necessary.

One of the educational concepts of the Outward Bound Organization is that "stress and shared adventure are important catalysts in the self discovery process" (Huie and Fischesser 1979:7). C. J. Jung would have recognized this process of self discovery as individuation. Individuation is the natural process that answers the human tendency "to move towards wholeness and balance" (Hopcke 1989:62); towards "becom[ing] a completed, unique person" (Sanford 1977:16) and towards the "fulfillment of our potential" (ibid.). Individuation is achieved by establishing a "working relationship between the conscious and the unconscious levels of existence" (Hopcke 1989:62).

The unconscious is "by definition unknown and perhaps unknowable" (Hopcke 1989:30); it is "beyond our
understanding” (Hopcke 1989:29). How, then, are we to establish a working relationship between the conscious and the unconscious? Because the “unconscious expresses itself symbolically” (Hopcke 1989:30) by representing, in an understandable form, “concepts that we cannot define or fully comprehend” (Jung 1964:3), symbols present the best possible opportunity to understand the unconscious. Through symbols “unconscious material [is rendered] as conscious as possible” (Hopcke 1989:30) because “symbols constitute the language of the unconscious” (ibid.).

Symbols, therefore, guide the movement towards individuation and self discovery by establishing the necessary working relationship between the conscious and the unconscious. In examining the symbols contained in the stories of the population under investigation, then, insights should be gained into the specific direction taken by this population in its movements towards self discovery.

A SYMBOLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE COMMON ELEMENTS: CAVES.

The cave is the easiest of the symbols to analyze of those used in the personal experience stories of the population under investigation. Although, as a symbol, caves are often associated, on the one hand, with the female genitalia and sexuality and hence with fertility in general (Biedermann 1982:61); and with purgatory and being carried off by the Devil on the other (ibid.); these interpretations are probably inappropriate in regard to the case under investigation. Biedermann’s (1992) third alternative symbolic interpretation of caves is much more likely to be the accurate reflection of the use of caving symbolism in
the personal experience stories of the instructors at the
Florida-based Outward Bound school;

The cave fascination of amateur spelunkers (and one might hasten to interject, spelunking instructors) could be understood not only as a matter of intellectual curiosity, but also of striving - explainable only through symbology - for self knowledge through the descent into the hidden depths of their own personality (Biedermann 1992:62).

Caves are also seen as a site for the "symbolic ritual of initiation and of rebirth on a higher level of existence" (Biedermann 1992:62). This concept is also significant in analyzing the place of cave symbolism in the stories of the population under investigation.

Many of the personal experience stories of the population under investigation addressed fearful aspects of being underground. This could be representative of the fearful aspect of uncovering unconscious desires. Liza spoke of the irony of being in the cave and having to face one's own issues, while at the same time encouraging students to face theirs. I believe that the numerous stories about caves and caving indicate, by their very volume alone, the importance that instructors place on the self exploration and self discovery process, and in the upward movement, through this process, to a new level of existence.

I further believe there is a link here with the proverbial maxim mentioned earlier of knowing what you know and knowing what you don't know. The message in caving symbolism is know yourself; be comfortable with yourself, with your own fears, your own strengths and weaknesses. Instructors are

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5. Three stories, Dave's 'Live Ghost' and Doc's 'One-eyed Charlie' and 'Henry Browning - Cave Ghost', contain a direct visual representation of this rebirth concept of someone raising from the dead. Although these three stories were not felt to be sufficient in number to be representative of the entire corpus of instructor stories, their precise similarity to each other - noted earlier - and their close link to the rebirth-on-a-higher-plain symbolism of both caves and, as will be seen later, snakes, is perhaps too specifically parallel to be coincidental.
encouraged, through the caving stories they share, to face their own weaknesses with courage and thereby make them a little less of a weakness.

The call, in the personal experience stories of Outward Bound instructors, to face conscious or unconscious fears is not just a call for the achievement of potential. Instructors must know how they operate in and how they relate to stressful situations. Through encountering fearful situations, instructors learn how their students will react in such situations, and, therefore, how to counsel them accordingly. They also learn how they themselves will react in such situations from a safety standpoint, and again learn how to react appropriately when such situations arise in an instructional setting. The Ultramediate Reasons, therefore, that instructors tell personal experience stories about caves and caving is to encourage the exploration of individual limitations, and, through that exploration, to reduce, to some extent, those limitations.

A SYMBOLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE COMMON ELEMENTS: SNAKES.

The next symbol, commonly used in the personal experience stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, is somewhat more difficult to analyze than the first. Snakes are a much more complex symbol than caves because they have ambiguous (Biedermann 1992:310) ambivalent and multivalent (Cirlot 1962:285) associations. A brief synopsis of snake symbolism will serve to illustrate this fact.
In symbolic terms, snakes have an association with life, death, rebirth and resurrection, transformation, and renovations and progressive evolution (Biedermann 1992; Cirlot 1962). This is because of the snake’s apparent ability to rejuvenate itself through the shedding of its skin. Snakes also have a symbolic association, through their ecological habitat, with the earth and the underworld, and could therefore carry the same connections as the caves in which they live (Biedermann 1992; Cirlot 1962). They could, on the other hand, be a complement to the cave symbolism associated with female sexuality. Their similarity in shape to the male genitalia readily promote this image. Also, because they appear to move without the need for legs, they have a symbolic association with the natural energy that is released as the kundalini in yoga meditation (Cirlot 1962). Conversely, because they can strike death in an instant, some cultures believe they are the embodiment of evil (Biedermann 1992). However, because they coil in a circle, they are also symbolic of wholeness and of the link between the previous with the subsequent and between the inferior with the superior (Cirlot 1962;).

Two other symbolic interpretations of the snake motif are of particular significance in regard to this investigation. First, a snake’s association with the “spinal cord and spinal marrow [gives] an excellent image of the way the unconscious expresses itself suddenly and unexpectedly with its peremptory and terrible incursions” (Cirlot 1962:287). Second, snakes have a somewhat obscure association with healing the wounds caused by snakes (Cirlot 1962). A tangible off-shoot of this aspect of snake symbolism concerns the anti-venom used to combat snake poisoning.
This cure is indeed obtained from the source of the injury, being derived from snake venom. Cirlot (1962) noted that C. G. Jung thought this "much-used" (Cirlot 1962:287) aspect of snake symbolism was, as an image, "an adumbration of homeopathy - a cure effected by what caused the ailment" (ibid.). If we put together these two aspects of snake symbolism; on the one hand, the representation of the unconscious, and on the other, the image of a cure only "effected by what caused the ailment" (Cirlot 1962:289), then, the appearance of snakes in such profusion in the personal experience stories of the instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, is again indicative of an urging towards self actualization, towards achieving potential, and towards making conscious the unconscious.

The significance of the profuse utilization of the snake motif in the stories under examination is that the movement towards self actualization is achieved directly through an Outward Bound or adventure experience. Buffalo, in his story about his closing ceremony, mentions the changes that occur through an Outward Bound Course. These changes, and those occurring as a result of any adventurous undertaking, are synonymous with a rebirth and with the skin-sloughing characteristic of a snake.

An Outward Bound Course and all outdoor adventure experiences are literal journeys, or, in many cases, several mini such journeys. The clan or the adventurer leaves base and returns a varying number of days later. This journey is

6. See the work of Mattoon (1981) for a discussion of the similarity and "virtual synonymity" between individuation and self actualization.
represented in the ouroboristic characteristics of a snake, in which the tail returns to the head. The continuity between the old and the new, and the fact that the new is contained within the old is also indicated through this aspect of snake symbolism. Finally, there is a link to the homeopathic aspects of snake symbolism in the stories under investigation. Outward Bound courses and many adventurous undertakings are directly aimed at promoting growth and individuation through facing challenges and coping with fear. The link is created with the homeopathic symbolism of snakes in that growth will only occur if that which restricts growth, fear, is confronted.

In terms of the Ultramediate Reason messages contained in the snake stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, the similarity to the previous message is noteworthy. The urging here is to explore and make conscious the unconscious through facing that which causes a block to such an exploration. This is much the same urging as that contained in Liza’s caving stories in which growth is promoted through facing personal fears. However, in snake stories, the message is much more in support of Outward Bound and adventurer-type experiences which are clearly seen as being represented by the snake symbolism.

A SYMBOLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE COMMON ELEMENTS: TRICKSTER.

The final symbolic feature, consistently present in the personal experience stories shared among the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, is the figure of the trickster. Analyzing the symbolic meaning of the trickster
in these stories is more difficult than analyzing either of the previous symbols; caves or snakes. This is simply because the trickster is not recognized as a symbol in the same way caves and snakes are so recognized.

The trickster is recognized as an archetypal representation; as an "instinctive pattern of thought and behavior" (Fontana 1993:11). The trickster typifies a "[uniform and regularly recurring] mode of apprehension" (Mattoon 1981:39 brackets in original citing Jung's Complete Works Vol. 8) or "patterns of psychic perceptions and understanding common to all human beings" (Hopcke 1989:13). The primordial images reflected in figures such as the trickster cannot themselves "be called up into consciousness" (Fontana 1993:11) but their effects can be perceived (Mattoon 1981:39) through symbolic representations.

The trickster represents a shadow side to our personality. This shadow side is often necessary in promoting psychic well-being. The trickster promotes psychic well-being by challenging "denying or questioning the status quo, [and] throwing a spanner into the smoothest machinery" (Fontana 1993:14). This is done in order to ensure that "right order is restored" (Norman 1990:154).

"Spreading strife is the trickster's greatest joy" (Campbell 1972:45 citing Frobenius 1912:245). In so doing the trickster creates an atmosphere where growth, change and development cannot fail to occur. According to Paul Radin (1960) the trickster alienates himself from his social milieu, and in so doing is "thrown back upon his primitive undisciplined appetites [of] hunger and sex" (Radin 1960:337). While this may be so in the mythology of Radin's
chief subjects, the Winnebago Indians, in the world of Outward Bound instructors, a case could be made for the trickster being thrown back onto that which instructors are attempting to promote, self-reliance. The trickster, in such instructor stories as Paul's 'Night Gremlins' and Dave's 'Help! Help! Sharks!', is attempting to reproduce an environment that fosters self-reliance.

Radin (1960) implies that the individually and collectively imperative function of the trickster is to "bring to consciousness [the unconscious] lest it destroys him and those around him" (Radin 1960:339). Hopcke (1989) says that the trickster "turn[s] the tables on the high and mighty" (Hopcke 1989:121) and is therefore the "source of reversal and the source of transformation and change" (ibid.). The trickster in the personal experience stories of the population under investigation certainly accomplishes this objective.

Hopcke (1989) points to another aspect of the stories of the Outward Bound instructors at the North Carolina Outward Bound School's Florida base. He states that "all archetypes have light and dark aspects, and the trickster is no exception" (Hopcke 1989:122). The tricksters "who knows neither good nor evil... love, loyalty or pity" (Hopcke 1989:122-3) such as the bullies in Mark's stories 'African Warriors' and 'Elizabeth's Courage', and the out and out cheats in Doc's story 'Immokalee Banker' are only used in the stories, as Radin states is the case with the Winnebago Indian tales, to depict the "inexorable and tragic
consequences that follow such a life, and [to] hold [such a life] up to ridicule" (Radin 1953:339).

The Ultramediate Reason message in the trickster stories of the Outward Bound instructors at the Florida school concerns means and ends. First, the stories praise and encourage the promotion of growth, self actualization and individuation. Such growth is likely to occur as a result of the dissonance caused by trickster activity. Second, the corpus of stories promotes the belief that questioning the status quo; whether it be through adventurous activities, challenges, self denial or trickster activity; is acceptable. The "prod . . . out of complacency" (Fontana 1993:14), which accompanies this questioning, provides the justification for such behavior. Without this prod, there would be no growth and no movement towards individuation. Third, the stories stimulate the believe that promoting growth is so laudable an end that the means employed to foster its achievement, such as the deceptions and schemes of the trickster, are justified.7

CHAPTER SUMMARY.

Through examining the corpus of personal experience stories told by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School in light of proverbial, folkloric and symbolic factors, I have discovered five Ultramediate Reasons for the telling of

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7. Support for the philosophical stand that the ends justify the means can be obtained from many sources. Perhaps the most notable, Western world, example of such support in regard to trickster behavior reside in the stories relating the tricks played on Zeus by Prometheus. Through the means of the tricks he employed to dupe Zeus, Prometheus was able to achieves his ends of obtaining for humankind, fire and the right to keep the best parts of husbanded animals rather than having to sacrifice these parts to the gods.
these stories by the population under investigation. First the humor in the stories and their general up-beat nature and the favorableness of their outcomes urge a positive outlook on life. Second, the competent/incompetent continuum painted by many of the stories promotes the former, and also promotes self-knowledge and self-acceptance in regard to personal and instructional levels of competence. Third, the many favorable encounters with the supernatural, point towards the conveyance of the idea of a benevolent universe that makes the previous two messages more easy to accept. Fourth, the profusion of close call stories indicates a concern with promoting the right practices that are so vital for survival in this type of occupation. Last, the many stories which urge, in some way, the achievement of personal potential indicate that a major concern of these narratives is with the promotion of individuation.

It may not be stretching a point too far to combine the first and third reasons, and the second and fourth reasons for the telling of personal experience stories among the population under investigation. We would then have three Ultramediate Reasons for the existence of these stories, to wit: the promotion of a positive attitude in light of a benevolent universe, and the promotion of right practices and the subsequent development of competence, and the promotion of individuation.

This examination of the reasons that outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell personal experience stories has been conducted on four levels. I, first,
examined the initial conscious personal reasons for the
telling of the stories and discovered the Immediate -
response to a prompt - Reasons for such tellings. Next I
considered the initial conscious interpersonal reasons for
telling these stories. These are the reasons which
reflected the immediate intent of the teller in regard to
the listener's response to the stories. This gave me the
Intermediate Reason of either entertaining or teaching those
who listen to the stories. Third, I contemplated the
subsequent unconscious personal reasons for telling these
stories, and discovered again that there were only two of
these Intramediate Reasons - catharsis and validation - for
telling these stories. Finally, I examined the subsequent
unconscious intentions of the teller in regard to listeners
responses to the stories told. Through this final
investigation I determined that there were three
Ultramediate Reasons for the telling of these stories; the
promotion of positiveness, right practice and self
actualization.
CHAPTER 9.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS.

INTRODUCTION.

This folkloric examination, of the personal experience stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, has been undertaken in order to ascertain the cares and concerns of the particular population under investigation. In achieving this objective, the stories have been examined at the contextual; the textural; the textual, especially that text involving the language used and incidents narrated; and at the repertoire levels. However, the findings gleaned from this inquiry are not restricted to the objectives of the undertaking. Indeed, the findings can be split into two distinct categories. First, those that do answer the mandate of the investigation and address the cares and the concerns of outdoor adventure education instructors; and second, as one would expect with a folkloric investigation, those that are concerned with and revolve around the academic discipline of folklore. This second set of findings will be examined prior to the investigation of the major findings of this undertaking.
FOLKLORIC IMPLICATION OF THIS INVESTIGATION.

I have already mentioned, in regard to Paul Battle's teaching stories, that the personal experience narratives of Florida Outward Bound instructors do not answer only one specific purpose. Paul's stories were seen to be both informative, and didactic, at one and the same time. The claim could be made that all the stories serve a whole gamut of purposes. Liza's caving stories, while being very entertaining because of their ironic content, and because of the way they were told, existed also to serve the purpose of appeasing Liza's caving fears. Jeff's stories about 'Puu O Uo Tectonics', while serving to teach me about the mechanics of volcanic activity, also allowed Jeff to air, and gain support for, his views concerning Mother Earth. Will's stories were ostensibly very amusing; however, most of them were concerned with a positive approach to stressful situations and were told in order to foster such an approach. Monica's stories, which entertained by painting comic and slapstick pictures, also served to warn of the dangers inherent in the activities undertaken.

The first folkloric finding of this investigation, then, is that the personal experience stories, of Outward Bound instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, do not serve only one purpose. I specifically attempted to discover the cares and concerns of this population by determining the reasons these individuals told their personal experience stories. It should not be imagined, however, that there is a one to one, story to reason, relationship involved in this examination. No story was told simply for only one reason. No story existed for
only one purpose. However, despite this lack of a one to one relationship, by explicating all the possible reasons why any story may be told, conclusions can still be drawn regarding the major objectives of this investigation.

Linked to this first finding is one concerning the different functions served by stories in the different situations in which they are told. I heard a number of stories twice, usually because I asked, during an interview situation, for a repeated telling. During such times, I was often struck by the enormity of the differences in the two stories. When Liza told me her caving stories, they had lost all the anger they contained in her communal telling, and were more full of ironic humor. They had, therefore, much more of a fear catharsis, rather than an anger catharsis, function. Paul accompanied a number of his stories with phrases such as "these are stories that I would, and have, told to crews, and I tell them for specific reasons"; or "often times I’ll tell this story" and "I use that story with groups to. . . ." The unspoken hint in this last phrase intimated that Paul used all such stories to teach his crews certain standard operating or safety procedures. One could imagine, because of Paul’s predominantly teaching demeanor, that such stories lost a great deal of their humor when being told to crews as pedagogical narratives.

I actually heard Doc’s ‘Doctor Visit’ story three times. This story had changed completely by its third, interview requested, telling and contained very little emphasis on anything but the rote reporting of the historical facts of the visit. This story was told towards the end of Doc’s interview after a specific request for the story from the
researcher. In this final retelling of the story, even Doc’s three hour wait to see the doctor, was narrated without the anger present in his other two tellings.

INTERVIEW STORY 118/DOC’S 12TH: DOCTOR VISIT - VERSION 3.

Mac: Erm . . . I wonder if you’d tell me the . . . the . . . the story about . . . the very recent . . . I’m interested in the way er . . . a story develops. About . . . about going to the doctor? Up in Naples. Could you tell me that story?

Doc: Well I . . . I don’t know if there’s much to tell, other than the fact that er . . . er . . . I’ve been having er . . . some chest pains for several months and I think it’s er . . . stress related; and I’ve suspected that. But er . . . decided to finally go and have it just checked out. And er . . . went up there and waited probably three hours before I got in. And the doctor finally saw me and gave me a lecture about stress. And said I looked fine; did an electrocardiogram and er . . . sent me on my way.

It can be seen, then, that a one to one relationship between the stories and the reasons for their telling does not exist. Stories can be told for a number of different reasons in the same and in different settings. Nevertheless, certain parameters do exist concerning this relationship. All the stories have four basic reasons for their existence. Each story also serves the functional demands of all these reasons in one, two or three ways; or in any combination of these ways. All the stories answer each of these four reasons in some way or other.

The first reason all the stories were told was to meet the demands of a distinct set of environmental circumstances. We have seen how these circumstances provide the basis for the narration of a particular story. Sometimes, stories would be told spontaneously as a response to something in the telling environment that reminded the storyteller of a precise set of storied circumstances. Such reminders could be visual, auditory, or conversational. A particular story could also be told, spontaneously, because it seemed to be appropriate to a certain setting, or assembly of individuals
such as is the case with slide show and meal time stories, or with those told "when allied people met after a . . . separation" (Shuman 1986:22). On the other hand, the stories may have been told, as a response to my presence as a researcher into narratives, as either a spontaneous reaction to that presence, or as a reaction to my direct questions for a specific story or story type.

The second reason, the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School told their personal experience stories, was to create an immediate impact on the audience. On the one hand, tellers aim to regale and entertain their audiences through humor, fear, an appeal to the emotions, or through excitement and adventure. On the other hand, they aim to provide their audiences with pedagogical, philosophical or personal information.

The third reason such stories are told is that they serve the ulterior motives of the tellers. In telling a personal experience story, a particular outdoor adventure education instructor may have a variety of ulterior motives which cannot be discovered by examining the content of the story, nor through examining the context of the story's telling. These reasons usually have to do with the, often completely unconscious, demonstration, establishment and maintenance of identity and personality. They are usually so buried beneath unconscious needs and desires that, while they may be obvious to an astute listeners, they may never be acceptable as reasons for telling a story to the teller of the story.
These ulterior reasons for telling a particular personal experience stories may include the tellers craving for attention or competitive urge to 'top' previous stories. The need to brag about past exploits, or the desire to prolong and maintain the pleasantries of social intercourse may also be addressed by these unconscious reasons for telling personal experience stories. While these may be extremely relevant reasons for sharing stories they have not been addressed in any detail in this particular investigation. There are two legitimate reasons accounting for this apparent oversight.

First, to investigate such deeply ulterior motives for sharing personal experience narratives would involve a form of analysis that goes beyond the scope of this investigation. This inquiry focuses exclusively on an examination of the stories and their tellings in an effort to determine the reasons for those tellings. Determining the need for a braggart to tell stories would first require some sort of assessment of the braggart’s boastful personality. This would in turn involve some type of personality appraisal. While I would freely admit that insights into the personalities of storytellers are readily accessible through the stories they tell, such assessments would shift the focus of this investigation from its stipulated goals of determining the reasons for a stories existence into one of personality evaluation. Additionally, we have, in this investigation, focused exclusively of the teller’s reasons for the sharing of personal experience narratives. If the determination of teller personality becomes the focus of attention, then the ball is moved,
quite categorically, into the court of the listener (Stahl 1987).

The second reason for choosing to disregard this avenue of investigation concerns the very concept of what constitutes a viable reasons for storytelling. If tellers are unable to recognize, as viable, a proposed reason for their story sharing, then questions could be raised concerning that reason's credibility as a definitive motivation for story sharing. Such a dissonance would undoubtedly be the case when storytellers are confronted with such deeply ulterior motivations for story sharing as bragging and self-aggrandizement, competitive topping and social intercourse cravings.

This examination has relied on the stories and their telling to inform us of the reasons for their telling. I believe that, if confronted with the findings of this investigation - even with the ulterior motives discovered at this third level of inquiry - most tellers would readily perceive and acknowledge the accuracy of these discovered reasons for their story sharing. However, if confronted with bragging, competitive or social acceptance reasons for the telling of their stories, then it is debatable as to whether such findings would be recognized and accepted by tellers as their personal motivations for story sharing. Perhaps such a reason for a stories existence is purely a hypothetical one that resides in the mind of the listener rather than a real one that pertains to the - somewhat less unconscious - desired motivations of the teller.
In examining purely the stories and their tellings, I discovered only two ulterior reasons why outdoor adventure education instructors tell personal experience stories. These reasons are to appease the emotions of anger or fear, and to seek support and validation for various courses of action and philosophical opinions, particularly those that surround risking one’s life and Outward Bound-type educational methodology.

The final reason, Outward Bound instructors at the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base tell personal experience stories, is for their significant communal impact. Tellers attempt to promote the adoption of a certain life-style through the telling of their stories. They are attempting to promote a positive outlook on life in light of the benevolence of the universe, a professionally conducted and safe course or personal adventure, and, most strongly, the pursuit of individuation. These factors are indicative of the community’s personality and identity. The establishment, maintenance and validation of the communities identity is readily perceived at this level of inquiry. Indeed communal identity reasons may be one of the ultimate motives for the sharing of any personal experience story among this particular population.

These four different reasons, for the telling of personal experience stories among outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, have been referred to as the Immediate, the Intermediate, the Intramediate and the Ultramediate Reasons respectively. In relating these four reasons to the essential elements of any storytelling
occurrence, they may be looked upon as the environmental or social context, the audience, the teller and the communal or cultural context reasons for telling personal experience stories.

These reasons for the telling of personal experience stories among the population under investigation may also be viewed as having a two fold focus of emphasis. Tellers tell such stories for either internal or external reasons at both the personal and the communal levels. At the personal level such stories are told for either conscious (external) or unconscious (internal) reasons. At the communal level they are told for either personal (internal) or interpersonal (external) reasons.

The four reasons for the telling of any personal experience story may, therefore, be viewed in light this two fold focus. At the social context or the response to an environmental stimulus level, stories are told for internal/external - personal and conscious - reasons. At the desired audience response level, stories are told for external/external - interpersonal and conscious - reasons. At the ulterior motivations of the teller level, stories are told for internal/internal - personal and unconscious reasons; and at the communal response or cultural context level, stories are told for external/internal - interpersonal and unconscious reasons.

In folkloric terms these reasons may be related to Bascom's (1965/54) four or Oring's (1976) three functions of folklore of entertainment, education, and the validation and maintenance of culture. This current work recognizes the position of folkloric context in this equation. Although
both Bascom (1965/54) and Oring (1976) accepted the importance of context in their work - indeed Bascom (1965/54) was one of the first modern folklore contextualists - neither thought context was sufficiently important to provide a functional parameter for the sharing of folklore.

Additionally, both authorities failed to see the important cathartic and validation value of folklore. Both authorities, therefore, failed to perceive the importance of the individual in determining the functions of folklore. This shortcoming was recognized and redressed by Stahl (1989) who, in conducting a literally folkloristic examination of personal experience stories, honored the personal reasons for story sharing in claiming that the principal function of the personal experience narratives was the establishment and maintenance of the teller's identity (Stahl 1989:21).

I believe that this undertaking also adds to the scholarship in this area. While I have avoided an analysis of the personal identity factors involved in storytelling as these were not seen as teller reasons for story sharing, the communal identity factors, along with other personal and interpersonal, conscious and unconscious factors have been granted some credibility as a teller's reason for sharing stories. This investigation therefore has an internal/external, personal and communal focus previously absent from functional folklore scholarship.

Perhaps the ultimate folklore significance of this investigation has to do with the match between the reasons the stories were told and the type of folklore analysis.
undertaken. The different levels of reasons, that the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell their personal experience stories, are ascertained by examining the different folkloric aspects of the stories.

The internal/external - personal and conscious - or environmental reasons for sharing personal experience stories are determined through examining the immediate contexts in which each story was told. The external/external - interpersonal and conscious or audience reasons for telling a particular personal experience story may be discovered by examining the text and also the texture of that particular story's telling. The internal/internal - personal and unconscious or teller reasons for sharing stories can be gleaned by examining the incidents that were storied as well as the text used for their storying, and the external/internal - interpersonal and unconscious or communal reasons can be discovered by examining the common elements contained within the entire repertoire of the community's personal experience stories in light of certain proverbial, symbolic and folkloric aspects of the cultural context of the population under examination.

The context of a story's telling influences the teller's choice of a story directly. The teller selects a story to fit the specific demands of a particular set of environmental circumstances. The texture also has a direct, though tangential, influence on determining the reasons a story was told.
What was storied, the text, has a huge direct impact on any reason for a story’s telling. An incident’s scariness, amusement value, and information content are often inherent in the story’s composition. However, it is the way the story was told – the story’s texture – that will indicate the extent to which the teller is teaching, or entertaining the listeners.

The incident storied and certain specific aspects of the text used to narrate such incidents, as opposed to the way the story was told, indicates the personal reasons for that story’s telling. The anger expressed in some of the stories is not at all evident in the amusing manner in which many such stories are shared. Also, the humor hides many of the cathartic and validation effects of the stories. These aspects, therefore, can only be ascertained through an analysis of the incidents storied and the textual way in which this storytelling occurs.

Finally, the communal reasons for a story’s telling may be obtained through a consideration of a community’s repertoire of stories in light of certain proverbial and symbolic aspects of that community’s culture. A further dimension of folkloric theory is involved in the examination of these reasons for a story’s telling in that the structure of the stories may also help to explain this final reason for its existence.

It can be seen, then, that, while the stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, are not told for any one exclusive reason, they are all told for a combination of
four different reasons. The **Immediate Reasons** are those internal/external - personal and conscious or environmental reasons for a story’s telling that may be obtained by examining the environmental context within which the stories were told. The **Intermediate Reasons** for a story’s existence are those external/external - interpersonal and conscious or audience reasons for a story’s existence that may be examined by analyzing the text and the texture of a story’s telling. The **Intramediate Reasons** are those internal/internal - personal and unconscious or ulterior, teller reasons for a story’s telling that may be discovered by analyzing specific verbal aspects of the texts of the stories in light of the incidents narrated. Finally, the **Ultramediate Reasons** are those external/internal - interpersonal and unconscious or community reasons for a story’s telling that may be determined by examining the repertoire and the structure of that community’s stories in light of their common setting, character, and occurrence elements and certain proverbial and symbolic aspects of that community’s culture.

Having illustrated the important folkloric findings gained through examining the personal experience stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, the cares and concerns of this population can now be examined using their stories to perform this analysis.

**INSTRUCTORS’ CONCERNS FINDINGS: INTRODUCTION.**

In examining - through their shared personal experience stories - the cares and concerns, of the Outdoor Adventure Education instructors employed at the Florida base of the
North Carolina Outward Bound School, it must first be stated that a fairly solid case has been made for the generalization of the findings of this one particular piece of research, concerning just one specific community of outdoor adventure education instructors, to the general population of such individuals. There were two reasons why generalization claims are particularly powerful in this specific case.

The first reason why generalizations can be made, from these particular research findings concerning the instructional staff of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base to the general population of outdoor adventure education instructors, is that this population is representative of such communities elsewhere. The reputation of the Outward Bound organization, the land and water based nature of the operations of the North Carolina School, the year round nature of such operations, and the general demographics of the staff employed, all contribute extensively to the representativeness of this population.

The second factor, contributing to the power and extent of the generalization claims for this particular piece of research, concerns the nature of the fieldwork aspect of this investigation. A natural storytelling environment was maintained throughout fieldwork because of the researcher’s familiarity with both the Florida environment and that of the mother base in North Carolina; because of his familiarity with many of the *dramatis personae* of, and many of the standard operating procedures employed in the stories, and because of his willingness to absorb himself into the community under investigation as an unofficial
temporary Outward Bound instructor. These were all factors which contributed to the maintenance of the community’s normal storytelling environment and which, in turn, enhanced the claims of generality concerning this research undertaking.

It can be seen, then, that the instructional staff of the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base is fairly representative of outdoor adventure education instructors elsewhere. It can also be seen that this population’s normal story sharing environment was maintained throughout the duration of the data collection process. It can be assumed, therefore, that the cares and concerns of this population— as expressed through, and determined by an examination of, their personal experience stories—are similar to the cares and concerns of the general population of outdoor adventure education instructors operating elsewhere.

In examining the personal experience stories, of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the North Carolina Outward Bound School’s Florida base, in an attempt to determine the cares and concerns of these individuals, it would seem appropriate to take each segment of this examination and assess the cares and concerns expressed in each of these segments. This examination has been conducted, segmentally, at the contextual, the textual and textural, the language use and incidental, and the repertoire levels. Each of these levels of investigation will, therefore, be analyzed in order to determine the cares and concerns of the population under examination.
INSTRUCTORS' 'CONTEXTUAL' CONCERNS.

The first level of this examination, of the personal experience stories shared by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, took place at the contextual level. At this level of examination, it was determined that, in selecting a specific story to be told in a particular situation, instructors searched, among a vast repertoire of experiences, for that narratable experience which most matched, or was most appropriate to, the environmental conditions existing at the time of a story's telling. That instructors were adept at discovering a suitable such match, may be seen in a number of factors related to the process of storytelling within the community under investigation.

First, a very large number of stories were shared in a relatively short period of time. Almost 250 stories were shared during a mere ten day collecting period, even though much of this time was spent working with the population as a fellow instructor, rather than in simply telling, listening to, and collecting stories per se. Second, interviewees rarely ran out of stories to tell during a one hour interview. Indeed, some of the interviews extended beyond the stipulated hour, despite considerable pressures to return to work. Even instructors who did not recognize themselves as particularly erudite raconteurs rarely needed prompting to occupy the full hour with storytelling.

The frequency with which extended storytelling sessions occurred - during the data collecting process - provides two further indications of the adept manner in which instructors match the stories they tell to the particular circumstance
in which they are told. The third such indication is manifested in the regularity with which spontaneous conversational narratives, and the corresponding storytelling sessions they promoted, occurred during the data collecting period. Even discounting the sessions that occurred during the end of fieldwork party, five extended storytelling sessions occurred during the ten-day fieldwork. This meant it was rare for two full days to go by without the occurrence of an extended storytelling session. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, such storytelling sessions would contain an unusually high number of linked narratives. This is especially the case when one considers that they were usually told during times when pressures to perform instructional duties were considerable. Such extended sessions included - most notably - the caving story session which contained almost twenty narratives; the scorpion and mouse session which contained eleven stories; the 'strawberries for dessert' session which involved nine stories; and the snake story session, that took place on my first afternoon at the school, which also contained nine narratives.

All these factors indicate that instructors are concerned with, and care about, a 'rightness of match'. In this case, the concern is with a 'rightness of match' between the environmental conditions that existed at the time of a story's telling and the story selected to meet the demands of those conditions. I believe this particular concern, with story and story-context appropriateness, is indicative of a concern with a 'rightness of match' in other areas. This general concern was also expressed in some of the stories told. Mark, in his story 'Crew from Hell' spoke of
a concern with an appropriate match between students and instructors. On the other hand, Steve mentions, on two separate occasions, a 'rightness of match' between crews and activities undertaken. On one occasion, Steve claims that nothing he did with one crew was "challeng[ing] them physically" while on another, he "couldn't figure out how to . . . how to work this bunch." Additionally, Robin speaks, on three separate occasions, of the disillusionment that occurs when there is a miss-match between instructors and company professionalism.

I believe that this concern with an appropriate match is a metaphorical representation of the concern for a match between instructor level of expertise and activities undertaken. This metaphor is made a little more explicit in the rafting and kayaking stories of Robin and the climbing stories of Steve. Steve does not like to tell 'horror' stories involving the repercussions of an inappropriate match between the level of expertise and level of adventure undertaken. Robin, on the other hand, in his stories 'Dubious Little Line' and 'An Interesting and Exciting Career' addresses, most graphically, the serious and life-threatening repercussions that occur when there has been a miss-match in this direction.

A match, in regard to level of instructor expertise and the level of adventure undertaken, is absolutely necessary for success, and indeed safety, in both personal adventure and outdoor educational adventure situations. Instructors are made - metaphorically - aware of the positive results of an appropriate such match through the care taken in matching a particular story to a particular set of contextual
circumstance. Conversely they are also made aware of the serious repercussions of a miss-match in this direction through some of the specific stories told.

INSTRUCTORS' 'TEXTURAL' CONCERNS.

The second reason, that outdoor adventure education instructors share their personal experience stories, is to effect an immediate impact on the audience. We have seen how the instructors aim to regale and entertain their audiences through humor, fear, excitement and empathy. They rarely entertain their listeners through the sharing of tragic personal experiences. Indeed, the opposite is the case, as many near-tragic situations are narrated very humorously. Since a great many of the stories aim to entertain through humor, fear or excitement, it seems that all the stories are pervaded with a light and positive air that reflects a definite feature of life as an outdoor adventure education instructor.

Instructors, then, are concerned with the maintenance of a positive attitude and a corresponding humorous outlook on life. Failure to adopt such an attitude, in an outdoor adventure education setting, would have drastic and almost tragic repercussions. Outdoor adventure instructing is a form of employment full of strife. The hours are long and hard; the courses are physically, psychologically and, because of the type of students serviced, emotionally demanding; the dangers faced are real and job security is practically non-existent. If instructors allowed the stresses of such strife to build, the repercussions, in regard to the concentration levels necessary to function effectively in such stress inducing situations, would be
considerable. Burnout levels, while at present fairly high, would become intolerable. Therefore, the concern with maintaining a positive outlook towards life in general, and towards instructing in particular, is justified. This concern is powerfully expressed in the disproportionate number of amusing, upbeat and humorous stories that are shared among such individuals.

While outdoor adventure education instructors may, on the one hand, aim to entertain their audience with the stories they tell, they may, on the other, aim to impart information to their listeners. I was interested to observe a scarcity of stories informing listeners of distant past occurrences. Gossip stories concerning fellow instructors and departed acquaintances or "absent third parties" (Shuman 1986:3) are also noted by their paucity. I was somewhat surprised by these observations. I would have expected the transient and temporary nature of outdoor adventure life to be off-set in the stories shared among those beset by this transience. I was expecting a concern with this situation to be illustrated through fond reminiscences of departed friends. However, instructors seem quite content with this situation and are not particularly concerned, in the stories they share, with the maintenance of powerful ties with the past or past acquaintances.

Information stories, shared by the Outward Bound instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, centered mainly around didactic and instructional techniques and philosophies. This is indicative of a concern with the maintenance of professional instructing and personal adventuring standards, both from a safety and a
pedagogical point of view. The safety factor is fairly self evident, in light of the line of employment being analyzed. Obviously the personal and instructional activities undertaken by an Outdoor Adventure Educator are fraught with danger. These activities must, therefore, be conducted safely and correctly if these dangers are to successfully negotiated.

Concern for professional standards is reflected in the way many of the stories are aimed at expanding fellow instructors pedagogical options. The concern with professional standards is also reflective of a concern for safety. A natural repercussion of a reduction in standards of professionalism would be a lowering in standards of safety. Also, future employment could be jeopardized by a lowering in professional standards. Reduction in student enrollment could be a possible repercussion of such a decline. This, in turn, would have to be accompanied by a corresponding down-sizing of instructional staff. The promotion of professional standards in the personal experience story of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School is, therefore, an attempt to maintain the safety standards of, and - hence - continued employment in, their chosen field of employment.

Pedagogical excellence, instructor competence, safety, and the maintenance of a positive attitude, then, are all of considerable concern to outdoor adventure education instructors. These are all concerns that can be appreciated through, and apprehended by, an analysis of the second or
Intermediate Reason for the telling of personal experience stories by the population under investigation.

INSTRUCTORS' 'TEXTURAL' CONCERNS.

The next level of inquiry, into the personal experience stories shared among the instructional staff of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, concerns the teller's ulterior motives for telling these stories. At this level of examination, we saw how instructors attempt to use the stories as either agents of catharsis or validation.

The first cathartic aspect of the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors circulates around an appeasement of fear. Catharsis of this emotion was accomplished by relating fearful incidents in an amusing, humorous and entertaining manner. Outdoor adventure education instructors are obviously very concerned with the dangers encountered in their chosen profession. A vast number of stories addressed this particular topic. Instructors do perform very difficult and dangerous jobs, and adopt a lifestyle that is equally fraught with danger. However, this is an unavoidable repercussion of involvement in this profession. Although instructors are concerned with this aspect of their employment, it would be futile, and often self destructive, to express these concerns in an open way. The fears would, thereby, simply become debilitating. However, the tensions caused by employment in a high risk occupation do build up, and must, therefore, be dissipated in some manner. The most productive way to deal with such tension is to express it through the amusing stories told about the activities that generate the tension. Instructor concerns, regarding the dangers of their chosen profession,
cannot, however, be totally hidden in these stories, even though they are veiled behind a facade of humorous and comedic narrative.

The same thing could be said, to a lesser extent, of the catharsis of anger. All humans get angry sometimes and this emotional build-up demands an outlet through the expression - in some way - of this emotion. Within the profession of outdoor adventure education instructing, this emotional outlet is often missing. The closeness and extent of community life, on an outdoor adventure education campus, tends to negate the expression of feelings of anger. However, the anger must find expression somewhere, and it does so, to some extent, in the personal experience stories shared among the population under investigation.

Perhaps stories expressing anger are, again, indicative of a concern with the dangers involved in their chosen profession. It is fairly self evident that the anger, in the stories of outdoor adventure education instructors, often circulates around the involvement in dangerous activities. Incompetence, unprofessionalism and compromises to safety simply make outdoor adventure instructing more difficult and dangerous. The anger, such behaviors generate, finds an appropriate avenue of expression in the stories shared by instructors of such activities. This is especially so in cases where this anger is ensconced in the amusing nature of such stories. Again, the concern is probably with right practice as the anger is aimed at those who compromise this.

Of equal concern at this level of inquiry is the validation of the philosophical underpinnings of the educational
methods of, and the lifestyles employed by outdoor adventure education instructors. Kurt Hahn’s ideas, while being very worthwhile and laudable, have not gained universal acceptance among educational philosophers. Impelling one’s students into dangerous and servile experiences may not be the way education is viewed by all its practitioners. Also the fact that outdoor adventure education instructors risk, at least on a perceptual basis, their students’ lives, and, on a more realistic basis, their own, may be questioned, most strongly, by those unfamiliar with this form of education.

Both the educational and personal adventure aspects of outdoor adventure education instructing are, then, of particular concern to outdoor adventure education instructors from a philosophical standpoint. It is often very difficult to justify either personal or educational adventure to the unconverted. The concern with this dilemma is expressed through the stories they tell about the successful implementation of such a philosophy. Perhaps the need for a concern in this direction has to do with the controversial aspect of the philosophical educational and lifestyle underpinnings themselves. If the achievement of educational and lifestyle objectives, through adventure, were more universally accepted, perhaps the need to validate the utilization of such philosophies would be less intense. As it stands, this is a concern with outdoor adventure education instructors, and one that is readily perceived through analyzing this third set of reasons for the existence of the personal experience story they share.
INSTRUCTORS' 'REPERTOIRE' CONCERNS.

The last avenue of inquiry, into the personal experience stories of outdoor adventure education instructors, involves the common elements contained in the stories analyzed at proverbial, symbolic and folkloric levels. This inquiry provides a further indication of the concern with maintaining a positive, and even a humorous, attitude as humor and positiveness was seen as a common element in many of the stories narrated.

Also, at this level of inquiry, the concern with the goodness of the universe was expressed particularly strongly. The amount of strife in the world today makes the appreciation of the world's goodness increasingly difficult. Outdoor adventure education instructors may be somewhat privileged in this regard. They are outdoors, in wilderness areas, most of their working lives. They see the beauties of the world that few of the rest of us experience. The beauty of a dramatic sunrise or sunset, of new snow on sun-drenched peaks, of 'Lightning in the Wind Rivers', of 'Killer Whales' leaping in display, and simply of 'Swimming with the Dolphins' are all indicative of the goodness of the world. Chögyam Trungpa (1988) speaks of a goodness in the universe that "we can experience" (Trungpa 1988:31 his emphasis) through appreciating very simple experiences... of being alive... and being attuned to... the brilliance of a bright blue sky, the freshness of the green fields and the beauty of the trees and mountains (Trungpa 1988:30-31).

Outdoor adventure education instructors see the unsoiled beauties of the world that are a glowing testament to the world's and the universe's goodness. Perhaps outdoor adventure education instructors have a right to be concerned about this aspect of their lives. The world needs more such
people who can indicate to the rest of us, because they have experienced it first hand, the benevolence and goodness of the world. Some of the world’s goodness, experienced by instructors, has so powerful an impact that it would be difficult not to be concerned with the world’s benevolence having once been exposed to such experiences.

A second repeated concern, unearthed at this level of inquiry by linking together the common story elements of competent and incompetent instructors with the Outdoor Adventure Education Instructor maxim of know what you know, know what you don’t know, relates to the promotion of right practice and professionalism. As this concern is seen most explicitly at two levels, it must be indicative of a particular concern to the outdoor adventure education instructor. This is especially so in regard to the right practice of matching instructors who know what they know, with the activities they know how to instruct. It is also indicative of a concern for safety, and right practice, through the adoption of an aware and responsible attitude, in regard to service and the environment.

The final concern, aired through the personal experience story told by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, relates to the achievement of potential. One of the major purposes of involvement in adventure education - and in an adventurous lifestyle - is human development. That this is a major concern to outdoor adventure education instructors is illustrated in the common symbolic elements of their stories. All three of the symbols common to the stories shared by this population - tricksters, caves and
snakes - are indicative of a movement towards self actualization and individuation. It may not be overstating the case to propose that the promotion of individuation is the entire raison d'être of outdoor adventure education. There is little wonder, therefore, that the stories of outdoor adventure education instructors are rife with symbolic representations of this proposition.

There is also an element of validation involved in this concern with self actualization. Involvement in outdoor adventure education is validated, because it is a vehicle that readily lends itself to the pursuit of self actualization. This quality of outdoor adventure education, then, sufficiently justifies involvement in this form of education. We should pursue our potential. Outdoor adventure education is a very powerful vehicle for promoting this pursuit, and is seen as such by the instructors involved in this form of education. It is little wonder, therefore, that the concern with self actualization and individuation are powerfully reflected in the stories told by outdoor adventure education instructors.

CHAPTER SUMMARY.

By analyzing the personal experience stories of the Outdoor Adventure Education instructor at the Florida Base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School at the contextual, the textural, the textual, the repertoire, and - to a much lesser extent - the structural levels, in light of certain proverbial and symbolic aspects of that community's culture, one can determine the Immediate, the Intermediate, the Intrmediate and the Ultrmediate Reasons this population's raconteurs tell such stories.
This chapter has shown that the four reasons Outdoor Adventure Education instructors tell personal experience stories may be predominantly, but not entirely—nor exclusively, determined by the particular type of folkloric analysis undertaken. It has also shown that these different reasons are directly related to the different components of the storytelling situation. The Immediate Reasons may therefore be related the environmental motivations for the story's telling and may be determined by a contextual folkloric analysis of the storytelling situation. The Intermediate Reasons may be related to the audience purposes for storytelling with conclusions being drawn by conducting a textual folkloric analysis. Intramediate Reasons can be discovered through a textual folkloric inquiry and may be viewed as the teller reasons for the story’s telling. Finally, the Utramediate Reasons may be viewed as the community motivations for a story’s existence that can be analyzed by conducting an examination of the folkloric structural, the symbolic and the proverbial content of community’s entire repertoire of such stories.

I have, in this penultimate chapter, also proposed that there is a two by two, external/internal, matrix for the telling of the personal experience stories by the population under investigation. The first dimension of this matrix is the personal/interpersonal dimension. Tellers may tell their stories for either their own internal personal reasons or for external interpersonal reasons that are aimed at serving the perceived needs of those who listen to the stories.
The second dimensions, of this two by two, external/internal storytelling reason matrix, is the conscious/unconscious dimension. Tellers may tell their personal experience stories from an external perspective in that they are consciously aware of their motivations for such story sharing. They may also tell their stories from an internal perspective in that their motivations for such tellings are hidden from their immediate consciousness.

This two by two, external/internal storytelling reason matrix provides us with four reasons for telling personal experience stories. These matrix reasons, related to the already outlined storytelling situation and folkloric analysis reasons, are as follows: The Immediate, contextual or environmental reasons for the telling of a personal experience story are the internal/external or personal and conscious reasons. The Intermediate, textural or audience reasons are the external/external or interpersonal conscious reasons for telling personal experience stories. The Intramediate, textually determined, teller reasons for sharing personal experience stories are the internal/internal, personal unconscious reasons for telling a personal experience story. Finally, the Ultramediate repertoire reasons are the external/internal, interpersonal unconscious or community reasons for telling such stories.

The major concerns and preoccupations of outdoor adventure education instructors have also been determined in this penultimate chapter. These concerns and cares of the population under investigation are not too difficult to ascertain through an analysis of the personal experience stories of one community of such individuals. Through such
an examination, these cares and concerns have been shown to be: a concern with the maintenance of a match between level of expertise and level of adventure undertaking; a concern with the maintenance of a positive attitude; a concern with the promotion of right practices in, and with the educational philosophies of, their chosen profession; a concern with the maintenance of professional standards of instruction and safety within the instructional and the personal adventure setting; a concern with the promotion of the philosophy a good and benevolent universe; and last, and - by absolutely no means - least, the promotion of self actualization or of individuation through outdoor adventure education.

It is possible to see, in the personal experience story of outdoor adventure education instructors, “the expression of a deeply rooted and very real human desire for a good and fulfilling life.” (Trungpa 1988:27). This quotation from Chögyam Trungpa’s (1988) book *Shambhala: The Sacred Path of the Warrior* expresses something of the essence of the stories of outdoor adventure education instructors. It is perhaps appropriate to close this chapter with a couple of further quotations from this particular book which help to indicate the basis on which many of the concerns of outdoor adventure education instructors are grounded.

The concern with the maintenance of a positive outlook is reflected by Trungpa when he says that “what is lacking [in our search for goodness] is a sense of humor. . . . The basis of Shambhala vision is rediscovering [a] perfect and real sense of humor (Trungpa 1988:32). The discovery and maintenance of such a sense of humor is certainly expressed
as a major concern of outdoor adventure education instructors through the personal experience story they share.

Perhaps of more significance, in a profession that educates through fear, is the following quotation from this same book:

"Acknowledging fear is not a cause for depression or discouragement. Because we possess such fear, we also are potentially entitled to experience fearlessness. True fearlessness is not the reduction of fear; but going beyond fear. In order to experience fearlessness, it is necessary to experience fear" (Trungpa 1988:47)."
CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY.

RESEARCH METHODS.

The profuse existence of personal experience stories shared among outdoor adventure education instructors is indicative of their significance to this population.¹ I believe that the body of personal experience stories shared by any population is denotative of the cares and concerns, fears and anxieties and preoccupations of that population. Indeed, I have shown, through literature review, that this is the case. I have also, similarly, shown that stories present a viable, worthwhile, and important avenue of academic research in determining the concerns and anxieties of a particular population of individuals. In acknowledging both the profusion and the importance of personal experience stories in the life of outdoor adventure education instructors, I have attempted to determine the concerns and anxieties of this population by examining the personal experience stories of one community of such individuals, the instructional staff of the North Carolina Outward Bound School's Florida base in Everglades City.

The academic discipline of folklore was selected as being appropriate for this examination of the personal experience

¹. See the works of Paul Zweig (1974) and Joseph Campbell (1968) for an explanation of why adventurers tell personal experience story in such profusion
stories of outdoor adventure education instructors. Folklore’s appropriateness was demonstrated by indicating that outdoor adventure education instructors were folk in the folkloric sense of the word, and by establishing, through a definitive analysis of both folklore and personal experience stories, that such narratives were indeed folklore. By examining the four folkloric aspects of stories: the context, text, texture and the communal repertoire, in light of certain aspects of the examined population’s cultural context, I have attempted to determine why Outward Bound instructors working in the Florida Everglades tell personal experience stories. Determining the reasons this population share their personal experience stories is an appropriate method of discovering the major concerns and anxieties of the individuals within the population.

The population selected, for the examination of the cares and concerns of outdoor adventure education instructors, as expressed through their personal experience stories, was the instructional staff of the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School. This community was thought to reflect outdoor adventure education instructors in general, because of the reputation of the Outward Bound Organization, this staff’s land and water based expertise, and the cultural cross section of the school’s instructional personnel. This site was also appropriate because my own familiarity with the local Florida environment, and with North Carolina Outward Bound School’s operating procedures and instructional personnel allowed me to maintain the communities normal story sharing environment.
The personal experience stories, examined to determine the cares and concerns of the particular population under investigation, were collected during a two week fieldwork stay at the North Carolina Outward Bound School's Florida base. This fieldwork was undertaken during late February and early March in 1990. During this period I became, for all intents and purposes, a temporary Outward Bound instructor as I participated in all instructor aspects of communal life at the school. Stories were collected on a constantly activated recording machine both formally, in an interview situation, and informally as they arose spontaneously during regular conversation. No consultation took place with the instructors about their reasons for telling any particular story. This was because I preferred, throughout the investigation, to let - as much as was possible within the limitations of my own personal unconscious agendas - the stories speak for themselves.

In analyzing the personal experience stories of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, in order to determine the reasons for their existence, I discovered that there were a number of different sets of reasons why these stories were told. Each set of reasons corresponded to one particular aspect of the folkloric nature of the inquiry.

FOLKLORIC SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

The first set of reasons, which I have referred to as the Immediate Reasons for the telling of a particular personal experience story, corresponds to the immediate context of each telling. A teller initially tells a particular personal experience story in order to respond to the
environmental situation that exists at the time of the story’s telling. Because this initial set of reasons for telling a personal experience story is entirely dependent upon the way the individual teller responds to a particular external stimulus, I have concluded that these are the internal/external, personal, conscious reasons a teller tells a particular story.

I have indicated that there are two basic Immediate Reasons or purposes why instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell their personal experience stories. The first was to help me with my research project. I have referred to this purpose as the Helping the Research reason. The second Immediate Reasons personal experience stories were told among the population under investigation, was as natural responses to a specific set of environmental circumstances. I referred to this second set of purposes as the Setting Prompt reasons for telling personal experience stories.

In regard to the Helping the Research aspect of the Immediate Reasons for telling personal experience stories, it must be noted that the instructional staff at the institute under examination were a very accommodating group of individuals. They seemed particularly inspired and enthused by my research and, therefore, provided me with numerous stories that were actually told, initially, because of my presence at the school.

On further analysis, I distinguished three distinctly different types of Helping the Research story. First, there were stories that were semi-spontaneous in that they were a
direct attempt to clarify the boundaries of the data for my research. Such specifically stated questions as "Is this what you’re looking for?" accompanied these types of story. Next, there were those stories that were an indirect attempt to define the limitations of research agenda. These were told without any reference to my research. However, certain clues - provided by the teller - indicated the unstated presence of this reference. Certain of this second type of narrative were genuine in that the teller would probably have told the story anyway. They were only checking, perhaps as an aside, on the appropriateness of the story in regard to my research. Others were much less genuine, with an air of the theatrical about their performance. I have referred to these as Genuinely and Spuriously Spontaneous Helping the Research stories, respectively.

The last type of story, aimed at assisting me with my research, was entitled the Non-Spontaneous Helping the Research story. These stories were so called because they were all narrative responses to specific questions from the researcher. Indirectly Non-Spontaneous Helping the Research stories about near-miss experience, supernatural occurrences, and course components were solicited in this way. Additionally, the researcher requested very directly and specifically the retelling of stories that were heard previously, or ones that a particular raconteur was reputed to perform well.

I also discovered three different types of Setting Prompt story. First, there were the stories that answered the promptings of some type of sensorial stimulation. The most common of this type of story were those that were a response
to the stimulation provided by either conversation or a previous story. Such a huge proportion of all the stories were of this type that this became a definitively inappropriate classification. Other sensorial prompt stories were those that were the reaction to either sight or sound stimulation.

The second type of Setting Prompt story were those that were told in common, community story-prompting settings. Meals, especially supper, were a typical setting for story sharing. Other settings that prompted story sharing were slide shows given by instructors, and journeys undertaken with fellow instructors. The last type of setting prompt story was difficult to categorize. Stories of this type seemed to be prompted by a situation that had both general setting and sensory stimulation elements. Re-acquaintance ship stories, those told in reaction to people returning to the school after some time away, were, therefore, given their own independent classification.

Having considered the folkloric aspect of the context of the personal experience stories told by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, the next step - in this analysis - was to consider the text and the texture, or the nuances of the telling, of the stories. This aspect of the investigation indicated the tellers superficial motives for storytelling. These reasons a teller tells a particular personal experience story are related to the desired immediate impact of that particular telling on the audience. Determining how the teller wished the audience to respond
was discovered by analyzing the way the stories were told, as well as by analyzing the story content.

Since these reasons are cognizant of audience reactions, I have considered them to be external to the teller. These are the interpersonal, rather than simply personal, reasons for story sharing. Additionally, these reasons aim solely at the immediate responses of the audience, they could therefore be regarded as the external initial audience reasons that the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell their personal experience stories. Finally, since the tellers are cognitively aware of the sought-for audience responses to their stories, these reasons have been referred to as the external/external or interpersonal, conscious reasons for the existence of such stories. I have referred to this level of reasons as the Intermediate Reasons for storytelling.

Two Intermediate Reasons were discovered for the telling of personal experience stories by members of the population under investigation. Such stories are told with the intent to either teach/inform or entertain audiences. In aiming to entertain the audience, a storyteller will use humor, fear, the arousal of sympathy or empathy, and excitement. Humor is generated — in such stories — through irony, comic visual images, and tricks or pranks. Fear circulates around people — figuratively or literally lost students, rogues, and rogue crews and incompetent instructors; adventure activities, particularly caving; and activity epiphenomenon such as food deprivation, inclement weather and encounters with dangerous animals, especially snakes. Empathy and emotional arousal

487
in the stories is generated by relating the *feel good* incidents that befall students and instructors. Excitement, on the other hand, is created by telling adventurous activity stories in a suspenseful, episodic manner.

In using personal experience stories as a vehicle of learning, instructors teach their audiences instructional techniques; philosophical ideas; general facts; and standard operating procedures. Instructors also tell their personal experience stories in order to inform their listeners about the recent, or distant, past activities of themselves or mutual acquaintances.

The penultimate focus, for the folkloric analysis of the personal experience stories told by the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, was the text, with particular reference to the language used and the incidents storied. Many of the incidents storied concerned fearful or repugnant occurrences. Since many of these disturbing incidents were narrated humorously, it is logical to conclude that these stories serve some type of cathartic purpose. On the other hand, many stories related incidents of instructor implementation of the practices or philosophies of their chosen profession. As such stories often referred to the positive outcomes of such implementation it is logical to conclude that these types of stories validate or rationalize such philosophies and practices.

These two reasons, catharsis, in which the emotions of fear and anger are appeased; and validation, in which approval is sought for certain actions, behaviors or philosophies; were
the only two responses - determined by this line of inquiry - for the telling of personal experience stories by members of the population under investigation. These two reasons for the sharing of personal experience stories are the tellers', perhaps unconscious, selfish ulterior motives for telling personal experience stories. They are what the teller personally hopes to achieve from the telling of a particular story. Because these reasons are personal to the teller, I have referred to them as the Intramediate Reasons for the telling of a personal experience story. These are the internal/internal, personal and unconscious reasons that a teller tells a particular tale.

In regard to the cathartic value of these stories, the fearful aspect of involvement in adventure activities is appeased through the use of humor, ritual and through stipulating the positive outcomes resulting from such involvement. Anger is appeased by expressing it narratively in stories about cheats, criminals and pranksters; incompetent instructors; insensitive students and those who de-sanctify the wilderness (Bacon 1983:57). In a very similar manner, validation of behavior is sought by narrating the behaviors in a light and positive manner, and also by pointing out the fun and growth elements involved in the behavior.

The final emphasis for this folkloric inquiry into the reasons outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell personal experience stories, was the entire corpus of stories shared during my fieldwork stay at the school. At this level of inquiry, the common elements contained in the
stories were analyzed in light of the proverbial, symbolic and folkloric aspect of the cultural context of Outdoor Adventure Education Instructing. The common elements in the stories were those of character - rogues and tricksters, omnipotent instructors and benevolent animals; settings - caves and sacred places; and occurrences - challenges, warnings and synchronistic happenings.

In analyzing the proverbial aspects of the common elements contained in the personal experience story of the population under investigation, *don't let the bastards grind you down*; *somebody up there likes me*; and *know what you know, know what you don't know*; were shown to be thematically important. Concerning the folkloric aspects of these common elements, the messages of right practice and pursuit of excellence come across very powerfully in the interdict/violation structure of many of the stories. Finally, a symbolic analysis of the most notable of these common elements - to wit; caves, snakes and tricksters - indicated a concern with self actualization or individuation regardless of the manner of its achievement.

This, *repertoire*, level of inquiry, pointed to the ultimate reasons why outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School tell their personal experience stories. It indicated the important cultural messages that the tellers hoped to convey to their listeners in the stories they tell. These reasons, which were part of a teller's sub- or unconscious agenda, are referred to, appropriately, as the *Ultramediate Reasons* for the sharing of personal experience stories. They are, then, the external/internal, interpersonal, unconscious
reasons a teller tells a particular personal experience story.

**OUTDOOR ADVENTURE EDUCATION INSTRUCTOR CONCERNS: SUMMARY.**

The concerns and anxieties expressed through the personal experience story shared among outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, are fairly self evident from the foregoing analysis. From a contextual analysis of these stories, we can conclude that instructors are concerned with a rightness of match. They attempt to meet the contextual demands of a particular situation with an appropriate narration. This care in achieving a match between the stories told and the setting of the telling, is reflective of a desire for congruence between instructor expertise and activity demands. Instructors, and the school as a whole, are metaphorically urged to ensure the maintenance of this congruity so that professionalism and safety are not compromised.

An examination of the text and texture of the stories indicates a concern for lightness, entertainment and humor on the one hand, and for the teaching of right practice on the other. The humor is metaphorically indicative of the positive attitude that must be adopted by instructors if they are to maintain productivity in a job involving high levels of stress and burnout. The concern with right practice again has to do with maintaining standards of professionalism and safety.

Analyzing the textual component of the personal experience stories of the population under investigation allows us to
realize that the dangers involved in adventure pursuits are a major instructor concern. At this level of inquiry the stories are seen as a therapeutic and efficacious answer to the need for the catharsis. This aspect of the inquiry also indicates the importance of Outdoor Adventure Education philosophies and methods to instructors. The validational aspect of many of these stories makes this abundantly clear.

Finally, three major instructor concerns are clarified in the analysis of the repertoire of the stories told. This aspect of analysis supported the instructors concerns for right practice and the generation of instructional and participatory competence. Analysis of the repertoire also indicates that there is, again, a promotion of, this time in light of a benevolent universe outlook, a positive attitude towards life. Finally, and very forcefully, this level of examination indicates a demand for the pursuit of excellence and self actualization.

One aspect, of the cares and concerns of the outdoor adventure education instructors at the Florida base of the North Carolina Outward Bound School, is not particularly self evident in the personal experience stories they share. Indeed, this aspect is addressed so tangentially that its perception is abstruse. I was particularly struck by the dichotomy encountered throughout the study. At each level of inquiry there were only two choices of reasons for the telling of a particular personal experience story. At the initial Immediate Reason level, the choice was between telling a story as a response to a setting prompt, or as a reaction to my presence as a researcher. At the Intermediate Reason level, the choice was between either
telling stories to entertain or telling them to teach and inform. At the Intramediate Reason level there was the choice to tell the stories as a means of catharsis or as a means of validation. Even at the Ultramediate Reason level, where there are ostensibly three choices, one could make the claim that one of the choices, the promotion of a positive attitude, has already been covered earlier when given the choice between entertainment and education. Even at this last stage, then, it could be that the instructor is left with the choice between the promotion of right practice or the promotion of individuation.

I believe that all these dichotomies are indicative of that most perplexing of concerns to all outdoor adventure education instructors; the paradox of risk and safety (James 1980). Thomas James wrote his article The Paradox of Safety and Risk in 1980; its message is still as cogent today as it was when it was written. It is an article that expresses, most succinctly, the paradox facing all Outward Bound and Outdoor Adventure Education instructors.

The major concern of all Outdoor Adventure Education instructors has to be with the safety of the people involved in the courses they run and the adventures they undertake. This is made abundantly clear in the personal experience stories shared by the particular population of such individuals examined. However, these stories also make it clear that it would not be overstating the case to say that of equal concern to instructors is the personal development of those involved in their courses and adventure expeditions. The paradoxical question faced by all Outdoor Adventure Education instructors, as their major concern, is
which of these two values is to be compromised in any adventure activity situation. As with any paradox, this dilemma is, for Outdoor Adventure Education instructors, unanswerable, and one that can only be further questioned and analyzed in the stories told by this body of individuals.

It is perhaps appropriate to conclude with a direct quotation from James (1980) that expresses the specifics of the paradox between risk and safety that is constantly being faced by all Outdoor Adventure Education instructors, and that is so covertly, but explicitly, expressed in the personal experience stories they share.

Outdoor education programs that teach through adventure have worked themselves into a double bind. On one hand is the idea that nothing ventured is nothing gained, while on the other side, best safety lies in fear, and the people who work for such programs are caught in the middle. Many are anxious that this form of education will lose its excitement and cease to be a powerful learning experience if it is made so safe that it lacks the spontaneity, the stress, the hard-earned achievements of a genuine adventure. . . . Without risk there can be no genuine adventure. There would be no adversity against which to build inner strength and power. . . . Yet with too much risk. . . there could be no programs like Outward Bound. . . . [But] if such programs snuff out their spirit of adventure in the rush to become safe enough to please those who are not in tune with their educational aims, the repercussions will be equally serious. . . . Risk impels the human mind into seeking freedom through discipline, discovering spontaneity by being more attentive to experience (James 1980:20-21).


497


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560


