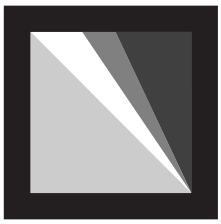


FEATURE ARTICLE

# A New Direction in the Conceptualization and Categorization of Occupation

*Hans Jonsson*

**Current conceptualizations of occupation reflect a direction in thinking that addresses societal and political needs rather than how occupation relates to human development and well-being. The fields of occupational science and occupational therapy need to move in new directions to develop theories about occupation that matter for people. Drawing from a longitudinal study of Swedish workers who went into retirement, an alternative way to conceptualize and categorize occupation, based on people's actual experiences is proposed. Using this categorization, it is argued that some occupations are more important than others and that they contribute to well-being to a greater degree than others.**

**Key Words: Categorization, Typologies, Engaging occupation, Narrative analysis**

Occupational science, as any other academic discipline, uses language to express theories, concepts and phenomena. Language is a tool loaded with power (Burr, 2003). The language and the concepts used make people think about things in a certain way and from a certain perspective. This power relationship between language and the construction of reality are some of the basic assumptions in the social constructionist perspective (Burr; Gergen, 1999; Potter, 1996). If we use language to construct our conceptualization of reality, and if this construction is a power relationship, an important task in a critical discussion would be to try to deconstruct the language used to describe a certain phenomenon and uncover the power of language in leading people's thinking about this aspect of the world.

In this presentation my aim is to challenge the way we conceptualize and think about occupation. I am going to argue that the way we have constructed language about occupation leads our thinking away from what we claim that occupational science really wants to do – relate occupation to human development, personal well-being and health. I am going to argue that the language we have accepted as our basic conceptualization of occupation reflects a power-relationship where societal and political power serve as the guiding principles in the social construction of occupation rather than the needs of individuals or groups of human beings. I am also going to suggest an alternative conceptualization of occupation based on empirical data of narrated human experience.

Suggestion of an alternative way does not mean to discredit the current conceptualization. Societal and political powers have a legitimate role in the conceptualization of occupation, and society guides the cultural, political and other contextual circumstances for human occupation. Society also has a legitimate role in using its power to construct language regarding occupation that serves its purposes to guide our thinking in a certain direction, for example to get general knowledge about how many people are at work in a society and how many are not. But this type of socially directed language should not guide all of the ways of conceptualizing occupation and especially not when occupation is related to human development, health and well-being. Instead we should seek alternative and complementary ways to conceptualize occupation that lead our thinking in directions that might open new possibilities to better enable us to develop knowledge about these relationships.

## Current Conceptualization and Categorization of Occupation

Current categorizations of occupation in occupational therapy are basically variants of what Adolf Meyer called the big four: Work, Play, Rest, and Sleep in his classical article The Philosophy of Occupational Therapy (Meyer, 1922/1978). A selection of current categorizations in North America and Europe is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Illustrations of Four Categorizations Officially Adopted by Occupational Therapy Associations in the USA, Canada, Europe and Sweden

| Place | Categorizations |
|---|---|
| USA | ADL, I-ADL, Education, Work, Play, Leisure, Social (AOTA, 2002) |
| Sweden | Work, Leisure, Self-care, Housing (FSA, 2005) |
| Europe | Self-care, Productivity, Leisure (ENOTHE, 2007) |
| Canada | Self-care (looking after themselves), Leisure (enjoying life), Productivity (contributing to the economic fabric of their communities) (Townsend, 1997) |

The most obvious change is that sleep, and later rest, have faded out of the categorization and that self-care and activities of daily living (ADL) have

■ Hans Jonsson PhD, Associate Professor, Division of Occupational Therapy, Karolinska Institutet, Stockholm, Sweden

■ Correspondence to: Hans.Jonsson@ki.se



Journal of Occupational Science 2008, 15(1), pp 3-8.

become part of how we conceptualize occupation. In general, with minor variations, contemporary categorization of occupation in occupational therapy revolves around three basic arenas:

- ADL/self care (looking after ourselves)
- Leisure (enjoying life)
- Work/productivity/education (contributing socially and economically).

In the field of occupational science, concepts from time-use studies have been introduced based on the work of Dagfinn Ås (Ås, 1978). Four time categories have been introduced (Harvey & Pentland, 2003):

- Necessary time (sleep, hygiene)
- Contracted time (paid productivity, formal education)
- Committed time (household work, child care)
- Free time (movie, party).

There are a number of problems with this type of conceptualization of occupation. First, in the category **work or contracted time**, a number of people are obviously excluded. Work is traditionally defined as some kind of paid employment or self-employment. For example, of Sweden's 9.1 million inhabitants, 4.2 million are engaged in some type of work. That is about 46% of the population, less than half. Even if you only take people between the ages of 16-64, there are one in three for whom work does not exist in everyday life (Statistics Sweden, 2007). And for more than 20% of the Swedish population, work is something they have left and to which they will never return as they are retired. Some categorizations of work also incorporate education but still the problem of exclusion of a large part of the population is obvious.

One way of trying to deal with this problem is to include a wide definition of productivity into the category of work, but that does not address the additional problem of what is work and what is leisure (Primeau, 1996). A classical problem in this type of categorization is for example gardening (see for example Marino-Schorn, 1986). Some would consider it pure leisure, while others describe it as work that one simply has to do.

The second problem comes when trying to connect one of these categories to a certain type of human experience, for example connecting leisure to enjoying life as is done in the Canadian definition. Is leisure that closely tied to enjoying life? It might be in an idealized view of reality, but empirical data about people's actual experiences in their leisure time does not show a one-dimensional type of experience. Research conducted in connection to flow theory clearly illustrates this problem. Based on results of a number of studies using the Experience Sampling Method, Csikszentmihalyi (1993) concluded:

> One of the most intriguing mysteries revealed by these studies is the question why people spend so much time in passive leisure, such as watching television - which is by far the most time-consuming leisure activity in the modern world - when they enjoy it so little. Television viewing is universally reported as involving practically no challenges and requiring no skills. (p. 203)

This reasoning also leads to the third problem: that these types of categorization of what should be called occupational arenas or occupational forms (Nelson, 1988) do not say much about the relationship between occupation and well-being or about occupation and human development. For example, two women are observed sitting beside each other in an office working in front of their computers. One is very bored with the routine work she has to do and knows that there are numerous hours before this work is done. The other is struggling with a challenging problem and is using many skills and a lot of creativity to come to terms with that problem. She is having the time of her life. Both are in the occupational category of work. Work both bores people to death and makes them develop as human beings. Work both destroys people physically and helps people build physical health. The actual occupational arena or occupational form does not say much about how occupation influences well-being and development. These problems all highlight the need to investigate alternative ways to classify occupations based on how people experience them.

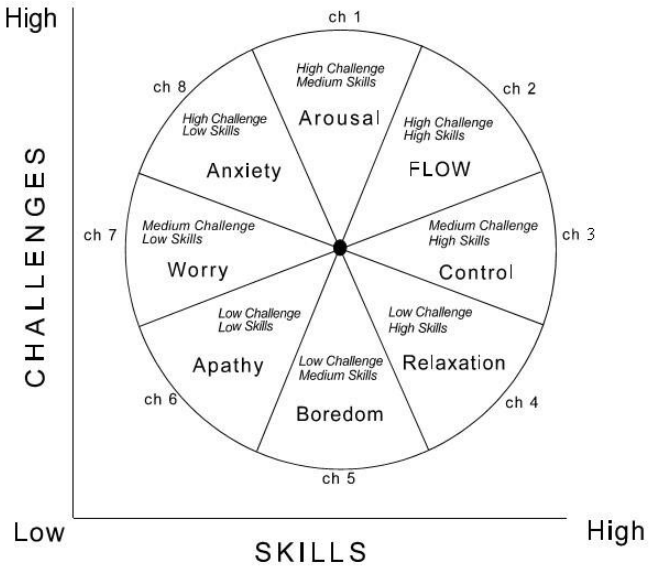
## Moving Towards an Experience Based Categorization

Already in 1975, the father of flow-theory, Csikszentmihalyi, outlined a possible track in the direction of categorizing people's experiences. In his first book about flow he argued:

> One way to reconcile this split is to realize that work is not necessarily more important than play and play is not necessarily more enjoyable than work. What is both important and enjoyable is that a person act with the fullness of his abilities in a setting where the challenges stimulate growth of new abilities. Whether the setting is work or play, productive or recreational, does not matter. (1975, p. 202)

From that point of departure, flow researchers used and developed the Experience Sampling Method (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1987; Csikszentmihalyi, Larson, & Prescott, 1977) and organized data within the framework of the theory. In a four-channel and later an eight-channel model, presented in Figure 2, a number of qualities of experiences were conceptualized considering the relationship between a person's use of skills and the experience of challenge. In a study done by the author and a colleague, the eight channel model has been condensed to three qualities of experience that are seen as interdependent on each other (Jonsson & Persson, 2006). This condensation makes it possible to discuss occupational balance in a new way.

Figure 2: The Eight Channel Model Developed from Flow Theory




These lines of research represent attempts to move away from a conceptualization of occupation in terms of certain occupational arenas to qualities of experiences of occupation focused on the relationship between challenge and skills. However using only the relationship between challenge and skills might have its limitations

in capturing the richness of human experience in occupation. Another limitation is that the eight channel model does not clearly differentiate between less challenging experiences like apathy, boredom and relaxation (Jonsson & Persson, 2006). Obviously these qualities represent very different experiences in human occupation.

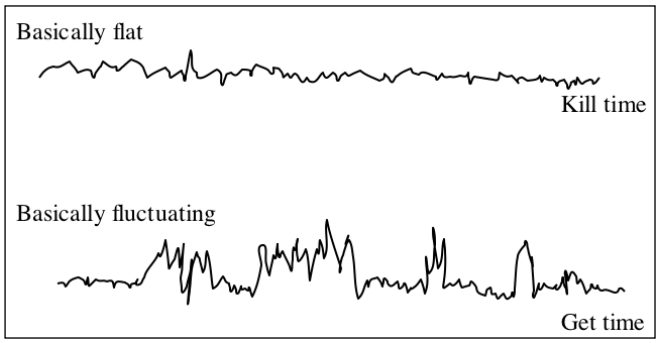
## Experiences Following the Transition from Worker to Retiree

The following experience-based categorization builds on research that followed 32 Swedish workers on their way into retirement in a 10 year longitudinal study that focused on the participants' occupations and changes in the transition from worker to retiree (Jonsson, 2000). Narrative interviews were conducted and analyzed at the age of 63 years, when the participants still were working (Jonsson, Josephsson, & Kielhofner, 1997). Data from the same participants were collected and analyzed at the age of 65-66, when the majority of the participants were into early retirement (Jonsson, Borell, & Sadlo, 2000; Jonsson, Josephsson, & Kielhofner, 2001a). A third data collection and analysis was conducted at the age 70-71, when most of the participants considered themselves as established in retirement (Jonsson, Josephsson, & Kielhofner, 2001b). Finally a fourth interview was conducted with a selection of participants at the age of 73 years.

### *Discovery of an occupation that stood out from the others*

At the end of the longitudinal study, we looked for characteristics in the structure of a selection of the collected narratives (36 of a total of 87), irrespective of whether they were collected when the participants were working or retired (Jonsson, Josephsson, & Kielhofner, 2001b). We could then see two types of structures where the narratives differed in structure, basic plot and intensity. These two narratives are illustrated in Figure 3, with the unfolding line illustrating the flow of the narrative and the variation in the line illustrating the intensity of the narrative.

Figure 3: Schematic Illustration of Two Types of Narratives about Occupation Organized Around Different Plots




One type of narrative was characterized as flat. When these participants described what they were doing on a typical day or in a typical week, things were reported chronologically where one occupation was narrated after another, without drama or engagement. The basic plot was to find things to do in order to pass time – actually to kill time with occupation, as illustrated in this quote:

> *And then I'll go and take a cup of coffee. So I'll walk around in town for a while. Then I'll take the metro home again. That will make this day pass. You can travel around a bit. You have to find something to make the time pass.*

Flat narratives stood in contrast with another type of narrative, where some occupations contained drama and fluctuation. These occupations stood out in relation to others, and the basic plot was to get time to do these occupations or as the following quote illustrates to get to them as quickly as you can:

> *It's Thursday almost every day. Thursday, then after only a few days it's Thursday again.*

These occupations were called **engaging occupations**. From our analysis we drew the following conclusions:

- By looking at intensity and commitment in unfolding occupational narratives, it is possible to find different kinds of occupations that have different levels of importance for a person.
- Engaging occupation was a special type of occupation that stood out from the others in participants' experiences.
- Engaging occupation was present in many arenas of occupation, work and leisure as well as in the family arena.
- Presence of engaging occupation was closely connected to a description of a good life as a retiree as well as a worker.

Engaging occupations had the following common characteristics:

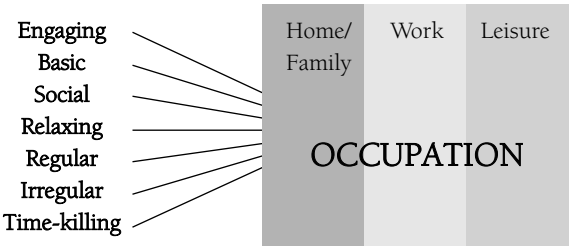
- Infused with positive meaning and experienced as highly meaningful
- Involved intense participation both in duration and regularity
- Consisted of a coherent set of activities
- Had evolved into a commitment or responsibility
- Involved a community of people who shared a common interest
- Gave an identity for the individual
- Were often narrated as analogues to work.

The concept of engaging occupation relates to concepts like commitment (Manell, 1993), committed time (Ås, 1978) and serious leisure (Stebbins, 1997), the latter used to describe a type of leisure distinguished from casual and relaxing leisure. However, these concepts are limited to the leisure arena and focus on the psychological identity provided by this kind of leisure. One concept from the literature that transcends the border between work and leisure is the concept of personal projects, developed out of constructs from personality psychology (Christiansen, Backman, & Nguyen, 1999; Christiansen, Little, & Backman, 1998; Little, 1998). Several of the characteristics of personal projects have connections to the constituents identified in engaging occupation. However, personal projects could also be short-term engagements and might cover quite different kinds of goal-directed projects, for example improving a partner relationship. Some engaging occupations, which are an integrated part of an individual life, are probably also difficult to define within the concept of personal projects. And long lasting engaging employment might for example be difficult to see as a personal project.

## Building an Experience Based Categorization of Occupation

The presence or absence of engaging occupation was the first step in the conceptualization of occupation. In a secondary analysis of the data, my colleagues and I went back to the narratives with the question 'what other types of occupations could be found from the way the participants narrated their occupations?' The analysis followed the logic of constant comparative method (Bogdan & Bilken, 1992), comparing data back and forth in order to uncover a pattern of themes that in the end were transformed into theoretical codes. In the analysis, seven categories emerged from the data as illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Seven Experience-Based Categories of Occupation Based on Occupational Narratives in the Transition to Retirement




First out was **engaging occupation**, as they, if present, very much stood out from the narratives. Engaging occupations were present in all arenas: paid employment, volunteer work, regularly taking care of your daughter's children, going hiking in the mountains. The following participant had in retirement expanded his involvement in an engaging occupation:

> *I have my time, it is my own. I can use it - and I don't want to have it just as free time - I want to use it actively - and it's a very nice feeling. Yes, that's freedom.*

Second was **basic occupation**, the things that one has to do, or the "must do" things. Usually these were part of a person's routine or habits for fulfilling basic needs such as getting food, cleaning, and sleeping. Sometimes it also could be a person's work, an occupation one had to do without putting more engagement in it than necessary. A participant said:

> *Then I get out of bed and take a shower and then I tidy up a little, do some cleaning…*

Third was **social occupation**, where social interaction with other people was the main purpose. Meeting friends, family or co-workers were mentioned, as well as going to a meeting of a retiree organization to meet and socially interact with other people of the same age. A participant said:

> *Then I spend a lot of time with retired friends too.*

Fourth was **relaxing occupation**, where the purpose was just relaxation. Reading the morning paper, doing crosswords, watching television and taking an afternoon rest were all mentioned as relaxing occupations. One participant, who had a physically challenging occupation as his engaging occupation, relaxed with music:

> *We have some jazz meetings. But then you're not active in any way, it's more like relaxation.*

Fifth was **regular occupation**. These are occupations done once a month or even once a day but with no real engagement. Daily walks were mentioned, as were visits to the church:

> *I take a walk everyday, not to get stiff, so to say.*

Sixth was **irregular occupation**. This is occupation that you choose to do and in which you basically find positive meaning. They are done on an irregular basis, and come and go in time. Going to a movie or the theater, or a vacation trip could be narrated as irregular occupations. A participant said:

> *We go to the movies a lot, or maybe not a lot, we go to the movies.*

Seventh was **time-killing occupation**. Lack of real engagement was apparent in this occupation and the meaning put forward was to do something to make the time pass. As in the following two quotes, fishing and shopping were mentioned as time-killing occupations. Travels in the city, reading, taking walks and listening to the radio were also mentioned as this type of occupation.

> *But it is not real fishing, you are only standing there you know, and you can be there as much as anywhere else. It's a nice way of passing time.*

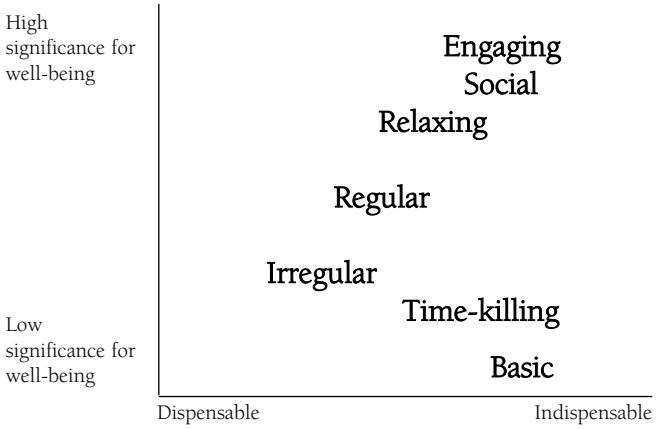
> *When we are out shopping, we go to different shopping centers a bit away from here. It's also a way of passing the time.*

In summary, seven experience-based categories of occupation were detected in the second step of the analysis. They were not connected to a certain arena of occupation. Paid employment could be an engaging occupation, a basic occupation or a regular occupation. Reading the newspaper could be a part of an engaging occupation, a relaxing occupation or a time-killing occupation. Going to church could be an irregular occupation as well as a part of an engaging occupation. The form of the occupation was of minor importance. What was important was how it was experienced and the general pattern of which it was a part. That will be the focus of the next two parts of the analysis.

## The Seven Categories in Relation to Well-Being

The next questions arising from the analysis were how important these categories of occupation are to well-being. These questions, which emerged from the empirical data of the retirement process, are presented here as hypothetical assumptions for discussion. The result of the analysis is illustrated in Figure 5. This model mirrors two variables that were both mentioned in the narratives; how important the occupation is for well-being, and how necessary it is for your life in general.

Figure 5: Tentative Model of the Categories in Relation to Well-Being




**Engaging occupation** was seen as both significantly contributing to well-being and a necessary part of a person's occupation. Significantly, participants without engaging occupation could express this, such as a woman who said that what she really wanted and did not have was "*something to take a real bite on*". **Basic occupations** are situated differently. They are seen as indispensable, sometimes referred to as "*the musts*" or the "*have to*", but they were not narrated as contributing to well-being to any great extent. Close to engaging occupation comes **social occupation**. To meet friends or to interact with family was a very important part of life and the experience of well-being.

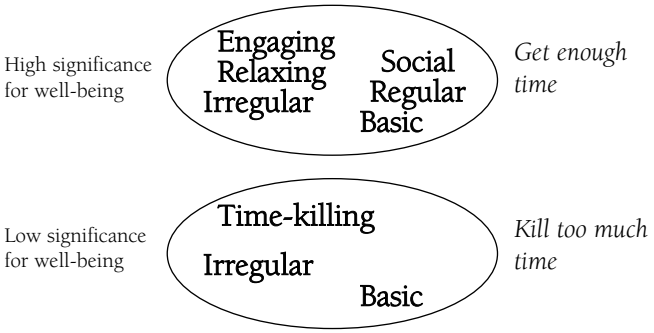
**Relaxing occupation** was often described in relationship to either engaging or basic occupation. Relaxing occupations were considered well deserved and enjoyable, especially in relation to more intensive and energy demanding occupations. **Regular occupation** was somewhere in the middle: it contributed to well-being and health in a moderate way, and was seen as quite indispensable especially if it was paid employment. **Irregular**

occupation came and went, and was experienced as sometimes enjoyable but not indispensable for the participant. Time-killing occupation could be experienced as quite indispensable in a pattern that did not contain engaging occupation and few social occupations.

### The Categories in Relation to Two Patterns of Occupation

With the use of these experience-based categories, it also seemed to be possible to discern two quite distinct patterns in the participants' narratives of their occupations. These two patterns are illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Tentative Model of Two Different Patterns of Occupation Connected to Different Experiences of Well-Being




#### *An occupational pattern significant for well-being*

One occupational pattern has a number of categories where engaging occupation is the one that plays a leading role in the narrative. The narrative is to a high degree organized around engaging occupation. Relaxing occupation is often narrated in relation to the importance of not being involved and active in your engaging occupation all the time. Few, if any, time-killing occupations existed in these narratives, as the theme in the narrative is to get enough time for their engaging occupation. This pattern of categories was connected to the experience of well-being in work as well as in retirement.

In retirement there were also a few narratives that lacked engaging occupation and had quite a strong social occupation component, especially connected to having a spouse or a partner, meeting other couples and having contacts with children. These participants also expressed living a reasonably good life. It seems that engaging occupation plays a leading role in many of the narratives, but if absent social occupation could play a similar and complementary role. Interestingly, relaxing occupations were not mentioned much in retirement when engaging occupation was absent. It seemed to have a relationship – you actually relaxed from something. As one participant who had an engaging occupation that occupied most of the week-days said: "*I can stay home Mondays, sometimes I just do nothing.*"

#### *An occupational pattern not connected to well-being*

The second pattern had fewer categories. Basic occupations created a base for the narrative and provided a daily structure. Inside that structure, the participants were occupied with passing time through occupation. When engaging and social occupations were absent in the narrative and eventually also most of the regular occupations, something very interesting happened. A new category of occupation, time-killing occupation, appeared. There was a need to make the time pass and find things to do. If a participant couldn't find meaning and engagement in occupation, what one at least could try to do was to find occupation that made time pass from one day to another. Even this can be difficult, as you can see in this quotation from a man who summarized his experiences the first year after his retirement:

> *You try to prepare yourself, inside your head, for the change. But when it's there, you have a feeling that it's not real. You still feel young, you know, with much left to give .... It is a whole new experience. It's like life itself sort of ends! …. I don't do anything, not a damn thing!*

In this pattern, different time-killing occupations were an important part of the narrative. Some irregular occupations were also apparent and seen as randomly occurring, but quite meaningful, occupations. This pattern was not connected to the experience of well-being in work nor in retirement.

In summary, two patterns of occupations were distinguished. One pattern had a variety of occupations where engaging and social occupation played leading roles. Relaxing occupation was enjoyable and also necessary as a contrast to engaging occupation. The second pattern had fewer occupations and basic occupations provided a framework where time-killing occupations were used to make time pass. Irregular occupations creating challenge and meaning did come and go randomly, but they were not a dominant part of the pattern.

### Conclusion and Suggestions of Future Development

In this presentation, I have argued that conceptualizing occupations using a language focused on arenas or forms has limitations. I have outlined a possible alternative direction, moving towards an experience based conceptualization of occupation. I have pointed towards possible directions that have emerged from my own research, as well as to other directions from related research. Moving towards an experience-based categorization of occupation makes it possible to discuss the relationship between occupation, development and well-being in a new way. It also makes it possible to discuss occupational patterns distinguished in the data that might promote or restrict well-being.

The categories that emerged from this analysis, as well as the two patterns of occupation, should not be seen as a fixed taxonomy or hierarchy. It is rather a suggestion of a direction in which our theoretical reasoning might go and an example of where this type of reasoning can lead us. Categories can and should change as well as reorganize. Future empirical research should also study how other groups of people experience their occupations, to further enrich and develop a direction towards an experience-based categorization of occupation.

An additional challenge is to relate this empirical conceptualization to relevant philosophical knowledge regarding meaning and purpose in relation to quality of life. With a point of departure in philosophy, this type of argument would essentially be the same critique of the limitations of the current view on occupation. As Hammell (2004) stated in her critique, "current theory, with its focus on the doing of self-care, productivity and leisure activities, is inadequate to address issues of meaning in people's life" (p. 296). Philosophical reasoning and empirically based research could start a fruitful dialogue, expanding knowledge on how occupation and meaning relate to well-being and development. If the emerging science of occupation is to be established, this is most certainly a question of high priority.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Acknowledgement is given to all the participants that generously shared their experiences of everyday life in different phases of their life; Karin Larsson, Sweden, a BSc-student in occupational therapy, for help in data-collection and analysis; Simon Hannaford, United Kingdom, MSc-student in the European Master Program, for inspiration regarding social constructionism; the PhD and doctoral-student group at Karolinska Institute for feed-back and interesting discussions, and to Barbara O'Shea, Canada for support regarding language and grammar. This article is an edited version of the 2007 Wilma West Lecture at the 19th Occupational Science Symposium at University of Southern California, Division of Occupational Science and Occupational Therapy in Los Angeles, USA.

**REFERENCES**

AOTA. (2002). *Occupational therapy practice framework: Domain and process.* Bethesda: American Occupational Therapy Association. Ås, D. (1978), Studies of time-use: Problems and prospects. *Acta Sociologica, 2*, 125–141.

Bogdan, R. C., & Bilken, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods* (2nd ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Burr, V. (2003). *Social constructionism* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Christiansen, C. H., Backman, C., & Nguyen, A. (1999). Occupations and well-being: A study of personal projects. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 53*, 91-100.

Christiansen, C. H., Little, B. R., & Backman, C. (1998). Personal projects: A useful approach to the study of occupation. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 52*, 439-446.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1975). *Beyond boredom and anxiety: The experience of play in work and games*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1994). *The evolving self: A psychology for the third millennium*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Larson, R. (1987). Validity and reliability of the experience-sampling method. *Journal of Nervous & Mental Disease, 175*(9), 526-536.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., Larson, R., & Prescott, S. (1977). The ecology of adolescent activity and experience. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 6*(3), 281-294.

ENOTHE. (2007). European Network of Occupational Therapy in Higher Education. *Tuning and quality: Terminology*. Retrieved February 28, 2007, from http://www.enothe.hva.nl/tq/terminology.htm

FSA. (2005). Swedish Association of Occupational Therapists. *Etisk kod* (Ethical code). Stockholm: FSA:s förlag.

Gergen, K. J. (1999). *An invitation to social construction*. London: Sage.

Hammell, K. W. (2004). Dimensions of meaning in the occupations of daily life. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy, 71*(5), 296-305.

Harvey, A. S., & Pentland, W. (2003). What do people do? In C. Christiansen & E. Townsend (Eds.), *Introduction to occupation: The art and science of living* (pp. 63-90). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Jonsson, H. (2000). *Anticipating, experiencing and valuing the transition from worker to retiree: A longitudinal study of retirement as an occupational transition*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Clinical Neuroscience, Occupational Therapy and Elderly Care Research, Division of Occupational Therapy, Karolinska Institutet, Sweden.

Jonsson, H., Borell, L., & Sadlo, G. (2000). Retirement: An occupational transition with consequences on temporality, rhythm and balance. *Journal of Occupational Science, 7*, 5-13.

Jonsson, H., Josephsson, S., & Kielhofner, G. (2001a). Evolving narratives in the course of retirement. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 54*, 463-476.

Jonsson, H., Josephsson, S., & Kielhofner, G. (2001b). Narratives and experience in an occupational transition: A longitudinal study of the retirement process. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 55*, 424-432.

Jonsson, H., Kielhofner, G., & Borell, L. (1997). Anticipating retirement: The formation of narratives concerning an occupational transition. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy 51*(1), 49-56.

Jonsson, H., & Persson, D. (2006). Towards an experiential model of occupational balance: An alternative perspective on flow theory analysis. *Journal of Occupational Science, 13*(1), 62-73.

Little, B. R. (1998). Personal projects pursuit: Dimensions and dynamics of personal meaning. In P. T. P. Wong, & P. S. Fry (Eds.), *The human quest for meaning: A handbook of psychological research and clinical applications* (pp. 193-212). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Manell, R. C. (1993). High-investment activities and life satisfaction among older adults. In J. R. Kelly (Ed.), *Activity and aging: Staying involved in later life* (pp. 125-145). Newbury Park: Sage.

Marino-Schorn, J. A. (1986). Morale, work and leisure in retirement. *Physical & Occupational Therapy in Geriatrics, 4,* 49-59.

Meyer, A. (1978). The philosophy of occupational therapy. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 31*, 639-642. (Reprinted from *Archives of Occupational Therapy 1*(1), 1922)

Nelson, D. L. (1988). Occupation: Form and performance. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 42*, 633-41.

Primeau, L. A. (1996). Work and leisure: Transcending the dichotomy. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 50*(7), 569-577.

Potter, J. (1996). *Representing reality: Discourse, rhetoric and social construction*. London: Sage.

Statistics Sweden. (2007) Befolkningsstatistik. (Population statistics 2007). Retrieved January 26, 2007 from http://www.scb.se/templates/tableOrChart____25890.asp

Stebbins, R. A. (1997). Serious leisure and well-being. In J. T. Haworth (Ed.), *Work, leisure and well-being* (pp. 117-130). New York: Routledge.

Townsend, E. (Ed.). (1997). *Enabling occupation: An occupational therapy perspective*. Toronto, ON: CAOT Publications ACE.