The Serious Leisure Perspective

A Synthesis

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ISBN 978-3-030-48035-6 ISBN 978-3-030-48036-3 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Preface

The serious leisure perspective (SLP) treats of leisure at all levels of individual, organizational, societal, and cultural complexity. Notwithstanding that it started in fieldwork, which tends to favor discovery of micro-level groups and processes (a social psychological focus), the Perspective has in its 47 years of development incorporated numerous propositions that also bear on relevant meso- and macro-level phenomena. At these latter levels, the SLP is sometimes cultural, sometimes historical, sometimes geographical, sometimes economic. Throughout, philosophy occasionally dominates the discussion (eg, Aristotle). I recently developed an analytic scheme based on these three levels (Stebbins 2017), which is used in the present book as the framework for presenting its promised synthesis. I call this "contextual analysis," one strength of which is to yield a "big picture" of the subject being considered, in this case the SLP and its component concepts.

In other words, the SLP is interdisciplinary, as leisure studies itself, which indicates that there is no core discipline such as sociology or psychology around which all other component fields revolve. The full SLP – considered on all three of its contextual levels – shows how disciplines like geography, history, philosophy, and economics are also crucial for a complete explanation of leisure. True, sociology and social psychology loom large in present-day leisure studies, but the so-called non-core fields are also contributing significantly to the SLP and hence to leisure studies.

The present book has three goals, namely, to take stock of the research on the SLP, to provide a badly needed synthesis of the Perspective's years of extensive theoretical and empirical growth, and to conduct a contextual analysis to show most effectively the complexity of the SLP. In this sense the present book is a sequel to the 2017 volume, but only in the sense of the third goal. Thus, in the chapters that follow, I also review supporting data and provide where needed clarification and refinement of the component concepts. Additionally, this volume can also be used as a handbook, in that research and theory in the area are reviewed by way of the conceptual rubric to which they are related. To facilitate this function, I have prepared an exceptionally detailed index that can serve as a map through the jungle of terms, research studies, and levels of analysis that constitute today's SLP.

This review is also critical. From time to time in the text, weaknesses and strengths of empirical support are noted as are the needs for confirmatory precision and improvement in existing instruments, especially the various measurement scales (listed in www.seriousleisure.net). Moreover, conceptual precision is sometimes weaker than desirable thus demanding further work. In other words, the SLP in 2020 is in its adolescence, awaiting future maturation.

Finally, to write this synthesis, it has been necessary to reprint key sections from some of my earlier publications. The sources of those sections are acknowledged in the text.

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Reference

Stebbins, R. A. (2017). *Leisure activities in context: A micro-macro/agency-structure interpretation of leisure*. New Brunswick: Transaction.

Acknowledgments

I am deeply indebted to Poppy Hull, acquisitions editor at Palgrave Macmillan, for her patience and understanding while helping me prepare the final text for this book. The trickiest part of this process was dealing with the copyright restrictions on certain of my past publications needed for this project, a synthesis of 47 years of theory and research on the serious leisure perspective. The theoretic parts of this material had to be presented verbatim to avoid losing the carefully chosen wording in the definitions as they have grown over the years from the soil of qualitative exploratory research.

Then, once in production, M. Vipin Kumar, project manager, worked diligently and in detail to ensure that the text met the publisher's editorial standards. I am grateful for this effort. That this volume has been published as both a textbook and a scholarly monograph made the editorial process that much more complex and demanding.

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Introduction to the Serious Leisure Perspective

1

The serious leisure perspective (SLP) is the theoretic framework that synthesizes three main forms of leisure, known as *serious leisure* (later changed to *serious pursuits* to include *devotee work*), *casual leisure*, and *project-based leisure*. Many of the roots of the SLP date to late 1973, even though the concept itself was only formally introduced and elaborated much later in Stebbins (2007/2015). It takes its name from serious leisure, mainly because that form was the first to be studied. Research began in 1973 on the first of these (it examined amateurs in classical music and was reported in, for example, Stebbins 1976). Work continued from thereon, with more studies of other amateurs, then various hobbyists, career volunteers, casual leisure participants, and those engaged in project-based leisure. Within each form numerous types and subtypes have also emerged over the years.

It should be noted at the outset that parts of the SLP had been discussed before, or were being discussed as, I entered this area. Nash (1960), De Grazia (1962, pp. 332–336), Glasser (1970, pp. 190–192), Kaplan (1975, pp. 80, 183), and Kando (1980, p. 108) had all recognized the distinction between serious and casual leisure. Super's (1984) discussion of the nature of leisure is, from the standpoint of the SLP, the most sophisticated of these works. Nevertheless, they conceived of them much more particularly, in terms of illustrative activities like creatively playing a musical instrument or skillfully playing a sport vis-à-vis lounging before the TV or strolling in a park. Furthermore, in a far more simplistic way than suggested now by the SLP, the first four were inclined toward serious leisure as the ideal way for people in post-industrial society to spend their free time.

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_1

That the Perspective (wherever Perspective appears as shorthand for serious leisure perspective, to avoid confusion, the initial letter will be capitalized) takes its name from the first of these should, in no way, suggest that I regard it, in some abstract sense, as the most important or superior of the three.[1] I hope the following pages will demonstrate the folly of such thinking. Rather, the Perspective is so titled, simply because it got its start in the study of serious leisure; that kind of leisure is, viewed strictly from the standpoint of intellectual invention, the godfather of the other two.

Furthermore, serious leisure has become the point of reference from which analyses of casual and project-based leisure have often been undertaken. So, naming the SLP after the first facilitates intellectual recognition; it keeps the idea in familiar territory for all concerned. Be that as it may, I might have titled it "core activity perspective," for all three forms are labels for kinds of distinctive sets of interrelated actions or steps that must be followed to achieve an outcome or product that the participant finds attractive. For instance, in serious leisure, a core activity of alpine skiing is descending snow-covered slopes, that of cabinet making is shaping and finishing wood, and that of volunteer fire fighting is putting out blazes and rescuing people from them. In each case the participant takes several interrelated steps to successfully ski down hill, make a cabinet, or rescue someone. In casual leisure core activities, which are much less complex than in serious leisure, are exemplified in the actions required to hold sociable conversations with friends, savor beautiful scenery, and offer simple volunteer services (e.g., handing out leaflets, directing traffic in a parking lot, clearing snow off the neighborhood hockey rink). In leisure projects core activities are intense, though limited in time and moderate in complexity, as seen in the actions of serving as scorekeeper during an amateur sports tournament or serving as museum guide during a special exhibition of artifacts.

Engaging in the core activity (and its component steps and actions) is a main feature that attracts participants to the leisure in question and encourages them to return for more. That is, the core activity is a value in its own right, even if more strongly held for some leisure activities than others. Nevertheless, pursuit of this kind of activity and the experience it generates *is only part of the full explanation of leisure*, as such analytic avenues as leisure institution, leisure organizations, leisure context, and leisure career suggest.

Similarly, I might have dubbed this framework the "leisure experience perspective." After all each of the three forms refers to an identifiable kind of experience had during free time. Indeed, it fits all three of Mannell's (1999) conceptualizations of this experience, as subjectively defined leisure, as immediate conscious experience, and as post hoc satisfaction. Still this label would be too limiting, for the Perspective is broader than what people experience in their leisure. It also provides a way of looking on the social, cultural, and historical contexts of that experience (see Stebbins 2017a).[2] A similar problem bedevils Tomlinson's (1993) suggestion that serious leisure be called "committed leisure." Though we shall see in Chap. 3 that commitment is certainly an important attitude in serious leisure, it is, nevertheless, too narrow to serve as a comprehensive identifier of the latter. Moreover, the other two forms in the Perspective also generate commitment on occasion (e.g., fan commitment to a sport team or genre of music).

Because the serious and casual forms have sometimes stirred discussion about the relative merit of one or the other, let us be clear from the outset that the SLP treats of each as important in its own way. That is, it is much less a question of which is best, than a question of how combinations of two or three of the forms serve individuals, categories of individuals (e.g., sex, age, social class, religion, nationality), and their larger communities and societies. This, in turn, leads to such considerations as general leisure lifestyle, optimal leisure lifestyle, and leisure constraints and facilitators, all of which have become important concepts in their own right in this framework. Furthermore, casual leisure and less often project-based leisure sometimes give birth to serious leisure careers (see Chap. 4). Finally, note that my earlier discussions of serious leisure were felt to be too heavily weighted toward that form, sparking challenges that I was neglecting casual leisure (e.g., Rojek 1995; Kleiber 2000). See Chap. 2 for further consideration of this matter of imbalance.

The idea of perspective communicates at least three important points. One, any perspective is a way of theoretically viewing leisure phenomena. So, this one, too, provides a unique prism through which to look at what people do in their free time. Two, as a theoretic framework, the SLP synthesizes the three forms, showing at once their distinctive features, their similarities, and their interrelationships. Three, although it was never my intention as I moved from one study of free-time activity to the next, my findings and theoretic musings have nevertheless evolved into a typological map of the world of leisure (presented later in Fig. 2.1). That is, so far as I can tell at this moment, all leisure (at least in Western society) can be classified according to one of the three forms. But, consistent with the exploratory approach that has guided much of basic research in this field, open-ended inquiry and observation could, some day, suggest adding one or more new forms or changing ones previously conceptualized. Briefly put, the grounded theoretic construction of scientific typologies, in principle, never results in completed intellectual edifices.

Need for a Synthesis

As this book will show the SLP has flowered bountifully since 1973, and with this efflorescence, has made it increasingly difficult for all but the most dedicated of scholars to grasp the present complex theoretic construction in all its detail. For this reason alone a user-friendly synthesis is badly needed, one based on the many concepts and propositions comprising the Perspective and including a close, up-to-date look at the research bearing on them. There have been four stock takings (Stebbins 1992, 2001a; 2007/2015; Elkington and Stebbins 2014), none of which however, has attempted to organize the entire framework while noting all available relevant empirical work and sometimes the absence thereof.[3] This is not therefore a mere update of the four stock takings. For a proper synthesis accomplishes what they were never designed to do; namely, integrate the Perspective along conceptual and contextual lines with attention to level of empirical support and validation of each concept. And, unlike the earlier updates, this synthesis is based in part on certain critiques of aspects of the SLP, which have sometimes inspired further conceptual clarification and on occasion even led to new concepts. The Index contains reference to these passages, which are found throughout. The main goal in all this is to offer a present-day version of the SLP such that people interested in an aspect of it can find that aspect with minimal effort and learn about its empirical basis at the same time. Hopefully this will obviate for most people the necessity of scouring the SLP literature to gain an understanding of a particular concept or type of activity beyond reading what is set out in this book.

This synthesis is also an updated amalgamation of its three main forms. Serious leisure, being the oldest object of theory and research, dominates in terms of publications (see next chapter). Casual leisure and especially the project-based form came on stream later and have generated fewer publications. But are the latter two

therefore less important? No. For this synthesis shows how closely interrelated the three forms actually are and, for a more comprehensive understanding of leisure, how important it is that we grasp that interrelationship. The concept of serious leisure perspective also communicates this vital theoretic link.

This synthesis is also a literature review, albeit not your conventional type. First, the only literature reviewed will be that centering either substantially or wholly on the SLP or one of its three forms. For instance, I will review the available literature on commitment and serious leisure, but not that on commitment to deviance and commitment in work organizations. The same holds for the literature on leisure identity, the review of which will ignore unrelated material on, for instance, work, gender, and ethnic identities. To bring in these extraneous elements, is to divert attention from the business at hand, namely, to examine and enhance the present-day coherence of the SLP and its empirical foundation.

There is another need for this synthesis, one recently set out by Snelgrove (2017). He argues that "connections between paradigms and ways of conducting research need to be explicated. Thus, the purpose of this critical commentary is to argue for a more widespread adoption of such practices in leisure studies and discuss possible connections among various epistemologies, theoretical perspectives, methodologies, and methods." A properly synthesized SLP can meet these challenges, especially if the synthesis is as I have just stated: user-friendly.

Data Supporting the SLP

Even today, most of the data bearing on the SLP are qualitative/exploratory. They add to the validity of its concepts and propositions, whether inductively generated or carefully imported, sometimes doing so initially, other times doing so through concatenation.[4] Confirmatory data are comparatively rarer in the SLP but will be noted where they exist. The exploratory data have been generated by semi-structured interview, participation observation, open-ended analysis of documents, and the like as well as by unsystematic general observation of leisure-related social life. Such observation consists of observer-based generalizations about that social life, which are presented along with illustrative instances of them. The illustrations are typically found in publicly-available written, filmed, and oral accounts (today the Internet is a major source) and in the observed human involvements in real life experienced throughout our everyday existence. As explained in the concepts section of Chap. 10, one searches for answers to the six Ws and 1 H (who, what, [to, with, for] whom, when, where, why, and how). These instances, though seldom gathered systematically, nonetheless constitute an important level of support, of validation, that lends grounded empirical credibility to the generalization. Where they appear in this book, such data will be referred to as *general observations*.[5]

Because they are inductively generated, all grounded theoretic concepts and the generalizations incorporating them are initially hypothetical. Subsequently, concatenated studies add validity and hence credibility to these concepts and generalizations, whereas it takes confirmatory, hypothesis-testing research to move both into the realm of established fact. Even then, in the study of leisure especially, it is

necessary to remain alert to changes in leisure interests and behavior that suggest the conventional wisdom needs revision. In short, exploratory work on leisure will never be complete, given the unusual capacity of free time for generating new activities (see Stebbins 2009).

The SLP is a grounded theoretic construction (GT), meaning that concepts and their interrelationship sometimes change as we become aware of new data *and new imported ideas*. Imported concepts are appropriate in GT when the imports (possibly with some modification) fit the grounded data (i.e., the data are not forced into a concept initially developed outside the sphere of leisure). The goal is not to change substantially the import, but to adapt it such that it helps explain particular sets of grounded data (Glaser 1978). As Goldkuhl and Cronholm (2010) observe:

> Outside theories and categories can through this theory matching process be brought into the theory development in a much stronger way than is the case in orthodox GT [grounded theory]. Other theories can be used in active ways. Theories can be used for interpretation of data or generated categories …. They can also be used to structure the analysis process into different themes; that is, existing theories and concepts might have an organizing function to the analysis process and the evolving theory …. Theories can also be used in hypotheses testing purposes towards the generated data. We claim that not only the evolving theory but other theories, too, should inform theoretical sampling, which is the later, more focused parts of data generation, according to GT.

A number of imported concepts comprise the SLP of today, which will be reviewed only for their fit within it. A full-scale review of them – a review covering their full application – is therefore unnecessary and would, to repeat, constitute a lengthy detour away from reaching the principal goal of this book; namely, to synthesize the decades of work that have led to the present development of the SLP.[6]

The SLP is the result of a long period (starting in 1973) of exploratory research (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Stebbins 2001b), some of it more systematic, some of it less so. In general, it may be said that the Perspective has emerged inductively from open-ended observations or interviews, often both, conducted on a fair range of leisure activities. Today, the SLP would seem to warrant the label of "formal grounded theory," as defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967).[7] Valid or not the Perspective is no longer strictly exploratory in scope, for as shown later considerable confirmatory work has now been carried out, work designed to add precision, detail, and at times, verificational proof to the basic Perspective as previously explored.

Homo Otiosus

This creature has three close relatives: *homo faber*, *homo ludens, and homo voluntas.* The concept of *homo otiosus* includes, but is significantly broader than, *homo ludens* (Huizinga 1955) and *homo voluntas* (Smith 2000, pp. 259–261). Meanwhile, use of the term *homo faber* is so old as to seemingly lack a clearly identifiable progenitor. In fact, describing humanity in this fashion is a remarkably common

practice, as Wikipedia's "List of Alternative Names for the Human Species" attests (retrieved 16 September 2016). In addition to homo sapiens it inventories 42 such types. Moreover, according to the site's author the list is incomplete. Indeed it is, for neither *homo otiosus* nor an equivalent is mentioned.

Do We Need the Concept of Homo Otiosus?

Do we need this idea and hence yet another Latin-based descriptor of humankind? Yes, and for at least three reasons. First, after examining the University of Notre Dame Latin Dictionary and Grammar Aid (www.nd.edu/~archives/latin.htm, retrieved 16 September 2016), it is evident that none of the others so crisply identifies leisure man as does *homo otiosus*. *Homo* in Latin denotes a human being, while *homo otiosus* refers to a human oriented toward leisure. The English translation of "leisure man" will do, providing both sexes are conceived of in this gender-neutral, Latin conception. Meanwhile, *homo ludens* comes from the Latin verb *ludere*, meaning "to play, sport; to play at or with; to imitate, banter; deceive, delude." *Homo ludens* goes in for certain types of casual leisure, especially that of play. *Homo voluntas* expresses his or her "will, wish, inclination, goodwill." This is man the volunteer, casual, career, and project-based.

By contrast *homo otiosus* seeks *otium*, or free time, leisure, ease; peace, repose. As a concept *homo otiosus* is by far the broadest of these three. It subsumes play, volunteering and much more (e.g., amateur and hobbyist activities, such casual leisure as entertainment and relaxation, and project-based leisure).

Second, it is true that much of the time we should not be speaking of leisure in such general terms, for it varies immensely by culture, demographic category, historical period, structural location, and many other differentiating conditions. Yet, there are occasions where we must discuss leisure in general. A stirring example is Article 24 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, which holds that people are entitled to rest and leisure. Additionally, we sometimes want to compare the institution of leisure with other institutions in society, most often that of work. In religion the historical analysis of the Protestant Ethic showed leisure in general to be anathema. And, for several decades there has been discussion about whether the leisure society has arrived and the conditions leading toward or away from this state (see most recently Veal 2012). On the psychological level John Neulinger (1981) argued that leisure is a state of mind. In all these instances leisure is treated of holistically, the positive activity of *homo otiosus*.

Finally, in discussions about enhancing well-being we could surely argue that people must first of all find more free time, without specifying at that point how it might be filled, such as with serious, casual, or project-based leisure. Finding free time is a major, albeit, initial step in improving the quality of life. For those who have succeeded in this regard, there might then be discussion of how to use free time, a discussion in which *homo otiosus* would learn about particular kinds of leisure and their costs, rewards, and place in his life (in effect a kind of leisure education).

Homo otiosus is no more a part of the SLP than any other aspect of the study of leisure. I introduce it here to make communication easier in this book, primarily in signaling the absence of gender differences and in considering leisure in general without need to refer to its forms and types. This idea will be especially useful in discussions of the many contexts of leisure.

Plan of the Book

Chapter 2 provides the latest presentation of the essential SLP, which will serve as the reference point for the chapters that follow. Chapters 3 and 4 begin the concept-by-concept elucidation on the micro level of the Perspective accompanied by a review of the available relevant research literature. The framework organizing the layout of the chapters is that of a contextual analysis: micro, meso, and macro contexts. This is more than a matter of convenience. Rather, the intent is to drive home the point that the SLP treats of leisure at all levels of individual, organizational, societal, and cultural complexity, which themselves help explain leisure.

Why organize this book by way of the three contexts? The answer is that leisure studies, as nearly all fields in the social sciences, is poorly integrated across them. In other words, nearly all these fields lack a sense of the big picture of the field. Stebbins (2017a) serves as an attempt to correct this deficiency in leisure studies, and its framework of contexts is used in the present book to organize the promised synthesis. That volume used research and concepts from the SLP to illustrate how a discipline can be understood according to the three contexts. The present book has three goals, namely, to take stock of research on the SLP, to provide a badly-needed synthesis of the Perspective's 46 years of extensive theoretical and empirical growth, and to conduct a contextual analysis in order to show most effectively the complexity of the SLP.

It is now evident that this synthesis will proceed not only by level of context but also by the many concepts that comprise the SLP, including those that show how it fits in the larger society. Concepts and their interrelationship are the very essence of any theory and hence the field within which it develops. Each concept will be defined, its place in the SLP described, and its empirical support reviewed. Quick access to each will be available through the Index.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine at the meso level another set of SLP concepts, some of which have roots in the micro level. The condition of embeddedness of certain concepts (Turner 2005) is often evident on this and the macro levels. The macro level encompasses a number of large-scale phenomena including time and history (see Chaps. 7 and 8). This, a societal level of analysis, includes a look at, among others, the SLP in the institutions of work and leisure and its place in leisure trends. Data and theory about the SLP at macro-level of analysis are comparatively thin, constituting thus an agenda for the future.

Chapter 9 covers the main extensions of the SLP into a diversity of fields where leisure has been found to be an important approach to solving one or more key problems. This bears on the Perspective's utility for practitioners. Chapter 10 is devoted to an assessment of the future of the SLP, as this is assured with its rich and reasonably well-validated conceptual structure.

I have not included a glossary. Instead definitions of basic terms (many are set out in Chap. 2) are referenced in the Index with page numbers where they are defined. The advantage of this approach is that the definition in question is embedded in a broader discussion of the idea's place in leisure and leisure studies. Moreover, some of the concepts are not decently defined in laconic dictionary-style, the stock-and-trade of educational glossaries.

Conclusions

Should the chapters that follow be gathered together in a handbook rather than a synthesis? There are certainly handbook-like qualities about the present volume: it offers easy access to the concepts comprising the SLP along with a statement for each about its empirical grounding. There is also a discussion of the SLP informing certain fields of practice, a not uncommon feature of handbooks nowadays. Yet, these works are rarely also synthetic, perhaps because synthetic material is seen as complicating or subverting the mission of providing handy information of immediate value. Nonetheless, a synthesis of the many years of work that have gone into the SLP is badly needed. It is a field that has ridden off in numerous directions, both theoretical and applied, which must be interrelated in a coherent statement so that further extensions and new internal conceptual developments can be effectively related to earlier work.

Notes

1. The remainder of this section is paraphrased and elaborated from Stebbins, R.A. *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time* (Transaction/Routledge, 2007/2015, pp. 1–3).
2. Not everyone agrees with my position on the alternative title of leisure experience perspective (e.g., Veal 2016, 2017).
3. "Available" means sources to which the author has access that are written in languages he reads, which are mainly English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. I have no access to many of the anthologies containing one or more chapters bearing on the SLP, nor do I have access to the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean journals and anthologies that occasionally publish SLP-related communications. The same must be said for the scholarly publications written in the eastern European languages.
4. Concatenation is, at once, a longitudinal research process and the resulting set of field studies that are linked together, as it were, in a chain, leading to cumulative, often formal, grounded theory. Studies near the beginning of the chain are wholly or dominantly exploratory in scope. Each study, or link, in the chain examines or at times re-examines a related group, activity, or social process or aspect of a broader category of groups or social processes (Stebbins 2001b).
5. Dellwing (2016) holds that Erving Goffman (1959) pioneered this kind of data collection in modern times, without however, giving it a name or even commenting on its exploratory nature. Still, Charles Baudelaire's *flaneur* of nineteenth century Paris gathered his data much the same way, as did sociologist Georg Simmel and phenomenologist Alfred Schutz, among others. Dellwing calls this kind of data collection the "flaneur approach."
6. I am not treating as imported social science concepts of long-standing, concepts that are now part of our received wisdom. Only more recent ideas will be regarded as imported and shaped to fit in the SLP.
7. I have in the past (Stebbins 2013a, b) been perhaps too bold about this claim, suggesting that the SLP is now a formal grounded theory. For some leisure studies scholars have

expressed doubts (e.g., Veal 2016, 2017; Gallant 2017, p. 448). Meanwhile, Glaser and Strauss never crisply defined substantive and formal grounded theory, and they remained vague about when the second emerged from the first. Still, the Bibliography in www.seriousleisure.net contains as of 2020 over 2500 references to theoretical and empirical works, where each work listed centers, either substantially or wholly, on the SLP or one of its three forms. Perhaps the most defensible claim is that parts of the SLP have reached the status of formal ground theory, whereas other parts are not there yet, if they ever get there.

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The Essential SLP: Foundational Concepts

2

The theoretic center of leisure studies, in general, and the SLP, in particular, is leisure itself. As such it is essential that, as the first order of business in this chapter, we define it as precisely as possible. In fact, some scholars in this field seem to think a definition of their central subject is impossible. Chris Rojek (2010) writes that:

> From the start, the academic study of leisure has been dogged by the question of what theoretical and methodological tools have been custom-built and what is borrowed or rebranded from the larger established and more powerful Social Sciences. Within the field of Leisure Studies there is a discernible reluctance to claim innovation or novelty. (p. 99)

He goes on to cite John Kelly and Ken Roberts, two prominent figures in leisure studies who maintain that leisure defies unique definition, simply because they believe it is not unique.[1]

I examined this stance in an earlier publication (Stebbins 2012, pp. 17–18). There I observed that, notwithstanding the Kelly-Roberts stance, the idea has been the object of various scientific definitions, one of the best reviews of this list having been assembled by Kelly himself (2012, Chap. 2). His assessment reveals a main fault with the past attempts, which is to focus on one or a few of the concept's many essential qualities. In this way time, activity, and experience have emerged over the years as preferred definitional themes. Furthermore, even presenting a definition of leisure seems to be necessary only in textbooks, handbooks, and other primarily educational material, with the meaning of the concept generally being taken for granted in specialized research and theoretic projects.

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_2

These definitions may be expressed in a sentence or two or a page or two. And for readers seeking a dictionary-style definition of, say, three or four lines, one will be presented later in this chapter. But note here that, with respect to this latter definition, its supporting argument is set out in (Stebbins 2012). For defining ideas as complex as those of work and leisure, requires careful and extensive conceptualization, an impossible goal when writers limit themselves to a few lines or even a few pages. In other words, to properly define theoretic terms of this complexity, we must also understand well their larger "systemic meaning" (Kaplan 1964, pp. 63–65).

The key point in all this is that, however difficult crafting a comprehensive (not piecemeal) definition of leisure turns out to be, this challenge cannot serve as an excuse for refusing to develop one. Such a definition is crucial. For our tour in this book of the vast institutional territory occupied by the SLP will in itself show that leisure, loosely defined, can be conflated with work, non-work obligation, boredom, consumption, life-style, and possibly other closely related interests and sets of activities. Moreover, knowing how leisure differs from these "neighbors" sharpens further our understanding of leisure itself.

The goal of this chapter is to present the conceptual core of the SLP. Some of that core is found in the following definition of leisure, with the rest being reviewed afterward. All of the core has been set out earlier and then revised according to ongoing relevant research. Thus this chapter is summary of materials taken mainly from Stebbins (1979, 1992, 2001a, 2002, 2004/2014, 2005d, 2007/2015, 2009, 2012, 2014, 2015a, 2017a, and 2018a). The remaining chapters build on this foundation.

Defining Leisure

I have integrated eight essential properties called "first principles" in a lengthy definition of leisure presented in Stebbins (2012). All of them figure in the shorthand definition set out below. Five of them, however, are only alluded to there. These five are leisure as a unique social institution, as having unique geographic space, as the fulcrum for work/life balance, as what a person does in free time, and as having a unique image in the larger world.

The SLP forms, in the main, the theoretic foundation for the definitional work reported in this book. Among the general theories typically considered in leisure studies, the SLP is the only one rooted substantially in research on free-time activity. More precisely, the Perspective grew inductively from a foundational set of eight exploratory studies of a sample of leisure activities dating from 1973 (summarized in Stebbins 1992, 2001a, 2007/2015). Thus the SLP can be described as an *internal* theory and contrasted with the various *external* theories that have also been used to explain this sphere of life. Such theories as functionalism, symbolic interactionism, critical analysis, and postmodernism contain certain ideas about leisure, but those ideas emerged with reference to intellectual interests quite distant from leisure. It follows that, when searching for the basic principles with which to create a definition of leisure, whether detailed or condensed, it is best to look for them in this phenomenon's internal theory and research. Here is where we are most likely to find its essence, its unique features.

The definition of leisure presented below is intended to bridge the *individual* and *contextual* approaches, with both being equally important in defining leisure. From these two angles leisure is both seen and experienced by the individual participant and seen as implanted in the wider social, cultural, historical, and geographical world. This is the definition of leisure underpinning the SLP.

By working from these two approaches, I was able to define leisure with still greater profundity (Stebbins 2012).[2] The following condensed, dictionary-style definition of leisure emerged from that undertaking: *un-coerced, contextually framed activity engaged in during free time perceived as such, which people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually do in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both)* (enlarged from Stebbins 2005c, and subsequent publications). "Free time is time away from unpleasant, or disagreeable, obligation, with pleasant obligation being treated of here as essentially leisure" (Stebbins 2000; free time is further elaborated in Stebbins 2012, Chap. 2). In other words, *Homo otiosus* feels no significant coercion to enact the activity in question. Some kinds of work – described later as "devotee work" – can be understood as pleasant obligation, for these workers though they must make a living by performing their work, accomplish this in a pursuit having strong intrinsic appeal. Work of this kind is essentially leisure and will be regarded as such in this book. This definition is compatible with the SLP, particularly as the latter stresses human agency, or "intentionality" (Rojek 2010, p. 6) – what "people want to do" – and distinguishes the more superficial satisfaction gained from casual leisure *vis-à-vis* the deep self-fulfilment flowing from the serious form.

Note that reference to "free choice" – a long-standing component of standard definitions of leisure – is for reasons discussed more fully elsewhere (Stebbins 2005c), deliberately omitted from this definition. Generally put, choice is never wholly free, but rather hedged about with all sorts of contextual conditions. They render this concept and allied ones such as freedom and state of mind useless as essential elements of a basic definition (Juniu and Henderson 2001). Note, too, that there is no reference in this definition to the moral basis of leisure as being one of its distinguishing features. In other words, contrary to some claims made in the past

(e.g., Kaplan 1960, pp. 22–25), leisure according to the SLP may be either deviant or non-deviant (see Chap. 8 of the present volume).

"Un-coerced, people in leisure believe they are doing something they are not pushed to do, something they are not disagreeably obliged to do. In this definition emphasis is *ipso facto* on the positive side of life, the acting individual, and the play of human agency" (Stebbins 2000). This in no way denies that there may be things people want to do but cannot do because of any number of constraints on choice, because of limiting social and personal conditions; for example, aptitude, ability, socialized leisure tastes, knowledge of available activities, and accessibility of activities. In other words, when using this definition of leisure, whose central ingredient is lack of coercion, we must be sure to understand leisure activities in relation to their larger personal, structural, cultural, and historical background, their context. And it follows that leisure is not really freely chosen, as some observers have argued (e.g., Parker 1983, pp. 8–9; Kelly 1990, p. 7), since choice of activity is significantly shaped by this context.

Nor may free time, as conventionally defined, be thought of here as synonymous with leisure. We can be bored in our free time, which can result from inactivity ("nothing to do") or from activity, which alas, is uninteresting, un-stimulating. The same, of course, may happen at work and in obligated non-work settings. Since boredom is decidedly a negative state of mind, it can be argued that, logically, it is not leisure at all. For leisure is typically conceived of as a positive mind set, composed of, among other sentiments, pleasant expectations and recollections of activities and situations. Of course, it happens at times that expectations turn out to be unrealistic, and we get bored (or perhaps angry, frightened, or embarrassed) with the activity in question, transforming it in our view into something quite other than leisure. And all this may happen in free time, which exemplifies well how such time can occupy a broader area of life than leisure, which is nested within.

Neither the foregoing definition nor any of the others in this book are to be regarded as the last word on the matter. All definitions are in effect hypotheses, subject to change when data warrant (Kaplan 1964, p. 73). They are to be understood as the best we can do given our current state of knowledge. This advice is especially appropriate for the SLP, a grounded theoretic framework that *ipso facto* is highly sensitive to new ideas and their empirical moorings.

Leisure as Activity[3]

▶ Our earlier definition referred to "un-coerced activity." "An *activity* is a type of pursuit, wherein participants in it mentally or physically (often both) think or do something, motivated by the hope of achieving a desired end" (Stebbins 2000). *It is a basic life concept both in the SLP and outside it*. Our existence is filled with activities, both pleasant and unpleasant: sleeping, mowing the lawn, taking the train to work, having a tooth filled, eating lunch, playing tennis matches, running a meeting, and on and on. Activities, as this list illustrates, may be categorized as work, leisure, or non-work obligation. They

are, furthermore, general. In some instances, they refer to the behavioral side of recognizable roles, for example commuter, tennis player, and chair of a meeting. In others we may recognize the activity but not conceive of it so formally as a role, exemplified in someone sleeping, mowing a lawn, or eating lunch (not as patron in a restaurant).

The concept of activity is an abstraction, and as such, one broader than that of role. In other words, roles are associated with particular statuses, or positions, in society, whereas with activities, some are status based whereas others are not. For instance, sleeper is not a status, even if sleeping is an activity. It is likewise with lawn mower (person). Sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists tend to see social relations in terms of roles, and as a result, overlook activities whether aligned with a role or not. Meanwhile certain important parts of life consist of engaging in activities not recognized as roles. Where would many of us be could we not routinely sleep or eat lunch?

▶ Moreover, another dimension separates role and activity, namely, that of statics and dynamics. Roles are static whereas activities are dynamic.[4] Roles, classically conceived of, are relatively inactive expectations for behavior, whereas in activities, people are actually behaving, mentally or physically thinking or doing things to achieve certain ends. This dynamic quality provides a powerful explanatory link between an activity and a person's motivation to participate in it. Nevertheless, the idea of role *is* useful, since participants do encounter role expectations in certain activities (e.g., those in sport, work, volunteering). Although the concept of activity does not include these expectations, in its dynamism, it can, much more effectively than role, account for invention and human agency. In addition, roles and activities, as will become evident in later chapters, are often central points of operation for groups, organizations, social movements, and the like. Finally, both concepts are linchpins linking the social individual to his internal psychology, to his personality, motivation, attitudes, emotions, and so on.

▶ This definition of activity gets further amplified in the concept of *core activity*: a distinctive set of interrelated actions or steps that must be followed to achieve the outcome or product that a participant seeks. As with general activities core activities are pursued in work, leisure, and non-work obligation. Consider some examples in serious leisure: a core activity of alpine skiing is descending snow-covered slopes, in cabinet making it is shaping and finishing wood, and in volunteer fire fighting is putting out blazes and rescuing people from them. In each case the participant takes several interrelated steps to successfully ski down hill, make a cabinet, or rescue someone. In casual leisure core activities, which are much less complex than in serious leisure, are exemplified in the actions required to hold sociable conversations with friends, savor beautiful scenery, and offer simple volunteer services (e.g., handing out leaflets, directing traffic in a theater parking lot, clearing snow off the neighborhood hockey rink). Work-related core activities are seen in, for

instance, the actions of a surgeon during an operation or the improvisations on a melody by a jazz clarinetist. The core activity in mowing a lawn (non-work obligation) is pushing or riding the mower. Executing an attractive core activity and its component steps and actions is a main feature drawing participants to the general activity encompassing it, because this core directly enables them to reach a cherished goal. It is the opposite for disagreeable core activities. In short, the core activity has motivational value of its own, even if more strongly held for some activities than others and even if some activities are disagreeable but still have to be done.

Core activities can be classified as simple or complex, the two concepts finding their place at opposite poles of a continuum. The location of a core activity on this continuum partially explains its appeal or lack thereof. Most casual leisure is comprised of a set of simple core activities. Here *Homo otiosus* needs only turn on the television set, observe the scenery, drink the glass of wine (no oenophile is he), or gossip about someone. Complexity in casual leisure increases slightly when playing a board game using dice, participating in a Hash House Harrier treasure hunt, or serving as a casual volunteer by, say, collecting bottles for the Scouts or making tea and coffee after a religious service. Additionally, Harrison's (2001) study of upper-middle-class Canadian mass tourists revealed a certain level of complexity in their sensual experience of the touristic sites they visited. For people craving the simple things in life, this is the kind of leisure to head for. The other two domains abound with equivalent simple core activities, as in the work of a restaurant cashier (receiving cash/making change) or the efforts of a householder whose non-work obligation of the day is raking leaves.

So, if complexity is what people want, they must look elsewhere. Leisure projects are necessarily more complex than casual leisure activities. The types of projects listed later in Chap. 7 provide, I believe, ample proof of that. Nonetheless, they are not nearly as complex as the core activities around which serious leisure revolves. The accumulated knowledge, skill, training, and experience of, for instance, the amateur trumpet player, hobbyist stamp collector, and volunteer emergency medical worker are vast, and defy full description of how they are applied during conduct of the core activity. Of course, neophytes in the serious leisure activities lack these acquisitions, though it is unquestionably their intention to acquire them to a level where they will feel fulfilled. As with simple core activities complex equivalents also exist in the other two domains. Examples in work include the two earlier examples of the surgeon and the jazz clarinetist. In the non-work domain two common examples demonstrate a noticeable level of complexity: driving in city traffic and, for some people, preparing the annual income tax return.

Activity as just defined is, by and large, a foreign idea in psychology, anthropology, and sociology. Sure, scholars there sometimes talk about, for instance, criminal, political, or economic activity, but in so doing, they are referring, in general terms, to a broad category of behavior, not a particular set of actions comprising a pursuit. Instead, our positive concept of activity knows its greatest currency in the interdisciplinary fields of leisure studies and physical education and, more recently,

kinesiology. And I suspect that the first adopted the idea from the second. There has always been, in physical education, discussion of and research on activities promoting conditioning, exercise, outdoor interests, human movement, and so on.

▶ Moreover, leisure is positive activity. Positiveness is a personal sentiment felt by people who pursue those things in life they desire, the things they do to make their existence, rewarding, attractive, and therefore worth living (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000; Stebbins 2009). Such people feel positive about these aspects of life. Because of this sentiment they may also feel positive toward life in general.

> A primary focus of positive social scientific research is on how, when, where, and why people pursue those things in life that they desire, on the things they do to create a worthwhile existence that, in combination, is substantially rewarding, satisfying, and fulfilling. General and core activities, sometimes joined with role, most of the time agreeable, but some of the time disagreeable, form the cornerstone of leisure. It is through certain activities that people, propelled by their own agency, find positive things in life, which they blend and balance with certain negative things they must also deal with. Activities, positive and negative, are carried out in the domains of work, leisure, and non-work obligation. (Stebbins 2018a, p. 5)

Given their institutional nature, these three are best covered in Chap. 7.

Leisure as Experience

▶ The experiential side of leisure (Stebbins 2012, pp. 10–12) also finds a place in our short definition in the phrase: "activity which people want to do and, in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both) …" Thus the three basic forms of leisure discussed later in this chapter – casual, serious, and project-based – offer either satisfaction or fulfillment and, at times, both. Some serious leisure, we will see shortly, also offers the experience of psychological flow. In brief, an activity is the means for having a certain leisure experience – *thus when we speak of leisure activity, we speak of its leisure experience, whether satisfying, fulfilling, or both* (Veal 2016, misses this crucial point – see Stebbins 2016b). The theoretic advantage of linking experience, a psychological state, with activity is that the latter, also being social, has a place in the meso and macro levels of leisure analysis and theory discussed in the following chapters. Activity, with its experiential component, is a vital linchpin in leisure theory.

Driver (2003, p. 168), who stresses the intrinsic nature of leisure behavior, holds that the leisure experience is a cardinal instance of it:

> Given that a human experience is a psychological or physiological response to encountering something, a leisure experience would be any such response to a recreational engagement. All leisure experiences occur at the level of the individual, albeit strongly influenced by social and cultural contexts. Experiences can be psychological, physiological, or

psycho-physiological in nature. As with humans leisure experiences have cognitive, affective, and connotative compounds.

People participating in leisure activities have as a main goal the desire for a satisfying or a fulfilling *core* experience. Furthermore, they evaluate their involvement in these activities as good or bad, according to the level of satisfaction or fulfillment found there.

Flow is arguably the most widely examined generic intrinsic reward in the psychology of work and leisure. Some types of work and leisure generate little or no flow for their participants, whereas those that do can usually be classified either as "devotee occupations" (Stebbins 2004/2014) or as serious leisure. Still, it seems that every work and leisure activity capable of generating flow does so in unique fashion. Thus each activity must be closely studied to document the distinctive properties contributing to the kind of flow it offers. I will further elaborate in the next section on the proposition that finding flow is a major source of motivation in some areas of the SLP.

The Serious Leisure Perspective[5]

▶ The SLP can be described, in simplest terms, as the theoretic framework that synthesizes three main forms of leisure showing, at once, their distinctive features, similarities, and interrelationships. Additionally, the Perspective considers how the three forms – serious pursuits (serious leisure/devotee work), casual leisure, and project-based leisure – are shaped by various psychological, social, cultural, and historical conditions. Each form serves as a conceptual umbrella for a range of types of related activities. For a brief history of the Perspective, see the history page at www.seriousleisure.net or, for a longer version, (see Stebbins 2007/2015, Chap. 6).

▶ My research findings and theoretic musings over the past 45 years have nevertheless evolved and coalesced into a typological map of the world of leisure as defined earlier in this chapter. That is, so far as known at present, all leisure (at least in Western society) can be classified according to one of the three forms and their several types and subtypes. Figure 2.1 portrays the typological structure of the Perspective. Note that this is a map, since the reader must, for example, go to Stebbins (1997) to learn what the term casual leisure means. In other words, this typology is a theoretic rather than a descriptive construction. The same holds for Table 2.1, which sets out a typology of volunteers anchored in the SLP.[6] The theory behind both constructions is set out in the remainder of this chapter, and in even more fully, in the cluster of references presented at the beginning of this section.

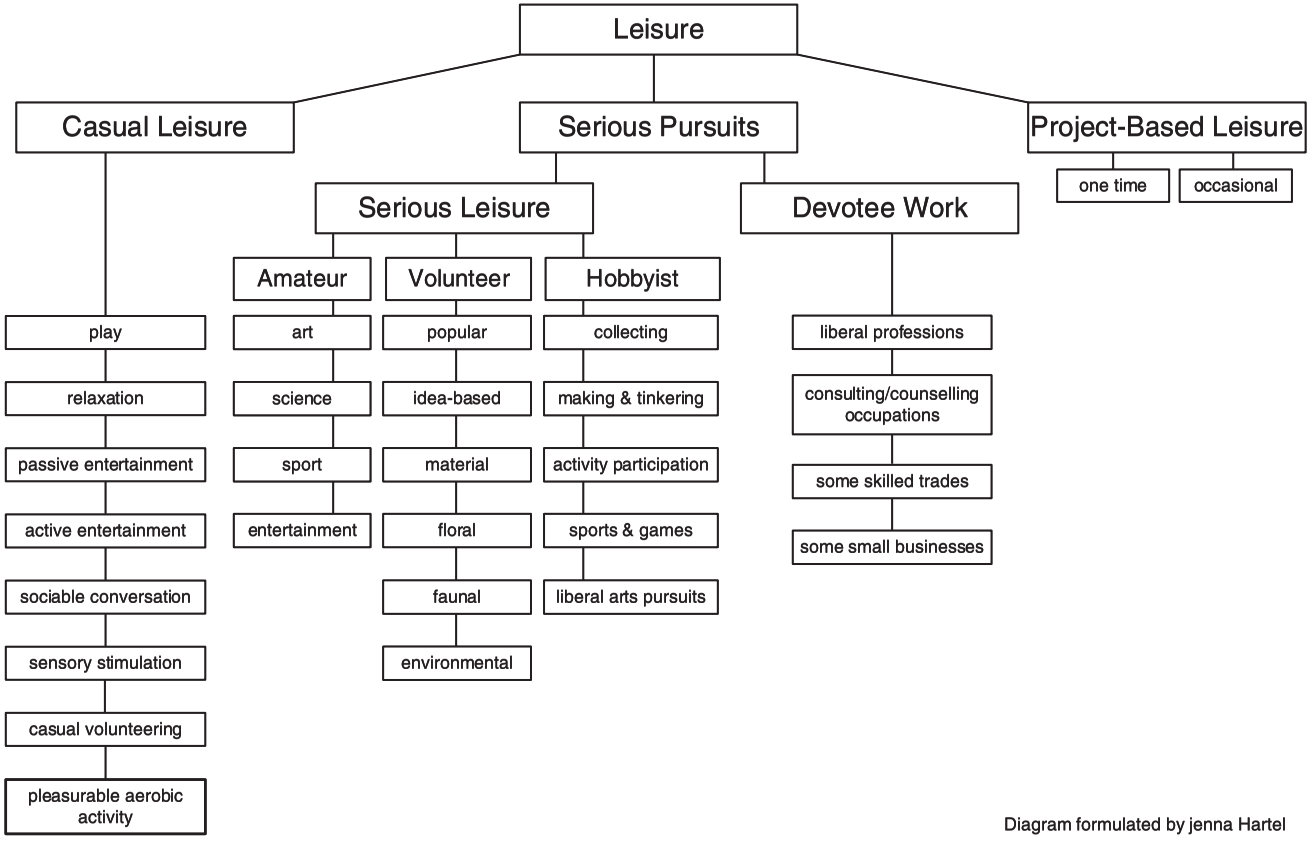

Fig. 2.1 The serious leisure perspective

Table 2.1 A leisure-based theoretic typology of volunteers and volunteering

Leisure interest	Type of volunteer		
	Serious leisure (SL)	Casual leisure (CL)	Project-based leisure (PBL)
Popular	SL popular	CL popular	PBL popular
Idea-based	SL idea-based	CL idea-based	PBL idea-based
Material	SL material	CL material	PBL material
Floral	SL floral	CL floral	PBL floral
Faunal	SL faunal	CL faunal	PBL faunal
Environmental	SL environmental	CL environmental	PBL environmental

The Serious Pursuits

▶ We start with the serious leisure component of these pursuits, which is the label for the activities of amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers. Amateurs are found in art, science, sport, and entertainment, where they are invariably linked in a variety of ways with professional counterparts. The two can be distinguished descriptively in that the activity in question constitutes a livelihood for professionals but not for amateurs. Furthermore, most professionals work full-time at the activity, whereas all amateurs pursue it part-time. Nonetheless, the two are locked in and therefore further defined, in most instances, by their place in a professional-amateur-public (P-A-P) system of relations, an arrangement too complex to describe further in this book (for details see Stebbins 1979, 1992, pp. 38–41; 2002, pp. 129–130).

Yoder's study (1997) of tournament bass fishing in the United States spawned an important modification of the original P-A-P model. He found, first, that fishers here are amateurs, not hobbyists, and second, that commodity producers serving both amateur and professional tournament fishers play a role significant enough to warrant changing the original triangular professional-amateur-public (P-A-P) system of relationships first set out in Stebbins (1979). In other words, in the social world of these amateurs, the "strangers" (defined later in this chap.) are a highly important group consisting, in the main, of national fishing organizations, tournament promoters, and manufacturers and distributors of sporting goods and services. Significant numbers of amateurs make, sell, or advertise commodities for the sport. And the professional fishers are supported by the commodity agents by way of paid entry fees for tournaments, provision of boats and fishing tackle, and subsidies for living expenses. Top professionals are given a salary to promote fishing commodities. Yoder's (1997, p. 416) modification results in a more complicated triangular model, consisting of a system of relationships linking commodity agents, professionals/commodity agents, and amateurs/publics (C-PC-AP).

The new C-PC-AP model sharpens our understanding of some other amateur fields as well. One of them is stand-up comedy, where the influence of a manager, booking agent, or comedy club owner can weigh heavily on the career of the performer (see Stebbins 1990, Chap. 7). It is likewise for certain types of entertainment magicians and the magic dealers and booking agents who inhabit their social world (Stebbins 1993) and musicians and their promoters in the mass media (Henderson and Spracklen 2018). And Wilson (1995) describes a similar, "symbiotic"

relationship between British marathon runners and the media as do Harrington, Cuskelly, and Auld (2000) for volunteering in Australian motorsport. But, for amateurs in other fields of art, science, sport, and entertainment, who are also linked to sets of strangers operating in their special social worlds, these strangers play a much more subdued role compared with the four examples just mentioned. Thus for many amateur activities, the simpler, P-A-P model still offers the most valid explanation of their social structure.

But note here that enactment of the core activity by the professionals in a particular field, to influence amateurs there, must be sufficiently visible to those amateurs. If the amateurs, in general, have no idea of the prowess of their professional counterparts, the latter become irrelevant as role models, and the leisure side of the activity remains at a hobbyist level (e.g., the pros are too rare or too obscure). This is an economic rather than a sociological definition of professional. As a result of this reasoning I have redefined "professional" in (economic rather than sociological, Stebbins 2007/2015, pp. 6–7) terms that relate better to amateurs and hobbyists, namely, as someone who is dependent on the income from an activity that other people pursue with little or no remuneration as leisure. The income on which the professional is dependent may be this person's only source of money (i.e., full-time professional) or it may be one of two or more sources of money (i.e., part-time professional). Although some of these professionals may be sociological professionals (as described in Stebbins 1992), many economic professionals are in fields where professionalization is in the sociological sense only beginning.

▶ Hobbyists lack this professional alter ego, suggesting that, historically, all amateurs were hobbyists before their fields professionalized. Both types are drawn to their leisure pursuits significantly more by self-interest than by altruism, whereas volunteers engage in activities requiring a more or less equal blend of these two motives. Hobbyists may be classified in five types: collectors, makers and tinkerers, non-competitive activity participants (e.g., fishing, hiking, orienteering), hobbyist sports and games (e.g., ultimate Frisbee, croquet, gin rummy), and the liberal arts hobbies. The liberal arts hobbyists are enamored of the systematic acquisition of knowledge for its own sake.7 Many of them accomplish this by reading voraciously in a field of art, sport, cuisine, language, culture, history, science, philosophy, politics, or literature (Stebbins 1994). But some of them go beyond this to expand their knowledge still further through cultural tourism, documentary videos, television programs, and similar resources.

▶ Volunteering according to the SLP is un-coerced, intentionally productive, altruistic activity engaged in during free time. Engaged in as leisure, it is, thus, activity that people want to do (Stebbins 2015a). It is through volunteer work – done in either a formal or an informal setting – that these people provide a service or benefit to one or more individuals (who must be outside that person's family). Usually volunteers receive no pay, though people serving in volunteer programs may be compensated for out-of-pocket expenses. Meanwhile, in the typical case, volunteers who are altruistically providing a service or benefit to others are

themselves also benefiting from various rewards experienced during this process (e.g., pleasant social interaction, self-enriching experiences, sense of contributing to nonprofit group success). In other words, volunteering is motivated by two basic attitudes: altruism and self-interest (Stebbins 1996b).

Serious leisure is rarely significantly remunerative. And this even if a potter sells a vase or two, a racquet-ball player gets paid for giving a handful of lessons, an archaeologist receives a fee for a preconstruction survey of a building site, or an amateur pitches batting practice for a local professional team. In some hobbyist sports, including snowboarding, skateboarding, and cycling, winners in competitions may receive a monetary prize, perhaps money for an endorsement, doing so often enough to make a living of some kind. But as just observed the activity does not then become a profession, since this group of elite performers is small (many participants eschew competition, Stebbins 2005a, p. 65) and limited to the number of paying consumers of such entertainment.

Devotee Work

▶ The subject of devotee work and occupational devotion has been to this point only sporadically covered. The two are so labeled because these devotees feel a powerful devotion, or strong, positive attachment, to a form of self-enhancing work. In such work the sense of achievement is high and the core activity endowed with such intense appeal that the line between this work and leisure is virtually erased (Stebbins 2004/2014). In effect, this is serious leisure for which the worker gets paid and which amounts to a significant part or all of a livelihood.

Occupational devotees turn up chiefly, though not exclusively, in four areas of the economy, providing their work there is, at most, only lightly bureaucratized: certain small businesses, the skilled trades, the consulting and counseling occupations, and the public- and client-centered professions. Public-centered professions are found in the arts, sports, scientific, and entertainment fields, while those that are client-centered abound in such fields as law, teaching, accounting, and medicine (Stebbins 1992, p. 22). It is assumed in all this that the work and its core activity to which people become devoted carries with it a respectable personal and social identity within their reference groups, since it would be difficult, if not impossible, to be devoted to work that those groups scorned.

The fact of devotee work for some people and its possibility for others signals that work, as one of life's domains, may be highly positive. Granted, most workers are not fortunate enough to find such work. For those who do find it, the work meets six criteria (Stebbins 2004/2014, p. 9). To generate occupational devotion:

1. The valued core activity must be profound; to perform it acceptability requires substantial skill, knowledge, or experience or a combination of two or three of these.
2. The core must offer significant variety.

3. The core must also offer significant opportunity for creative or innovative work, as a valued expression of individual personality. The adjectives "creative" and "innovative" stress that the undertaking results in something new or different, showing imagination and application of routine skill or knowledge. That is, boredom is likely to develop only after the onset of fatigue experienced from long hours on the job, a point at which significant creativity and innovation are no longer possible.
4. The would-be devotee must have reasonable control over the amount and disposition of time put into the occupation (the value of freedom of action), such that he can prevent it from becoming a burden. Medium and large bureaucracies have tended to subvert this criterion. For, in interest of the survival and development of their organization, managers have felt they must deny their nonunionized employees this benefit, sometimes forcing them to accept stiff deadlines and heavy workloads. But no activity, be it leisure or work, is so appealing that it invites unlimited participation during all waking hours.
5. The would-be devotee must have both an aptitude and a taste for the work in question. This is, in part, a case of one man's meat being another's poison. John finds great fulfillment in being a physician, an occupation that holds little appeal for Jane who, instead, adores being a lawyer (work John finds unappealing).
6. The devotees must work in a physical and social milieu that encourages them to pursue often and without significant constraint the core activity. This includes freedom from excessive paperwork, caseloads, class sizes, market demands, and the like.

Sounds ideal, if not idealistic, but in fact occupations and work roles exist that meet these criteria. In today's climate of occupational deskilling, over-bureaucratization, and similar impediments to fulfilling core activity at work, many people find it difficult to locate or arrange devotee employment. The six criteria listed below characterize serious leisure and devotee work, giving further substance to the claim put forward here that such leisure and devotee work occupy a great deal of common ground. Together they comprise the class of serious pursuits.

Six Qualities

▶ The serious pursuits are further defined by six distinctive qualities (sometimes referred to as characteristics), qualities uniformly found among its amateurs, hobbyists, and volunteers (Stebbins 2007/2015, pp. 11–13). Sometimes this is a matter of degree. More precisely, their richest manifestation is found in these pursuits, with diluted manifestation or none at all evident in some casual and project-based activities. For example, even in the serious pursuits, neophytes are unlikely to put in the levels of effort and perseverance that moderate devotees do (see Fig. 4.1).

Thus there is the occasional need to persevere. Participants who want to continue experiencing the same level of fulfillment in the activity must meet certain

challenges from time to time. Another quality sharply distinguishing all the serious pursuits is the opportunity to follow a (leisure, or leisure-devotee work) career in the endeavor, a career shaped by its own special contingencies, turning points, and stages of achievement and involvement (the most extensive treatment now found in Stebbins 2014). Moreover, most, if not all, careers here owe their existence to a third quality: serious leisure participants make significant personal effort using their specially acquired knowledge, training, or skill and, indeed at times, all three. Careers for serious leisure participants unfold along lines of their efforts to achieve, for instance, a high level of showmanship, athletic prowess, or scientific knowledge or to accumulate formative experiences in a volunteer role.

▶ The serious pursuits are further distinguished by several durable benefits, or tangible, salutary outcomes such activity has for its participants. They include self-actualization, self-enrichment, self-expression, self-fulfillment, regeneration or renewal of self, feelings of accomplishment, enhancement of self-image, social interaction and sense of belonging, and lasting physical products of the activity (e.g., a painting, scientific paper, piece of furniture). A further benefit – self-gratification, or pure fun, which is by far the most evanescent benefit in this list – is also enjoyed by casual leisure participants. The possibility of realizing such benefits constitutes a powerful goal in the serious pursuits.

▶ Fifth, each serious pursuit is distinguished by a complex unique ethos that emerges in parallel with each expression of it. An ethos is the spirit of the community of serious leisure/devotee work participants, as manifested in shared context of attitudes, practices, values, beliefs, goals, and so on. The social world of the participants is the organizational milieu in which the associated ethos – at bottom a cultural formation – is expressed (as attitudes, beliefs, values) or realized (as practices, goals). The complexity of this ethos is also a matter of degree, which means that empirical and theoretical cut off points separating casual leisure and serious pursuits must be established statistically, using for example, the Serious Leisure Inventory and Measure (SLIM) or the 21-item scale of Tsaur and Liang (2008) (see later in this chapter).

▶ According to David Unruh (1979, 1980) every social world has its characteristic groups, events, routines, practices, and organizations. It is held together, to an important degree, by semiformal, or mediated, communication. In other words, in the typical case, social worlds are neither heavily bureaucratized nor substantially organized through intense face-to-face interaction. Rather, communication is commonly mediated by newsletters, posted notices, telephone messages, mass mailings, radio and television announcements, and similar means.

▶ Unruh (1980, p. 277) says of the social world that it:

> must be seen as a unit of social organization which is diffuse and amorphous in character. Generally larger than groups or organizations, social worlds are not necessarily defined by formal boundaries, membership lists, or spatial territory…. A social world must be seen as an internally recognizable constellation of actors, organizations, events, and practices

> which have coalesced into a perceived sphere of interest and involvement for participants. Characteristically, a social world lacks a powerful centralized authority structure and is delimited by … effective communication and not territory nor formal group membership.

The social world is a diffuse, amorphous entity to be sure, but nevertheless one of great importance in the impersonal, segmented life of the modern urban community. Its importance is further amplified by the parallel element of the special ethos (which is missing from Unruh's conception), namely that such worlds are also constituted of a substantial subculture. One function of this subculture is to interrelate the many components of this diffuse and amorphous entity. In other words, there is associated with each social world a set of special norms, values, beliefs, styles, moral principles, performance standards, and similar shared representations.

▶ Every social world contains four types of members: strangers, tourists, regulars, and insiders (Unruh 1979, 1980). The strangers are intermediaries who normally participate little in the leisure/work activity itself, but who nonetheless do something important to make it possible, for example, by managing municipal parks (in amateur baseball), minting coins (in hobbyist coin collecting), and organizing the work of teachers' aids (in career volunteering). Tourists are temporary participants in a social world; they have come on the scene momentarily for entertainment, diversion, or profit. Most amateur and hobbyist activities have publics of some kind, which are, at bottom, constituted of tourists. The clients of many volunteers can be similarly classified. The regulars routinely participate in the social world; in serious leisure, they are the amateurs, hobbyists, and volunteers themselves. The insiders are those among them who show exceptional devotion to the social world they share, to maintaining it, to advancing it (see involvement scale in Stebbins 2014, pp. 32–33 or in www.seriousleisure.net/Diagrams). Scott and McMahan (2017) describe in detail these exceptional participants who engage in "hard-core" leisure.

▶ The sixth quality – participants in serious leisure tend to identify strongly with their chosen pursuits – springs from the presence of the other five distinctive qualities. In contrast, most casual leisure, although not usually humiliating or despicable, is nonetheless too fleeting, mundane, and commonplace to become the basis for a distinctive *identity* for most people. Some of the benefits (e.g., sense of belonging, self-gratification), aspects of a social world, and identity are also found in some casual leisure, albeit in comparatively watered-down form. In other words, notable perseverance and effort linked to a sharp sense of leisure career and durable benefits all of which are framed in the social world and ethos of the activity underlie the distinctive identity that emerges.

Rewards, Costs, and Motivation[8]

▶ A main way that the serious pursuits are set off from other kinds of work and leisure is by the extraordinary rewards they offer. "These rewards act as powerful motives for being involved in one or more of those pursuits. Still, the

serious pursuits are also distinguished by the fact that participants sometimes encounter costs while engaging in them. It is this profile of rewards *and* costs that places the serious pursuits at odds with the popular images of work as drudgery and leisure as an unalloyed good time" (Stebbins 2014, p. 10; see also Stebbins 2017b). To repeat, this explains why the interviewees in my various exploratory studies kept underscoring that their leisure was out of the ordinary, not like that of most other people, they said.

▶ Put more precisely, then, the drive – persevering and making the effort across the leisure career – to find fulfilment in serious leisure is the drive to experience the rewards of a given leisure activity, such that its costs are seen by the participant as more or less insignificant by comparison. This is at once the meaning of the activity for the participant and his or her motivation for engaging in it. It is this motivational, mainspring for action, sense of the concept of reward that distinguishes it from the idea of durable benefit set out earlier, a concept that, as I said, emphasizes outcomes rather than antecedent conditions. Nonetheless, the two ideas do constitute two sides of the same social psychological coin.

▶ The rewards of a serious leisure pursuit are the more or less routine values that attract and hold its enthusiasts. Every serious leisure career both frames and is framed by the continuous search for these rewards. Moreover, this search may take months, and in some fields years, before the participant consistently finds self-fulfillment in his or her amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity. Ten rewards have so far emerged in the course of the many explorations of amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers. As the following list shows, the rewards are predominantly personal.

Personal Rewards

1. Personal enrichment (cherished experiences)
2. Self-actualization (developing skills, abilities, knowledge)
3. Self-expression (expressing skills, abilities, knowledge already developed)
4. Self-image (known to others as a particular kind of serious leisure participant)
5. Self-gratification (combination of superficial enjoyment and deep fulfillment)
6. Re-creation (regeneration) of oneself through serious leisure after a day's work
7. Financial return (from a serious leisure activity)

Social Rewards

8. Social attraction (associating with other leisure participants, with clients as a volunteer, participating in the social world of the activity)
9. Group accomplishment (group effort in accomplishing a serious leisure project; senses of helping, being needed, being altruistic)
10. Contribution to the maintenance and development of the group (including senses of helping, being needed, being altruistic in making the contribution)

In the various studies on amateurs, hobbyists, and volunteers, these rewards, depending on the activity, were often given different weights by research interviewees to reflect their importance relative to each other. Nonetheless, some common ground exists, for the studies do show that, in terms of their personal importance, most serious leisure participants rank self-enrichment and self-gratification as number one and number two. Moreover, to find either reward, participants must have acquired sufficient levels of relevant skill, knowledge, and experience and be in a position to use these acquisitions (Stebbins 1979, 1993). In other words, self-actualization, which was often ranked third in importance, is also highly rewarding in serious leisure.

▶ Let me interject here a brief aside on terminology. As mentioned earlier I have in recent years taken to using the term *self-fulfillment* (Stebbins 2004a). It points to a fulfilling experience, or more precisely, to a set of chronological experiences leading to development to the fullest of a person's gifts and character, to development of that person's full potential. Such an acquisition is certainly both a reward and a benefit of serious leisure. Rewards 1 through 3 are manifestations of fulfillment. In this regard, Matsumoto et al. (2018) in their study of leisure and happiness discovered levels of satisfaction that rose with the level of seriousness of the activity and greater well-being.

▶ *Satisfaction*, the term I once used, sometimes refers to a satisfying experience that is fun or enjoyable (also referred to as gratifying). In another sense this noun may refer to meeting or satisfying a need or want. In neither instance does satisfaction denote the preferred sense of fulfillment just presented. In general, satisfaction is commonly what we gain from casual leisure, whereas fulfillment typically comes with its serious counterpart. Reward number 5 sometimes brings the enthusiast both, as in the jazz musician who had "fun" at the jam session (i.e., it was fun to play well while developing further as an artist).

Thrills and Flow

▶ Thrills are part of this reward structure. *Thrills*, or high points, are the sharply exciting events and occasions that stand out in the minds of those who pursue a kind of serious leisure or devotee work. In general, they tend to be associated with the rewards of self-enrichment and, to a lesser extent, those of self-actualization and self-expression. That is, thrills in serious leisure and devotee work may be seen as situated manifestations of certain more abstract rewards; they are what participants in some fields seek as concrete expressions of the rewards they find there. They are important, in substantial part, because they motivate the participant to stick with the pursuit in hope of finding similar experiences again and again and because they demonstrate that diligence and commitment may pay off. Because thrills, as defined here, are based on a certain level of mastery of the core of an amateur or hobbyist activity, they know no equivalent in casual leisure. The thrill of a roller coaster ride is qualitatively different from a successful descent down a roaring rapids in a kayak where the boater has the experience, knowledge, and skill to accomplish this.

Over the years Stebbins has identified several thrills that come with the serious leisure activities he studied (e.g., Stebbins 1996a, 2005a; the eight studies

summarized in Stebbins 1992).[9] These thrills are exceptional instances of flow, which was set out earlier as a special part of the leisure experience. Flow is one of the most prominent concepts to have been imported into the SLP, and a powerful motivator in activities capable of generating it.

▶ In his theory of optimal experience, Csikszentmihalyi (1990, pp. 3–5, 54) describes and explains the psychological foundation of the many flow activities in work and leisure, as exemplified in chess, dancing, surgery, and rock climbing. Flow is "autotelic" experience, or the sensation that comes with the actual enacting of intrinsically rewarding activity. Over the years Csikszentmihalyi (1990, pp. 49–67) has identified and explored eight components of this experience. It is easy to see how this quality of complex core activity, when present, is sufficiently rewarding and, it follows, highly valued to endow it with many of the qualities of serious leisure, thereby rendering the two, at the motivational level, inseparable in several ways. And this even though most people tend to think of work and leisure as vastly different. The eight components are

1. sense of competence in executing the activity;
2. requirement of concentration;
3. clarity of goals of the activity;
4. immediate feedback from the activity;
5. sense of deep, focused involvement in the activity;
6. sense of control in completing the activity;
7. loss of self-consciousness during the activity;
8. sense of time is truncated during the activity.

These components are self-evident, except possibly for the first and the sixth. With reference to the first, flow fails to develop when the activity is either too easy or too difficult; to experience flow the participant must feel capable of performing a moderately challenging activity. The sixth component refers to the perceived degree of control the participant has over execution of the activity. This is not a matter of personal competence; rather it is one of degree of maneuverability in the fact of uncontrollable external forces, a condition well illustrated in situations faced by the mountain hobbyists mentioned above, as when the water level suddenly rises on the river or an unpredicted snowstorm results in a whiteout on a mountain snowboard slope. The extensive research base supporting flow theory is selectively examined in Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi (2009). A study by Chang (2017) shows how certain serious leisure activities can generate flow.

Costs[10]

▶ Both rewards and costs were mentioned by the interviewees during research into their serious pursuits. More particularly, they saw their leisure as a mix of rewards offsetting costs as experienced in the central activity. Moreover, every serious pursuit contains its own combination of these costs, which each participant must confront in some way. In other words, costs are motivators – we are motivated to avoid them. The definition in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (2002) is

commensurate with this proposition: "3. Expenditure of time or labour; what is borne, lost, or suffered in accomplishing or gaining something." It is evident here that in leisure a cost in this the sense of this dictionary is a *consequence* of participation, of pursuing a leisure activity. It therefore can be a constraint only in the sense that in anticipating a cost the participant foregoes participating. Examples include refusing to perform a solo on the violin because of impending stage fright (tension) or to play a match in sport because of possible tense relations with the coach.

So far, it has been impossible to develop a general list of them, as has been done for the rewards. The reason seems to be that the costs tend to be highly specific to each activity. In general terms the costs discovered to date may be classified as *disappointments*, *dislikes*, or *tensions* (first discussed in Stebbins 1992, Chap. 6). Thus, it can be disappointing to fail to place in a sports contest, to be able to afford a treasured antique for one's collection, or paint a landscape as the artists believes it should be done. Dislikes arise in the serious pursuits when, for instance, an umpire makes what players regard as a bad call, a weekend rain spoils the backpacking trip, or a book's price discourages a hobbyist reader from purchasing it. The tensions tend to be interpersonal, as in civic orchestra conductors who lambaste the playing of a section, friction between volunteer coordinators and the volunteers whom they direct, or disagreements with the management of a recreation center that provides racket ball and badminton courts.

Interestingly, certain positive psychological states may be founded, to some extent, on certain negative, often notorious, conditions (e.g., tennis elbow, frostbite [cross-country skiing], stage fright, and frustration [in acquiring a collectable, learning a theatre part]). Such conditions can enhance the senses of achievement and self-fulfillment as the enthusiast manages to conquer the attendant adversity. People contemplating a fulfillment career need to be aware of these possibilities, recognizing especially that they are normal and that participants tend to overcome them.

There has been over the years a certain amount of additional theoretic work on the concept of costs (Stebbins 2005b, 2001b, 2016a; Lamont et al. 2014, 2015). Nevertheless, apart from the author's fieldwork (Stebbins 1996a, 2005a; the eight studies summarized in Stebbins 1992), only four other investigations have shed further empirical light on the subject (Major 2001 on runners; Kennelly et al. 2013 on triathletes; Thurnell-Read 2016 on beer making; Lee and Scott 2006, on recreational specialization). Kennelly et al. show that costs can sometimes be understood as leisure constraints, a matter noted earlier and to which we shall return in Chaps. 4, 6, and 8.

Casual Leisure[11]

▶ Casual leisure is an immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived, pleasurable core activity, requiring little or no special training to enjoy it (Stebbins 1997, 2001b). It is fundamentally hedonic, pursued for its significant level of pure enjoyment, or pleasure. There are eight types of casual leisure (see Fig. 2.1). The last and newest addition to this typology – pleasurable aerobic activity – refers to

physical activities that require effort sufficient to cause marked increase in respiration and heart rate. Here I (Stebbins 2004b) am speaking of "aerobic activity" in the broad sense, to all activity that calls for such effort, which to be sure, includes the routines pursued collectively in (narrowly conceived of) aerobics classes and those pursued individually by way of televised or video-taped programs of aerobics. Yet, as with its passive and active cousins in entertainment, pleasurable aerobic activity is, at bottom, casual leisure. That is, to do such activity requires little more than minimal skill, knowledge, or experience, first-time silo ice climbing being an example (Briggs and Stebbins 2014) as well as some of the physical activity of retirees (Liechty et al. 2016) and participation in "exergames" (Kooiman and Sheehan 2015). All casual leisure is hedonic, though two of its types can also lead to eudaimonic (fulfilling) serious pursuits. That is, play and casual volunteering, can spark a career in a corresponding serious pursuit. This starting point for a leisure career is taken up in Chap. 4.

Moreover, my own observations of casual leisure suggest that hedonism, or self-gratification, although it is a principal reward here, must still share the stage with one or two other rewards. Thus any type of casual leisure, like any type of serious pursuit, can also help *re-create*, or regenerate, its participants following a lengthy stint of obligatory activity. Furthermore, some forms of casual leisure and the serious pursuits offer the reward of *social attraction*, the appeal of being with other people while participating in a common activity. Nevertheless, even though some casual and serious leisure participants and devotee workers share certain rewards, research on this question will likely show that these two types experience them in sharply different ways. For example, the social attraction of belonging to a barbershop chorus or a company of actors with all its specialized shoptalk diverges considerably from that of belonging to a group of people playing a party game or taking a boat tour where such talk is highly unlikely to occur.

We have so far been able to identify five benefits, or positive outcomes, of casual leisure (discussion of such benefits dates to Stebbins 2001b; see also Stebbins 2015b, pp. 30–32). One lasting benefit of casual leisure is the creativity and discovery it sometimes engenders, usually through play. Another benefit springs from what in 1975 Chris Daniels labelled "edutainment" (*New World Encyclopedia*, 2008) holds that this benefit of casual leisure comes with participating in such mass entertainment as watching films and television programs, listening to popular music, and reading popular books and articles. Here participants inadvertently learn something of substance about the social and physical world in which they live. Third, as just mentioned casual leisure affords regeneration, or re-creation, possibly even more so than its counterpart, serious leisure, since the latter can sometimes be intense. A fourth benefit that may flow from participation in casual leisure originates in the development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships. Such relationships, Hutchinson and Kleiber (2005) found in a set of studies of some of the benefits of casual leisure, can foster personal psychological growth by promoting new shared interests and, in the course of this process, new positive appraisals of self. Well-being is still another benefit that can flow from engaging in casual leisure. Speaking only for the realm of leisure, perhaps the greatest sense of well-being is achieved when a person develops an optimal leisure lifestyle.

Project-Based Leisure[12]

▶ Project-based leisure is a short-term, moderately complicated, one-shot or occasional though infrequent, creative undertaking carried out in free time (Stebbins 2005d). It requires considerable planning, effort, and sometimes skill or knowledge, but is for all that neither serious leisure nor intended to develop into such. The adjective "occasional" describes, widely spaced, undertakings for such regular occasions as religious festivals, someone's birthday, or a national holiday. The adjective "creative" stresses that the undertaking results in something new or different, showing imagination and perhaps routine skill or knowledge. Though most projects would appear to be continuously pursued until completed, it is conceivable that some might be interrupted for several weeks, months, even years (e.g., a stone wall in the back garden that gets finished only after its builder recovers from an operation on his strained back).

One-Off Projects

In all these projects people generally use the talents and knowledge they have at hand, even though for some projects they may seek certain instructions beforehand, including reading a book or taking a short course. And some projects resembling hobbyist activity participation may require a modicum of preliminary conditioning. Always, the goal is to undertake successfully the one-off project and nothing more, and sometimes a small amount of background preparation is necessary for this. It is possible that a survey would show that most project-based leisure is hobbyist in character, the next most common is a kind of volunteering, and third are the arts projects.

Occasional Projects

The occasional projects seem more likely to originate in or be motivated by agreeable obligation than their one-off cousins. Examples of occasional projects include the sum of the culinary, decorative, or other creative activities undertaken, for example, at home or at work for a religious occasion or someone's birthday. Likewise, national holidays and similar celebrations sometimes inspire individuals to mount occasional projects consisting of an ensemble of inventive elements. "Games Gypsies," or volunteers who drift from one major event to another, also exemplify this type of project-based leisure.

Project-based leisure is a relative newcomer to the SLP and, as such, has so far attracted only 18 studies and theoretic statements (see www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography). There is a certain concentration in this genre of research in the area of sport and games, often centered on its volunteer projects.

Empirical Validation

I have already considered the empirical validity of certain specialized aspects of the SLP. In this section we tackle this question with reference to the basic concepts, namely, those of volunteering and the amateur and hobbyist activities (all framed in

the SLP) as these are listed under their headings in www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography. Each study gives empirical, and occasionally theoretical, weight to the definitions of these three types presented earlier. Each study also provides descriptive and analytic data on the activity that was examined. More generally, by way of empirical support, the basic concepts have emerged and continue to be shaped inductively as grounded theory from 25 core exploratory studies. Eight of them centered on amateurs summarized in Stebbins (1992) plus 1 of amateur mycologists (Fine 1998), 10 centered on hobbyists (Stebbins 1996a, 2005a, 2013; Stalp 2007; Briggs and Stebbins 2014; de Solier 2013; Breeze 2015), and 6 bore on volunteers (Stebbins 1998, 2005b, 2006a).

This body of research will be referred to from time to time in the coming chapters as the "Foundational Ethnographies." All are books (save Briggs and Stebbins 2014 and Stebbins 1980, 1981, 1982), for a reasonably full exploration of the basics of the SLP requires far more space than is available for the typical journal article or chapter in an edited collection. Nevertheless, these latter studies – there are over 400 of them – do contain some original validating data.[13]

As of the writing of this book, many scholars have since contributed enormously to the validation of these basic concepts. The definitions of these ideas would appear to be predominantly a one-man show, though this is an accurate impression only for their inductive shaping from grounded theoretic data. After that many others have joined in. At last count derived from the website and the more than 2500 references to validating theory and research in its Bibliography, there were 128 such studies of amateurs, 338 of hobbyists, and 135 of career and casual volunteers. The 179 studies listed in Sport and Games bring in an additional set of amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities inventoried separately from the three types. The area of work (N=59 studies) is relatively weak, in the sense of being the direct focus of inquiry, though the devotee workers of interest here get their start in one of the three types. Devotee work is also one of the most recently conceptualized of the SLP forms (Stebbins 2004/2014).[14] Casual leisure has generated 129 studies in its comparatively short scientific history known by that title (Stebbins 1997, see www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/CasualLeisure). Compared with the total number of studies on all serious leisure (N=839), the 129 studies of casual leisure help debunk any impression that the SLP is only centered on serious leisure. Moreover, in Chap. 4, I explore the critical relationship of casual and project-based to careers in the serious in pursuits (see especially Fig. 4.1). As just mentioned, project-based leisure, the late comer that it is, has so far generated a mere 20 theoretical and empirical works (see list in the above-mentioned bibliography). Viewed against the amount research on the serious pursuits, both casual and project-based leisure need more empirical attention.

Quantitative research on the serious pursuits and casual leisure has been aided substantially by the recent development of several measurement scales (see www.seriousleisure.net/MeasurementScales), the oldest being the Serious Leisure Inventory and Measure (SLIM) by Gould et al. (2008) and the 21-item scale for measuring serious leisure created by Tsaur and Liang (2008). These scales operationalize the six qualities thereby enabling us to statistically distinguish casual from

serious involvement in a given leisure activity. The following studies, among others, have applied the full SLIM to this end: Heo et al. (2013), Kim, Dattilo, and Heo (2011), Heo et al. (2010), Lee et al. (2017), Gallant, Smale, and Arai (2016), Misener, Doherty, and Hamm-Kerwin (2010), Heo et al. (2012), Munusturlar and Argan (2016), Gould et al. (2011), Portugal et al. (2017), Romero, Iraurgi, and Madariaga (2017), and Lee, Gould, and Mark Hsu (2017). Cheng and Tsaur (2012), who studied Taiwanese surfers using the Tsaur-Liang scale, developed a structural equation model to confirm the causal relationships among the variables. The theory explaining this statistical distinction of casual and serious leisure is set out in Chap. 4 under the headings of subjective career and the SLP involvement scale.

Turning to the six qualities they are frequently but not uniformly discussed in the ethnographic studies, which constitute the large majority of those listed in the preceding paragraph (see also the quantitative work of. The quality of ethos and especially its component of the social world has possibly the weakest coverage, in that the complexity of the latter is only occasionally well described. The quality of leisure career is a pivotal idea in the SLP, requiring thus separate treatment in Chaps. 4 and 6. Commensurate with the author's studies mentioned earlier that looked into thrills (Stebbins 1992, 1996a, 2005a) this same corpus also either reports on or summarizes the exploratory research on the six qualities, including career and social world.

Conclusions: Context in Leisure Studies

The theoretic center of leisure studies is leisure itself. The SLP emerged inductively from a foundational set of eight exploratory studies of various leisure activities dating from 1973 (summarized in Stebbins 1992, 2001a, 2007/2015). For this reason, the Perspective can be qualified as an *internal* theory and contrasted with the various *external* theories that have also been used to explain this sphere of life. Leisure is un-coerced positive activity in which the participant finds the sought-after leisure experience. The SLP was presented in its various forms, types, and subtypes as these are interrelated.

The word *context* has become my preferred summary term for the micro-macro/agency-structure levels of phenomena in the worlds of work and leisure. It embraces a diversity of collective formations, many of them commonly given short shrift in the multitude of abstract arguments about context. These formations include the social worlds, formal organizations, social institutions, spatial arrangements, social movements, and global postmodern tribes that make up modern social life (discussed in Stebbins 2017a, 2018a).

► Context can be effectively studied on three levels: micro, meso, and macro. The term *meso structure* was coined by David Maines (1982) to identify the intermediate field of interaction lying between the micro sphere of agency, emotions, beliefs, immediate social interaction, and so on and the macro sphere of such all-encompassing, broad-ranging abstractions as community, society, culture, social-class, social and historical trends, and the large-scale organizations. On the meso-structural level, human (micro-level) interaction continues to be evident in interpersonal relationships, small groups, social networks, social worlds, and lifestyles.

Jonathan Turner's (2005) interest in the micro-macro/agency-structure question harmonizes well with one of the themes of this book: to understand leisure we must recognize that the domain of leisure is also built on these three levels. Over the years *Homo otiosus* has created a great variety of contextual arrangements to meet his leisure needs and interests (e.g., organizations, social worlds, subcultures). Furthermore, there is notable "embeddedness" (Turner's term) in these arrangements. For instance, individual leisure participants fit into their all-encompassing social worlds; that is, they establish organizations with some of them spawning national or international federations, and they go in for activities that reflect certain values of the day (e.g., the modern interest in adventure, physical fitness, individuality).

The next chapter launches our synthesis of the SLP, as carried out according to these contextual levels. It will proceed from micro to meso to macro, a theoretic progression that is more compatible with grounded theoretic research than the reverse. That is, fieldwork and semi-structured interviews, which are common in exploratory research in leisure studies, tend to deliver micro- and macro-contextual results, portraying the leisure world as *Homo otiosus* sees it. It is also the theoretic route taken by Max Weber, which he started on with *Verstehen* and from there proceeded to develop a profound explanation of organization and bureaucracy. Yet, it should also be evident in the following pages how macro and meso levels leave their own marks on lower levels of context. In other words, the SLP shows well how the influence of the contextual levels is reciprocal.

Notes

1. Rojek, by the way, does not seem to accept this evaluation of the field of leisure studies, but merely reports on it in his discussion of its history and present-day situation.
2. The remainder of this section summarizes the evolution of my ideas on the definition of leisure, which began in Stebbins (2002) and continued through Stebbins (2005c, 2007/2015, pp. 4–5; 2012, p. 5; and 2017a, pp. 1–2).
3. This section is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A. *The interrelationship between play and leisure: Play as leisure, Leisure as Play*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 6–9 and Stebbins, R.A. *Leisure and consumption: Common ground, separate worlds*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, pp. 10–13.
4. I am aware that general sociological theory conceives of roles as dynamic and statuses as static. Compared with activities, however, roles are *relatively* static.
5. This main section (pp. 26–34) is taken verbatim from Stebbins, R. A. (2018a, pp. 11–22) with acknowledgement to Emerald Group Publishing for granting permission to use this material.
6. Based on qualitative research Arai (2000) developed a specialized typology consisting of three types of career volunteering that helps us understand the link between such activity and collective action, citizenship, and social capital.
7. These activities are inherently non-competitive, even while individuals might compete as to who reaches the mountain top first, catches the most fish or the biggest one, seen the greatest variety of birds, and so on.

8. This section is reprinted verbatim with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2014, pp. 10–15) and Palgrave Macmillan.
9. Thrills defined as such have attracted little empirical attention among researchers in leisure studies.
10. This section is reprinted verbatim with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2014, pp. 11–12) and Palgrave Macmillan.
11. This section is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2014, pp. 15–20) and Palgrave Macmillan.
12. This section is reprinted from Stebbins, R. A. (2005e, pp. 7–8).
13. Of the first 8 foundational studies 2 were of amateurs in theater and classical music, 2 of entertainment magic and stand-up comedy (amateurs and pros), 2 in amateur baseball and amateur/professional Canadian football, and 2 in amateur archaeology and amateur/professional astronomy. The hobbyists were readers, silo ice climbers, barbershop singers, river kayakers, snowboarders, mountain climbers, quilters, foodies, and roller derby enthusiasts. The volunteers were (a) key volunteers serving in the French communities in Calgary and Edmonton, Canada and (b) key volunteers in a small sample of non-profit grassroots associations in Calgary.
14. Data supporting the idea of occupational devotion come from research by Kuusi and Haukola (2017), Carnicelli-Filho, S. (2010), and Henderson and Spracklen (2014).

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Part I

Micro Level

Leisure, Attitudes and Identity

3

This chapter and the next are devoted to the micro contextual aspects of the SLP. In this chapter we cover the attitudes that distinguish amateurs and professionals. The chapter also treats of values, personal and social identity, selfishness, uncontrollability and marginality, and play. Though the distinction is rough the subjects of discussion here are more strictly limited to the micro; they have minimal overlap with the other two contexts. The subjects of Chap. 4, though also classified as micro, have great overlap; they therefore evince greater embeddedness.

Attitudes

In three of the early studies (reported in Stebbins 1979), I was interested in separating according to strength of attitude amateurs from professionals and separating both from their publics (including dabblers and neophytes). In this quest I found that confidence, perseverance, commitment, preparedness, and self-conception distinguish participants in the serious pursuits from all other participants in leisure, even while amateurs are distinguished from professionals and other devotee workers by these same attitudes.

Confidence is a prominent quality of experienced professionals, but comparatively low among most amateurs (in sport see Weiss 1969, pp. 201–205). Questions dart through the typical amateur's mind, such as: is this scientific finding significant? is this the correct entry for my solo? what if I should fall while doing this dance step? I get so nervous in overtime that I cannot control the ball. Amateurs, some more than seasoned professionals, still doubt their abilities, express them

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_3

timidly, lose control through nervous tension, and the like. Professionals experience nervousness, too, but they have learned how to control its effects.

Perseverance similarly distinguishes these two groups. Professionals, seasoned or green, know they must stick with their pursuits when the going gets tough (in the arts see Collingwood 1958, pp. 313–314). Assisting them here is the professional subculture. It helps them interpret vituperative comments from critics, coaches, conductors, directors, editors, and others, comments that amateurs are less likely to get, if they get any at all. That subculture also encourages them to persist at shaping skills that seem to have reached a plateau in their development, done by revealing that progress will resume in the future after certain steps are taken. Additionally, certain tricks of the trade that facilitate progress and that infrequently seep down to the amateurs, circulate widely among the professionals. One of these, found in some professional sports, is how to foul an opposing player without detection by the officials, a skill that helps control him. Finally, injuries, especially a series of them, can be discouraging for any athlete, professional or amateur. Again, the former are aided, not only by continuous encouragement from colleagues, but also by medically trained personnel whose expertise in athletic injuries is expected to lead to the fastest possible recovery.

▶ The greater perseverance of professionals is fostered, for the most part, by their greater continuance commitment. The concept of *continuance commitment*, elaborated by Becker (1960), Kantor (1968), and Stebbins (1970a), is defined as "the awareness of the impossibility of choosing a different social identity … because of the imminence of penalties involved in making the switch" (Stebbins 1970a, p. 527). Although continuance commitment to a professional identity is a selfenhancing condition – being forced to remain in a respectable status – penalties still accumulate to militate against its renunciation. For example, such movement is limited, for some professionals, by legal contracts, pension funds, and seniority. Others may have made expensive investments of time, energy, and money in obtaining training and equipment. With few exceptions amateurs never experience these sorts of pressures to stay at their pursuits. Rather, they have a strong *value commitment* paralleling their weak continuance commitment (Stebbins 1970a), while professionals commonly have high loadings on both dimensions. Value commitment has been studied, among others, as "attachment" (Goffman 1961) and "identification with" a role (Stone 1962, p. 90). Here we speak of the positive attraction that is found, for example, in the leisure activities.

The Foundational Ethnographies showed that, as one might expect, it takes a certain amount of time for amateurs and hobbyists to develop a strong value commitment to their pursuit (also see Lee et al. 2017; Kraus 2014a; Siegenthaler and Lam 1992; Crouch 1993; Davidson, 2008; Lin and Chen 2008; Ridinger et al. 2012; Wheaton 2003; Yair 1990, 1992; Cuskelly et al. 1998; Lee et al. 2017; Ringuet-Riot et al. 2014; Cuskelly et al. 2002/2003). At the beginning of their leisure careers, they are inclined to experiment with and evaluate the activity to learn what they can gain from it. They begin to approach the level of value commitment found among professionals in the same field once they find a consistent, favorable ratio of rewards to costs. Beginning amateurs are thus less committed on a value basis than more experienced amateurs or full-fledged professionals.

▶ Professionals also evince a greater preparedness than amateurs. By "preparedness" I mean a readiness to perform the activity to the best of one's ability at the appointed time and place. It refers to punctuality at such events as rehearsals and games and to arriving at these events in appropriate physical condition (e.g., not worn out from a day's work or woozy from too many beers beforehand) with the required equipment in good repair and adjustment. Sir John Gielgud states the case for professional acting: "the discipline of an actor is getting there every day a good hour before you go on, which I usen't to do when I was young, but which I would not dream of not doing now – being ready" (in Funke and Booth 1961, p. 21). Amateur cellist Leonard Marsh (1972, p. 127) describes how he was unprepared to play in a chamber music concert:

> I signified my readiness to play, and we started. It was only then that I found that, in my haste, I hadn't put on my music glasses. My music glasses are carefully adjusted to read cello music at just the right distance. … I could manage fairly well by cocking m y head at an awkward angle, but if I did it too much, it would look as if I were querying the interpretation of my companions … . Toward the end of the movement I felt confident enough to take m y eyes off the music and "look natural." That was the mistake: I lost the vision of a whole line of music, and started playing the wrong notes.

Moving on to self-conception, it need only be mentioned that professionals and amateurs conceive of themselves in such terms. Just what the content of these conceptions are for each group in each field must be discovered through research. But, self-identification as one or the other is probably the most reliable operational measure available at present for distinguishing them.

These five attitudes comprise a social psychological definition of amateur. The assumption should be avoided that professionals hold them in ideal form, since this seldom happens. Even though they are significantly more confident, persevering, committed, and prepared than amateurs, they generally fall short of the highest points on these continua.

Values

I noted in the preceding chapter that Unruh's concept of social world failed to include a crucial proposition, namely, that such a world is also constituted of a substantial subculture. Values are one of its main components. For example, as noted in Chap. 2, hedonism is a central value in casual leisure, whereas eudaimonism is central to the serious pursuits. The ten rewards of these pursuits discussed in that chapter can also be conceived of as values.

Further, it is by way of the core activity of their leisure that participants in the serious pursuits realize a unique combination of, what are for them, strongly seated cultural values (Williams 2000, p. 146): success, achievement, freedom of action, individual personality, and activity (being involved in something). Ken Roberts (1978, pp. 167–168) listed three major leisure values associated with the institution of leisure in Western countries. They are the desire for pleasure (hedonism), the desire for variety in the experiences from which pleasure is derived, and the desire

to choose one's leisure. To this list I should like to add a fourth value that, as with the other values listed here, is well documented in the research in the Foundational Ethnographies, namely, the one of self-fulfillment. All four are part of leisure culture, which attests that these shared values exist on both the micro- and the macro-levels (see Chap. 8).

Personal and Social Identity

Self-conception, it was just said, has a place in the attitudinal definition of amateur. More generally, discussed there as "identity," it is also one of the six distinguishing qualities of the serious pursuits; participants tend to identify strongly with their chosen pursuits. No small wonder. Given the leisure career (see next chapter), it is inevitable that they would come to see themselves, usually proudly, as a certain kind of amateur, hobbyist, career volunteer, or later, as a devotee worker. True, self-perception as a certain kind of amateur depends on how far into the career the individual has got. Neophytes – serious leisure participants at the beginning of that career but intending to stay with the activity and improve at it – are unlikely to identify themselves as true amateurs or hobbyists. To do that, they must believe they are good enough at it to stand out from its dabblers, even while they are comparatively weak *vis-à-vis* more experienced participants, including in the case of amateurs, the professionals in their field.

▶ Identity has both a social and a psychological side. Thus a person's identity is part of his personality, which in one sense, is a psychological matter. The individual enthusiast's view of self as an ongoing participant in such complex leisure activity is a situated expression of this personal identity. It is based on variables like level of skill, knowledge, and experience as well as on number and quality of physical acquisitions stemming from the leisure. So, a young woman might remark to a new acquaintance that she is a skateboarder, but qualify the image she is projecting by noting that she has only been in the hobby a couple of years. She is a skateboarder and proud of it, but do not look to her, at least just yet, for expert demonstrations of its core activities. This presentation of self to the acquaintance is a sociological matter, however, in that the skateboarder not only wants the other to know about her leisure but also for that person to form an accurate impression of her ability to engage in it.

▶ The person's social identity refers to the collective view that other people in the leisure situation hold of these same levels and acquisitions. It is by social identity, among other ways, that the community (including family, neighbors, friends) places people in social space. So, John not only sees and identifies himself as a coin collector, but also various members of the community identify him this way. The fact that complex leisure offers a distinctive personal and social identity is central to personal development. Moreover, it is a point that leisure educators need to emphasize. For such an identity is unavailable in casual leisure – the leisure most people know – suggesting thereby that a large majority of people receiving leisure education will find the idea a novelty.

▶ Personal and social identity are blended and elaborated in the concept of role identity. A *role-identity* is a person's "imaginative view of himself as he likes to think of himself being and acting as an occupant of a particular social position or status" (McCall and Simmons 1978, p. 65). True, in many instances, when viewed from the SLP, we could more properly speak of an "activity-identity," since there is no role or the concept of role fits less well. But this caveat having been made, I will, in deference to the authors of role-identity, stick with their original nomenclature. The point to remember is that, in the present, people not only see themselves in their serious leisure activities and the way they carry out, they also have an image of what they hope to become and do in them in the future. Put otherwise, a participant's role-identity brings a special analytic angle to the leisure career on which this person has embarked. Such people have plans and hopes for the future of their activities, which give distinctive shape to their careers from the present onward. This outlook is illustrated in the orientation of some of the industrial league baseball players I interviewed (Stebbins 1979, pp. 206–210). They saw themselves as good enough to be drafted by one of the major league teams, and consequently during games, were always hoping a scout might turn up to observe.

All that has been discussed in this section applies equally well to occupational devotion. Devotees also find personal and social identities in their work activities and they, too, have plans and hopes for the future in those activities. As in serious leisure these aspects of identity bestow a positiveness on the job, helping to make life that much more attractive for the worker. Research on identity from the angle of the SLP, which supports from various angles what has just been said, has been conducted by Collinson and Hockey (2007), Green and Jones (2005), Jun and Kyle (2011), Lee, Pae, and Bendle (2016), Moisio, Arnould, and Gentry (2013), Spracklen and Henderson (2014), Stebbins (1997), Hunt (2008), Craig (2006), Orr (2009), MacCosham and Gravelle (2016), Lee, J.-K. et al. (2016), Lee, I. S. et al. (2016), Mainland (2010), Seo (2016), Stebbins (2010), Patterson (2000), Taylor and Kay (2015), Codina, Pestana, and Stebbins (2017), and Jones and Green (2006).

Individualism/Individuality

▶ The classic statement on these two is that of Beck/Beck-Gernsheim (2002).

> They hold that the people today are responsible for their own lives as well as the consequences of their actions. That is, the authors theory separates the parts from the whole, stating that the first have, in modern times, become at least as important and as visible as the second. The point of reference in this line of thought is the individual seen against the backdrop of community and society.[1] Both individualism and individuality are related to one's identity. (Stebbins 2017b, p. 48)

▶ Cohen-Gewerc and Stebbins (2013) take this approach a step further. In effect, they pose the following question: "now that we have learned that modern individuals stand out from society and cannot today be seen as merely one of many cogs in a wheel, what makes them stand out from each other" (p. x)? That is, the base of comparison is not society, but rather other individuals. They meet these people in their everyday lives, or hear about them there.

> In short, their study of individuality differs from the studies of individualism and individualization, primarily because the main points of comparison diverge considerably. What is missing in the literature and what Cohen-Gewerc and Stebbins did in their book was to mount a comprehensive examination of individuality, particularly as it roots substantially in leisure and occupational devotion. The serious pursuits can, *vis-à-vis* other kinds of work and leisure, offer the richest soil for growing modern individuality, exemplified by "amazing" feats in skiing, mountain climbing, kayaking, collecting, and stunting. (Stebbins 2017b, pp. 48–49)

What evidence do we have for these ideas? The 2013 book is recent, leaving little time between then and the present one for research on its leisure underpinnings. In the interim, the empirical basis of the claims made therein rests more broadly on general observation and case material. Obviously, important empirical work remains to be done in this area.

Selfishness

▶ Selfishness is the act (not an activity) of a self-seeker judged as selfish by the victim of that act (Stebbins 1995).

> When we define an act as selfish, we make an imputation. This imputation is most commonly hurled at perceived self-seekers by their victims, where the self-seekers are felt to demonstrate a concern for their own welfare or advantage at the expense of or in disregard for those victims. The central thread running through the fabric of selfishness is exploitative unfairness – a kind of personal favoritism infecting the everyday affairs of many people in modern society. (p. 293)

By comparing the three forms, it becomes evident that the serious pursuits are nearly always the most complicated and enduring of them, and therefore often take up much more of a participant's time and possibly money. Consequently, they are much more likely to generate charges of selfishness. For example, some types of serious leisure, and even some project-based activities can only be pursued according to a rigid schedule (e.g., amateur basketball team practices, volunteer work as a docent at a zoo, volunteer service at an animal shelter), which unlike most casual leisure, allows little room for compromise.

Likewise, it is possible to say that selfishness varies in serious and causal leisure activities along lines that exclude the participant's partner *vis-à-vis* those that include this person. Still, it is awkward to complain about a partner's selfishness when he or she also pursues the same activity, especially when that person finds deep fulfilment there. What is more, serious leisure, compared with casual leisure, is often more debatable as even being selfish, when viewed through the eyes of both the victim and the self-seeker. That is, serious leisure enthusiasts have at their fingertips as justifications for their passions venerated ideals like self-enrichment, self-expression, self-actualization, service to others, contribution to group effort, development of a valued personal identity, and the regeneration of oneself after work. Turning to casual volunteering it is a partial exception to this observation, for

it, too, can be defended with some of these ideals, most obviously personal regeneration (e.g., snacking, watching the dog play) and volunteer service to others.

I have stated elsewhere (Stebbins 2007/2015, p. 75) that selfishness is part of the culture of leisure. This proposition is based on my conclusion reached over the years that many participants in all three forms are inclined to act this way. Moreover, this tendency and the problems it can generate seem to be fully recognized in the world of leisure, though unfortunately, the question has yet to be systematically studied. Selfishness roots, to some extent, in the uncontrollability of leisure activities (covered in the next section). They nurture in participants the desire to engage in them beyond the time or the money (if not both) available for free-time interests. That is, leisure enthusiasts are often eager to spend more time ~~at~~ and money on the core activity than is likely to be countenanced by certain important others who also make demands on that time and money. Thus the latter may eventually conclude that the enthusiast is more enamored of the core leisure activity than of, say, the partner or spouse. When a participant, seemingly out of control, takes on too much of the activity, imputations of selfishness (overtly made or covertly held) from certain important others are surely near at hand. This is the negative face of selfishness and its impact on positive relationships and small groups (e.g., families, friendship groups).

What, then, is the positive side? The answer, in brief, is that, as argued earlier in this chapter, serious leisure, even when selfish, is still often community involvement. And such involvement helps generate social capital. But do these lofty ends – e.g., providing the community with amateur theater, volunteering for the Salvation Army, volunteering for the Olympic Games – justify the selfish means by which they are sometimes reached? Do the ends justify selfishness or other contentious practices along the way?[2] More broadly what is the moral basis of the positive process of community involvement? Positiveness and leisure are treated of more deeply in the next chapter.

Selfishness is difficult to observe, given that defining an act of it lies with the victim, whereas research tends to be centered on the self-seeker who typically fails to sense any breach in the rules of fairness. In every ethnography that I conducted, I heard of occasions where, had I explored more deeply, I would have probably found a selfish act. But instead, I pushed on to other important research interests. Therefore, selfishness is still only *hypothetically* real in all of leisure (it seems just as plausible in casual and project-based leisure as in the serious pursuits), encouraging us now to generate detailed knowledge about it through direct, open-ended examination of such behavior. For those who want to study selfishness in leisure, doing so by examining the constraints of an activity might quite possibly reveal selfish solutions to such problems (Lamont et al. 2011, came close to achieving this in their study of tri-athletes).

Uncontrollability and Marginality

▶ From the earlier observations about costs and rewards, it should be clear why the interest in engaging in the core activity of a serious pursuit can become for some participants some of the time more or less *uncontrollable*.

> This happens because it engenders in its practitioners the desire to participate in the activity beyond the time or the money (if not both) available for it. As a professional violinist once counseled his daughter, "Rachel, never marry an amateur violinist! He will want to play quartets all night" (from Bowen 1935, p. 93). There seems to be an almost unquenchable thirst to upgrade: to own a better pair of skis, buy a better set of drums, take more singing lessons perhaps from a renowned (and consequently more expensive) professional, and so on. Additionally casual leisure can become uncontrollable, as seen in activities that approach addiction (see next section). (Stebbins 2007/2015, p. 17)

As just noted it is probable that some serious leisure enthusiasts will be keen to spend more time at and money on the core activity than will likely be acceptable among certain significant others who also make demands on those critical needs. Thoughts of selfishness may thus be just around the corner. My research on serious leisure suggests that attractive activity and selfishness are natural partners (Stebbins 2007/2015, p. 18). It is also true that some casual leisure and even project-based leisure can be uncontrollable, though the marginality hypothesis (stated below) implies that such a proclivity is generally substantially stronger among those who are drawn to the serious pursuits.

Finally, I have argued over the years that amateurs, and sometimes even their activities, are marginal in society (Stebbins 1979). This is because amateurs are neither dabblers (casual leisure) nor professionals (devotee workers). What is more, research on hobbyists and career volunteers demonstrates that they and some of their activities are as marginal and for many of the same reasons (for evidence see Stebbins 1979, 1996a, 1998). Certain properties of the serious pursuits square with these observations. One, though seemingly illogical according to common sense, is that serious leisure demands an important degree of positive commitment to a pursuit. This commitment is measured, among other ways, by the sizeable investments of time and energy in the leisure made by its devotees and non-work participants. Two, serious leisure is pursued with noticeable intentness, with such passion that Erving Goffman (1963, pp. 144–145) once branded amateurs and hobbyists as the "quietly disaffiliated." People with such orientations toward their leisure are marginal compared with people who go in for the ever-popular pastimes classified as casual leisure.

Addiction[3]

▶ This section considers whether it is valid to describe a powerful interest in a particular leisure or work activity as uncontrollable because it is "addictive," a common explanation today in some scientific and lay circles (Stebbins 2017a, pp. 144–151). Aviel Goodman, a psychiatrist, developed a definition he believed fits both psychoactive substance abuse and pathological gambling. In his definition, which is broad enough to apply to leisure activities, he holds that:

> essentially, addiction designates a process whereby a behaviour, that can function both to produce pleasure and to provide escape from internal discomfort, is employed in a pattern characterized by (1) recurrent failure to control the behaviour (powerlessness) and (2) continuation of the behaviour despite significant negative consequences (unmanageability). (Goodman 1990)

This statement refers to physical dependence on something, a condition where the addict suffers acute physiological symptoms when administration of it is stopped (e.g., psychoactive substance abuse). It also refers to psychological dependence. Here the addict feels that life is horribly dull after the effects of the drug or activity have worn off; satisfaction and well-being are noticeably absent (e.g., pathological gambling; irresistible flow-based activities).

Addiction, Substances and Casual Leisure

> Addiction as leisure is, on one level, clearly an oxymoron. This is the world of physical addiction. In it addicts lose control over use of a drug on which they have become dependent (e.g., alcohol, nicotine, heroin, cocaine, hallucinogens). Although they initially take the drug frequently as leisure, later these people – now as addicts – have, in Goodman's terminology, grown powerless to control their addiction-generating activities as well as manage the consequences flowing from them. The unpleasant physical reactions resulting from any refusal to use the drug repeatedly drive these addicts back to active consumption. Such a scenario hardly sounds like leisure when defined as essentially un-coerced activity. Physically addicted people, when they feed their addiction, are not engaging in leisure.

Psychological dependence occupies a different world. Here there is no physical dependence – though some scholars still call it addiction – but rather an absence of a desired positive psychological state, such as tranquility, satiation, well-being, relaxation, or happiness. Thus, regular marijuana use is commonly believed to create psychological dependence in some people, as can such use of prescription drugs like the barbiturates, amphetamines and tranquillizers. It is likewise for food addictions and addictions to sex and possibly exercise. A crucial difference between the psychologically addictive drugs, foods and activities, on the one hand, and the drugs leading to a physical addiction, on the other, is that the first create a temporary *positive* mental state. By contrast the second mainly avoid or temporarily eliminate a *negative* physical or psychological state (e.g., pain, fear, tremors, nausea). In both worlds a passing sense of well-being normally follows from consuming or engaging in the supposedly addictive substance or activity.

Dependence on a drug to produce a positive state of mind (as opposed to alleviating a negative state) has the same goal that many people seek in ordinary, non-drug-based leisure. But may we then say that positive dependence is leisure? The answer to this question depends on how coercive this drug dependency. For example, do these users lack attractive alternative non-addictive activities, as in consuming drugs to counteract boredom? Is there a genetic tendency toward using a certain drug? Does a person's lifestyle or certain past or present situations within it drive him or

her, as it were, to one or more drugs? Are close associates of the user consuming the same drug or a similar one, creating thereby social pressure to conform to group interests? Affirmative answers to questions like these make it logically difficult to describe this kind of drug use as leisure. By the way this relationship cries out for research and, ultimately, for a scale by which we can measure degrees of psychological dependence as it increasingly undermines the sense of leisure.

But, when the answers to questions like these are "no," when such use is uncoerced, it would appear to be a leisure activity. More precisely it is, being hedonic, casual leisure, sought as relaxation or sensory stimulation or a combination of both.

Addiction, Activity and Leisure

The label of addiction has also come to be applied by some professionals and many lay people to the psychological dependency thought to develop around such activities as work (workaholics), gambling (problem gamblers), shopping (shopaholics), television (TV addicts), religious practice (ritualists), mobile phone use (Leung 2008), surfing and gaming on the Internet (Li and Chung 2006), and now recreational use of smartphones (Richtel 2017). People deeply attached to such activities may feel that, when denied an opportunity to engage in them, their psychological well-being is substantially weakened. Is not this feeling of malaise a kind of withdrawal symptom?

To answer this question let us return to our definition: are these participants, these "addicts," powerless to control their "addiction," therefore continuing with the activity despite negative consequences? This could be true for the casual leisure activities mentioned in the preceding paragraph. But only if they are indeed uncontrollable, even in face of substantial negative consequences like imminent divorce, financial ruin, jail or a heavy fine, public ridicule, heart failure, and even death caused by certain eating disorders (e.g., bulimia, anorexia). If the so-called addict abandons his or her self-defeating ways because the costs for continuing them are perceived as too great, this person has shown that, with sufficient motivation, the dependency can be controlled and managed. The habit has been broken (or never established) and any claim that it is an addiction shown to be invalid (see Johnson 2009, for how this process works in so-called Internet addiction).

Serious Leisure

Taking Goodman's definition as our yardstick, is it possible that serious leisure may become addictive? Given its rewards and distinguishing qualities, can those in the serious pursuits become addicted to their amateur, hobbyist, volunteer, or work activity, an activity that generates a very powerful personal return?

The answer is, in general, "no." This conclusion can be explained by the condition that participation in any serious leisure activity is subject to numerous constraints. Six are mentioned here. One is mental or physical fatigue, and at times

both, felt after a lengthy session in the activity. The participant needs a rest. Another is institutional: work and non-work obligations, including for some people familial obligations, force the enthusiast to spend time at non-leisure activities. A third is related to lifestyle: some people, even while holding a full-time job, are able to pursue more than one serious leisure activity during the same part of the year (e.g., tennis and playing in an orchestra; volunteering, collecting stamps and skiing on weekends). Each activity constrains pursuit of the other(s). Moreover, some of these people may also get involved from time to time in a leisure project. Fourth, participation in some serious leisure is constrained by availability of co-participants. For instance, SCUBA divers must descend with at least one other person, who may however, be free for this activity only on a certain day of the week. Fifth, climatic conditions can constrain a person's leisure. Some these conditions are temporary, a snow or rain storm could force cancelation of a planned afternoon of snowmobiling or golfing, for example, as drought might dry up fishing opportunities or strong winds discourage sailing. But some climatic conditions are seasonal, such that snowmobiling can only be done in winter whereas sailing (on fresh water) is limited to the time of year when lakes are not frozen.

A sixth constraint is based on manageability. Serious leisure enthusiasts are highly enamored of what they do, such that they want to be able to return again and again to the activity. To the extent that engaging in it excessively risks injury, burnout, family or relational conflict, and other unpleasant repercussions that can constrain their involvement, many serious leisure participants are (often reluctantly) inclined to rein themselves in.

Nonetheless there are exceptions; some people defy these constraints suggesting thereby that they are addicted to, or dependent on, their serious leisure. Giddens (1992, pp. 70–74) wrote about similar "characteristics of addiction" leading to high-risk leisure, when discussing ecstatic experience, the fix gained from having it and, thereby, being "transported to another world" beyond everyday life. A vast majority of high-risk leisure participants (e.g., alpine skiers, bicycle racers and paragliders) are content with the level of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1990) experienced from doing their activity and avoid situations where they lack full control of and competence in the activity. Not so with a minority of them who seem hooked on the strong, positive, emotional and physiological feelings that come with going over the top edge of their control and competence. Some do this contrary to medical advice about heart conditions, joint replacements, and stress on soft tissue. Some say they are motivated by an "adrenalin rush." While this would be abhorrent to the majority, it becomes for this minority an addictive magnetism, accompanying fear notwithstanding.

According to Goodman's definition, addiction results from searching for pleasure as a remedy for internal discomfort. This combined interest in finding pleasure while alleviating discomfort, the concept of addiction suggests, is frequent and recurring. Thus, once rested, addicted skiers and bicycle racers would be irresistibly and recurrently drawn to the slopes and roads, free of the constraints mentioned earlier. And, presumably, if their activity is seasonal, they would be driven to find an equally exciting counterpart during the off-season. The same may be said for actors,

jazz musicians, ballet dancers, and some others in the performing arts who simply cannot get enough of expressing their talent and feeling the flow it generates and who, as addicts, have abandoned all respect for these constraints. Still such hyper-enthusiasts are comparatively uncommon.

Data from properly-conceived experimental studies of addiction to leisure activities are nonexistent. The Foundational Ethnographies offer exploratory data on uncontrollability only. Indeed, the latter concept emerged inductively during the initial phase of that research (Stebbins 1979), which portrays that uncontrollability as a tendency rather than an addiction. Thus the foregoing discussion of addictive leisure is presently hypothetical, nothing more, nothing less.

Play[4]

In Stebbins (2015) I examine play as a special activity that aids substantially the pursuit of a larger, encompassing leisure activity. This approach to the study of play is unique. It recognizes the hundreds of activities in which play and leisure come together to produce deeply fulfilling experiences and outcomes for the participants as well as for the consumers of the inventive products of this union. Many of these experiences are short, even fleeting. But, whatever their duration, their importance in the broader fields of play and leisure is extraordinary. Play – consciously or semi-consciously generating, identifying, and weighing ideas and choices for action – is in this, its essential sense, invariably imaginative, creative. Therefore, play can contribute hugely to the rewarding pursuit of those eudaimonic leisure activities that encourage it, resulting in for instance, a wonderfully written passage of poetry, brilliantly executed set of athletic manoeuvres in basketball, or exquisitely flavored sauce in cooking. Scientific interest in leisure's core activities should include these playful moments, their inspiring, fulfilling ramifications, and what all this means for the consumers of the participant's creative products or results.

This *recipe for augmentative play* – challenging circumstances→ inventive solution→ continued activity – is not, however, followed only in such complex pursuits as just mentioned, but also at times in some simpler activities, which are essentially hedonic. This latter set comprises the vast realm of casual leisure. Be the activity simple or complex, these circumstances are a challenge that arises while pursuing a leisure activity that calls for one or more inventive solutions. This invention is born of play. It may not be, given the challenge, the best invention possible, but the participant nonetheless continues in the activity. It is also possible that play never occurs at this point, the participant being more or less stymied in face of the challenge.

► *Augmentative play* is the playful activity engaged in while following the recipe for it during an actual occasion of leisure (e.g., in a tennis match, a session of quilting, an afternoon of reading stories to children). Though a more elaborate definition is set out shortly, note here that such play is intended to enhance or augment an ongoing leisure activity. That is, augmentative play is *both* an immediate end-in-itself and a means to the more distant aims of the unfolding leisure activity.

Such play appears to be most prevalent in adult and adolescent activities of the serious and project-based varieties. By contrast, augmentative play during casual leisure seems to run the entire age gamut (once young children are mentally old enough to follow a simple recipe for augmentative play).

What is the nature of the evidence for augmentative play? It consists, for the most part, of identifying the situations and conditions where and under which such play can occur, and noting, where accessible, the critical flashes of insight, intuition, imagination, invention – the appropriate term here depending on the activity fostering augmentative play – that are the "ah ha moment" (Baumgartner 2009) of such play. Ideally, our evidence would include actual instances of such activity, so that we might see what went though the participant's mind while following his or her recipe for augmentative play. But, alas, such data are scarce, whether as autobiographic testimonials or interview-induced statements. Perhaps this lack is to be expected, for such play is often fleeting, seldom analyzed, and seems rarely to leave any traces in memory. In fact, one of the contributions of Stebbins (2015, Chap. 2) is to set out a research agenda for gathering data of this kind across the entire SLP.

The aims of Stebbins (2015) are consistent with Thomas Henricks's thoughts about the link between play and the self. He argues that:

> when people play, they realize themselves through activity in the world. It may be objected that the portrait of the self presented here – and the connection of this to play – is entirely too general to be of use to scholars. I would respond that understanding play – at least at any deep or abiding level – requires this general approach. As I have developed, play occurs in cultural, social, psychological, bodily, and environmental settings. People play with elements of these sorts – poems, peers, private fantasies, bodily formations and feelings, toys, and so on. Like self-experience, play is intensely particular. Players live in the moment; indeed, no two moments of play are ever quite the same. Yet, and also like self-experience, these momentary participations draw energy from – and are given meaning by – ongoing formations that instigate and support these activities. So understood, play becomes a pattern of communication between particular experiences and general capabilities. (Henricks 2014, p. 203)

The SLP concept of self-fulfillment is much the same as Henricks's idea of self-realization. One of the contributions Stebbins (2015) was to flesh out his "particular experiences," doing so along lines of the many leisure activities comprising the Perspective.

▶ The goal of any definition is to set out its essential features, thereby distinguishing the definiendum from everything else. Because such efforts are uncommon when it comes to defining play, the definition of Edward Norbeck is especially welcome. His is a provisional definition, provisional in that future thought and research could prompt changes to it. He holds that play is "behavior resting upon a biologically inherited stimulus or proclivity, that is distinguished by a combination of traits: play is voluntary, somehow pleasurable, distinct temporally from other behavior, and distinct in having a make-believe or transcendental quality" (Norbeck 2013, p. 1). He goes on to note that many definitions of play include the condition that it is non-utilitarian. Observing that this may not always apply to professionals in art and sport, he prefers to say that "at least among non-professional players, the goals of

play are usually not consciously utilitarian" (p. 2). He states further that there is in play "a transcendence of ordinary cognitive states which … seems to represent altered neurophysiology in a distinct and distinctive physiological state." Kimberlee Bonura (2009) adds that play is self-initiated, self-ended and open-ended, thereby falling at the opposite end of a continuum starting with the domain of work. Furthermore, play activities have a beginning and an end. Nonetheless, I will argue shortly that these definitional statements need qualifying in certain places.

That play is defined as a kind of behavior is not to imply that the latter is necessarily physical. True, we can physically play or dabble with an object or an organism, including objects and organisms that some other people approach seriously (e.g., a piano, microscope, or food on a plate). Yet, it appears that most play is mental behavior, as seen most vividly in the creative, innovative manipulation, both conscious and semi-conscious, of certain ideational elements leading hereby to new constructs of immense variety.

Concentrations of Research and Theory

Much of theory and research in the social scientific study of play falls into three concentrations: (1) play as disinterested activity; (2) play as interested activity in games, both sport and non-sport; and (3) play as interested activity in art. The full inter-disciplinary spectrum of the study of play is, however, much broader than this, for a vast literature exists on, for example, play and the brain and play in non-human fauna (for a partial review see Burghardt 2010). A full understanding of play must include a grasp of these works, which is not however, the goal in this section with its focus on the recipe for playfulness. The play of children within these three concentrations has attracted considerable scholarly attention. Meanwhile, scholarly interest in adult play is much less common, even when mounted from a leisure studies angle (but see, for example, Barnett 2007; Kleiber et al. 2011).

Huizinga's (1955) definition of play squares with concentration 1. He held that play lacks necessity, obligation and utility, being pursued with a disinterestedness that sets it, as an activity, apart from ordinary, real life. Examples include daydreaming, dabbling at an activity, and fiddling with something. Concentrations 2 and 3 fall at the end of a continuum identified by Roger Caillois (2001) as *ludus*, or rule-governed activity. At the other end of his continuum lies *paidia,* the play of concentration 1. In the study of play Huizinga's conceptualization has been more influential than that of Caillois. As Hendricks (2006) puts it after reviewing the scholarly commentary on Huizinga's book: "*Homo Ludens* remains, after more than sixty years, the greatest treatment of the socio-cultural implications of play" (p. 10).

Notwithstanding Huizinga's elevated stature in modern play studies, concentrations 2 and 3 juxtaposed with concentration 1 do reveal some logical difficulties, for the first two show that play activity is neither always disinterested nor wholly open-ended. Games have rules, which constrain what participants may (playfully) do in

them. Likewise, in much of amateur and professional art, creativity is constrained by canon, by a set of aesthetic criteria embraced and promulgated by the art's establishment (in music, painting, theatre, dance, craftwork, etc.). Play in games, sport and art is also interested, goal-oriented activity. Furthermore, in these second two concentrations, though there may be no utility, there is, especially in team-based activity, obligation (e.g., obligation to members of the team). The fact that some activities in games, sport and art are pursued as work muddies further the conceptual waters of the study of play. Here, these workers play just as their amateur counterparts do, doing so however, in service of their livelihood.

These concentrations of research and theory in the study of play are perfectly defensible, given how the verb play has been used in these three ways for centuries. And, to the extent that activities pursued in the three concentrations allow for the imaginative *play* of ideas, the study of play can surely contribute to our understanding of those activities. Even where play is partly structured, as in concentrations 2 and 3, spaces exist where the mind is free to roam, to play. Thus, the chess player ponders the consequences of alternative moves of his pieces on the board and the composer considers different harmonic options for ending a movement of a symphony she is writing. This, to repeat, is the play of ideas.

In the SLP play as an activity is also conceptualized more generally as a type of casual leisure. Hence it has a place in concentration 1 and is therefore in harmony with Huizinga's approach. Concentrations 2 and 3, however, are treated of rather differently in leisure studies. In the SLP these are discussed as amateur or hobbyist serious leisure and, recently, as devotee work (Stebbins 2004/2014). Play according to concentration 1, if considered at all in these two, is conceptualized as dabbling. That is, some amateurs and hobbyists acquire their initial interest in their serious leisure by frivolously playing at, for example, hitting a tennis ball, finding notes on a piano, or drawing something (discussed in Stebbins 2014).

► In this area leisure studies and the study of play overlap, even while apart from the word play itself, their theoretic terminology is usually different. Thus it is possible to view play as a special activity pursued within the many leisure activities that foster it. More precisely, augmented play – it *is* an activity with a beginning and an end, both being initiated by the participant – occurs as part of the core activity of a larger, or general, leisure activity.

Conclusions

This chapter covered several aspects of the micro context of the SLP. They included the attitudes that distinguish amateurs and professionals. We also treated of values, personal and social identity, selfishness, uncontrollability and marginality, and play in leisure. Though the distinction is rough, the subjects of discussion here are more strictly limited to the micro; they have minimal overlap with the other two contexts. Where appropriate the relevant empirical literature was reviewed.

This concludes our examination of one set of the micro contextual concepts of the SLP. The next chapter considers the other set of those concepts, which have however, greater overlap with the other two contexts. There we shall see some instances of Turner's principle of embeddedness.

Notes

1. Barnett's ingenious study centers on personality and playfulness in young adults, and is therefore, beyond the purview of the present examination of augmentative play in leisure activities as understood according to the SLP. That is, we have yet to find a place in the Perspective for the personality of the participants in those activities, though Liu (2014) and Munusturlar and Argan (2016), with Barnett, are now moving in that direction.
2. Note that the imputation of selfishness is sometimes negotiated as to whether it is justified (Stebbins 1995).
3. This section on addiction is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A. *Leisure's legacy: Challenging the common-sense view of free time*, Palgrave Macmillan (2017, pp. 144–150).
4. This section on play is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R. A. *The interrelationship between play and leisure: Play as leisure, Leisure as Play*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 1–4, 7–8, & 12.

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Individual Participation in Leisure

4

The first part of this chapter covers three closely-related concepts: obligation, constraints/costs, and quality of life and well-being (happiness). We then move on to subjective leisure career and finally to contemplation and spirituality. Some of these ideas fit more completely in the micro context than the others, which are also much in evidence on the meso level. In other words, real life is not always as neat as theoretic categorization would have it, which suggests that the theoreticians occasionally get back to the drawing board, though always aided by relevant data.

Obligation

The preceding chapters show that obligation is an omnipresent feature of everyday life, and that it may be agreeable or disagreeable (Stebbins 2000). Additionally, obligation is felt in the three domains of work, leisure, and non-work obligation, which were briefly considered earlier and will be more fully discussed in Chap. 7.

► ~~To~~ Obligation is not about people being prevented from entering certain leisure activities – see the research on leisure constraints – but about people failing to define a given activity as leisure or redefining it as other than leisure, that is, as an unpleasant obligation, if not both of these. Moreover,

> obligation is both a micro-level state of mind, an attitude – a person feels obligated – and a form of behavior – he must carry out a particular course of action, engage in a particular activity. But even while obligation is substantially mental and behavioral, it roots, too, in the social and cultural world of the obligated actor. Consequently, we may even speak of a macro-level of culture of obligation that takes shape around many a work, leisure, and non-work activity (Stebbins 2017a, p. 30).

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_4

Obligation relates to leisure in at least two ways: leisure may include certain agreeable obligations and the third domain of life – non-work obligation – consists of disagreeable requirements capable of limiting the positiveness that can be experienced in free time. Agreeable obligation is a main feature of some leisure, especially evident when this kind of obligation accompanies positive commitment to an activity capable of arousing pleasant memories and expectations (these two are essential features of leisure, Kaplan 1960, pp. 22–25). Nevertheless, it could also be argued that agreeable obligation in leisure is never really felt as such, because the participant is eager to pursue the activity in any case.

Yet, my research in serious leisure suggests a more complicated picture (see the Foundational Ethnographies).

> My respondents knew they were supposed to be at a certain place or do a certain thing and knew this must be a priority in their day-to-day living. They not only wanted to do this, they were also required to do it; other activities and demands would have to wait. The participant's intimates sometimes objected to the way that person prioritized such everyday commitments, leading thereby to friction and creating costs for the first that in some degree diluted the rewards of the leisure in question. Agreeable obligation is also found in devotee work and the other two forms of leisure, though possibly it is least common in casual leisure. By contrast, disagreeable obligation cannot logically have a central place in leisure for, among other reasons, it fails to leave the participant with a pleasant memory or expectation of the entire activity. (Stebbins 2017a, p. 30)

For example, a musician or entertainer who suffers severe and enduring stage fright during every performance on stage would probably find the obligation to be there too unpleasant, as an inescapable feature of that leisure career.

Constraints/Facilitators

▶ Turner (2005) in his micro-macro chapter mentioned that human action "can be constrained," and there exists in leisure studies a strong interest in leisure constraints. David Scott (2003, p. 75) defines them as "factors that limit people's participation in leisure activities, use of services, and satisfaction or enjoyment of current activities." Interest in this aspect of leisure dates to the 1980s, with sporadic work in the area having been conducted even earlier (see Jackson and Scott 1999, pp. 300–302). Thus thought and research about the "barriers" (as constraints were initially labeled) to personal agency are well entrenched in leisure studies. Constraint is the better term, however, for a constraint can sometimes be overcome, whereas a barrier suggests that this is impossible (Crawford et al. 1991).

The intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints seem to generate little interest among scholars caught up in the micro-micro/agency-structure debate, but not so with the structural constraints. Turning first to the intrapersonal constraints, or the bodily conditions and psychological states like attitudes and personality that discourage taking up particular leisure activities. At the interpersonal level constraints emerge through social interaction, typically that occurring within family and

friendship circles. Such processes as coach favoritism, rehearsal scheduling, and the screening of club members also fall in this category.

Scott observed that structural constraints are the most theoretically "integrated and documented" of the three types. They emanate from conditions beyond the control of the participant. One can be structurally constrained by family requirements, stage of life, availability and knowledge of opportunities, and the like. In general, the field of leisure constraints has amassed over the years an admirable range and depth of research (see Jackson 2005), only a small proportion of which explores them under the microscope of the SLP often as they can be conceptualized as costs.

Some of the costs of leisure (defined in Chap. 2) may also be understood as one type of leisure constraint (Stebbins 2017b, p. 95n1). Costs certainly dilute the satisfaction or enjoyment that participants experience while pursuing certain leisure activities, even if, in their interpretation of them, those participants find such costs, or constraints, to be overridden by the powerful rewards also found there. Stebbins gathered data on leisure costs, phrased as dislikes in the open-ended interviews he conducted for his research reported in the Foundational Ethnographies. The large majority, however, could be classified as intrapersonal or interpersonal, adding thereby some theory and data where needed most, notably, to the study of micro constraints.

Constraints, on the other hand, are *ipso facto* antecedent conditions. In short, the ideas of constraint and cost often play complementary roles in the SLP. It therefore seems best to retain them as separate ideas (Stebbins 2016), contrary to the doubts of Lamont, Kennelly, and Moyle (2015, pp. 650–651). Nonetheless, their concerns do point to an oft-neglected need to collect and analyze field data from both conceptual angles. The proposition that "the costs of leisure may also be seen as one type of leisure constraint" dates to Stebbins (2007/2015, p. 15). Research on constraints explicitly framed in the SLP, though usually without also seeing them as costs are the following: Jun and Kyle (2011 – on golfers); McQuarrie and Jackson (1996 – on ice skaters); Lamont, Kennelly, and Wilson (2011 – on triathletes); Nimrod and Adoni (2012 – on seniors' casual leisure); Wenger (1999 – on runners and gender); Heo et al. (2008 – on adaptive sport); Lyu & Oh (2015 – on trout fishers); Zou and Scott (2017 – on female basketball players).

Facilitating Leisure

▶ According to Raymore (2002) facilitators to leisure are "factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and to encourage or enhance participation" (p. 39). This definition is an adaptation of Jackson's definition of constraint, where the facilitator is seen (by Raymore) as its antonym. Nevertheless, the two are not polar opposites, since facilitation is not necessarily achieved by overcoming one or more constraints or even achieved because of their absence. Writing on the relationship of facilitators and constraints to leisure motivation, Raymore argued that "the facilitator

is the condition itself, not the process through which that condition energizes or motivates behavior leading to (ie, facilitating) or limiting (ie, constraining) participation" (pp. 43–44). He follows up this observation by linking constraints and facilitators to the expectancy-value theory of achievement motivation. Raymore wrote on facilitation, because he believed that the popularity of constraints as an object of research was creating an imbalance relative to their importance in a full explanation of leisure participation.

In this conceptualization facilitators may be regarded as resources for leisure activities. Furthermore, as with constraints, facilitators may be intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural. Raymore theorizes that intrapersonal facilitators are individual characteristics, traits, and beliefs that enable or promote the development of leisure preferences and that encourage or enhance leisure participation. The interpersonal facilitators, which originate in other people or groups of people, have similar effects. It is likewise with structural facilitators; they are found in social and physical institutions, organizations, and belief systems.

Inherited characteristics constitute an important class of intrapersonal facilitators. For example, being endowed with exceptional muscular strength, vocal clarity, or facial beauty enhances success in rugby, operatic singing, or fashion modeling, respectively. Meanwhile, knowing the coach, being a member of an outstanding musical group, or working in an electronics shop can facilitate on an interpersonal basis getting invited to join a football team, experiencing top honors in a chamber music context, or having access at discounted prices for computer equipment. Structurally an individual's participation in a leisure activity may be facilitated by membership in an amateur science society or fishing club with exclusive use of a private pond or by adherence to a religion that allows the faithful access to a retreat.

Both constraints and facilitators limit choice. But otherwise, the two have remarkably different effects on the pursuit of leisure. First, constraints are negative; they hinder leisure choice. Second facilitators, like leisure itself, are positive; they enable people to pursue what they want to do. Moreover, that facilitators limit choice is usually of little consequence for the participant. As the foregoing illustrations suggest there is much of the time little incentive to abandon an activity that is well facilitated for another which lacks in significant measure this resource. More precisely facilitators are conditions that help motivate people to take up an activity and stay with it. At this point the activity in question is in the process of being chosen or has been chosen and is now being actively pursued, however limited the antecedent range of choices shaped by a diversity of constraints. Some of these constraints are highly restrictive, for depending on the society, some members may be denied the right to pursue a decent assortment of leisure activities. For example, Martin and Mason (2004) report that, among devout female Muslims, sport and physical recreation, though acceptable, may only be pursued according to the precepts of Islamic modesty and dress. And in all societies knowledge of the full range activities to which the individual does have a right is rarely complete.

What is more, the foregoing ideas suggest that choice of activities, to the extent that people have choices, is guided not only by what is available to them but also by what the chooser (1) can do acceptably well at, (2) find sufficient resources for, and (3) receive some encouragement in. This is the reason for considering these two

concepts together. If nothing else we need much more research on facilitation, which is so far very thin.[1] One danger in ignoring facilitation and failing to look at the two ideas together lies in over-stressing the role of constraints in the sole domain of life where positiveness reigns (for a lengthy, SLP-related discussion of leisure as positive activity, see Stebbins 2009).

Concerning the three types of leisure constraints, are they not on the structural and cultural levels merely free-time manifestations of restrictive macro-context? The answer is generally no. Leisure constraints are particular cultural and structural forces inhibiting leisure choice. In contrast, context as discussed in this book and Stebbins (2017a), is much broader. As stated in the Introduction the concept includes social worlds, formal organizations, social institutions, spatial arrangements, and social movements. It also includes leisure trends and leisure history, cultural practices and the social problems engendered by the search for leisure. Moreover, the leisure contexts do contain some constraints, which when appropriate, will be noted in the following pages.

Quality of Life and Well-Being

In conceptualizing quality of life, I have privileged the subjective "want-based" approach (as opposed to the objective "social indicators" approach). The want-based approach consists of four components: "a sense of achievement in one's work, an appreciation of beauty in nature and the arts, a feeling of identification with one's community, a sense of fulfillment of one's potential" (Campbell et al. 1976, p. 1).

Where does the serious leisure perspective fit in this scheme? Of the three forms, the serious pursuits themselves meet best the four components.

> The first – sense of achievement – is evident in the serious form from what was said earlier about its rewards of personal enrichment, self-expression, group accomplishment and contribution to the maintenance and development of the group as well as its qualities of career, effort, benefits, and perseverance that people can routinely find here. The second component, which refers to appreciation of beauty in nature and the arts, is found in such serious interests as the outdoor activities and artistic pursuits, including backpacking, cross-country skiing, sculpting and playing string quartets. Third, all the serious pursuits have links with the wider community, if in no other way, than through the social worlds of its participants. Additionally, however, many serious leisure activities relate directly to the larger community, as through artistic performances by amateurs, interesting displays by hobbyists (of, for example, stamps, model trains, show dogs), and needed services by volunteers. Sense of fulfillment of potential – the fourth component – comes primarily from experiencing the reward of self-actualization, but also, to a certain extent, from two qualities of serious interests, namely, finding a career in the activity and having occasionally to persevere at following it. (Stebbins 2009, pp. 50–51)

These four components can also be realized in many leisure projects, but the good quality of life found there will be more evanescent, and possibly not even as sharply felt, as in the far more enduring pursuit of a serious activity. Casual leisure, too, can help generate a decent quality of life, although primarily through appreciating beauty in nature and the arts (eg, subtype of sensory stimulation) and identifying with one's community (eg, subtype of casual volunteering).

I (Stebbins 2015, p. 112) have argued that a high quality of life, however generated, is a state of mind, which to the extent people are concerned with their own well-being, must be pursued with notable diligence. (Did we not speak earlier of career, agency, and perseverance?) Moreover, high quality of life does not commonly "fall into one's lap," as it were, but roots in desire, planning, and patience, as well as a capacity to seek deep satisfaction through experimentation with all three forms of leisure to eventually carve out an optimal leisure lifestyle. Human agency is the watchword here (discussed further in Chap. 2). And we will see later that leisure educators, leisure/lifestyle counsellors among them, can advise and inform about a multitude of leisure activities that hold strong potential for elevating quality of life, but in the end, it is the individual who must be motivated to pursue them and develop and stick to a plan for doing this.

▶ What then of well-being (cf, Stebbins 2015, p. 114)? Keyes (1998, p. 121) defines *social well-being* as the "absence of negative conditions and feelings, the result of adjustment and adaptation to a hazardous world." For him well-being, though a personal state, is influenced by many of the social conditions considered earlier and incorporated in the SLP (hence its equally valid placement on the meso level, see Chap. 6). Though the relationship is probably more complex than this, for purposes of the present discussion, let us incorporate in the following proposition what has been said in this section to this point: social well-being emanates from a high quality of life, as generated by some combination of the serious pursuits balanced with one or both of the other two forms.

Still, at least one major question remains: can even a serious leisure activity, though not coerced, engender well-being when it can also engender certain costs and occupies a marginal status with reference to the three social institutions of work, leisure, and family?

> The answer is, tentatively, yes it can. For, to the extent that well-being is fostered by fulfillment through life's ordinary activities, research evidence suggests that it is an important by-product of serious leisure (Haworth 1986; Haworth and Hill 1992; Mannell 1993; Newman et al. 2014; Lee 2018; Delle Fave et al. 2018), see also several articles at www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Positive Psychology and Sociology). As additional evidence the respondents in my several studies of serious leisure, when interviewed, invariably described in detail and with great enthusiasm the profound fulfillment they derived from their amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities. (Stebbins 2009, p. 52)

All this evidence, however, is only correlative, however. We have yet to see a properly controlled study intentionally designed to ascertain whether long-term involvement in a given serious leisure activity clearly leads to significant and enduring increases in feelings of well-being. The extent to which serious leisure can generate major interpersonal role conflict for some participants – it led to two divorces among the 25 respondents in the study of amateur theater (Stebbins 1979, pp. 81–83; on family conflict in running, see Goff et al. 1997; Lev and Zach 2018) – should suffice as a warning to avoid postulating an automatic link between the serious pursuits, on the one hand, and well-being, on the other. And we have already explored the effects of selfishness in serious and casual leisure. I also have anecdotal evidence that serious leisure activities can generate intrapersonal conflict, such as when people fail to establish priorities among their many and varied leisure interests or among those interests and their devotee work. This implies that even an approach-approach conflict between cherished leisure/work activities may possibly affect well-being unfavorably.

Hamilton-Smith (1995, pp. 6–7) held that our lack of knowledge about the link between serious leisure and well-being is a major lacuna in contemporary leisure research. Recently I observed (Stebbins, in press) that 25 years later we are finally starting to tackle this gap, as carried out in Lee and Hwang's (2017) confirmatory study of serious leisure and social well-being and that of Sheldon, Corcoran, and Prentice (2018) who compare hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. They found that education, personal enrichment, individual self-expression, and self-gratification and enjoyment were significant predictors of social well-being. In general, demographic factors accounted for a small percentage of the variance in social well-being, whereas the serious leisure's six qualities showed noticeably more explanatory power.

Happiness[2]

This concept was imported into the SLP by the author, and as with the other imports, needed some theoretic adjustments to ensure its harmony within the Perspective. Though leisure and happiness would seem to be natural partners, the conceptual marriage of the two is far more recent than one might expect (Stebbins 2009, pp. 129–131; Nawijn and Veenhoven 2013; Stebbins 2015, pp. 115–117). One important contribution effected by this union is that it underscores the positiveness of leisure, a cardinal feature that sharply separates leisure from most work and all non-work obligation (Stebbins 2007).

▶ Richard Layard (2005, p. 12) defines happiness as the state of feeling good and enjoying life. It is a descriptive term. Moreover, some thinkers see happiness as momentary: "[it] is considered to reflect a person's more temporary affective feelings of the present moment" (Mannell and Kleiber 1997, p. 208). Examples include: "I was happy with my performance on the test," "I am happy that my party turned out so well," "I was very happy to receive that award the other day."

Let us label this *short-term happiness*, so-called because the "present moment" might last a few minutes or even a few days.

▶ By contrast, others see happiness as describing a broad swath of life, as expressed in such observations as: "I was happy as a child," "My years in this community have been happy ones," and "I will be happy in retirement." In this vein Diener (2000) holds that happiness and subjective well-being are the same. For him well-being is a combination of positive affect and general life satisfaction. Keyes (1998, p. 121) definition of social well-being presented earlier harmonizes nicely with this proposition. To put the matter positively, let us say that well-being comes with having good health, reasonable prosperity, and in general, being routinely happy and content. This is *long-term happiness*.

Short or long term, happiness is the result of a huge variety of personal and social conditions leading to this state in individuals (for a review of some of these, see Nawijn and Veenhoven 2013, pp. 197–199). Thus, it is informative to describe people's (usually long-term) happiness, to know how many of them are happy, think they will be happy, once were happy, and so on. Yet even more complicated is the challenge of explaining such tendencies as well as explaining the fact of happiness itself. A substantial part of the explanation of happiness has been driven by the question of whether money makes people happy. In this respect economists Kahneman and Deaton (2010) found in the United States that, beyond an average annual income of $75,000, there was no guarantee of greater happiness. That average, however, varied by state of residence and cost of living in each.

Subjective or social, the concept of well-being rests on the presupposition that, to achieve it, people must be proactive, must exercise personal agency to arrive at this state. Well being is therefore also a goal, which when reached will demonstrate a person's overall happiness. The same may be said for obtaining a decent quality of life. Both concepts speak to a process of personal betterment, as the individual defines this state. Happiness is therefore further explained by our willingness to work toward our own well-being and agreeable quality of life. Moreover, psychological and sociological positiveness (Stebbins 2009) are sources of happiness. Happy people are positive about their lives, whether only in the present or over a long period of time.

The Limits of the Idea of Happiness

▶ Leisure can generate happiness but is not itself happiness. Happiness is a state of mind; it is positive affect and a component of emotional well-being (Snyder et al. 2011, pp. 128–139). By contrast leisure is activity; it is what we do in free time to make life attractive and worthwhile. We may describe ourselves as "happy," but we may not say we are "leisure" (however happy we may be).

In general, to be happy with a leisure activity is, at least in part, to be satisfied with it. Mannell and Kleiber (1997, p. 208) observe following Campbell (1980) that satisfaction implies a judgment, a comparison of the outcome of, for example, a

leisure activity in the present with what the participant expected. Thus, low satisfaction with that activity would fail to generate happiness while in that state.

Casual leisure, because of its evanescent hedonism, is subject to losing its appeal and drifting toward low levels of satisfaction and short-term unhappiness, if not completely out of the zone into boredom. Frey's (2008) data from his study of television fit here. In addition, it is certainly possible that some kinds of sociable conversation lose their appeal after a protracted period of it. And most of us like to eat and sleep, but we can become satiated with either after too much. In serious and project-based leisure participants may be dissatisfied, or unhappy, with how their activities or projects have turned out. The relatives get into a vicious quarrel at a family picnic; the soloist in the community orchestra concert, gripped with stage fright, plays badly off key; the board member of a non-profit has at every meeting acrimonious exchanges with the organization's executive director. Some of these examples depict only short-term unhappiness, allowing thus for the possibility that long-term happiness in the activity remains high.

Happiness in Leisure: Authentic or Profound

▶ Martin Seligman (2002) brings us to the jumping off point for relating leisure and long-term happiness, when he observes that "authentic happiness" comes from realizing our potential for enduring self-fulfillment. This observation opens the door to the central relationship that leisure has with happiness. Framing his thoughts in the SLP, we may say that enduring self-fulfillment springs primarily from serious leisure and devotee work activities, where it commonly takes several years to acquire the skills, knowledge, and experience necessary to realize this personal expression. Leisure projects are often capable of producing some sense of self-fulfillment, but not at the deep and enduring level of the serious pursuits. Casual leisure, because it is based, at the most, on minimal skill and knowledge, is incapable of producing self-fulfillment and therefore long-term happiness by means of it.

But there is reason to question Seligman's preference for the adjective "authentic" (Stebbins 2015, pp. 117–118). Is the happiness achieved through serious pursuits any more real or genuine than that achieved through casual leisure? Surely casual leisure happiness is real enough, as in the thrill of a roller coaster ride, an entertaining night at a comedy club, an enjoyable sociable conversation, or a bus tour offering breath-taking natural scenery. Rather, the central issue is how long does such happiness endure, and how profoundly related is it to our personal history, acquired skills and knowledge, and special gifts and talents? Most leisure leads to real, authentic, happiness but only some of that happiness is profound, whereas some of it is comparatively superficial, falling thus at an intermediate point on the happiness-unhappiness continuum. Seligman, by the way, does not mention leisure in his discussion. Instead, it is I who have extended his observation into free time and called into question the appropriateness of "authentic" as applied to happiness in the activities there.

Research on happiness and the SLP – a recent scholarly interest – is beginning to grow. See works by Bailey and Fernando (2012); Newman et al. (2014); Kim et al. (2015), Wang and Wong (2014), and Wei et al. (2015). This degree of interest at this time suggests we will see more studies on this theme in the near future.

Subjective Career

Leisure career, introduced earlier as a central component of the definition of the serious pursuits and as one of their six distinguishing qualities, is important enough as a concept in this synthesis of the SLP to warrant still further discussion. One reason for this special treatment is that a person's sense of the unfolding of his or her career in any complex role or activity, including those in leisure, can be, at times, a powerful motive to act there. For example, a woman who knits a sweater that a friend praises highly will probably feel some sense of her own abilities in this hobby and be motivated to continue in it, possibly trying more complicated patterns. Athletes who win awards for excellence in their sport can get from such honors a similar jolt of enthusiasm for participation there.

▶ Exploratory research on careers in serious leisure has so far proceeded from a broad, rather loose definition: a leisure career is the typical course, or passage, of a type of amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer that carries the person into and through a leisure activity and possibly into and through a devotee work activity. The essence of any career, whether in work or leisure, lies in the sense of temporal continuity of the activities associated with it, which for this reason and others has been referred to as a "subjective career" (Stebbins 1970b). Moreover, participants and researchers are accustomed to thinking of this perceived continuity as one of accumulating rewards and prestige, as progress along these lines from some starting point, even though continuity may also include career retrogression and interruption (eg, Stebbins 1990; Henderson and Spracklen 2017). In the worlds of sport and entertainment, for instance, athletes and artists may reach performance peaks early on, after which the prestige and rewards diminish as the limelight shifts to younger, sometimes more capable participants. Serious leisure careers have been empirically examined in my own research listed in the Foundational Ethnographies as well as, for example, in that of Scott and Godbey (1994), Hastings, Kurth, and Schloder (1996), Baldwin and Norris (1999), Bartram (2001), Puddephatt (2005), Gould et al. (2011), Tsaur and Liang (2008), Getz and Andersson (2010), McQuarrie and Jackson (1996), Lewis, Patterson, and Pegg (2013), Oliveira and Doll (2016), Kraus (2014b), Beaumont and Brown (2015), and Ronkainen et al. (2017).

Career continuity may occur predominantly within, between, or outside organizations. Careers in organizations such as a community orchestra or hobbyist association only rarely involve the challenge of the "bureaucratic crawl," to use the vivid imagery of C. Wright Mills. In other words, little or no hierarchy exists for them to climb. Nevertheless, the amateur or hobbyist still gains a profound sense of continuity, and hence career, from his or her more or less steady development as a skilled, experienced, and knowledgeable participant in a particular serious pursuit and from

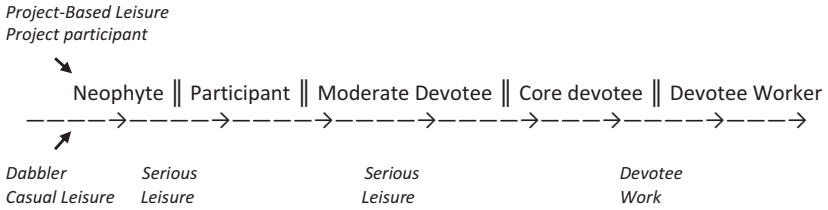
the deepening fulfilment that accompanies this kind of personal growth. Moreover, some volunteer careers may be intra-organizational, a good example of this being available in the world of the barbershop singer (Stebbins 1996a, Chap. 3).

Still, many amateurs and volunteers as well as some hobbyists have careers that bridge two or more organizations. For them, career continuity stems from their growing reputations as skilled, knowledgeable practitioners and, based on this image, from finding increasingly better leisure opportunities available through various outlets (as in different teams, orchestras, organizations, tournaments, exhibitions, journals, conferences, contests, shows, and the like). Meanwhile, still other amateurs and hobbyists who pursue non-collective lines of leisure (eg, tennis, painting, clowning, golf, entertainment magic) are free of even this marginal affiliation with an organization. The extra-organizational career of the informal volunteer, the forever willing and sometimes highly skilled and knowledgeable helper of friends and neighbors is of this third type. Much of the discussion in these two paragraphs shows careers in the serious pursuits unfolding on the meso level, as structural career (see Chap. 6).

Participants in the serious pursuits who stick with their activities eventually pass through four, possibly five career stages: beginning, development, establishment, maintenance, and decline (Stebbins 1992, Chap. 5). But the boundaries separating these stages are imprecise, for as the condition of continuity suggests, the participant passes largely imperceptibly from one to the next. The beginning lasts as long as is necessary for interest in the activity to take root. Development begins when the interest has taken root and its pursuit becomes more or less routine and systematic. Participants in serious leisure and devotee work advance to the establishment stage once they have moved beyond the requirement of having to learn the basics of their activity. During the maintenance stage, the leisure career is in full bloom; here participants are now able to enjoy to the utmost their pursuit of it, the uncertainties of getting established having been, for the most part, put behind them. By no means all serious activity participants face decline, but those who do, may experience it because of deteriorating mental or physical skills. And it appears to happen – though we do not yet know how often – that the bloom simply falls off the rose; that leisure participants sometimes reach a point of diminishing returns in the activity, getting out of it all they believe to be available for them. Now it is less fulfilling, perhaps on occasion even boring. Now it is time to search for a new activity (see Stebbins 2008a). A more detailed description of the career framework and its five stages, along with some empirical support for them, is presented elsewhere (Stebbins 1992, Chap. 5; Heuser 2005; Stebbins 2014).

For some participants in the serious pursuits, their level of involvement increases with the length of their leisure careers. For others, however, there is no such relationship. A scale of involvement in a pursuit has been developing since 1992 (see Fig. 4.1 and, for debate on the subject, see Stebbins 2014, pp. 32–33).

This scale runs from *casual and project-based leisure* to the serious pursuits starting with *neophyte*, then going through *participant* to *moderate devotee,* and for some, on to *core devotee* (see Stebbins 2007/2015, 2012; Siegenthaler and O'Dell 2003, p. 51). The devotees (occupational and serious leisure) are highly dedicated to their pursuits, whereas the participants are only moderately interested in them,



Notes:

- Level of involvement may peak at any point on this scale.
- Some dabblers and project participants never become neophytes.
- Some neophytes before their involvement neither dabbled nor participated in a project.

Fig. 4.1 SLP involvement scale

albeit significantly more so than dabblers. Participants typically greatly outnumber devotees in any given activity. Along this dimension devotees and participants are operationally distinguished primarily by the different amounts of time they commit to the activity, as measured by engaging in its core, training or preparing for it, reading about it, and the like. Neophytes are at the beginning of their serious leisure career, albeit fired by an intention to continue in it.[3] Additionally, Scott and McMahan (2017) have written about "hard core" participants whose extraordinary commitment to their serious leisure distinguishes them from the more ordinary core devotees. As stated earlier we can now, by employing the SLIM, distinguish statistically casual and serious involvement in an activity (see also Derom and Taks 2011). But the SLP involvement scale for the serious activities has not yet been similarly developed quantitatively, a crucial piece of unfinished business.

Recreational Specialization

▶ Recreational specialization is both process and product. As a psychological process it refers to a progressive narrowing of interests within a complex leisure activity; it is "a continuum of behavior from the general to the particular" (Bryan 1977, p. 175). Viewed as an aspect of serious leisure, specialization can be seen as an absorbing period during a leisure career experienced in those complex activities that offer participants the opportunity to specialize (Stebbins 2014, pp. 33–35). In particular, when specialization occurs, it unfolds as a process within the development or establishment stage, possibly spanning the two (of the five-stage sequence of beginning, development, establishment, maintenance, and decline), or should the participant change specialties, it unfolds within the maintenance stage.

In career terminology developing a specialty is a career turning point. Bryan's research centered on such specialization among trout fishers, some of whom did this by moving from general fly-fishing to using only dry flies. For a review of theory and research in this lively area of leisure studies as it relates to the SLP and as written by one of its most prominent contemporary proponents, see David Scott (2012).

Dabbling[4]

Recreational specialization occurs relatively late in a leisure career. Not so with dabbling, however, which happens even before neophyte status. It is less obvious that, when they play, adults often dabble in or play around at an activity pursued as serious leisure by others. Examples of such light-heartedness are legion; they include the casual, or occasional, canoeist, tennis player, piano player, sport fisher, and stamp collector (the latter being more accurately viewed as a type of "accumulator," Olmsted 1991). Some of the differences in casual and serious leisure involvement in tourism and volunteering have also been examined (Stebbins 1996b, d). In general, in every serious leisure field studied so far by the author, its participants and devotees recognize the existence of dabblers there, oriented by a carefree attitude toward the activity that contrasts sharply with their own serious approach to it (eg, the amateur archaeologists talked about "pothunters," people who in the countryside casually pick up arrowheads or chisel petroglyphs, Stebbins 1979, p. 179).

► So far as the study of leisure is concerned, "dabbler" first emerged as a scientific concept in Stebbins (1979, pp. 20, 30). Then, as now, dabbling has been conceived of as a kind of play, which starting with my conceptualization, was classified as one type of casual leisure (Stebbins 1982, 1997a). The amateur-professional-public system of relationships, introduced in my 1979 book, placed the dabbler as part of the public of the other two, as someone who is from time to time amused while trying to emulate performance of a given art, sport, or entertainment activity. But an amateur performance it is not, by definition, one presented by dabblers, since they lack the training and practice needed to do this.

This view of the dabbler – as part of a public – I believe has tended to obscure this leisure participant's broader relationship with the amateurs and professionals, and indeed, some hobbyists. Fortunately, development of the SLP has given us in a more encompassing theoretic orientation. It encourages and facilitates seeing in as rich detail as possible the many ways in which dabblers are related to those in the serious pursuits and, most recently, those who like leisure projects (see Fig. 4.1).

The proposition that dabbling is the first step taken by some great professionals in launching their careers may seem preposterous. It can be hard to imagine an accomplished pianist having once hesitantly tapped out "Twinkle Twinkle Little Star" on a keyboard or a famous soccer player having once clumsily kicked a ball around a local park. By no means all professional careers originate in this kind of play but, for those that do playfulness is, ironically, the attitude that precedes deep commitment to the serious pursuit.

As just noted dabbling is a kind of play. More particularly, it is spontaneous activity engaged in for its own sake, for curiosity and hedonic experience. It is "disinterested" in Huizinga's (1955) sense that no long-term goal is envisioned while dabbling; the participant simply wants certain immediate experiences. Furthermore, these experiences need not be physical, as they usually are for example in music and certain outdoor activities, but they may be mental such as in flights of imagination triggered through reading (Stebbins 2013).

Leisure Abandonment[5]

► *Leisure abandonment* is a point in the fulfillment career at which the individual leaves a particular leisure activity. The antecedent conditions of abandonment are at the same time negative career contingencies, while the five resulting types of abandonment are simultaneously types of these contingencies. Furthermore, contingencies when they arise force the participant to adjust to them. Abandoning the activity in question is one such adjustment, albeit the ultimate one. Other adjustments enable that person to continue in the serious pursuit. Abandonment and adjustment signal that career paths in the serious pursuits are by no means always linear, leading steadily toward ever greater fulfilment (for a detailed discussion of this pattern, see Backlund and Kuentzel 2013).

Abandoning a serious pursuit is momentous. My general observations to date suggest this is accomplished by way of one of the following alternatives: (1) deciding consciously to quit the activity, (2) being forced from it by external circumstances, or (3) leaving the activity by drifting away from it. The activity, be it casual, serious, or project-based leisure, has been pursued long enough for the participant to have developed a positive, reasonably strong emotional attachment to it, such as that felt in enjoyment or fulfillment. And this sentimental state holds even if the attachment has faded somewhat, as happens in Alternative 3. Abandonment of a serious leisure activity is at the same moment the final turning point in the participant's leisure career in the activity. And whereas enthusiasts leaving their activities by way of Alternatives 1 and 2 could conceivably become reunited with them, that possibility appears at the time of abandonment to be both far away and most improbable. In short, the experience of abandonment is usually poignant enough to amount to a personal crisis of sorts.

The thirteen contingencies leading to leisure abandonment are discussed elsewhere as they bear on leisure career. Though abandonment can be analyzed on all three contextual levels, I will, to avoid fragmenting discussion of them, cover its meso and macro manifestations in this section as well.

Leisure abandonment, which to my knowledge has never been systematically examined in the leisure sciences, whether under this heading or an equivalent, can be an enormously variegated and complicated process. What is more, it appears that most people face such abandonment, such personal crisis, at least once during their life course. I have so far been able to identify 13 antecedent conditions, which when combined, form 5 types of abandonment. The first 3 are evident mainly at the micro level, and the last two are meso and macro phenomena.

Volitional Leisure Abandonment

1. Participant loses interest in the activity.
2. Participant retains interest, but an even more appealing activity comes along, leading the person to abandon the first one. This assumes that to pursue both activities would require more time or money, or both, than is available.

Social Psychological Leisure Abandonment

3. Participant forced out of the activity by social pressures largely beyond his control.
4. Participant forced out of the activity by social psychological pressures largely beyond his control.
5. Participant forced out of the activity by lack of social support.

Physical Leisure Abandonment

6. Participant suffers injury or illness, forcing him to abandon the activity for a lengthy period of time.
7. Participant suffers irremediable injury or illness, forcing him to permanently abandon the activity.
8. Participant forced out of the activity by the aging process, or the physical and mental changes that occur as people grow older.

Geographic Leisure Abandonment

9. Participant forced out of the activity by enduring changes in enabling geographic conditions.

Regulatory Leisure Abandonment

10. Participant forced out of the activity by regulations that set limits.
11. Participant forced out of the activity by alleged or proved behavior considered unacceptable by others.
12. Participant forced out of the activity by competitive arrangements.
13. Participant forced out of the activity by a legally or morally suspect manoeuvre.

Research support is thin in this area, not surprisingly given that the concept of leisure abandonment only joined the SLP in 2006.[6] That same year Mellor (2006) studied volitional abandonment through loss of occupational interest observed among lawyers and teachers. Later Oliveira and Doll (2017) explored the micro level of reasons for leaving a life career in long-distance running, those reasons being anchored in conditions 6 through 8. It was because of conditions 3 and 4 that the junior ice hockey players studied by MacCosham and Gravelle (2017) left that high level of play for one much lower and, hence, less intense. Harmon and Woosnam (2018) examined abandonment and substitutability (conditions 1 and 2) among music fans.

Contemplation and Spirituality[7]

▶ For the purposes of this chapter, contemplation and reflection are regarded as synonyms; both terms refer to the act of thinking about something. Such thinking, or concentration, may be highly focussed or more general as in getting into a certain mood. When contemplating (reflecting) we make thought on a given subject the center of our attention, the dominant activity of the moment. As an activity that endures over time, running in length from a few seconds to possibly an hour or more, it is however largely mental, even though the contemplator might manipulate related objects during this period. Contemplation may be intense and relatively impermeable, or it may be relatively permeable where a person's thoughts are easily interrupted by environmental stimuli.

▶ My general observations suggest that contemplation comes in at least four types (Stebbins 2015). One is *obligatory contemplation*, a process forced on us from time to time, as we try in certain areas of life to solve problems from which we cannot escape. This type commonly occurs in conjunction with either a work or a non-work obligation, and on these two occasions, the problems reflected on are legion: how to approach the boss for a raise, smooth over soured relations with a spouse, most effectively fill in the annual tax return, to mention a few.

▶ Two, *casual leisure contemplation* is, by contrast, not coerced, but is rather taken up as a form of casual leisure of the play variety. This is reflection, or speculation, for the fun of it, as exemplified in the lyrics of the song "If I were a Rich Man" from the Broadway show *Fiddler on the Roof*. How many of us have speculated about what we might do with the money gained from winning the lottery? Playing with ideas, as is common in intellectual circles, is another instance of casual leisure contemplation.

▶ Three, there is also *serious leisure as contemplation*, or reflection devoted to solving a problem arising from a serious leisure activity. Though this is not play, it is nevertheless un-coerced, in that the activity itself is un-coerced. This kind of reflection occurs when, for example, a participant considers the best training approach for an upcoming marathon, ponders which of two musical instruments to buy, or reflects on the pros and cons of a prospective volunteer role.

▶ Four, *contemplation as serious leisure* is the classificatory home of complex reflective activity engaged in for its own sake. The activity is complex, for if a participant is to learn how to execute it, this person must acquire special skills and a body of knowledge to go with them. This type – sometimes called "meditation" – is exemplified by such systems as Yoga, Tai Chi and Transcendental Meditation. Meditation, or contemplation, in search of spirituality as guided by the Christian religion is a further example (Doohan 1990, among others, examines the link between leisure and spirituality). Some forms of specifically religious meditation, to be effective, require, in addition to knowledge of technique, knowledge of the religious system from which the first receives its inspiration.

Contemplation as serious leisure would seem to be most accurately classified as a hobby of the activity participant variety. Activity participation is the classificatory home of non-competitive, rule-based, pursuits, and there are certainly many rules and procedures incorporated in the meditative systems mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Further, in every such system, rules abound on how to behave with reference to other people and objects in the settings in which meditation occurs. Serious leisure contemplation is similar to what Tanquerey (1924) called "acquired contemplation," in contradistinction to "infused contemplation," or that instilled in a person by God.

The social and physical places in which contemplation occurs are many and varied. Thus, we are capable of reflecting, to some extent, in a crowded, noisy room, providing we can nevertheless remain focused on our line of thought. It is likely, however, that most contemplation in such places is of the casual type. Otherwise, most serious reflection (types 1, 3, and 4) seems most effectively carried out while alone, as in one's own study or bedroom, out in nature, or at an institutional retreat.[8] I have argued that one of the main benefits of aloneness, or solitude, is to put the individual in this optimal social state where intense, uninterrupted thought can occur (Stebbins 1993, Chap. 9). And it follows from what has been said so far that repairing to one's room, to nature, or to an institutionalized retreat for contemplative reasons is not necessarily a leisure activity (see Ouellette and Carette 2004). When not leisure, the retreater may have been coerced into trying to solve, through reflection, a nagging, unpleasant problem. However obligatory and unpleasant the problem to be solved (if that is why solitude is sought), monastic retreats can be still be pleasant places, given the quiet found there, the beauty of the architecture, chanting of the monks, agreeableness of the natural setting, and for some, feeling closer to God.

Spirituality

▶ How does contemplation relate to spirituality? Whatever else it might be, spirituality is, at least initially, a mental state, specifically one of profound regard for the spiritual, for the nonmaterial. Subsequently, however, the search for spirituality may evolve into a way of life. This is one sense of the concept. Spirituality in these two senses is also an important product, or outcome, of some, though not all, contemplation. It appears to be, most clearly, a product of certain sessions of casual leisure contemplation as well as all sessions of serious leisure as contemplation, whereas the other two types are too problem oriented to be qualified as spiritual. Thus, we might casually think about the vastness, beauty, or purpose of breathtaking scenery, finding in the process, a kind of spirituality. And the spirituality reached though serious leisure meditation, for example, is part of the intended result of such activity.

Contemplation as Leisure

Today, in leisure studies, contemplation as a distinct, free-time activity seems to have become largely forgotten. Yet, in the philosophic backdrop to the field, contemplation had been an important player. Aristotle (1915) is widely recognized for his observation that finding time for leisurely contemplation is a main goal of work;

that the reason for working is to sustain life thus giving us an opportunity to contemplate. Much more recently Pieper (1963), a Catholic philosopher who followed Aristotle's line of reasoning, viewed contemplation as a special form of leisure, during which the individual is enabled to think about and communicate with God. And all leisure was undertaken for intrinsic reasons. About the same time de Grazia (1962, p. 18) held that "the man in contemplation is a free man. He needs nothing. Therefore, nothing determines or distorts his thought. He does whatever he loves to do, and what he does is done for its own sake." Psychologist John Neulinger (1974, p. 5) observed that, gradually in philosophic thought, the ideal of contemplation gave way to a search for understanding using nature's laws, at first through astrology, but later by way of medicine.

This change in intellectual orientation seems still to be with us in that the idea of contemplation is not often discussed today. Nonetheless, a few exceptions exist, among them the ideas of Doohan mentioned earlier. Moreover, Paddick (1982) lamented the paltry amount of time that modern humankind commonly sets aside for "contemplation of ends." He blamed "education for leisure" for this sad situation, since such education tends to stress popular activities, of which contemplation is certainly no example. Ouellette and Carette (2004) studied a sample of 521 men who spent up to seven days in contemplation, among other activities, during a personal retreat at a Canadian monastery, the Abbaye Saint-Benoît, in Québec (see also Ouellette et al. 2005a). Their findings show that, for most of those who answered the questionnaire, the contemplation engaged in at the monastery (the authors used the term "reflection") may be classified, using the scheme developed in this book, as obligatory. As such it is uncertain when it is leisure.

Nonetheless, the pressing need to reflect on a difficult problem sometimes emerged in the pleasant monastic environment only after the retreater had developed a relaxed frame of mind. Here leisure may be transformed into an activity driven by a felt obligation to try to solve a problem. Interest in the Ouellete and Carette paper, and another issuing from the same project (Ouellette et al. 2005a), centers primarily on "psychological restoration," a central concept in Attention Restoration Theory (eg, Kaplan 1995). And, unlike the leisure aspect of contemplation, the restorative benefits of the latter have generated a noticeable amount of thought and research (see Ouellette et al. 2005a, for a partial review of this literature).

Spirituality and Leisure

Paul Heintzman (2010) notes that interest in spirituality and leisure has gained considerable ground in recent years, a noticeable contrast to the weak interest in leisure and contemplation discussed in the preceding section. The areas where the spirituality-leisure link has been strongest are those centered on the leisure experience and include: therapeutic recreation, camping, recreational land management, outdoor recreation, tourism, and community recreation. He reviews some of the empirical research that has been conducted on this relationship, which has tended to concentrate on outdoor activities.

▶ One conceptualization of spirituality and leisure is served up in the idea of spiritual well-being. Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky (2006) offer the following definition:

> Spiritual well-being is a part of one's personal well-being, and relates to a sense of purpose and meaning in life. One who is spiritually engaged is able to make meaning out of values, feelings, thoughts, and actions, reconciling them with a higher being, mother nature, or another guiding light (p. 153).

▶ Jonas (2005) adds that spiritual well-being is "a sense of peace and contentment stemming from an individual's relationship with the spiritual aspects of life."

Elsewhere, Heintzman (2002) has theorized that spiritual wellness may be thought of as a benefit of leisure. He argues that leisure experiences may consciously or unconsciously provide occasions for working through spiritual difficulties or even for becoming sensitized to the spiritual. In leisure, as free as it tends to be, there can be times when spirituality may be explored rather than repressed, as it sometimes is in more rigidly institutionalized settings (Heintzman 2000).

Conclusions

The first part of this chapter bore on three closely related micro-level concepts: obligation, constraints and costs, and facilitators. Next, quality of life and well-being (happiness) were considered. Attention then moved to subjective leisure career, recreational specialization, dabbling, and finally, to contemplation and spirituality. Leisure abandonment was also discussed. Some of these ideas fit more completely in the micro context than the others, which are also much in evidence on the meso level. Contextual embeddedness is discussed below.

▶ I promised at the end of the preceding chapter to examine, by way of illustration, the embeddedness of some of the concepts and propositions set out in the two chapters on the micro level of the SLP. The reason for this special treatment of embeddedness is that by showing how and where elements of the Perspective are related along a *dimension* or *nested* within a larger concept we can provide additional support and validation for that Perspective, enrich its contextual basis, and identify areas needing more research. In fact, much of this relating has already been accomplished, on the spot as it were, while presenting the main ideas comprising Chaps. 3 and 4.

At the micro level nesting embeddedness is evident in, for example, the uncontrollability-addiction and uncontrollability-selfishness propositions. In both, uncontrollability is often an important antecedent process leading to addictive or selfish behavior. Recreational specialization as an advanced phase of the subjective leisure career can be understood as an instance of dimensional embeddedness. Another dimensional example is found in the quality of life → well-being and happiness → positiveness formula presented earlier in this chapter.

More will be said in the next two chapters about embeddedness, as realized across contextual boundaries as well as within them.

Notes

1. A partial literature search revealed but one article (Woodside et al. 2006) and a brief mention of the idea (Samdahl 2005, p. 346).
2. This section is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A., (2015, 115–118) and Palgrave Macmillan.
3. "Enduring involvement," as examined in the social psychology of leisure, bears a close relationship to the idea of leisure career at the micro level. For example, enduring involvement is seen as a continuum. McIntyre (2003) offers a summary of theory and research on this concept. Nevertheless, we also examine in this chapter the meso and macro aspects of career, which take us well beyond the micro idea of enduring involvement.
4. This section, starting with the second paragraph, is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2014, pp. 28–29) and Palgrave Macmillan.
5. This section is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2014, pp. 73–74) and Palgrave Macmillan.
6. The research support cited here is directly guided by the SLP statement on leisure abandonment. Not included in this discussion are the handful of studies about such abandonment mounted from other theoretic angles.
7. This section is reprinted verbatim with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2015, pp. 72–77) and Palgrave Macmillan.
8. Paul Heintzman (personal communication, 19 August 2014) notes that the solitary contemplator on a retreat who, when not alone, is often part of a larger group of participants that serves as a temporary community on the site.

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Part II

Meso Level

Small-Scale Social Organizations

5

The term "meso structure" was coined by David Maines (1982) to signify the intermediate field of interaction lying between the micro sphere of immediate social interaction and the macro sphere of such all-encompassing, broad-ranging abstractions as community, society, social-class, and the large-scale organizations. On the meso-structural level, human interaction continues to be discernible in research carried out under the disciplinary banners of sociology, anthropology, and social psychology. In leisure studies, research shows that amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers operate within some sort of meso-structural context as well as within a micro-structural context (Stebbins 2007/2015, Chaps. 2 & 4).

On the meso-structural level, human (micro-level) interaction continues to be evident in dyadic and triadic interpersonal relationships as well as in small groups, social networks, and social worlds (see Stebbins 2002). These interests have in common the fact that they organize social life in certain ways, doing so characteristically at the meso level. Put otherwise, it is on the meso level where the micro experiences become evident in small-scale social groupings, themselves a kind of organization. Historically, these meso groupings were centered primarily in the local community, though Internet connections to all parts of the world are now expanding these boundaries while maintaining a certain interpersonal feel. As we shall see later some micro-level experiences also extend to the macro level, albeit usually doing so in a more abstract way.

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_5

Dyads/Triads and Small Groups

▶ This section centers on interpersonal, or social, relationships. But, since this locution is clumsy (even if its meaning is clear), the working language here will be more precisely that of dyads and triads. In sociological parlance dyads and triads are special variants of the small group, the latter being defined as a collectivity

> small enough for all members to interact simultaneously, to talk to each other or at least to be known to each other. Another requirement is a minimum conviction of belonging to the group, a distinction between "us," the members of the group, and "them," the nonmembers (Back 1981, p. 320).

Moreover, dyads and other small groups endure, although only rarely for the lifetime of their members. At the same time, they are anything but evanescent. A gathering of passers-by on a street corner animatedly discussing an automobile accident or two airplane passengers gabbing the whole flight through but going their separate ways upon disembarking does not make a small group.

Informal small groups also have roles and goals, which however, are often poorly defined. Such groups are further held together, in part, by members' recognition of the group's distinction of being a group of accepted individuals to the exclusion of other people. In formal small groups, rules, roles, and goals are more or less explicit. Most groups, formal or informal, are established to attain an agreed-upon goal. For some formal groups, many of them nonprofit, this may require a legal charter or, at the very least, some sort of written or public recognition as a group. Specialists in group research classify as a small group any organized unit of two to twenty individuals. Still, the latter number is only approximate. For, whatever its numerical size, a group only becomes "large" when regular interaction is substantially limited and intimacy is no longer experienced by all members; the group becomes large when amount and quality of inter-member communication is thus diluted.

Dyads

▶ Although the terms dyad and interpersonal relationship both refer to the two-person group, they emphasize different facets of it. The first points to numerical composition, whereas the second draws attention to the substantial level of intimacy and frequency of micro-level interaction occurring between two people. Especially appealing in the best leisure dyads is the interpersonal component; each person through participating with the other in a given activity or set of activities gains a high level of deeply satisfying intimacy and interaction. This explains Kelly and Godbey's (1992, pp. 214–216) preference for describing leisure in small groups as "relational leisure."

It appears that a good deal of contemporary leisure is organized in dyads (Stebbins 2002). Same- and opposite-sex partners pursue a huge variety of activities, ranging from pairs who together play golf, collect something, or go in for ballroom dancing to those who meet routinely for drinks, fishing outings, or

sessions of hiking, dining out, or making music. Many of these dyads operate with little formal organization, but not all of them. Though rarely legally chartered, clear rules, roles, and goals obviously guide the leisure behavior of certain pairs whose relationships are founded on regular racquetball matches, piano-violin duets, games of chess, to mention but a few of the many activities that lend themselves well to more structured dyadic participation.

In all these examples the interpersonal aspect of the meso-contextual dyadic relationship helps explain the members' desire to engage in the leisure they share. It is not only that tennis is an interesting and challenging game or that sessions at the bar sometimes bubble with fascinating intrigue and gossip. It is also that these highly attractive activities are undertaken by pairs of people who are close friends, spouses, or partners, where the personalities of each hold mutual magnetic appeal based on such emotions and orientations as love, trust, respect, and affection. And perhaps nowhere else is the capacity of the dyadic relationship to motivate leisure participation more evident than among people with disabilities. MacCosham's (2017) case study of an epileptic musician named Ryan shows how communication and cooperation with others helps alleviate his conflicts and anxiety.

> Ryan explained that the support he receives from his fiancée and friends helps him stay motivated to play. Music sometimes prevents him from spending time with his fiancée, but she always understands. In addition to the support from his fiancée, Ryan says that he receives support from his friends when it comes to discussing his mental state. This strategy is not only effective in maintaining his involvement in music, but also helps maintain his emotional stability. (p. 833)

For all the importance just attributed to the dyad as a contextual incentive to get people to take up and continue with particular leisure activities, comparatively little research has been conducted on it. Research framed by the SLP reveals that some serious leisure tends to exclude spouses (even though friendships may develop there), as was found for amateurs in, for example, theater and baseball, hobbyists in barbershop singing, and career volunteers in grassroots organizations (Stebbins 1979, 1996a, 1998). By contrast, amateurs in archaeology and astronomy do sometimes pursue these two activities as leisure with their spouses (Stebbins 1979, 1980). Choral and instrumental music, SCUBA diving, collecting, liberal arts reading, amateur science, hiking, and such sports as tennis, golf, and shuffleboard all lend themselves to mixed-sex participation.

Goff, Fick, and Oppliger (1997) examined the moderating effect of spousal support on the relationship between serious leisure and spousal perception of leisure-family conflict. Their research on American male and female runners revealed that, if these runners had spouses who ran, the spouses were more likely to support the respondents' running than if they had spouses who did not run. Family conflict is thus one possible cost of pursuing serious leisure, although I have found in my own studies just as Goff and his colleagues found in theirs, that such conflict is less likely to occur when couples share the same leisure passion. In harmony with this observation Baldwin, Ellis, and Baldwin (1999) discovered that couples who share interests and participate together in activities find greater marital satisfaction than when they

engage in parallel or independent activities. Marital satisfaction, both as goal and as experience, is obviously a powerful reason for seeking leisure through the conjugal dyad or equivalent interpersonal link.

Triads and Small Groups

▶ The term "triad," as that of dyad, tends to stress numerical composition, even though intimacy and frequency of interaction are quintessential interpersonal qualities found in both. For, as in the interpersonal relationship, individual members of triads have, in most instances, positive emotional attachments to each other and are known to each other as whole personalities rather than, in a much more limited way, as partial individuals filling specialized roles. Since to my knowledge leisure studies and the SLP have yet to examine the triad as a distinctive unit of leisure organization and participation, it will not be further considered here. Though I do want to throw down the gauntlet to researchers exhorting them to use the Perspective to explore three-person friendship and family groups for the special leisure dynamics that may well exist there (eg, jazz trio, three-person hiking group, three-player bowling team).

Adolescent peer groups have some characteristic functions (Stebbins 2002). Through such groups adolescents express individuality, by participating in like-minded collectivities organized along the lines of taste in music, clothing, leisure activities, and the like. While some of their interests can be qualified as serious leisure, the vast majority have been found to prefer casual leisure, often that experienced through sociable conversation with other teens (Mannell and Kleiber 1997, pp. 237–238). In this regard, females compared with males seem to prefer relaxation rather than action and challenge (Kleiber et al. 1993).

As with adults, only a small proportion of all adolescents seem to become enamored of one or more serious leisure pursuits, and only a proportion of these join or establish a small- or large-scale organization for this purpose. This area also badly needs empirical scrutiny. Nevertheless, it is evident that some adolescents do become members of, for example, small music ensembles, sports teams, hobbyist groups, or volunteer service units (all being meso-level formations). Here, in contrast to their casual leisure pursuits, they typically participate through specialized roles that together make a larger whole, such as performing a jazz tune or playing a basketball game. Here, too, personal identity hinges not only on group membership but also on how well individuals carry out their roles. Thus membership in a serious leisure group, unlike that in a casual leisure group, brings recognition for the acquired skills, knowledge, and experience needed to execute well the shared activity.

Furthermore, it appears that most small groups of youthful, serious leisure participants are organized and directed by the youth themselves rather than by adults (Stebbins 2002). This is as the first would have it. For with them, as just mentioned, adult direction is typically too constraining and heavy handed. In keeping with earlier definitions such groups may endure, however; sociologically speaking they amount to more than jazz musicians "blowing" tunes at a jam session or basketball

players working up a sweat in a pickup game. This said, SLP-based research on adolescent serious and casual leisure groups is still uncommon (but see Wearing et al. 2013; Drozda 2004; Siegenthaler and Gonsalez 1997).

Whatever the reason, adult small leisure groups have attracted rather less research attention than family and adolescent leisure groups (Scott and Godbey 1992, p. 48). To be sure, many adult groups have escaped notice because they are informal units that have emerged within larger clubs, associations, societies, and the like (eg, those who regularly golf, bowl, or dine out together). Yet, some exist as independent entities, as for example, small sets of amateur athletes, musicians, and entertainers as well as small clubs of hobbyists. Some of this research is reviewed in Stebbins 2002, pp. 26–28).

The embedded micro-level foundation of the dyads, triads, and small groups is the interpersonal relationship. Both the participant observation and the semi-structured interviews reported in the Foundational Ethnographies revealed numerous friendships and family relationships as well as somewhat less intimate relationships like coach/player, director/orchestra musician, and amateur scientist/professional scientist. The same holds for the many small groups, among them, bridge clubs (Scott and Godbey 1992), quartets in classical music and barbershop singing (Stebbins 1978, 1996a), small teams of mountain climbers (Mitchell 1983), interactive book clubs (Stebbins 2013, p. 71), knitting groups (Prigoda and McKenzie 2007), curling teams (Apostle 1992), fantasy game players (Fine 1983), and volunteer firefighting units (Thompson 1997). In effect, each of these entities presents a unique mosaic of its component interpersonal relationships.

Social Networks[1]

▶ The definition of social network that best fits the small amount of work done on this form of organization within the domain of leisure is that of Elizabeth Bott (1957, p. 59). Her definition is simple: a social network is "a set of social relationships for which there is no common boundary." In the strict sense of the word, a network is not a structure, since it has no shared boundaries (boundaries recognized by everyone in the social network) and no commonly recognized hierarchy or central coordinating agency. Nevertheless, interconnections exist between others in the network, in that some members are directly in touch with each other while others are not. Thus it is also true of networks that their mesh may be "closely-knit" (many members having direct contact) or "loosely-knit" (few members having direct contact) (Barnes 1954; Bott 1957, p. 59). As for their size, many social networks are no larger than most small groups, even though some are so large and extensive that they span regional or national boundaries. The second type has grown by leaps and bounds in the cyber age.

Over the years, social networks have been analyzed from two angles. One is ego-centered, the view of the network of a particular individual who is part of it. The other is holistic; here the component relationships are seen as the sum of every individual's personal network. Both angles are relevant for explaining participation

in leisure as considered within an organizational framework. The first, which is the more common in network analyses in leisure studies, examines the structure of social interaction, starting with the relationships one person maintains with others in that person's network, defined as "points," and then tracing those relationships as "lines" connecting the points.

As individuals pursue their leisure interests, they develop networks of contacts (friends, acquaintances, sometimes relatives) linked in one way or another to these interests. As a person develops more such interests, the number of networks grows accordingly, bearing in mind that members of some of these may sometimes overlap. For instance, a few members of John's dog breeding network – they might be suppliers, veterinarians, or other breeders – are also members of his golf network – who might be suppliers, course personnel, or other golfers. Knowing about people's leisure networks helps explain how they socially organize their leisure time.

In a rare study of leisure networks using both the ego-centered and the holistic approaches, Stebbins (1976) examined those of amateur classical musicians. In the field of leisure studies, Patricia Stokowski has devoted by far the most attention to the question of social networks (see Stokowski 1994, for an overview of her contributions to this area). She and a colleague (Stokowski and Lee 1991) mounted an exploratory study guided by the ego-centered concept, the purpose of which was to demonstrate the utility of this approach. Among the questions explored was one concerning strength of network ties. She found that people tend to engage in leisure with significant others, people with whom they have strong ties. Following on Stokowski's work Bendle and Patterson (2008, 2009, 2010) studied the configuration of networks linking the arts groups in an Australian city. The only casual leisure study of social networks has been conducted on those that have emerged within the Red Hat Society (Kerstetter et al. 2008).

Social World

The concept of social world was set out in Chap. 2 as a distinguishing quality of the serious pursuits. The idea has considerable empirical support, despite the difficulty it presents when under study. Unruh's four types of members – strangers, tourists, regulars, and insiders – attest the complexity of this formation, and what therefore must be done to portray decently the social world of any given leisure activity. In other words, these four types are interrelated in diverse and often subtle ways, demanding thus close ethnographic examination of them.

I (Stebbins 2002, Chap. 6) review the studies up to that year that include an SLP-based analysis of the social worlds of various amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities. The amateurs discussed were archaeologists (Stebbins), actors (Stebbins), fishers (Yoder), runners (Wilson), mushroom collectors (Fine), stand-up comics (Stebbins), and entertainment magicians (Stebbins).[2] The section on hobbyists covered barbershop singing (Stebbins), purebred dog breeding (Baldwin & Norris), gun collectors (Olmsted), genealogy (Lambert; Horne), curling (Apostle), and shuffleboard (Snyder). Volunteer social worlds have been explored among fire fighters

(Thompson), francophones living as linguistic minorities (Stebbins), and people serving motorsport events (Harrington, Cuskelly, & Auld). Additional research on leisure social worlds is reported in many of the Foundational Ethnographies.

Finally, a couple of studies were inadvertently omitted from Stebbins (2002), which add still further to the corpus of literature on this distinguishing quality on the serious pursuits (Stebbins 2018a, pp. 24–25). They are Cassie's (2001) research on the social world of older birders and that of Scott and Godbey (1994) on the social world of contract bridge players. Moreover, numerous subsequent works have continued to expand our understanding of this key concept in the study of leisure. They explored it in classical music (Palmer 2006), shag dancing (Brown 2004), beekeeping (Ferguson 2007), human-canine partnerships (Hultsman 2015), yoga travel (Patterson et al. 2016), long-distance running (Robinson et al. 2014; Shipway et al. 2013), long-distance running tourism (Shipway 2008), event and travel careers (Getz and Patterson 2013), Pacific Crest Trail hiking (Lum et al. 2018), and a miscellaneous sample of "hard core" hobbyists (Scott and McMahan 2017). (Stebbins 2018a, p. 24).

The Primacy of the Social World

We have yet to analyze the social world of a particular serious leisure activity by exploring all the dimensions and entities that make it up theoretically. Thus we are in no position at the moment to say much more about this kind of leisure organization than what has been said in this chapter. Furthermore, small groups (dyads and triads included) and social networks also help comprise the typical leisure social world, but systematic analyses of these are missing as well. The same holds for newsletters, magazines, web sites, mass mailings, and similar mediated means of communication. In fact, the culture of the various social worlds of, for instance, amateur science or sport, hobbyist outdoor activities, and social movement volunteering are yet to be systematically examined, though aspects of them show up in the Foundational Ethnographies.

Still, the people who make up particular leisure social worlds and the practices, or patterns of behavior, which have emerged there over time have been reasonably well explored. This has happened not because of systematic research on social worlds (of which there has been very little) but because of the large number and variety of ethnographic studies that have been conducted on the central leisure activities around which they have formed. Yet, for some participants in these activities, the allied social worlds may at times appear to be more like simple tribes than the complex entities described in this chapter. That is, these participants know that other people share their leisure passion, that some of these people live in the same community and that many more live outside it in the same country or, in many instances, abroad. Moreover, they know these kindred spirits share many of the same leisure habits and values. Thus, amateur astronomers can count on their colleagues, wherever they live, to be perturbed about artificial light pollution, primarily because it interferes with observation of the heavens. And serious stamp collectors

the world over expect each other to be connoisseurs of the fine postal cancellations and graphic artwork that distinguish the most collectable postage stamps.

- Research has also revealed that, in themselves, serious leisure social worlds, when recognized as such, become attractive formations (Stebbins 1999, p. 267), though they appear to inspire people more to stay in them than to join them in the first place. Usually, it takes time to learn about the social world of, say, darts or volunteering for the Scouts or the Guides, something that really only effectively occurs once inside that world. Nevertheless, I found that belonging to and participating in the social worlds of theater, entertainment magic, stand-up comedy, and classical music were heady experiences for many of the amateurs I interviewed. For them, membership and participation constituted two additional powerful reasons for pursuing their art, albeit two social reasons. This is true, in part, because belonging to such a world helps socially locate individual artists in mass urban society as well as helps personalize to some extent their involvement there. Today's serious leisure social world is significantly less impersonal than either the modern mass or the neo-modern tribe (discussed in Chap. 7). Moreover, serious leisure activities generate their own attractive lifestyles, which are associated with particular social worlds.

- Indeed, nearly every serious leisure activity is anchored in a vibrant social world endowed with the capacity – once recognized – to attract and hold a large proportion of its participants. Although the activity itself is exciting, the excitement it generates is also greatly enhanced by the presence of networks of like-minded regulars and insiders, important strangers, local and national organizations, spaces for pursuing the activity, and tourists who visit from time to time – the audiences, spectators, admirers, onlookers, and others. Magazines, newsletters, courses, lectures, workshops, and similar channels of information make up another prominent part of the typical serious leisure enthusiast's social world.

Compared with hobbyist and volunteer social worlds what makes amateur social worlds distinct in the domain of leisure is the indisputably central role that professionals play in them. In some instances, these people are locally available, where amateurs can rub elbows with them, pattern their serious leisure lives after them, and marvel at their feats made possible by full-time devotion to the activity. Although not all professionals are good role models or blessed with agreeable personalities, a sufficient number come close enough to these ideals to win a place of honor in one of the worlds of avocational leisure. They may only rarely be seen in person, but their influence is both wide and deep, owing in part to their frequent appearance in the print and electronic media and their outstanding reputations in the science in question (for further discussion on leisure social worlds, see Stebbins 2018a).

Structural Leisure Career

The concept of subjective leisure career was considered in depth in Chap. 4. It remains in this section to underscore the embedded nature of some careers that when pursued as serious pursuits take the participant into the meso-level of free-time involvement. That is, some people in these activities find that their leisure careers there unfold most centrally within or between one or more organizations (eg, quartets, athletic teams, clubs). There is here a sense of career – subjective career –albeit one with deep organizational ties, as in "for years I've golfed at this club, played in this band, performed for this community theater, hiked with this group, or volunteered for this nonprofit."

Such collective involvements are socially motivational along the lines of rewards 8 through 10 presented in Chap. 2. This has been observed among some barbershop singers who join a chorus and then a quartet or follow the reverse path (Stebbins 1996a). It was also observed among many of the Canadian football players (Stebbins 1993) whose careers took them to teams of increasing levels of difficulty running from high school teams, through those that were junior (ages 18 to 21), university, and even professional (for an elite few). Andrews (2001) noted this kind of career among his sample of amateur ice hockey coaches as did Raisborough (2007) in her study of women sea cadets. For the equestrians studied by Chevalier, Le Mancq, and Simonet (2011), the central organization was a riding club wherein amateurs could gain experience and improve their skills en route to professional status. Some of them began as volunteers at the club, switching as they became more enamored with equestrian activities to amateurism and the arts of horsemanship.[3]

To be clear, all work and leisure careers have a subjective side, a personal sense of continuity (advance/decline) in trying to master the core activities of a pursuit. Furthermore, interests like surfing, stamp collecting, liberal arts reading, river kayaking, and knitting are not dependent on an organization for their execution. Meanwhile, other activities, such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, offer subjective careers in a structured, meso-level context; one cannot be a football player, sea cadet, or volunteer at an equestrian club outside these groups.

Conclusions

In leisure studies, research shows that amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers operate within some sort of meso-structural context as well as within a micro-structural context. On the meso-structural level, human (micro-level) interaction continues to be evident in dyadic and triadic interpersonal relationships as well as in small groups, social networks, and social worlds. These interests have in common the fact that they organize social life in certain ways, doing so characteristically at the meso level. Put otherwise, it is on the meso level where the micro experiences become evident in small-scale social groupings. Historically, these meso groupings were centered primarily in the local community, though Internet connections to all parts of the world are now expanding these boundaries while maintaining a certain

interpersonal feel. Some micro-level experiences also extend to the macro level, albeit usually doing so in a more abstract way.

Personal interest in certain free-time activities, individuated patterns of leisure lifestyle, and intensive participation in related leisure organizations, including those just considered, together constitute a substantial explanation of leisure motivation. In trying to pursue a leisure interest, the participant soon finds that time and space have become structured in certain ways, which includes routine, if not regular, interaction with certain people in small groups, social networks, and social worlds. Put otherwise, tangible patterns of behavior emerge, which are appealing in part because they are social. To the extent that no other available interest can produce a more satisfying or enjoyable return during free time, this lifestyle, or more precisely, this part of the person's overall leisure lifestyle, can be described as optimal (see the next chapter).

Two of the concepts in this chapter are imports, rather than emergent ideas from exploratory research on leisure activities. As mentioned the idea of social network originated in anthropology and was adapted to the study of serious leisure in Stebbins (1976). The concept of social world was imported from Unruh (1979, 1980) and adapted in Stebbins (1982) to the study of serious leisure. Such adaptation is commonly a long-term process, wherein the concept is further shaped when brought into contact with new grounded data that in some way fail to square with it. Thus we may say that every serious leisure activity has a social world, with them found in the liberal arts hobbies. The latter are chiefly individualistic. Except the immensely interpersonal passion of learning a language, their acquisition seldom requires these hobbyists to participate in a social world (even though, as explained later, some do participate in tribes).[4] Indeed, they usually cannot find such a world to enter, a trait distinguishing this hobby from other types of serious leisure. Additionally, some other hobbies and amateur pursuits, among them woodworking, bird-watching, stamp collecting, and piano playing, are sometimes pursued alone. This isolates a proportion of these enthusiasts from all leisure organizations, including the networks, small groups, and social worlds. By adopting such a lifestyle, these people are denied, or deny themselves, an important social motive for engaging in these leisure activities.

Finally, this chapter has demonstrated embeddedness at work**:** the nesting relationship – manifested within the same process or phenomenon. Thus, some dyads are embedded in triads, and both may be embedded in small groups. All three are components of a larger social world, as in the interpersonal relationships that constitute a barbershop quartet and the several such quartets that are found in a typical local (usually urban) world of barbershop singing. Embeddedness is not a scalar phenomenon, however, as group size is when conceived of strictly in numerical terms. Groups composed of, for example, 2, 5, 18, and 46 people are not by this measurement alone nested one inside the other. Here the component elements are arrayed on a single dimension – size – whereas embeddedness is more complex with the elements being comparative size, theoretic relationship, group function, and probably others.

The next chapter continues this examination of the meso context of the SLP, focusing on the processes that operate here.

Notes

1. This section on social networks is taken verbatim from Stebbins, R.A. (2018a, pp. 59–61) and Emerald Group Publishing.
2. Complete references for the authors of the studies noted in this paragraph are available in Stebbins (2002).
3. The empirical support for the non-structured careers in the serious pursuits was presented in Chap. 4, which is considerably more extensive than that for the structured variety.
4. Acquiring reading material usually puts these hobbyists in touch with such providers as libraries, book shops, individual lenders, and online sources. This is at best a rudimentary social world.

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Middle-Range Processes

6

Much of what is covered in this chapter can be conceived of as having a processual side, thereby setting off these meso-level interests from the small organizations examined in the preceding chapter. As earlier only those processes are considered that have emerged through SLP-related research or have been imported into the Perspective. Accordingly, we start with lifestyle and proceed from there to those aspects of geographic space related to the SLP and then those classified as informational space. Finally, costs and constraints are revisited on the meso level as is facilitation. Leisure abandonment could also be taken up in this chapter had we not already examined its meso-level manifestation in Chap. 4 with a parallel discussion of its experience at the micro level.

Lifestyle

▶ The following definition of lifestyle was crafted to fit discussion of the matter as framed in the SLP, lifestyle itself being an imported concept. It is a distinctive set of shared patterns of tangible behavior that is organized around a set of coherent interests or social conditions or both, that is explained and justified by a set of related values, attitudes, and orientations and that, under certain conditions, becomes the basis for a separate, common social identity for its participants (Sobel 1981; Stebbins 1997; see also Veal 1993). At bottom a lifestyle formed around work, leisure, and non-work obligation rests fundamentally on the ways people allocate their minutes, hours, days, weeks, and so on to activities in the three domains. It is processual in the sense that it tends to change over the years; a way of living that

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_6

adapts to life's ups and downs. Generally speaking, in leisure compared with the other two domains, free time has long been considered a key resource for the individual to manipulate for his or her personal ends. This contrasts with work and non-work obligation; they offer comparatively little adaptational flexibility.

▶ More precisely, people taking their leisure make *discretionary time commitments*, which are essentially un-coerced allocations of a certain number of minutes, hours, days, or other measure of time that a person devotes, or would like to devote, to carrying out an activity. Such commitments are both process and product. That is, people either set (process) their own time commitments (products) or willingly accept such commitments (ie, agreeable obligations) set for them by others. It follows that disagreeable obligations, which are invariably forced on people by others or by circumstances, fail to constitute discretionary time commitments, since the latter, as process, issue from human agency. In short, this conception of time commitment finds its most involved expression in the serious pursuits.

▶ Note, however, that we can, and sometimes do, make time commitments to carry out disagreeable activities, whether at work or outside it. Such commitments – call them *coerced time commitments* – are, obviously, not discretionary. Although they are marginal to the SLP, in the sense that they are negative, they do figure centrally in the present discussion about balancing work, leisure, and obligation. Furthermore, coerced time commitments sometimes turn up in serious leisure, where they may be classified as a kind of "cost" (see Chap. 1).

Chronologically speaking it is common to think in terms of past, present, and future time commitments (discretionary and coerced) at work, leisure, and in the area of non-work obligations. The kinds of time commitments people make help shape their work and leisure lifestyles and constitute part of the patterning of those lifestyles. In the domain of leisure the nature of such commitments varies substantially across its three forms. Serious leisure requires its participants to allocate more time than participants in the other two forms, if for no other reason, than that, of the three, it is pursued over the longest span of time. Additionally, certain qualities of serious leisure, including especially perseverance, commitment, effort, and career, tend to make amateurs, hobbyists, and volunteers especially cognizant of how they allocate their free time, the amount of that time they use for their serious leisure, and the ways they accomplish this.

There are many examples. Amateur and hobbyist activities based on the development and polishing of physical skills (eg, learning how to juggle, figure-skate, make quilts, play the piano) require the aspiring entertainer, skater, quilter, and so on to commit a fair amount of time on a regular basis, sometimes over several years, to acquiring and polishing necessary skills. And once acquired the skills and related physical conditioning must be maintained through use. Additionally, some serious enthusiasts take on (agreeable) obligations (Stebbins 2000a) that demand their presence at certain places at certain times (eg, rehearsals, matches, meetings, events). But most important, the core activity, which is the essence of a person's serious

pursuit, is so attractive that this individual very much wants to set aside sufficient time for finding fulfillment in it.

In other words, the serious pursuits, as mentioned earlier, often border on being *uncontrollable*; they engender in its practitioners a desire to engage in the activity beyond the time or the money (if not both) available for it. So, even though hobbies such as collecting stamps or making furniture usually have few schedules or appointments to meet, they are nonetheless enormously appealing, and as such encourage these collectors and makers to allocate, whenever possible, time for this leisure. Moreover, as Stalp (2007) and Stalp and Conti (2011) have shown for quilting, the amount of time allocated and when this is done are often negotiated with important others who also have a claim on the participant's hours after work and non-work obligations. Several studies have shed light on time-centered negotiation using the SLP as their lens: Jun and Kyle (2011 – golf); McQuarrie and Jackson (1996 – figure skating); Gillespie, Leffler, and Lerner (2002 – dog sports); Kennelly, Moyle, and Lamont (2013 – triathlete events); and Wheaton (2017 – senior surfers).[1]

Project-based leisure may be accompanied by similar demands. There are sometimes scheduled meetings or responsibilities, if not both, and though of short-range, the condition of uncontrollability may also be a concern. But project-based leisure does not, by definition, involve developing, polishing, and maintaining physical skills, this being one of the key differences in use of discretionary time separating it from the serious pursuits. Furthermore, with project-based leisure comes a unique sense of time allocation: time use is more or less intense, but in many projects, limited to a known and definite period on the calendar (eg, when the athletic games are over, when the stone wall is built, when the surprise birthday party has taken place). Indeed, one of the attractions of projects for some people is that no long-term commitment of time is required.

Finally, casual leisure may, in its own way, generate time commitments, as in the desire to set aside an hour each week to watch a television program or participate as often as possible in a neighborhood *kaffeeklatsch*. Further some casual leisure, notably watching television, is attractive, in part, because it is often available on a moment's notice – call it "spontaneous discretionary time commitment"; it can fill in gaps between discretionary and coerced time commitments, and in the process, stave off boredom. Additionally, casual volunteering commonly has temporal requirements, as in joining for the weekend an environmental clean-up crew, serving on Thanksgiving Day free meals to the poor, and collecting money for a charity by going door-to-door or soliciting on a street corner. Research on time allocation in casual and project-based leisure viewed from the SLP is, as far as I can tell, non-existent.

Returning to leisure lifestyle in general, note that it is one of the livelier objects of research in the SLP. The vast majority of the Foundational Ethnographies report data on this subject. The following have also contributed to this corpus: Carnicelli-Filho, S. (2010 – rafting guides); Stebbins (1994 – ethnic leisure lifestyle, Stebbins 2013c – retirees); MacCosham (2015 – junior ice hockey); Becker (2014 – vinic enthusiasts); Drozda (2004 – auto thieves); and Wilkening (2004 – auto thieves). The latter two studies bear on an adolescent casual leisure lifestyle.

Optimal Leisure Lifestyle, Lifestyle Balance, and Well-Being

▶ When searching for an *optimal leisure lifestyle* (OLL), people tend to strive to get the best return possible from the use of their free time (Stebbins 2000b). What is "best" is, of course, a personal definition, and quality of OLL turns, in part, on a person's awareness of at least some of the great range of potentially available leisure possibilities. Thus people know they have an OLL when, from their own reasonably wide knowledge of feasible serious, casual, and project-based leisure activities and associated costs and rewards, they believe they have enhanced their well-being by finding their best combination in two or three of the forms.

Yet, we considered in Chap. 4 the question of whether an activity, even though freely chosen, can engender well-being when the first is encumbered with significant costs and a marginal status *vis-à-vis* the three domains of activity. The answer was that it can. For, to the extent that well-being is fostered by enjoyment of and satisfaction with the activities of everyday life, research evidence suggests that it is an important by-product of serious leisure. But it was noted, too, that serious leisure can generate major interpersonal role conflict for some participants, which is capable of undermining well-being.

Leisure Lifestyles When Work Is Unavailable[2]

For retirees, unemployed people, and those who are disabled, leisure has a special meaning. Consider first the retirees.

The lifestyles of retirees should make highly attractive objects of research, given that this is the only phase of life in which most people can participate full-time in their leisure. Nevertheless, there is only one study of them framed by the SLP (Stebbins 2013c). Five retirement leisure lifestyles are examined in that book: homebody, traveler, townie, outbacker, and part-time retirement. What people like to do in their leisure depends in significant part on how much they like to be "on the move." This phrase refers to temporarily leaving home (their dwelling) and immediate neighborhood to visit a more distant place, this happening in the name of leisure. For those who like being on the move, just how far and how often they care to go to a distant place are major questions.

Meanwhile, other retirees – many in the old-old category or in the unpleasant situation where being on the move is either physically or psychologically awkward – avoid as much as possible leaving home and neighborhood. All this leads to the broader issue of pursuing leisure when the participant is unable to work, as in retirement, but also as in unemployment and disability. Most people in the latter two situations seem to go in for a steady diet of casual leisure or possibly a leisure project or two, following thereby the popular pattern of free-time involvement.

But there is evidence that a minority of the unemployed use their situation to pursue serious leisure that they once pursued earlier or even take up a new serious activity (Lobo 1999; Lobo and Watkins 1995). People with disabilities that severely limit employment have also been shown to benefit from certain kinds of serious and casual leisure (see research by Fenech, Patterson, and several others listed in www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Therapeutic Recreation & Disabilities).

Broadly put, lifestyle always has a geographic basis, even if that basis is not the same for everyone. The leisure lifestyles of most retirees conform reasonably well to one or two of the five geographic types (generalized from Stebbins' [2013c] study of retirees).

Homebody Lifestyle

▶ Homebodies are, for leisure purposes, normally not on the move. Granted, they must occasionally, though usually only briefly, leave home and immediate neighborhood to meet such non-work obligations as buying groceries and seeking medical help. They may also have to go out for more pleasant reasons such as to obtain equipment, supplies, or services needed for their domestic leisure. Further, they might occasionally break with this lifestyle: enjoy the occasional ride in the countryside or a trip to a distant city, say, to visit a friend or a relative.

▶ In other words, homebodies find their most important leisure activities where they live. In general, homebodies seem to define their domestic leisure as sufficiently attractive, with other leisure lifestyles holding significantly less interest. Some retirees are forced to remain at home, however, owing to a physical or mental disability that precludes any other use of free time.

Traveler Retirement Lifestyle

▶ This is the free-time passion of the inveterate tourist. Being on the move to new destinations and old ones worth revisiting is this person's free-time *raison d'être*. Most of these tourists must also spend some time at home, during which they recover financially, prepare for the next voyage, and engage in some of the homebody, townie, and outbacker leisure activities. For the traveler type, the trips are reasonably frequent, perhaps three or four a year.

Some travelers organize their tours according to a liberal arts interest. Others are propelled by a desire to view celebrated scenery and related flora and fauna. They are essentially casual leisure sightseers. A related subtype of sightseer is the cultural traveler. One difference is that this person commonly wants to experience the local cultures of cuisine, marketplace, museums, street scenes, and so on.

Townie Lifestyle

▶ The townie likes being on the move *within* the local community. A main avenue for this is the plethora of local opportunities in career, casual, or project-based volunteering, or in a combination of these. The 18 sectors discussed in Stebbins (2013c, pp. 98–107) show, for the larger cities, how widespread and varied these opportunities can be, as well as the extent to which a retiree may become immersed in communal activities. As a category of townie leisure, volunteering offers by far the greatest range of potential community contacts.

The collective amateur and hobbyist activities, though numerous, are, when compared with the communal volunteering opportunities, smaller in number. Nevertheless, the rehearsals and performances of the larger dance, musical, choral, and theatrical groups must, of necessity, be held in places designed for such activity. This requirement rules out their members' homes. Many of these groups meet weekly (community-theater rehearsals may, however, be scheduled as often as thrice weekly). Performances, depending on the art, run from one or two days to as many as ten, with four productions per season being common.

Outbacker Lifestyle

▶ This lifestyle is the one experienced by retirees who try to spend a good part of most weeks of the year outside their community of residence in certain rural areas within approximately a day's drive from it. "Rural" refers to such parts of the countryside as farms, ranches, non-urban parks, wilderness areas, game preserves, and the like. That outbackers *try* to spend some time each week in the outback refers to the fact they may be stymied occasionally in attempting to do so. The outbacker's leisure lifestyle typically consists of several rural outdoor activities pursued only during certain seasons of the year.

In principle, the activities may be either serious or casual leisure, though most probably the typical ensemble is comprised of some of both. Furthermore, the outbacker may want to become involved in a few leisure projects. Since most outbackers live in towns and cities, getting to and from their areas of interest in the outback is frequently time-consuming. Thus, part of their leisure lifestyle is routine travel to these places.

Part-Time Retirement Lifestyle

▶ This is the leisure lifestyle of retirement-age workers whose work activities are not fired by occupational devotion. The occupational devotee is, when at work, essentially pursuing a kind of serious leisure. Not so with the non-devotee worker, who is attracted to the paying job for other reasons.

► Leisure in part-time retirement may be pursued in any of the other four lifestyles, albeit inevitably outside the oftentimes-rigid temporal demands of part-time work. The homebody lifestyle offers the greatest flexibility, a highly practical feature when weekly free time is markedly reduced. True, there may be schedules to respect here, such as those required in e-volunteering and in following simultaneously a slate of televised sports games. Nevertheless, that lifestyle minimizes well the time lost in commuting, normally a non-rewarding, but necessary expenditure of time between rewarding stints of leisure (and work). Meanwhile, non-rewarding commuter time looms as an unwanted necessity in all the other leisure lifestyles. The part-time worker/retiree, as with the part-time devotee worker/retiree, is automatically involved in one or more spheres of community life, mostly as these spheres are harmonized with the job. The desire for more of such involvement as leisure may, therefore, be weakened, rendering the townie lifestyle somewhat less attractive. Leisure projects may also be especially attractive for the part-time retiree, whether carried out at home or in the community.

The research supporting this set of lifestyles consists only of general observations (see Chap. 1).[3] They could be fruitfully validated further in a detailed exploratory study.

Voluntary Simplicity[4]

► What is the relationship of consumption and simplicity (Stebbins 2009b, pp. 56–58)? The spirit of living simply energizes a growing social movement today, which promotes the special lifestyle of voluntary simplicity. In a book by this title Duane Elgin (1981), himself heavily influenced by Gandhi, writes:

> that, among other things, it is a way of living that accepts the responsibility for developing our human potentials, as well as for contributing to the well-being of the world of which we are an inseparable part; a paring back of the superficial aspects of our lives so as to allow more time and energy to develop the heartfelt aspects of our lives.

The simple living movement, – also know by such denominations as "downshifting" and "creative simplicity" – was launched in the mid-1930s with an article written by Richard Gregg (See Elgin 1981, pp. 297–298, for bibliographic information on the several reprinted versions of this article).

As a practical strategy voluntary simplicity may be seen as cutting back on something held by an individual to be unnecessary. True voluntary simplifiers – the people ideologically motivated by the movement to create a lifestyle based as fully as possible on the principles of voluntary simplicity – go much farther than a single practice, exemplified in driving a compact car instead of a sport utility vehicle or

growing their own vegetables instead of buying them at the supermarket. Still voluntary simplicity may be pursued in degrees ranging from downsizing the family automobile or growing vegetables to a more completely self-sufficient existence consisting of, among other things, walking and using public transit, making one's own clothing, living in a home no larger than absolutely necessary, and resorting wherever possible to do-it-yourself to meet all domestic obligations. For the purposes of the SLP voluntary simplicity refers to this entire range of practices leading to a simpler lifestyle than before.

As a strategy for finding a balanced lifestyle, the search for a new level of simplicity opens the possibility of becoming less dependent on the paying job as a whole or on some of its key obligations. One might ask, "need I earn $100,000 annually, were I to drive a cheap, economical car or reduce the size of my house or apartment?" Or "need I have such a job were I to perform my own yard work rather than meet this obligation by hiring a costly commercial service?" Embracing voluntary simplicity enables its followers to live on a reduced income, commonly achieved by decreasing, in some way, the amount of money they allot to managing their non-work obligations.

But all these activities take time, which has to be found in a person's weekly accumulation of free time. Moreover, when the activity is disagreeable, this robbing of Peter to pay Paul cuts into the hours that might be used for self-fulfilling serious leisure or leisure projects. It also cuts into time for casual leisure, consequently weakening access to, or the experience of, the previously-mentioned benefits it can offer. What is more, this way of shifting to a simpler existence leaves fewer of these activities for carving out an optimal leisure lifestyle. Finally, people, to the extent they are occupied with both work and non-work obligations, now have, when it comes to organizing their daily lives, significantly less room for maneuver.

One logical conclusion of simple living would have us minimize the so-called superficial, casual-leisure aspects of life. Still, as argued in Chap. 2, casual leisure has its important benefits, while also serving as an indispensable element in the personal formula for creating an optimal leisure lifestyle. In other words, to put in proper focus the movement's call for a reduction of life's superficialities, the SLP suggests that the simple living movement should have as one of its primary goals personal development of an optimal leisure lifestyle.

The foregoing theorization of voluntary simplicity shows its hand-in-glove fit with the SLP. All three of its forms can play a role in shaping a simple lifestyle, while all three domains are involved in the search for that lifestyle. Yet, data are scarce, the sole study of which I am aware is Michelle Ambrose's (2010) SLP-based doctoral investigation of simple living in Calgary. It is remarkable that a lifestyle in which leisure is so centrally implicated has so far been so extensively ignored in research.

Geographic Space

> Given that all leisure takes place in physical space of some kind, how can we understand it further using the three contextual levels? In answering this question note that one conception of space is of that part of the physical world we can perceive with our senses augmented, if available, with artificial means (eg, lights, binoculars) or diminished by artificial or natural obstructions (eg, fences, dense forest, weather conditions). The meso level would seem to be the most appropriate context for analyzing space thus conceived of, the other two levels being either too minute or too vast (ie, dyadic conversational space or society-wide institutional space). In other words, when engaging in an activity in one of the three domains, meso-level physical space is what we usually perceive aided or impeded by artificial and natural means.[5]

▶ People when at their leisure use and define spaces in different ways. Recognizing this tendency, the scholarly study of space has for some time distinguished between material *space* – a physical, virtual, or temporal area – and interpreted *place* – a space that has meaning for an individual or a category of individuals (eg, Agnew 2011; Cresswell 2013). In other words, place is a palpable part of the leisure experience – it is felt while engaging in core activities – whereas space is comparatively abstract. The latter is identified by such general terms as built environment, park, outdoors, concert venue, playing field, recreation center, exhibition hall, library, classroom, and many more.

Of these two concepts place is the one of greater concern in the SLP. It is a space that has meaning for the participant, characterized by all that people perceive as, for example, they move around at a fair, festival, exhibition, or historic site. In a similar vein people concentrate on the performance at a concert (especially if held in an enclosed space) and the match at a sporting event. In tourism the string of places visited is nearly kaleidoscopic and always continuous, as the person moves into and away from various tourist attractions. Sometimes, too, they perceive things they prefer to avoid; that is, there may be distractions that also occasionally invade the place they are in.

The Spatial Meaning of Core Activities[6]

All leisure activities revolve around one or more core activities. In common with other leisure participants, those engaged in the serious pursuits interpret according to the related core activities the spaces in which they are pursuing them. I have so far identified seven types of space for this kind of work and leisure, which the participants invariably conceived of as places. The names given below to these spaces reflect, in general terms, their meaning as places for those pursuing leisure within them. The seven types were added to the SLP in Stebbins (2013b) and more recently conceptualized in contextual terms in Stebbins (2017a, pp. 109–113).

1. **Conquered space**
   A wide variety of serious activities have as part of their core the conquering of some sort of space. In other words, the special meaning of that space is constructed according to how it relates to the core activity being undertaken. Here we find the sports, board games, nature challenge activities, participation activities, and possibly others. For example, football players know at any time during a match that, if they are to win, so many yards must be covered. Stebbins (1993b), in his account of Canadian football players, notes the symbolic nature of this space "to-be-conquered" that does not exist outside the parameters of the competitive, regulated, practice of the sport. In the "nature challenge activities" discussed below (Davidson and Stebbins 2011, pp. 101–105), climbers for instance are aware of the height and other physical features of the mountain face they aim to ascend.[7] The various nature-challenge hobbies centre on surmounting challenges presented in *natural* space such as descending a roaring river or steep snow slope, climbing a rock face (Davidson 2012), or negotiating a rugged trail (Stebbins 2005). There are the routes to be followed or spaces to be occupied in the various board games and in games like chess, checkers and cribbage.

   As an example of the role of space in the participation activities, consider how it is conquered when fishing. First, there is the space in which fish are caught: open sea, trout stream, backwater bayou, or local pond. Second, there is the question of the depth of water in, or on, which to fish: close to the bottom, just below the surface, on the surface (eg, dry-fly fishing). This example shows that the meaning of space for a given activity can be both multi-dimensional and unique. Might not the same be said for such participant activities as caving, hunting (Presser and Taylor 2011), canoeing, and SCUBA diving (Kler andTribe 2012)?
2. **Showcase space**
   Showcasing creative works is the realm of the fine arts and entertainment fields. The theater, concert hall (see Stebbins 1979) and comedy club (see Stebbins 1990) exemplify one genre of space for displaying these efforts. Another is the variety of museum and exhibition venues for presenting paintings, sculptures and ceramic pieces, which include, depending on the art, shops, streets, offices, pedestrian corridors, and these days even some transportation terminals, where people can encounter the creative work of others (Roberson Jr., 2011). Nonetheless, they do share some of their space with busking street performers. They strive to perform for tips (ie, sell their art) at such prized locations as bustling metro stations and corridors (on musicians see Lake 2012), major street corners teeming with pedestrians, and well-frequented municipal public spaces (eg, parks, monuments, plazas). The form and feel of these spaces thus fall in line with their miscellaneous, and often ephemeral, demeanor. Meanwhile, showcase space is different for writers. For them (and the liberal arts hobbyists who read their works), the book shop, the book fair, and the sites (eg, bookstores, libraries) for author readings are central.
3. **Resource space**
   The study is the prized space for writers (when not showcasing their works). It is likewise for committed readers, or those hobbyists who read extensively

to acquire literary knowledge, a passion that necessarily takes time and requires concentration (Stebbins 2013a). And paralleling this use of space for core activities are the places where musicians, dancers, athletes, and others go to maintain and perfect their skills. This is space needed by amateurs, hobbyists and occupational devotees to produce something or perform a service, a type that includes all the necessary equipment and supplies found within it. The scientist's laboratory is arguably the archetypical example. Although often less clearly defined, scientific field stations and sites constitute another space for scientific core activity. Here observations of birds or insects are conducted or, looking upward, astronomical phenomena are viewed. The archaeological field site is often space-as-resource in the form of historical-cultural artifacts, and space-as-showcase, at which such artifacts are retained and displayed for the purposes of on-site exhibitions, or larger sites of historical significance (Stebbins 1979). Then there is the atelier for making and tinkering. Included here are the kitchen and woodworking shop as well as the miscellaneous locations in which the skilled trades operate, among them, the garage and back garden (for gardening, work on old cars, etc.). In devotee work, construction sites and locations where repairs and maintenance are conducted (as in plumbing, heating and roofing) exemplify resource space. The growing trend (particularly in the UK) of property re-development constitutes a further example. This kind use of space is well documented in the ethnographic sections of the multitude of articles and books on hobbies and amateur activities (see www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography).

4. **Sales space**
   For the occupational devotees in small business, the shop, or related site, from which they vend their products or services is a special space or, psychologically speaking, a special place. For example, Kimball (2010) gives an insightful account of sales space in the form of one devotee, small-business farm in up-state New York where the owners sell produce from their farm directly to local customers. Along similar lines we find the public outlets for hobbyist makers of, say, quilts, knit goods and ceramic objects. They sporadically – and for some even regularly – set up stands at craft fairs, shopping centers, and flea markets, among other locations. The showcase space for buskers mentioned above is also a sales space, since they are performing for tips as part of their (sometimes meager) livelihood.
5. **Helping space**
   This is the space within which help is provided. The help may be that of either volunteers or professionals, with the latter being analyzed as devotee workers. Among the second the offices of counselors and consultants serve as a main place wherein they pursue their core activities. Other spaces for some of this group's core activities may include a home office, a public or institutional library, and a specialized book store or website, if not both.

   Career volunteers also have their distinctive spaces. These are evident to some extent by where they serve, as in a zoo or museum, on a board of directors (board room or equivalent), at a primary school, or at a hospital. Orr (2006) has noted how museum volunteers become part of a social world inhabited by

those knowledgeable in and intellectually curious about heritage and history. This core activity space for volunteers who work to preserve or maintain the natural environment is a river, forest or the town's park as well as the air we breathe, the water we drink and the earth we inhabit (Lepp 2009). Recreational volunteers serve in spaces like camps, sport centers, municipal recreational facilities, and sites for sporting competitions (eg, gymnasia, swimming pools, ski hills, running courses). Helping spaces also extend to volunteers serving at sites of folk and cultural (eg, music, food etc.) festivals (Campbell 2010).

6. **Virtual space**
   Virtual space is the home of, among other activities, the Internet-based serious pursuits. A main use of such space occurs during leisure-based surfing of the Web, the serious leisure expression of which is seen in the reading undertaken in pursuit of a liberal arts hobby. Another facet of this space is evident in skilled, knowledgeable gaming done in interaction with other people in cyberspace (Bryce and Rutter 2003). In these examples – and there are no doubt others – the space in question is our vague sense of what cyberspace really is. It is impalpable, difficult to fathom and, yet, real enough to give its users a unique spatial sense. Above all it is vast. In his book-length spatial analysis of virtual space, David Holmes (2001) argues that it is vital we understand the cultural significance that these often competing and contradictory social spaces are not merely production of a media event or figments of popular imagination – rather, these "virtual topographies" involve real bodies, real material investment, and, perhaps most crucially, real social interaction, and, as such, are prone to the same inequalities and discriminatory practices that perforate our modern condition.

   Of course, the preceding five spaces are also found on the Internet as virtual contexts for their corresponding core activities. Thus virtual space is a unique spatial location only for leisure activities that can be pursued nowhere else. These include, as already mentioned, Internet gaming and surfing the web.

7. **Tourist space**
   Much of modern tourism is centered on space of some kind, including scenic vistas, architectural wonders, and urban streetscapes. For most tourists, seeing such attractions is a type of casual leisure, namely, sensory stimulation. More rarely, however, some tourists make a hobby of viewing and studying a certain type of space. Thus, these enthusiasts might tour around the world to contemplate its tallest buildings, different old towns (where a city began), or ancient ruins. As an example, Bauckham (2013) has studied "groundhoppers" or people passionate about getting to know in detail through direct observation the many different (association) football grounds on which the world game is routinely played. In the context of adventure tourism, Beedie (2008), maintains that the various natural spaces of adventure sports increasingly occupy "frontiers" for tourism today. Spaces play an important and ever-present role in staging and shaping tourism encounters (Crouch 2006; Edensor 2001). The individual apprehends, and subsequently experiences, the mix of events and

artifacts through points of reference such as a desire to play or watch certain sports (eg, Halpenny et al. 2016; Kulczycki and Halpenny 2014; Jennings 2007; Moularde and Weaver 2016) or a desire to sample the culinary produce of a particular city or region (Everett 2008; Everett and Aitchison 2008).

So, tourist space, like virtual space, is also often a mixed type. For instance, tourist space may also encompass special sales spaces (eg, tourist shopping areas), conquered spaces (eg, Mt. Fuji, river rafting sites), or resource spaces (eg, where birders tour to view local species like penguins and puffins). Nevertheless, other aspects of tourist space are unique to it, including sightseeing, use of a foreign language, and interaction with the locals.

These seven types of spaces are perceivable by way of some, or all, of the following senses: visual, olfactory, tactile and auditory (including little or no sound). Moreover, some serious pursuits have core activities that are spatially anchored in more than one of the seven types. Thus, athletes have space to be conquered and another space to use as a resource for training; the painter has an atelier (resource) and one or more exhibition sites (showcase).

Informational Space[8]

The contents of informational space are, in fact, part of culture, phenomena that, when considered on the societal level, are macro-contextual (see Chap. 8 and the institutionalization of information). Meanwhile, our analysis of them here, on the meso level, has a different focus, namely, on the processual character of informational space. That is, information is gathered and may be disseminated. It may also be processed, analyzed, stored, and treated in other ways. Put otherwise, attention is given to *information behavior*, the "totality of human behavior in relation to the sources and channels of information, including both active and passive information seeking and information use" (Wilson 1999, p. 249). As Pettigrew et al. (2001, p. 44) put it, information behavior centers on "how people need, seek, give, and use information in different contexts."

All the serious pursuits can be examined for their library and informational forces and properties as these relate to certain core activities and the organizational milieu in which they are pursued. It is known that the patterns of storage, retrieval, and dissemination vary considerably from one core activity to another. Hartel's (2006, 2010) work explored these patterns in the hobby of cooking. Other researchers have examined, for example, information use and dissemination among back packers (Chang 2009) and coin collectors (Case 2009, 2010). Ross (1999) and Stebbins (2013a) examine the use of information in pleasurable, utilitarian, and self-fulfilling reading.[9]

Experiential Knowledge

▶ "Experiential knowledge," as Thomasina Borkman referred to it over 40 years ago, is a critical informational resource in many a serious pursuit. She defined this kind of knowledge as "truth learned from personal experience with a phenomenon rather than truth acquired by discursive reasoning, observation, or reflection on information provided by others" (Borkman 1976, p. 446). She has identified two main elements of such knowledge. One is the type of information on which it is based. It consists of two subtypes: (1) wisdom and (2) know-how gained from personal participation in an *activity*.[10] Neither subtype includes the myriad isolated, unorganized bits of facts and feelings on which a person has reflected very little, scattered information that is rampant in today's world. This wisdom and know-how tend to be concrete, specific, and commonsensical, for they are based on the individual's actual experience. That experience is unique, limited, but nonetheless more or less representative of the experience of others participating in the same activity.

▶ The second element is one's attitude toward that information. In other words, what level of "certitude" does the participant have toward the experiential knowledge that this person has acquired. The idea of experiential knowledge "denotes a high degree of conviction that the insights learned from direct participation in a situation are truth, because the individual has faith in the validity and authority of the knowledge obtained by being a part of a phenomenon" (Borkman 1976, p. 447). She added that experiential knowledge is different from information provided by others. The second refers to being acquainted with or able to recognize facts, whereas the first has to do with understanding or having a complete mental grasp of the nature and significance of something.

Wisdom and know-how in the serious leisure activities are highly specialized for each activity. That is, each serious leisure activity has its own distinctive body of experiential knowledge. Nevertheless, specific, concrete facts generated from experience can be discussed with fellow participants as parts of a shared, activity-related common sense, as parts of that activity's social world. Not so with know-how; it is generally too subtle to verbalize clearly.

This is why it is so difficult to study scientifically. Although not about the arts Puddephatt's (2003) discussion of know-how in chess is nevertheless instructive: "thus, as players develop meanings for certain pieces, moves, and overall approaches to the game, these preferences become routinized and influence the way they perceive, judge, and make decisions in play" (p. 268). As entertainment magicians prepare the acts for their shows, they must learn how to perform each trick (including accompanying patter), this accomplished among other ways by reading how it is done and watching other magicians perform it (Stebbins 1993a, p. 47). As stand-up comics present their comedic routines, they will for maximum effect learn how long they should wait while the audience laughs at the end of the present "joke" before introducing the next one (Stebbins 1990, p. 52).

Know-how is developed through the senses. In the case of physical activities, the use of muscles for balance and lifting, for example, is partly a matter of learning. Optimal positioning in space sometimes as it relates to gravity is another (eg, ballet movements, barbershop choreography, animal photography). Meanwhile, experienced cooks and gourmet diners develop an educated and discriminating taste for *haute cuisine* (de Solier 2013, pp. 78–79). An accomplished musician learns to hear when the ensemble is playing well (and when it is not). Amateur and professional interior decorators develop an eye for balance and color in a room. To be sure, there is a genetic basis for some of this, but some of it is also learned through constant participation in the core activity.

A large and useful stock of experiential knowledge is a source of pride in the serious pursuits. Put otherwise, it is a main component in the self-fulfillment realized through the pursuit's core activity. Experienced participants can find immense satisfaction in their core activities, in good part because of their considerable accumulated experiential knowledge and its role in augmentative play (see Chap. 3). To repeat, gaining experiential knowledge is a difficult process to study. The validating support material reported in Stebbins (2015b) is mostly of the general observational kind.

Leisure Education

▶ Charles Brightbill defines leisure education as "the process of helping *all* persons develop appreciations, interests, skills, and *opportunities* that will enable them to use their leisure in personally rewarding ways" (Brightbill 1961, p. 188, italics in the original). He championed "education for leisure," when leisure was a growing but still only a small part of life. Nevertheless, interest in the SLP – and his definition harmonizes well with it – is broader. There, leisure education is seen to deliver an effective adaptation to modern times, in addition to being part of education for personal development.

▶ Personal development refers to the positive growth of the individual as a person and a personality, to the realization of that individual's potential as this process unfolds in the sociocultural milieu of the day. As seen from the SLP these forces and arrangements are substantially directed by the individual. That is, the individual is a main agent in shaping his or her personal development through self-directed learning (SDL).[11]

But remember from the discussion in Chap. 4 about the constraints and facilitators to leisure that this agency is never unfettered. The sociocultural milieu in which leisure participants operate both constrains and facilitates it. The list of possible constraints is long and includes discrimination based on class, race, gender, and religion, to name a few. Yet, these same conditions operate for some as facilitators, where the individual is, for instance, male, upper class, of the dominant race, or of the reigning religion.

One central component of personal development is finding and pursuing a career in a work role or a leisure role, sometimes both. We have already noted that we look for such careers in the serious pursuits, but not in casual or project-based leisure. Careers in the first revolve around the rewards and self-fulfillment that spring from the activity and the person's agency in making his or her career what it is.

Given the passage quoted above, I think it safe to say that, if Brightbill wrote today, he would be inclined to argue that leisure education should, for the most part, revolve around either serious or project-based leisure (even though it has no career), perhaps both. More precisely, such education should be mainly about imparting knowledge about the nature of these two forms, about their costs and rewards, and about how to find and participate in leisure activities of this kind. This conception of leisure education intentionally excludes much of casual leisure, on grounds that such leisure, hedonic as it is, requires little or no training or encouragement to engage in it and find enjoyment there.

General Education as a field of practice and scholarly research numbers among the oldest of the social sciences. Leisure education, however, has not generally been part of this vast discipline. Rather, the first has emerged almost entirely within the separate inter-discipline of leisure studies. Here, Brightbill (1966) argued early in its history that public education has the responsibility for the formal aspects of overall leisure education. It is the school's job, he maintained, to develop skills, attitudes and resources that may be used throughout life in the pursuit of leisure. To this end, leisure studies specialists have since pioneered a variety of models, programs and social policies for application not only in formal education but also in therapeutic recreation, outdoor education, and prevention and rehabilitation of youth at risk. For an excellent review see Dieser (2013).

What is more, a substantial amount of learning in work and leisure occurs informally, beyond the walls of the classroom. This, too, is education, much of it also being leisure activity. It follows that lifelong learning, SDL, and adult education constitute a key part of leisure education. Conceived of in its broadest sense, leisure education also consists of counselling, volunteering and instructing in classrooms and elsewhere on such matters as the nature, types, and costs and rewards of various leisure activities potentially available to people eager to learn about them. These are basic processes in the serious pursuits, where learning is either an end in itself, as in the liberal arts hobbies, or a means to the end of personal improvement and fulfillment, as in the other serious pursuits.

Put simply, leisure education means educating people about finding their leisure. On the policy level a major challenge facing those who hope to better the lot of humankind, both Western and non-Western, is to find a way to acquaint people with the many interesting, exciting, enriching leisure activities that are realistically accessible to them. It is also their goal to help those people define their own criteria for taking up some of the ones they find appealing. Leisure education is a main way to enrich the lives of people whose leisure lifestyle is felt by them to be too uninteresting, unexciting, incomplete or, perhaps, felt not even to exist. In other words, when it comes to improving the human condition, leisure education has a pivotal

role to play in reaching that goal. Moreover, the time to pursue that goal is now, what with the amount of free time slowly expanding (for many people) and disenchantment with both modern work and unpleasant non-work obligations growing at an even faster rate. That is, the twenty-first century belongs to leisure education (Cohen-Gewerc and Stebbins 2007).

Leisure education offers much to many. For example, through it, people gain opportunities to explore new interests as well as often unknown aspects of themselves. In other words, education is much more than training people for work, in general, and an occupational role, in particular. Education also introduces people to a more intimate encounter between self and life in its comprehensive sense. The upshot of this is that education can no longer be regarded as limited to a period of 15 or even 20 years. Education must be conceived of more broadly as including lifelong learning.

As the thinking goes today in leisure education circles, to the extent that its specialists care to consider the issue, casual leisure is not generally seen as something we need to teach people how to do (with a few important exceptions such as relaxation, exploration, appreciation, and sociability that are also important to subjective wellbeing and personal and community development, Kleiber 2012). Still, people need to know that some of it can be mighty beneficial. The goal of leisure education as viewed from the angle of the SLP is, therefore, to help them find a personally *fulfilling balance* in their leisure lifestyle, achieved by engaging in serious leisure along with some casual or project-based leisure, perhaps both. That balance is, of course, a matter of degree – a more-or-less-balanced leisure lifestyle. Thus the ultimate goal of leisure education is to foster well-being, achieved in good measure by helping the individual find an *optimally* balanced way of life in free time.

This section has borne on the context in which leisure participants obtain the information for, get educated about, their leisure passions. Much of this context constitutes part of the relevant social world of a given general activity (and its core activities). On this level we find, for example, formal training programs and individual courses, equipment sales and repair, club-based lectures and fieldtrips, newsletters, manuals, magazines, Internet sites, gatherings (eg, expositions, performances, club meetings, scheduled parties, get-togethers), and adult education courses as they sometimes foster lifelong learning. On the micro level leisure education is prized (and scientifically studied) for its contribution to personal development and education's role in fostering leisure careers.

► This is the level on which leisure educators are being encouraged to promote *leisure literacy.* Elkington (in Elkington and Stebbins 2014, p. 173) has observed that the concept of leisure literacy speaks to a broad conception of education for leisure that requires learning about peoples' relationships to the world and the role leisure plays therein. Such literacy not only includes understanding how to use leisure as a source of self-fulfillment and human flourishing, but also understanding how to engage in leisure in socially responsible and sustainable ways that enhance, as well as maintain, well-being. It also includes knowing how to acquire and apply knowledge about the ideals and social relations associated with leisure.

As for the meso level it contains the broader organizational world that facilitates and sometimes constrains personal development. It is a world wherein the components just mentioned form a unique constellation for each serious pursuit.

Constraints and Facilitators

These two concepts were introduced in Chap. 2 and discussed in Chap. 4 at the micro level. In this section I take the next step by examining their meso-level manifestations, which seem to be best conceived of as middle-range processes. That is, constraints and facilitators are often found in situations where the influence of community and sometimes regional organizations and arrangements are felt by participants. Thus, all types of leisure participants are occasionally constrained by schedules of events, availability of resources and services, and their possible excessive level of popularity and patronage. Furthermore, events, resources, and services are geographically located such that they may constrain some participants from going there, And, we could add as constraints the traffic on roads and public transit and weather conditions affecting it. The point in all this is not to make a full inventory of these aspects of leisure life, but to drive home the idea that full freedom of choice in that life does not exist, with plenty of examples to be found on the meso level.

The costs of leisure activities – the disappointments, dislikes, and tensions – that the rewards of those activities tend to offset were said earlier to also act sometimes as constraints. This was said to be particularly true of some of certain dislikes and tensions. So, the cost (economic dislike) of repairing a cello that has developed a crack on the front near the bridge is likewise a constraint to its use. It is the same with the tension of auditions in dance, theater, and music that also constrain some artists from doing them. For SLP-driven research bearing directly on the costs/constraint link at the meso level, see MacCosham (2017) and Lovelock et al. (2016).

There is scattered meso-level evidence in the Foundational Ethnographies about the facilitation of certain serious pursuits. For instance, lectures at the monthly meetings of the archaeological and astronomical societies, accessible and affordable rehearsal space for music and theater, and efficiently provided bus transportation to games out of town (in football) exemplify meso-level leisure facilitation. Additionally, Kang et al. (2017) and Sa et al. (2015) have explored a range of micro, meso, and macro facilitators among female soccer players and participants in running events in South Korea.

Conclusions

Much of what is covered in this chapter can be conceived of as process, thereby setting off these meso-level interests from the small organizations examined in Chap. 5. As earlier only those processes are considered that have emerged through

SLP-related research or have been imported into the Perspective. Accordingly, we started with lifestyle and proceeded from there to those aspects of geographic space related to the SLP and then those classified as informational space, often related to experiential knowledge. Leisure education was examined next. Finally, costs and constraints were revisited on the meso level as was facilitation.

Chapters 5 and 6, which juxtapose structure and process, offer a rare opportunity for comparing the insights made possible by these two basic social science concepts. The tendency in leisure studies as in the other social sciences is to concentrate on one or the other in theory and research with little acknowledgement of the importance of the one that is neglected. Still, the time comes when we must familiarize ourselves with the fruits borne by the contexts in which we seldom work. A comparative picture such as presented in these two chapters seems to be a fine way to show how structure and process go together to generate a much richer understanding of an area of life than possible when following either perspective exclusively.

Notes

1. Some of these studies examine identity negotiation.
2. This section is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2017b, pp. 180–183) and Palgrave Macmillan.
3. At age 82, I reside in an "over-50," condo-apartment complex the residents of which live these lifestyles.
4. This section reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2009a, pp. 150–152) and Palgrave Macmillan.
5. Macro-level space is either vast or subtle and therefore not commonly perceivable, exceptions include looking out on the sea, up at the night sky, or across at the seemingly endless skyline from a mountain top, all unobstructed by fog, light pollution, low cloud, industrial atmospheric waste, and the like.
6. This section is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R. A. (2015a, pp. 50–53) and Palgrave Macmillan.
7. Davidson and Stebbins (2011) provide place-related observations on scores of hobbies and amateur activities pursued in nature.
8. This section is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2015b, pp. 76–79) and Palgrave Macmillan.
9. Further theory and research on library and information science (LIS) and the SLP are reported in *Library Trends,* 57(4), 2009.
10. Borkman discusses knowledge of a "phenomenon," whereas the preferred concept in this book is "activity," a central idea in the SLP.
11. The study of SDL through the lens of SLP got its start in a study by Roberson, Jr., (2005). The most recent elaboration of these two concepts is set out in Stebbins (2017c). There is little direct research on the two à la Roberson, though the Foundational Ethnographies all contain some observations about them relative to the activity under study.

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Part III

Macro Level

Social Institutions

7

The macro sphere consists of such all-encompassing, broad-ranging abstractions as community, society, social-class, and the large-scale organizations. The subjects covered in this chapter have an institutional quality about them, whereas those covered in Chap. 8 can be conceptualized as cultural, while occupying a similar macro level of abstraction as their institutional counterparts. The plan for this chapter is, first, to consider the three domains of activity. We then turn to leisure as a social institution, concluding that section with a look at the marginality of serious leisure *vis-à-vis* the centrality of casual leisure (common sense) as an institutional issue. The history of the leisure institution is examined next, including the history of leisure provision and the activity-specific histories. The neo-modern tribes are considered subsequently. The chapter closes with a discussion of formal organizations and grassroots associations.

Three Domains

Viewed as *activity* the great proportion of everyday life can be conceptualized as being experienced in one of three domains: work, leisure, and non-work obligation (Stebbins 2009a, Chap. 1). At first blush it might seem that all of life can be conceptualized thus. Still, when introducing the concept of activity in the SLP (Stebbins 2009a, pp. 4–7), I noted that experiences we must undergo entirely against our will fail to fit the definition of activity presented there. For instance, the definition of activity does not fit things some people are, through violence, compelled to experience entirely against their will, including rape, torture, interrogation, forced feeding, and judicial execution. It would seem to be likewise for the actions of those driven by a compulsive mental disorder. As pointed out the ends sought in these

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_7

unwanted experiences are those of other people, as they pursue their activities. The "victims" of those activities lack agency, unless as noted, they can manage to counterattack with an activity intended as resistance. One might ask at this point if our existence is not more complicated than this. Indeed it is, for each of the three is itself enormously complex, and there is also some significant overlap in the domains.

The domain approach is a prism through which to look on the institutional space of leisure. In its unique way, it expand on the institutional conceptualization of leisure. That is, the idea of domain is distinctive enough to be considered separately, for it is rare in the social sciences to view everyday life as unfolding in these three different but interrelated spheres. More precisely, the pursuit of activities within these three domains is framed in a wide range of social conditions, some of which, at that level of analysis, blur domainal boundaries. For example, if the state passes a law requiring all residents to pay a five percent increase in their annual income tax, there will less money to spend in the domains of leisure and non-work obligation. What about the condition of poverty? For those who are impoverished its components of hunger, disease, malnutrition, even unemployment largely efface the non-work and leisure domains, all of which force these people into the full-time activity of survival (subsistence work). Third, on the cultural plane, some groups (eg, religious, communal) stress the importance of altruism and its expression through volunteering. Such activity is leisure, which however, loses this quality when experienced as coercion. The feeling of *having* to "volunteer" forces a reinterpretation of the activity as a kind of non-work obligation.

Bear in mind that activities, when considered from the domainal perspective, are of the general variety, such as tennis or collecting stamps (leisure domain), teaching school or driving a taxi (work domain), and modern commercial flying (eg, *New York Times* 2017) or putting on makeup (non-work obligations). As pursuits they are part of the institutions of work or leisure (non-work obligation is not an institution). Put otherwise, they form part of the context (eg, cultural expectations, institutionalized relations and relationships, organizational arrangements) in which life is carried out. On the other hand, the central thoughts and actions that people have and do to enact these general activities were labelled earlier as core activities. They are a part of the leisure or work experience—in fact an essential part of it—part of the individual approach to defining these two.

Non-work Obligation

▶ *Disagreeable obligation*, it was observed in Chap. 4, has no place in leisure, because, among other reasons, it fails to leave the participant with a pleasant memory or expectation of the activity. Rather it is the stuff of the third domain: non-work obligation. This domain is the classificatory home of all we must do that we would rather avoid that is not related to work (including moonlighting). So far, I have been able to identify three types (Stebbins 2009a, pp. 24–26).

Unpaid labor: activities people do themselves even though services exist which they could hire to carry them out. These activities include mowing the lawn, house work, shoveling the sidewalk, preparing the annual income tax return, do-it-yourself, and a myriad of obligations to friends and family (eg, caring for a sick relative, helping a friend move to another home, arranging a funeral).

Unpleasant tasks: required activities for which no commercial services exist or, if they exist, most people would avoid using them. Such activities are exemplified in checking in and clearing security at airports, attending a meeting on a community problem, walking the dog each day, driving in city traffic (in this discussion, beyond that related to work), and errands, including routine grocery shopping. There are also obligations to family and friends in this type, among them, driving a child to soccer practice and mediating familial quarrels. Many of the "chores" of childhood fall in this category. Finally, activities sometimes mislabelled as volunteering are, in fact, disagreeable obligations from which the individual senses no escape. For example, some parents feel this way about coaching their children's sports teams or about helping out with a road trip for the youth orchestra in which their children play.

Self-care: disagreeable activities designed to maintain or improve in some way the physical or psychological state of the individual. They include getting a haircut, putting on cosmetics, doing health-promoting exercises, going to the dentist, and undergoing a physical examination. Personal and family counselling also fall within this type, as do the activities that accompany getting a divorce.

Some activities in these types are routine obligations, whereas others are only occasional. And, for those who find some significant measure of enjoyment in, say, grocery shopping, walking the dog, do-it-yourself, or taking physical exercise, these obligations are defined as agreeable; they are effectively leisure. Thus what is disagreeable in the domain of non-work obligation rests on personal interpretation of the actual or anticipated experience of an activity. So, most people dislike or expect to dislike their annual physical examination, though not the hypochondriac.

Non-work obligation, even if it tends to occupy less time than the other two domains, is not therefore inconsequential. I believe the foregoing three types support this observation (Stebbins 2009a). Moreover, some of them may be gendered (eg, housework), and accordingly, occasional sources of friction and attenuated positiveness of lifestyle for all concerned. Another leading concern for the SLP laid down by non-work obligation is that the second reduces further (after work is done) the amount of free time for serious leisure and, for some people, devotee work. Such obligation may threaten the latter, because it may reduce the time occupational devotees who, enamored as they are of their core work activities, would like to engage in them at work as, in effect, overtime.

As noted earlier non-work obligation and its relationship to leisure and work lacks systematic scrutiny, possibly because it seldom appears while one is observing or discussing a serious pursuit. Ethnographic research picks up in interviews and informal discussions scattered instances of the effects of such obligations. Since constraints limit participation an interview question bearing on those that

participants face in trying to find the time and money for their leisure should bring out some illuminating data.

I know of no research whose central focus is on non-work obligation, which however, should be a burning interest in leisure studies. Scholars in this field have a major interest in the amount of free time available to people (see the many time use studies), so there should be concern with all the constraints on that time and not just those imposed by work.

Leisure as Social Institution

Leisure thought of as an institution (eg, Kaplan 1975, pp. 28–31; Frey and Dickens 1990; Rojek 2000), evokes a tendency to see its relationship to the other institutions of society. Thus, by stating that leisure is an institution, we say it is not the family, economy, or polity, or the institution of education, religion, health, or the arts. The institution of leisure intersects in diverse ways with all these macro-level counterparts and others not mentioned but is nonetheless its own structural/cultural entity.

▶ A standard sociological conception of social institution is that it is a relative stable set of abstract relationships, patterns of behavior (within activities), roles, norms, and values that emerge as solutions to a set of problems associated with a certain sphere of collective living. The collective problem around which leisure has institutionalized is that of how, according to its norms and values, people in a society use their free time effectively and acceptably (paraphrased from *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/social-institutions, April 2019, retrieved 26 March 2020). Institutions solve, albeit by no means always ideally according to all the people involved, the problems they want solved such that they can get through a normal year. Although social institutions are inherently conservative—they form around and support various socially *acceptable* solutions—they are also subject to change as new solutions gain community favor. This principle will receive support in the next chapter when we discuss deviant activities and new leisure.

Elsewhere (Stebbins 2017a, pp. 33–34) I present a sample of the patterns of leisure behavior and motivation associated with certain leisure activities as pursued by different segments of the population. Examples of the relatively stable set of abstract relationships, patterns of behavior (within activities), roles, norms, and values that emerge as solutions to the set of problems associated with the leisure sphere of collective living are also described. A detailed portrait of leisure as a social institution is a long way off, for as Fig. 2.1 demonstrates, it consists of numerous types of activities of varying degrees of complexity, some of them still badly needing further exploration.

When we eventually get to painting this portrait, the SLP could offer a framework sufficiently broad and empirically anchored to accomplish it effectively. And, rather than tackle the entire domain (ie, both its institutionalized and non-institutionalized aspects) all at once, the theorist ("painter") might want to start with a manageable, well-established, highly visible part of it such as sport or art.

Marginality

I have argued over the years that those who go in for the serious pursuits amateurs, and sometimes even the activities they pursue, are *marginal* in society. This proposition emerged with the initial study amateurs (Stebbins 1979), where I observed that they are neither dabblers (casual leisure) nor professionals in their activity (supported by the 8 studies of amateurs, Stebbins 1992 and by Etheridge and Neapolitan 1985). Moreover, studies of hobbyists (Stebbins 1996, 1998) and career volunteers (Burden 2001; Cuskelly and Harrington 1997; Stebbins 2001) show that they and some of their activities are just as marginal and for many of the same reasons. Occupational devotion, given its six criteria, can also be understood as marginal in the domain of work.

Several properties of the serious pursuits give substance to these observations. One, although seemingly illogical according to common sense, is that they are characterized empirically by an important degree of positive commitment to their core activities (Stebbins 1992, pp. 51–52; Stebbins 2004/2014, pp. 17–18). As pointed earlier, this commitment is measured, among other ways, by the sizeable investments of time and energy in the activity made by its devotees and participants. Two, the serious pursuits are engaged in with noticeable intentness, with a passion that, as noted earlier, Erving Goffman (1963, pp. 144–145) once categorized amateurs and hobbyists as the "quietly disaffiliated," and the devotees are said to be stigmatized as "workaholics" (Stebbins 2004/2014, pp. 28–29). People with such orientations toward their work and leisure are marginal compared with people who go in for the ever-popular forms of much of casual leisure and those for whom work is an unpleasant obligation.

History of the Leisure Institution

History figures in the study of the SLP in at least three crucial ways: in the general history of leisure, histories of leisure provision, and activity-specific histories. Over the years I have remarked sporadically on all three, and with this section, will now attempt to elucidate more systematically the role of each type. Let me be clear from the outset that I am not privileging one or another. In many instances a complete historical explanation rests on two if not all three of these types.

General History of Leisure

▶ The general histories track and explain the emergence and change of leisure as an institution or segment of that institution such as sport or the hobbies. These histories explain leisure in macro-contextual language; they present a big chronological picture of leisure. Below are some highlights, showing together several crucial developments leading to today's leisure institution as experienced in the West. My object is to provide a sense of the general unfolding of history sufficiently clear to set it off from its leisure provision and activity-specific counterparts. Many excellent general histories have been written over the years (eg, Sylvester 1999; Spracklen 2011; Goodale and Godbey 2019), obviating here the need to go into further detail. The general history also includes the various leisure trends, a modern sample of which will be covered in the next chapter. As before these historical notes are presented narrowly, only with reference to the SLP (see Stebbins 2012, pp. 23–37).

Viewed from the standpoint of work and leisure, much of the history of mankind has been about subsistence as a livelihood, with free-time activity taking place in the comparatively few hours left over after seeing to life's basic needs. Hunting, fishing, and gathering food; raising and harvesting crops; and moving to new land that facilitates all of these, along with defending against enemies, human and animal, occupy a lot of time in a preindustrial society. But life on this subsistence level must necessarily include a few hours off for games, dancing, music, relaxation, sexual activity, casual conversation, and the like. Hamilton-Smith (2003, pp. 225–226) wrote that archaeological findings on this sort of leisure gathered from artifacts, living sites, cave painting, and so on date as far back as the prehistoric cultures.

Western Societies

Sylvester (1999, pp. 18–23) writes that, from classical antiquity through the Middle Ages, two streams of thought influenced modern-day Western beliefs about and attitudes toward work and leisure. One had its roots in Ancient Greece, especially in the city-state of Athens, while the other emerged later in the ferment of early Christianity.

Classical Greece[1]

The actual patterns of work and leisure among ordinary people during this period, it appears, were quite different from what its "gentlemen-philosophers"—most notably Plato and Aristotle—had to say about them (Sylvester 1999, p. 18). These intellectuals were unusual people in Greek society, for they had sufficient free time during which they could philosophize about these two domains and their relationship. We will concentrate in this section on some of the key ideas of the two men, primarily because those ideas have had considerable impact on Western thought on work and leisure, including the SLP, and because the historical record of these domains in the rest of ancient Greek society is inadequate.

Plato argued that leisure was a necessary condition for anyone devoting himself to the activity of discovering truth (use of masculine gender is intentional here, for females were not considered part of this class). The thinker engaged in this pursuit had to be free from the demands of securing a livelihood. As for the discovery of truth, this was strictly the province of intellectuals of superior breeding. More precisely, these intellectuals were philosophers; they were the only people capable of discovering truth, or "knowledge," while also providing civic leadership. The truth in question, by the way, was not knowledge based on sensory experience (sight, taste, touch, etc.), subject to change in light of new empirical evidence—scientific knowledge—but rather knowledge in the unchangeable, transcendental shape of ideas, or "forms"—philosophical knowledge.

In this system, the common man, who was sometimes a slave, labored for his own livelihood as well as that of the gentlemen-philosophers. Such was his lot in life. Work is honored here because it supports someone else's freedom from work and that person's pursuit of excellence in the creation of knowledge. Of course, the ordinary worker gained little more from all this than his livelihood.

▶ Aristotle wrote about what has often been translated into English as the "good life." Integral to this life, he said, is achieving excellence in morality and intellectual pursuits. Moral excellence, he argued, comes with contemplating how best to live both individually and socially, whereas intellectual excellence grows from understanding and delighting in the true principles of the universe. Also included in the good life is engaging in such activities as speech (oratory), music, friendship, gymnastics, and citizenship. Moreover, according to Sylvester (1999, p. 20), Aristotle viewed work as "severely encroaching on the good life. Only when people were liberated from having to work for the necessities of life could they turn to the good life." It follows that leisure, which in ancient Greece was freedom from having to work, is itself a condition of the good life. Consistent with this line of reasoning was Aristotle's assertion that happiness also depends on leisure.

The Judeo-Christian Era

During the Judeo-Christian period work came to be glorified, particularly as an avenue leading to spiritual development. Beside its necessity as a livelihood, work was thought to foster desirable habits, among them, sobriety, discipline, and industry. Furthermore, work engendered a certain independence in the worker and, apparently (Sylvester 1999, p. 24), a sense of charity. Unlike in the days of ancient Greece, work in the Judeo-Christian tradition was ultimately held to be undertaken for the glory of God as well as to instill a level of sacredness in those who worked here on Earth.

In the Middle Ages Christian monasticism revolved around work, through which the monks in retreat in monasteries sought religious purity in manual labor and the reading of divine literature. Leisure, in this situation, was held in low regard. It took St. Thomas Aquinas to restore it to the dignified position it enjoyed in ancient Greece. Aquinas argued that, if a man could live without labor, he was under no

obligation to engage in it. Indeed, spiritual work was only possible when the thinker was freed of physical labor. The elevated place of the contemplative life was thus restored, and with it the value of leisure, especially certain serious variants of it.

With the advent of the Renaissance the balance of prestige between work and leisure shifted somewhat. This was a period of creative activity, which rested substantially on practical achievements in art and craft. Experimental physical science also took root during this era, initially as a (serious) leisure pursuit. Nevertheless, the skilled artist, craftsman, and scientist were, themselves, special people. Ordinary manual laborers were still regarded as lowly by this group and the rest of the elite, thereby enabling these higher ranks in society to retain their superiority, backed by leisure as one of the differentiating principles.

The Protestant Reformation

Al Gini (2001, pp. 20–21) has observed that, together, the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation have served as a cardinal reference point in the development of the modern work ethic. He points out that "it was during this period that work, no matter how high or low the actual task, began to develop a positive ethos of its own, at least at the theoretical level" (p. 20). More particularly, Sylvester (1999, p. 26) writes: "the Protestant work ethic was one of the central intellectual developments in changing attitudes toward labor and leisure. In it work is more than a livelihood, it is also a man's *raison d'être*."

The Protestant ethic, seldom mentioned today in lay circles and possibly not much discussed there even during its highest point in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has nevertheless been a prominent social force in the evolution of Western society. Culturally and structurally, this powerful personal orientation motivating the small-enterprise capitalists of the day left its mark (Weber 1930), one so powerful that it is still being felt in the present. This is because the Protestant ethic is, at bottom, about the will to work.

Modern Times

If, in the later nineteenth century, the Protestant ethic was no longer a driving force for much of the working population, its surviving components in the work ethic were. Gary Cross (1990, Chap. 7) concluded that, during much of this century, employers and upwardly mobile employees looked on "idleness" as threatening industrial development and social stability. The reformers in their midst sought to eliminate this "menace" by, among other approaches, attempting to build bridges to the "dangerous classes" in the new cities and, by this means, to transform them in the image of the middle class. This led to efforts to impose (largely rural) middle-class values on this group, while trying to instill a desire to engage in rational recreation—in modern terms, serious leisure—and consequently to seek less casual leisure.

By mid-nineteenth century in Europe and North America leisure had, with the weakening of the Protestant ethic, nonetheless gained a margin of respectability. Gelber (1999, p.1) observed that "industrialism quarantined work from leisure in a way that made employment more work-like and non-work more problematic. Isolated from each other's moderating influences, work and leisure became increasingly

oppositional as they competed for finite hours." Americans, he said, responded in two ways to the threat posed by leisure as potential mischief caused by idle hands. Reformers tried to eliminate or at least restrict access to inappropriate activity, while encouraging people to seek socially approved free-time outlets. Hobbies and other serious leisure pursuits were high on the list of such outlets. In short, "the ideology of the workplace infiltrated the home in the form of productive leisure" (Gelber 1999, p. 2).

Hobbies were particularly valued, because they bridged especially well the worlds of work and home. And both sexes found them appealing, albeit mostly not the same ones. Some hobbies allowed home bound women to practice, and therefore understand, work-like activities, whereas other hobbies allowed men to create in the female-dominated house their own businesslike space—the shop in the basement or the garage. Among the various hobbies, two types stood out as almost universally approved in these terms: collecting and handicrafts. Still, before approximately 1880, before becoming defined as productive use of free time, these two, along with the other hobbies, were maligned as "dangerous obsessions."

Gelber (1999, pp. 3–4) notes that, although the forms of collecting and craftwork have changed somewhat during the past one-hundred fifty years, their meaning has remained the same. Hobbies have, all along, been "a way to confirm the verities of work and the free market inside the home so long as remunerative employment has remained elsewhere" (p. 4).

The work ethic in the West continues to figure in the history of leisure in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. By mid-twentieth century the salvation component of the Protestant ethic can be observed, as already noted, only in the outlook of David Riesman's (Riesman 1961) inner-directed man, who by then, was nevertheless a vanishing breed. What was left by that point in history of the West's distinctive orientation toward work has been known all along simply as the "work ethic." This more diffuse ethic, in fact, shares two of the three components of the Protestant version. It shares the same attitudes: a person should work, work hard, and avoid leisure as much as possible. It also shares the same values: work is good, while leisure is not. Only the third component is missing—that of belief: by hard work people can demonstrate their faith that they number among the chosen. In short, the work ethic is but a secular version of the Protestant ethic. We covered this theme earlier under the headings of workaholism, some of which is in fact occupational devotion and do-it-yourself and some of it being conceivable as hobbyist activity (of the making and tinkering variety).

Leisure Provision

Many a service and facility have been established to help people pursue their own leisure interests. Each service and facility has its own history, though it may be unavailable in written form such as a report, article, or book. For instance, such a history seems not to be readily available for lifeguarding, picture framing (for amateur artists), and piano tuning. But formal histories of swimming pools, amusement parks, casinos, the seaside, resort hotels, sports stadia, Harlem as a leisure district in New York, and the like are reasonably abundant (eg, see Wikipedia and "Books" in Amazon.com).

The physical facilities typically cater to a variety of serious and casual leisure uses, while constituting as such, crucial conditions in the pursuit of the leisure activities that unfolds within them. By way of example, some ocean beaches offer an opportunity to swim, surf, and sunbathe, but lose their appeal when an oil slick washes up on shore. Knowing the history of a certain service or facility informs its users of, for instance, the improvements, regulatory changes, and current and past risks encountered over the years. Furthermore, it is through a history of the provision of leisure services and facilities that people learn in detail about some of the constraints and facilitators that frame their cherished activities.

Activity-Specific History

As the term implies individual leisure activities have their own histories. The history of some casual interests may not have ever been written or perhaps are only passed on informally, as is possibly true of napping (in countries where it is not a tradition), doodling, and watching pigeons in urban squares. Other casual interests, however, have an obvious and sometimes rich history, with it being one that informs participants in profound ways. Thus, the casual consumers of popular music commonly know who started their genre of the art, who are its best current and past exemplars, which are its finest recordings and live performances, and the like. Casual *consumers* (I also use the term "fan"), as opposed to hobbyist *buffs* (Stebbins 2002, pp. 70–71), do have a comparatively superficial idea of the history of the professional basketball or hockey team they routinely follow. This would seem to include knowledge of wins and losses in recent seasons; team standings; injured, traded, and acquired players; outstanding players; coaching changes; and so on. Such history is widely known among fans, serving as a lively subject of sociable conversation among the local consumers who follow that sport.

▶ The buffs are hobbyist sport and entertainment fans and followers of the fine arts who, compared with the consumers, are more substantially immersed in the history, lore, and blow-by-blow production of their leisure interest. In general, they pursue their leisure with an analytic eye, being able to evaluate and appreciate the art or sport based on their considerable knowledge of its values, history, production, standards of excellence, and occupational culture. Amateurs in the art, sport, science, and entertainment fields along with certain hobbyists are in this regard at least as knowledgeable as the buffs, but they are distinguished by the fact that the former also routinely practice the art, sport, and so forth.

Still, there appears to be variation on how influential a role activity-specific history plays in executing the amateur and hobbyist pursuits. My fieldwork on entertainment magicians, stand-up comics, barbershop singers, and jazz musicians (mostly by participant observation) revealed not only a working knowledge of past performers and styles but also a tendency to model their own performances after some of them (for references see www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Amateurs/Hobbyists). By comparison, amateur interest in the histories of their sport and scientific activities seems largely confined to recent developments bearing on the

participant's own activity (famous past exemplars of excellence being a glaring exception to this generalization, eg, Morris and Endfield 2012).

In short, activity-specific history can be a most significant element in the culture of a serious pursuit. For it is the activity-specific history that, of the three types, occupies the most prominent place in the outlook of many a casual and serious participant. Here, these enthusiasts can place themselves with reference to past greats, events, legacies, style changes, and the like as they bear on the pursuit of their passion. Here leisure history is at its most personal.

The Global, Neo-Modern Tribe[2]

While it is true that, among certain primitive peoples, tribes function as an important form of local social organization, these kinship groups are really only a metaphor for Michel Maffesoli (1996). Instead, he transforms this narrow anthropological concept into one much broader and sociological that identifies and describes a "neo-modern" phenomenon spanning national borders. In this regard, he observes that mass culture has disintegrated, leaving in its wake a diversity of *tribes*. These tribes are fragmented groupings left over from the preceding era of mass consumption, groupings recognized today by their unique tastes, lifestyles, and form of social organization.

> These groupings exist for the pleasure of their members to share the warmth of being together wherever that occurs, socializing with each other, seeing and touching each other, and so on, a highly emotional process. In this they are both participants and observers, as exemplified by in-group hairstyles, bodily modifications, and items of apparel. This produces a sort of solidarity among members not unlike that found in the different religions and primitive tribes. Moreover, being together under these conditions can lead to a kind of spontaneous creativity that gives rise to widely varied, new cultural forms having appeal for great masses of people. We shall see that not all these new forms are negative or deviant, even though some clearly spawn local racism and ostracism (eg, the skinheads). Nevertheless, they do beget distinctive "lifestyles," although ones much less complicated than those springing from serious leisure pursuits. The neo-modern world is, among other things, a "multiplicity of lifestyles—a kind of multiculturalism." (Stebbins 2018, p. 47)

Maffesoli argues further that today's tribes serve as antidotes to the dominant individualism of our time, for individual identity is submerged in such groups. They are not, however, without ideals. Rather he observes that "it would perhaps be better to note that they have no vision of what should constitute the absolutes of a society. Each group has its own absolute" (Maffesoli 1996, pp. 88–89). There is, moreover, a secret sharing among members of the emotions and experiences unique to their tribe, which reinforces close group ties and distinguishes insiders from outsiders. As for context, neo-modern tribalism must be understood as a product of the massified metropolis, a distinctively urban phenomenon.

▶ Much of neo-modern tribalization has taken place in the sphere of leisure, where it has given birth to a small number of interest-based, serious leisure tribes and a considerably larger number of taste-based, casual leisure tribes. Although Maffesoli (1996) fails to recognize these two leisure forms, Rob Shields (1996, p. xi) briefly mentions them his Forward to the English translation of the former's book. "Typical examples of *tribus* [tribes]," says Shields, "are not only fashion victims, or youth subcultures. This term can be extended to interest-based collectivities: hobbyists; sports enthusiasts; and more important, environmental movements, user-groups of state services and consumer lobbies." Shields's observations and my own show how tribalization and SLP go together, but no one to my knowledge has harnessed both perspectives in an empirical study of a tribal activity. Here we have another area of research wanting attention.

In addition, although there is no gainsaying that serious leisure and its enthusiasts are marginal in ways set out earlier in this book, this condition in neo-modern times seems only to enhance their sense of tribal (ie, organizational) belonging. When the larger community sees these tribes as quaint, eccentric, or simply different, solidarity among members is strengthened to a significant degree, even though all must live with this unfavorable image. Meanwhile, in some forms of tribal serious leisure, a small number of leisure organizations provide their members with socially visible rallying points for individualized leisure identities as well as outlets for the central life interest they share. Most often this organization is a club, which nevertheless serves as an important axis for the lifestyle enjoyed by enthusiasts pursuing the associated serious leisure activity.

The casual leisure tribes are unable to offer this more complex level of organizational belonging, in that they rarely, if ever, become even this formally organized. These tribes retain too much of their former character as consumer masses to serve as the seedbed for formal groups and organizations as considered in the next section. There is, of course, a true sense of belonging that comes with sharing private symbols with other members of the same mass (Maffesoli 1996, pp. 76–77, 96–100). Yet, the feeling of solidarity that comes with belonging to, for example, a small group or grassroots association is commonly missing in taste-based tribes.

Taste-based tribes are especially popular among contemporary youth, being a main trend these days in this age category and favored over earlier tendencies to join established groups. Roberts (1997), in writing about their tribes, observes that

> the groups of young people (and adults) who become players in, or fans of spectator sports teams, and who attend "raves" and similar scenes where their drugs of choice are available and their preferred types of music are played, can experience intense camaraderie. . . . Much of the appeal of these occasions is that they are incredibly social. Individuals find that they are accepted and experience a sense of belonging. None of this is completely new. The change over time has been that the young people who play together nowadays have rarely grown up together and attended the same local schools. Their sole bond is likely to be leisure taste or activity. Yet being part of these scenes can be extremely important to those involved. (Roberts 1997, p. 9)

Taste-based tribes are not, however, the exclusive social world of young people, as is evident in Stebbins (2002, Chap. 5) where several examples are presented.

Activity-Based Tribes

Shields's observation presented earlier in this chapter stating that the concept of tribe can be extended to such interest-based collectivities as hobbyists and sports enthusiasts raises a theoretical question. Can an activity, as opposed to a cultural taste, become the basis for a distinct tribe? This question is answered by determining where the collectivity in question falls on the continuum of structural complexity of organizations, which in this case, runs from most elementary tribe at the pole of simplest organizations to most evolved social world at the opposite pole of most complex organizations (see Fig. 7.1).

At its simplest a tribe is little more than awareness among a mass of individuals that, in at least some parts of the world, there are people sharing their special taste in music, clothing, bodily adornments, and similar items of popular culture. They therefore feel special attachment and belonging whenever some of them meet face to face. After all, it was noted earlier that tribes are fragmented groupings left over from the days of mass consumption, groupings now known for their unique tastes and lifestyles. Adding newsletters, web sites, and so on increases the complexity of a tribe's organizational structure, pushing it as a type of organization toward the social-world pole of the continuum.

Because serious leisure participants generally pursue their leisure in highly complex organizational settings—including participants identified by Shields as hobbyists and sport enthusiasts (taken here to mean players of sport)—they are best analyzed within the social world framework. They are anything but scions of former mass consumption groupings and examining them within that framework would profoundly underestimate the complex motivational pull of the social world in which each activity is embedded. Still, all continua dealing with discrete or separable phenomena (as opposed to continuous phenomena like temperature and shades of color) evoke the problem of the cutting point: where does one type end and another begin. Put differently, it is evident that some serious leisure activities fall closer to the tribal pole than others. A quantifiable scale describing this continuum would help solve the cutting-point problem, while also adding to confirmatory research in this area.

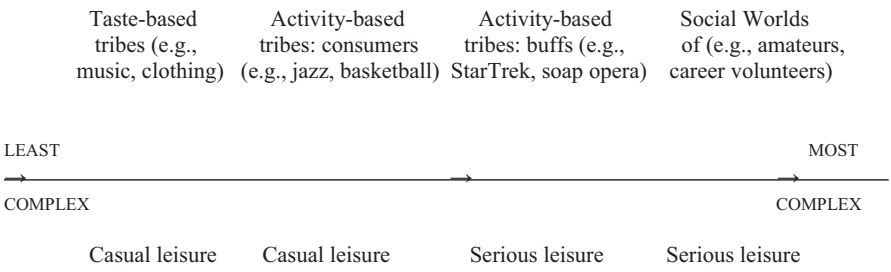

Fig. 7.1 Structural Complexity: From Tribes to Social Worlds. (From: Stebbins (2002))

The liberal arts hobbies are the serious leisure activities found closest to the tribal pole. As mentioned in Stebbins (2002), the Trekkies and some soap opera fans, being tribes that are reasonably complex, can also be examined from this angle. And there may be others. Although the matter has never been studied through research, it is theoretically possible to separate buffs from consumers in the liberal arts hobbies of sport, cuisine, and the fine and entertainment arts. Some people—the consumers—more or less uncritically consume restaurant fare, sports events, or displays of art (concerts, shows, exhibitions) as pure entertainment and sensory stimulation (casual leisure). Whereas others—the buffs—participate in these same situations as more or less knowledgeable experts, as serious leisure.

Thus, it is casual leisure when a consumer goes to a fine French restaurant and does little more than enjoy a good meal. Whereas it is serious leisure when a buff goes and not only enjoys the meal but also reflects on such technical questions as the spices used in the meal, methods of cooking it, presentation on the plate, and sophisticated alternatives to these. This buff-gourmet has the added advantage over the consumer of experiencing some of the rewards that come with participating in any form of serious leisure. The same can be said for people attending symphony concerts, art exhibitions, dance performances, even stand-up comedy shows. Most go as consumers to be entertained, while a smaller (probably much smaller) number go as buffs to be entertained *as well as* to exercise their analytic skills and increase their knowledge of an art they love.

Still, both buffs and consumers fall toward the tribal pole of the organizational structure continuum. Although yet to be done so far as I know, research would likely show that, on the one hand, consumers can be properly categorized as taste-based tribes. Regular consumers of, say, jazz, symphonic music, professional theater, or fine-arts painting often go to shows, concerts, and exhibitions with friends sharing this same taste, and all are aware that certain people elsewhere in the world have acquired similar tastes and that, for this reason, such people are special. Beyond this, however, there is typically little social organization. Avid consumers of professional soccer, hockey, or basketball, among other sports, show similar levels of interest and organization.

Buffs, on the other hand, can be regarded as coalescing into activity-based tribes, even if their leisure world is only somewhat more complicated than that of consumers in the same field. For instance, symphony music buffs can further develop themselves by reading reviews of concerts written by critics known for their acumen in this art. They can also read a vast book-length literature, including several encyclopedias and handbooks, covering the lives of celebrated composers, directors, and performers as well as key historical developments in this field. Taking in some television documentaries, guided tours of famous concert halls and composers' homes, and adult education personal interest courses on this subject, help round out the long list of ways in which symphony music buffs can go well beyond simply consuming their art.

It is likewise for those whose hobby is following jazz, dance, theater, or professional sport. At minimum, one or two periodicals regularly provide information for avid lay enthusiasts in these pursuits (eg, *Jazz Times, Dance Magazine, Art in America, Sports Illustrated*). Today, every major professional sport usually has each week some locally televised commentary about teams, and players as their performance record in matches unfolds over the current season. In such fields, by the way, tribal formations are hardly of recent origin, since buffs in these areas have been around for as long as a century or two, depending on the art or sport.

▶ Today, the study of the neo-modern tribe has come to include the "sub-tribe," tribe-like entities (à la Maffesoli) that form for short periods of time in a limited space. Kriwoken and Hardy (2017), for example, studied the sub-tribes that formed aboard three cruises to the Antarctic, but as with earlier research on widespread neo-tribes, none of this has been viewed through the prism of the SLP. Here we have more new ground to plow.

Formal Organizations and Grassroots Associations

▶ Both grassroots associations and volunteer organizations fall under the heading of voluntary groups (Stebbins 2002, pp. 48–55). Smith (2000, p. ix) defined the latter as "nonprofit groups of any type, whether grassroots associations or based on paid staff, and whether local, national, or international in scope." Volunteer organizations are distinguished by their reliance on paid staff, and by the fact that they are established to facilitate work for a cause or provision of a service rather than pursuit of a pastime. They nonetheless depend significantly on volunteer help to reach their goals.

Pearce (1993, p. 15) maintained that by far the largest number of volunteers serve in volunteer organizations, many of them of the nonprofit variety. Even so, some of these organizations may be staffed entirely by paid employees, volunteers being involved only as unpaid members of their boards of directors. Hospitals and universities are two prominent examples. Many foundations can be similarly classified. Other volunteer organizations have a more even balance of paid and volunteer personnel, among them Greenpeace, Amnesty International, and the Red Cross. Finally, some employ only one or two people, with all others serving as volunteers. They are, at bottom, grassroots associations that have grown complicated enough to justify hiring someone to help with some of the group's routine operations. Many of these groups operate on the macro level.

▶ Leisure service organizations are not voluntary groups as defined earlier. Rather, they are collectivities run by a paid staff who provide one or more leisure services to a specified clientele. To be sure, their clients are engaging in certain leisure activities, but the organizations providing them are not themselves leisure organizations of the kind considered in this book. Leisure service organizations are established either to make a profit—the goal of many a health spa, amusement park, bowling center, and package adventure providers (eg, Kane and Zink 2004), for example—or in some instances, to simply make enough money to continue offering their services. This is the goal of charitable non-profits like Meals on Wheels, the YMCA and YWCA, and the Road Scholar Programs (formerly Elderhostel).

What makes leisure service organizations important from the standpoint of leisure participation, is that they can influence in many ways a client's desire to spend some free time in one or more of them. For example, they can efficiently or inefficiently provide the desired service, provide or fail to provide an atmosphere

conducive to social interaction with other clients, and encourage or discourage identification with the organization. They can make themselves known through aggressive advertising or fail to attract clients because publicity is weak. They can exclude many clients with high prices or ask a lower price that attracts greater numbers. In short, leisure service organizations are not to be overlooked. As Godbey (1999, p. 349) observes: "many of the leisure activities in which you participate are sponsored by a formal organization.. .. Formal organizations play an important part in shaping our leisure behavior."

Research on Volunteer Organizations

Volunteer organizations, as the term indicates, offer a leisure outlet for volunteers, some of it casual, some of it of the career variety. There are organizations like religious establishments, seniors centers, and political parties that engage copious numbers of both types, in contrast to other organizations like hospitals, primary schools, and the Peace Corps that rely almost exclusively on career volunteers. Finally, some volunteer organizations need, for the most part, only casual help; they include community food banks, the Salvation Army, and groups whose mission is to provide for the elderly a transportation or meal service (eg, Meals on Wheels, Stebbins 2005). Amateurs and hobbyists rarely, if ever, form volunteer organizations, although polymorphic structures in these two types of leisure commonly include volunteer organizations at the national or international level. They set guidelines and offer important services for constituent grassroots associations functioning locally (see Stebbins 1996—barbershop singing; Stebbins 1993—entertainment magicians; Bendle and Patterson 2009, 2010—community arts organizations; Perry and Carnegie 2013—pro-am theater; Holmes and Edwards 2008—volunteer hosts in museums; Gravelle and Larocque 2005—francophone games; Ringuet-Riot et al. 2014—volunteers in sports organizations; and Schulz et al. 2011—volunteers in sports organizations).

Pearce's (1993) landmark exploratory study of the behavior of volunteer workers in Britain is an area of organizational life she said sorely lacks research.[3] "We know very little about how and why individuals volunteer to work in organizations, and we know even less about how their efforts are organized and directed once they are at work" (p. 3). She gathered qualitative and quantitative data comparing seven paid-staff with seven volunteer-staff organizations operating across the following range of enterprises: day care centers, newspaper publishers, poverty relief agencies and symphonic orchestras as well as gift shops, fire departments, and family planning clinics. Volunteers in these organizations worked as musicians, reporters, day care providers, sales personnel, and the like.

Pearce (1993, Chap. 5) found that feelings of personal importance to the organization and extensive social involvement with its members (both paid staff and other volunteers) were rewards of sufficient appeal to generate substantial commitment to it. But there were also costs, some poignant enough to drive numerous volunteers from their organizations. One such cost was the extensive uncertainty about who is

a volunteer as well as about the nature of tasks, performance, and role expectations. Lack of recognition of useful skills that some volunteers bring to the organization was a further complaint. And low levels of congeniality were occasionally mentioned as a problem (Pearce 1993, p. 55).

► Experiencing the costs and rewards of volunteering in these groups was also related to a volunteer's status as core or peripheral member there. Core volunteers (referred to shortly as key volunteers) assume significant levels of responsibility for running the organization's volunteer operations, while peripheral volunteers are less active. They follow directives emanating from the core, many having to do with coordination of volunteer activities. Pearce also found that, compared with their core counterparts, peripheral members spent less time working for the organization and contributed less to its operations. One cost of being a core member is continually having to train new volunteers, because previously trained volunteers have left in response to feelings that, for them, the costs and rewards mentioned in the preceding paragraph had reached an unfavorable balance (Pearce 1993, pp. 56–57). As for core members, this situation creates excessive work, a condition that severely tested their own commitment, while raising the spectre that they might burnout.

Key Volunteers[4]

► I have conceptualized these core members as *key volunteers* (Stebbins 1998, pp. 4–5). They are highly committed community servants working in one, sometimes two or three, official and responsible posts within one or more established grassroots associations or volunteer organizations. President, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary were the most common posts in the grassroots associations and volunteer organizations I studied in the minority francophone communities of the Canadian cities of Calgary and Edmonton. Additionally, chairing an important committee or directing a major program, for example, were also found to contribute greatly to the maintenance and development of those communities. None of these positions is remunerated, although, in increasingly rare circumstances, a president or director may receive a minor honorarium. The organizations and most of the associations, which in these communities are typically small, are legally chartered. The associations that are not are nonetheless well established, having existed long enough to have become locally highly visible. Indeed, for some clubs and friendship groups, it is unnecessary to be formally constituted. As for volunteer organizations, it is rare to have more than one paid employee.

Key volunteers are distinguished from other types of volunteers by at least four criteria all of which emerged from this study.

> First, presidents, treasurers, and the like have complex, extensive responsibilities whose execution affects in important ways the functioning of their association or organization. Second, such positions are enduring. Officers are usually elected for a year, and chairs and directors may serve even longer. Third, success of the associations and organizations in

> which they serve contributes significantly to maintenance and development of the local community of like-minded people (eg, of the same ethnic group, leisure interest, environmental stance, self-help concern). Fourth, key volunteers have a high degree of commitment to their collectivities and through them, this study clearly shows, to these two community goals. These criteria square with Smith's definitions of volunteering and voluntary altruism, which were presented earlier. (Stebbins 1998, pp. 4–5)

At first blush, activity of this kind might look more like work without pay than anything else. In fact, several respondents in this study defined their own key volunteering precisely in these terms. Nevertheless, after examining their definitions, I concluded that by and large their volunteering is of the career variety.

This study of key volunteers in these two urban francophone communities is, to my knowledge, the only one to directly consider within the framework of leisure theory the question of how leisure organizations motivate people to participate in them. Of the ten rewards of serious leisure, four stood out as especially salient for the volunteers interviewed in this study. Two of these were personal: self-enrichment and self-enhancement; they are related to the question of self-interest raised earlier. The other two—group accomplishment and contribution to maintenance and development of the local francophone community—were, however, more social and altruistic. Being a member of, for example, a francophone theater company, community and cultural centre, or organization representing all French-speaking people in the area, and especially being a key volunteer there, is powerfully attractive. Why? Because it gives the member an opportunity to lead the group toward important goals and, by way of such group accomplishment, helps maintain and further develop the larger minority community.

Yet, there were costs as well. The francophone study, also the only research so far to examine costs in career volunteering, revealed a variety of tensions and dislikes, although no significant disappointments. According to the study, many tensions relate in one way or another to the volunteer's family life which, when school-age children are present, can be especially problematic.

Conclusions

The macro sphere consists of such all-encompassing, broad-ranging abstractions as community, society, social-class, and the large-scale organizations. The subjects covered in this chapter have an institutional quality about them, whereas those covered in Chap. 8 can be conceptualized as cultural, while occupying a similar macro level of abstraction as their institutional counterparts. The plan for this chapter was, first, to consider the three domains of activity. We then turned to leisure as a social institution, concluding that section with a look at the marginality of serious leisure *vis-à-vis* the centrality of casual leisure (common sense) as an institutional issue. The history of the leisure institution was examined next, including the histories of leisure provision and the activity-specific histories. The post-modern tribes were considered subsequently. The chapter closed with a discussion of formal organizations and grassroots associations, including key volunteers.

This chapter on the macro-level analysis of the SLP has set out the established, conventional facets of modern leisure and has done so most fully for the West. The chapter has also shown the measure of empirical support existing for the areas covered here, some of it being quite strong (eg, marginality and volunteer organizations) and some being quite weak (eg, neo-modern tribes and non-work obligation *vis-à-vis* leisure). Chapter 8 completes our macro analytic examination of the SLP with a sweeping look at its cultural facets, those facets that give substance to the claim that leisure, notwithstanding its institutional parts, is the freest domain of modern society.

Notes

1. This section and the next draw substantially on Charles Sylvester's (1999) excellent description and analysis of leisure, as philosophized in ancient Greek and early Judeo-Christian thought.
2. This section is reprinted with permission from Stebbins, R.A. (2009b, pp. 49-51) and Palgrave Macmillan.
3. Pearce's research predates the formal birth of the SLP in 2007, and so cannot be regarded as validating the Perspective in that the central concepts guiding her study were not defined in those terms.
4. Paraphrased and elaborated from Stebbins, R.A. (1998, pp. 3-4).

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Culture and Social Change

8

Together culture and social change cover a vast section of the range of human inventiveness. By no means all of what is scientifically considered under these two rubrics can be conceived of as leisure. Furthermore, not all of leisure has been viewed through a cultural or a social change lens. In other words, one contribution of this chapter is to show what doing so looks like, what new light can be shed on leisure when considered culturally and when considered as either a result or cause of change. More particularly, what new light can be shed on these interests when examined through the SLP.

Culture in this macro-level sense is that of an entire society or one of its main regions. The same analytic stance will be taken for social change. Culture and change within activity-based social worlds are thus omitted (they are meso-contextual). The litmus test for both culture and change is that the large majority members of the society recognize the cultural or change-driven item, even if not all these members adopt the item or even like it. As an example, the automobile is a cultural object, but different models appeal to different segments of the population and the same may be said for changes in auto-body design and color.

Culture

This chapter begins with the cultural base of the SLP, as served up in its relationship to ethnicity, gender, information, social class, cultural costs and constraints, and temporal space. A discussion of social change follows.

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_8

Ethnicity and Leisure

Working from anthropological research and theory, it has been observed that leisure is a cultural universal (Brown 1991, p. 140; Chick 2006, pp. 50–51). Every known society has leisure, even though it may not be recognized by this concept when talked about in the local language. Yet the people in nearly every society recognize time away from obligation, be it of the work or the non-work variety (in some societies even this distinction is absent). Our definition of leisure presented earlier seems to fit free-time activity defined as such in every society on the planet. The scientific challenge is determining for each society those activities that are not disagreeably obligatory and the conditions under which they are pursued.

Beyond this general principle the question of ethnicity and leisure becomes more complicated. Thus, the SLP has guided thought and research on particular activities in certain non-Western countries: see in www.seriousleiure.net/Bibliography/Ethnicity works by Bramante (2001) and Stebbins (2016) on Brazil; Collins-Kreiner and Kliot (2017) on Israel; Jafari and Maclaran (2014) and Johnson (2001) on Iran; Liu and Stebbins (2014) and Wei, Huang, Stodolska, and Yu (2015) on China; Overholt (2009) on Armenia; Sidorová (2015) on the Czech Republic; and Stebbins (2013) on the Middle-East. The Perspective has also been applied to particular ethnic groups within certain Western societies: at www.seriousleiure.net/Bibliography/Ethnicity, see Kim, Kim, Henderson, and Park (2016) on Koreans in the United States; Lee, Sung, Zhou, and Lee (2017) on Asian students in the United States; Quirk (2014) on Afghan immigrant youth in Canada; VandeSchoot (2005) on Muslim women in Canada; Zou and Scott (2017) on Chinese-American women; and Stebbins (1994a, b, 1998) on French Canadians. Additional works applying the SLP in these two ways are found at www.seriousleiure.net/Bibliography especially under the headings of Sport and Games and Aging and Retirement.

These works show that the SLP can, through research, generate ethnically relevant data, even while its application has hardly been systematic the world over, the Western world included. Moreover, almost all this work is centered on serious leisure. These studies do demonstrate that the essential qualities of serious leisure are experienced in these different cultures, suggesting thereby the universality of those qualities. Of course, before we can proclaim the validity of this proposition, much more research is needed on still other serious activities as well as on a respectable sample of casual leisure and project-based activities.

Gender and Leisure

The gender facet of the SLP came under the microscope in the 1990s in studies of Canadian stand-up comics (Stebbins 1990) and entertainment magicians (Stebbins 1993) and British sea cadets (Raisborough 1999). In the first two gender differences were discovered in the course of general ethnographic research on comedy and magic, whereas Raisborough studied female cadets specifically to learn about that

leisure experience (for some it was casual, for others it was serious) as interpreted through the prism of gender.

Most of the studies of gender and the SLP follow Raisborough's approach. That is, the researcher senses in advance that important gender differences exist and then sets about investigating them. The list at www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Gender shows the range of this interest, and the fact that this is a growing field within the SLP. Some of this research is comparative male-female within the same activity, often revealing differential treatment of and opportunity between the sexes (eg, Raisborough's work; Bartram [2001] on river kayaking; Sisjord [2013] on snowboarding; Lee, McMahan, and Scott [2015] on bird watching, Chang (2017) on extreme sports; and on social dancing, Beggan and Pruitt 2014). Other studies examine an activity that appeals primarily to one sex, as in quilting (Stalp 2007); community arts and crafts (Malema and Naidoo 2017); the Red Hat Society (Kerstetter et al. 2008); belly dancing (Kraus 2010, 2014a, b; Moe 2012); base jumping (Laurendeau 2011); mountain man myth (Belk and Costa 1998); and sado-masochism (Williams 2006).

Information

► Information is cultural when, in the framework adopted in this chapter, it is shared in oral or written form with other people on a societal or regional scale. Casual, serious, and project-based leisure can be facilitated by using information of this scope. Familiar instances of leisure-related, macro-level information include published schedules of professional sports games, televised national newscasts, and website announcements of sales of products and services.

Despite these common examples SLP research in LIS tends to center on more involved uses of macro-level information. Thus, Cox and Blake (2011) found that food blogs may be effectively understood by placing them in the context of the P-A-P system. The content and style of the blogs, and hence their nature as sources of information, were influenced by the extent of involvement in this system. Robinson and Yerbury (2015), employing a web questionnaire, showed that respondents use a variety of information sources and channels at a military museum where they pursued hobbies in defense and military history (collecting and liberal arts pastime, respectively). The collectors found object-related information at the museum, whereas the liberal arts hobbyists gathered information there on a time period or historical event. O'Connor (2013) observed macro-level use of the Internet among retired male investors as they continued on a serious leisure basis to pursue their erstwhile profession.

The interest in leisure and information is, so far, predominantly a one-way street from the second field to the first, and a recently traveled route at that. Nevertheless, studying informational issues from the angle of the SLP is catching on in LIS as the Bibliography in www.seriousleisure.net attests.

Social Class

I have yet to find a study linking one or more casual, serious, or project-based activities to social class. Thus what we are left with is general observations, and there are not many of those. Parker (1996) was possibly the first to link serious leisure with class, arguing that it is a middle-class interest. Such leisure costs money to pursue and involves a career, he said, the first of which can turn away the working-class and the second of which is foreign to them.

I responded to this argument in Stebbins (2007/2015, pp. 61–62), saying in effect that Parker's argument needs nuancing. I noted that:

> we should be on the lookout for serious leisure activities, where the working/middle-class ratio may be nearly 50:50 or possibly reversed. It may turn out that the predominantly working-ass activities are mainly hobbies, among the possibilities being pool, snowmobiling, snowboarding, dirt-bike racing, motorsport, and the martial arts. Other hobbies like darts, hunting, and fishing may be found upon examination to attract a reasonably even mix of middle- and working-class enthusiasts. (Stebbins 2007/2015, p. 61)

Additionally, Harrington, Cuskelly, and Auld (2000, p. 432) found that those associated with motorsport in Australia, including the volunteers they studied, were generally working class. Rosenbaum (2013) conducted fieldwork on American working-class jeep runners. Adorjányˇ and Lovejoy (2003), using the novels of Australian writer Robert G. Barrett and arguing in contrast to the element of purpose in serious leisure, found that his principal characters indulged in a variety of casual leisure activities salted with the attitude of working-class resistance to middle-class values. Lee and Hwang (2017) concluded that their set of demographic variables, some of them configured as social class, offered only a weak explanation of serious leisure compared with the subjective well-being generated through such activity.

Rarely addressed in the discussions of class and SLP is the leisure of the upper classes, such as high-stakes gambling, equestrian sports, yacht racing, big-game hunting (especially when done during a safari), and the collection of pricey and prestigious objects (eg, violins, antiques, paintings). In general, all three SLP forms can together offer an illuminating view of how social class shapes leisure choice and how the latter serves as an indicator of the former. And what about project-based leisure and class? According to Salon.com in March 2017, "space tourism has become a realistic and expensive ticket since the turn of the millennium. Seven tourists have paid at least $20 million each to fly to the International Space Station on Russian Soyuz rockets since 2001."[1] In short, there is plenty of work to be done on class and the SLP.

Costs and Constraints

At the cultural level, these two are recognized as such by the entire society or by one or more of its main regions. This recognition includes that of the participants in the activity to which the costs and constraints pertain. Turning first to cultural-level

costs, consider some of the well-known ones of modern times: bitter personal disappointment in not winning the championship or getting first place in widely followed sports and arts contests (eg, Olympic Games, World Series, Hollywood Oscars, World Cup in association football). Injuries that remove a participant from involvement at this level are widely recognized as huge disappointments for both them and their followers in the vast social worlds surrounding these passions. There are also well-known dislikes, as in playing (and watching) football in inclement weather, player strikes, and high ticket prices.

Then there are the costs of tensions that are part of a society's culture. Stage fright is a known tension in many performance-based, amateur-professional activities as well as in those hobbies similarly organized around presenting the activity to an audience (eg, choral singing, hobbyist sport, public speaking). Tryouts and auditions are known to generate tension among those who must perform them. Third, in devotee worker circles, collective negotiation of wages and working conditions involving management and, say, musicians or athletes generates tensions of which the interested public becomes aware knowing that such conflict can occur from time to time.

All this is but a small sample of the SLP-related costs felt at the macro level. Some of these are embedded, as in personal stage fright and cultural recognition of it or personally playing a game in inclement weather vis-à-vis the collective view of watching it from the stands. By contrast, high ticket prices to games and performances seems to be a largely macro-cultural complaint, in the sense that it is not shared at the micro level with individual players and performers.

Turning now to constraints, note first of all that some cultural costs are simultaneously leisure constraints and widely acknowledged as such by participants. So it is with labor strikes and major injuries. Meanwhile, other cultural constraints not felt as costs include a huge range of rules citizens must follow in their leisure (eg, rules for games, rules of etiquette in dress and style, rules regulating fishing and hunting, rules of propriety when with others).

A crucial point to underscore in this section and its counterpart in earlier chapters is that costs and constraints can affect our leisure interests at any contextual level. Lamont, Kennelly, and Moyle (2014) and Lyu and Oh (2015), for example, have examined by way of the SLP a variety of constraints, including several at the cultural level. Yet, such empirical work is uncommon, signaling thereby the need for more research on macro constraints as understood from the angle of the SLP.

Space and Leisure

We turn first to physical space at the macro level, which is primarily about the geographic/environmental contexts of certain leisure activities. This is basically a matter of facilitation, where for instance, a coastal area is known for its fine surfing opportunities, a mountain for its excellent skiing conditions, a river for its abundant stock of trout, and in Eastern Canada and Northeastern United States, known for the brilliant colors of its autumn leaves. The first three in this list appeal to serious

leisure participants, whereas the fourth is a popular casual leisure attraction. All four show how the SLP, physical space, and tourism go well together, highlighting the role of leisure facilitation since it also augments these pursuits with the provision of facilities, lodging, restaurants, guides (fishing, mountain climbing), guided tours (fall colors, whale watching), and so on.

Temporal space is another feature of culture that relates in myriad ways to the SLP. Thus, collective leisure activities are commonly set up on, for example, a seasonal, weekly, monthly, or annual basis. For the professional and elite-amateur pursuits these schedules are part of national culture focusing the opportunities of participants to play and those of fans to engage in some entertaining casual leisure. Religious holidays constitute another temporal space for adherents, and national secular holidays can be similarly understood, with both types offering opportunities for the casual leisure of eating, drinking, sociable conversation, relaxation, and the like.[2] Yet, the most famous leisure-related temporal space of all, at least in the West, is the weekend, though in practice, it is not always filled entirely with agreeable things to do. American writer John Shirley once observed that "weekends are a bit like rainbows; they look good from a distance but disappear when you get up close to them."

Much of the research carried out in the name of the SLP, including my own, centers on activities the pursuits of which can be partially explained by macro-level physical and temporal space. Nonetheless, cultural influences tend to be indirect, in that they seem to be taken for granted by the participants in the culturally-influenced activities. Thus, part of the explanation of the popularity of surfing off the coast of Byron Bay, Australia, are its world reputation for fine beaches, consistently rideable waves, agreeable weather and, of course, great scenery all available nearly year around. With this profile it is easy to understand why surfing is also a local attraction and *ipso facto* part of the area's macro-level leisure culture.

The large majority of the monographs comprising the Foundational Ethnographies contain observations on the physical and temporal space influencing the serious pursuits in question. Moreover, in some activities, such as stand-up comedy, quilting, the mountain hobbies, and mushrooming, participants are highly conscious of surrounding physical space, including the weather for those involved outdoors. The do-it-yourselfer (Hilbert 1994; Brayham 2015; Rosenberg 2011; Gelber 1999), compared with other hobbyists, takes on activities requiring a unique sense of space and time, for domestic spatial and temporal needs vary widely.

Social Change

Social change, our second major section, starts with an examination of some SLP-related social trends, then moves to social capital/civil labor including volunteering and social enterprise, deviance, and new leisure.

SLP-Related Trends

There are four modern trends, and perhaps others yet to be identified, that have drawn a modicum of attention effected through the interpretive framework of the SLP. They are the emergence of mass leisure and consumption, digital and internet leisure, high-risk leisure, and individualization/individuality (Stebbins 2017a, pp. 126–135). As will become evident, though the Perspective can shed some unique light on certain trends, the scholarly community has barely risen to the opportunity to do so. When it has done this the result is primarily theoretic, an application of certain concepts to improve understanding of the trend under consideration.

Mass Leisure and Consumption

▶ The SLP has been used to show that mass leisure and mass consumption, to the extent that they are free-time activity, can both be understood as casual leisure (Stebbins 2009b). The definition of mass consumption, however, is problematic:

> This locution, never terribly well-defined even in intellectual circles, has two, often overlapping, meanings. One refers to the consumptive practices of the masses, usually meaning the so-called numerically preponderant lower socioeconomic levels of society such as clerks, blue-collar workers, and manual laborers. The other meaning centers on articles bought by large numbers (masses) of people, whose individual identities may span class boundaries, showing allegiance instead to other demographic dimensions, prominent among them, age, sex, and leisure activity, and to customization of leisure interests. . . . Teenage popular music, age-graded clothing fashions, and plasma/LCD television sets exemplify the demographic understanding of mass consumption. (Stebbins 2009b, p. 5)

Much of mass leisure consists of the entertainment and sensory stimulation types of casual leisure, with television being a major attraction across the world (Frey 2008, Chap. 9). Certain kinds of recorded and live music also fetch a massive following, as does popular film and sport. The mass appeal of certain sensory experiences are evident in popular culinary dishes (eg, pizza, hamburgers, French fries), midway rides, sexual activities, mass tourism, among others.

At times mass leisure and mass consumption are tightly linked, as in purchasing a ticket to a popular film and then viewing (consuming) it. It is likewise with buying and eating a meal at, say, McDonalds. At other times, the cruise ticket, for instance, is bought months in advance of the day the boat leaves. Still, the two are fundamentally different: "the end of consumption is to *have* something, to possess it, whereas the end of leisure is to *do* something, to engage in an activity" (Stebbins 2009b, p. 108). Consumption in general, says Russell Belk (2007, p. 737), "consists of activities potentially leading to and actually following from the acquisition of a good or service by those engaging in such activities." That is, we are dealing here with *money-based acquisition*, defined in this book as either buying or renting with

money a good or service. In this section and in Stebbins (2009b), bartering, borrowing, stealing, begging, and other forms of nonmonetary acquisition are deliberately excluded from the definition of consumption.

Digital and Internet Leisure

One of the main trends in digital/Internet leisure, is that of PC gaming. Meanwhile, casual observation suggests the existence of two other lively trends in this area: Internet browsing and Internet shopping. But reliable documentation supporting the proposition that they are truly trends is hard to find. Not so with the history of PC gaming, which I have presented elsewhere (Stebbins 2017a). So what remains to be done in this chapter is to review the research that has used the SLP to explain this distinctive pastime.

A miscellaneous set of studies explaining aspects of PC gaming using the SLP has emerged in the past 15 years. Bryce and Rutter (2003) were the first, doing so in a study of gender and the social and spatial organization of this kind of serious leisure. Silverman (2006) and Simon, Boudreau, and Silverman (2009) approached this pastime from the role of the power gamer. Meanwhile, Delamere and Shaw (2006) examined the attraction of violence in these games. Next Holt and Kleiber (2009) looked into the alluring appeal for children of multiplayer online games. Then Holt's (2011, 2012) doctoral work on The World of Warcraft showed how this PC Game qualifies as serious leisure. More recently Seo, Buchanan-Oliver, and Fam (2015) laid out a research agenda for the study of computer game consumption, and then Seo (2016) showed how computer gaming can be fruitfully explained according to the six qualities of the serious pursuits.

High-Risk Leisure

▶ Much has been written in recent years in both the popular press and the scientific literature about "extreme sport," so-called high-risk activity undertaken for, among other reasons, the intense thrills it apparently offers. This is "voluntary risk" (Lyng 1990), as opposed to abhorred risk, felt in, for example, an uncertain surgery, terrorist threat, or an impending hurricane or tornado. Common belief has it that people go in for voluntary, high-risk activities expressly because they endanger life and limb of the participant, even at the individual's superior level of competence to execute them. In such sport, risk of this sort is said to be intrinsically valued and, for this reason, searched for, contrasting sharply with the rest of outdoor activity, where risk may sometimes be present but where participants go to great lengths to minimize it, if not avoid it altogether.

The high-risk sports, which are attracting ever more participants (Pedersen 1997; Robinson 2013), include kayaking, snowboarding, "canyoning" (hiking, climbing, swimming, etc. through a canyon), mountain climbing, and free-style rock climbing, along with downhill skiing, sport parachuting, free diving (on a single breath),

and auto and motorcycle racing. It is also true, though much less often commented on in either journalistic or scientific circles, that some of these activities have ordinary counterparts: pursuits held to involve low risk (for experienced participants). Indeed, this second set of pursuits is by far the more prevalent of the two, even if much less often in the spotlight. Nonetheless, the popularity of these moderate pursuits seems to stem in part from the notoriety of their extreme cousins.

Approximately half the SLP-related research and theory in this area bears on this second more "ordinary" involvement in the high-risk hobbies. For complete references on both types, see the following in www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Hobbyists: Davidson and Stebbins (2011); Anderson and Taylor (2010); Beaumont and Brown (2015); Stebbins (2005); Bartram (2001); Chang (2017); Costa (2000, 2005); Davidson (2012); Dilley and Scraton (2010); Green, Thurston, and Vaage (2015); Hickman et al. (2016); Higham and Hinch (2009); Hudson and Beedie (2007); Laurendeau, J. (2011); Lee, Bentley, and Mark Hsu (2017); Lynch and Dibben (2014); Lee, Gould, and Mark Hsu (2017); Meadows (2013); Overholt (2009); Rumba (2012); Shafer and Scott (2013); Sidorová (2015); Sisjord (2013); Vargas (2013); and Wheaton (2002, 2007). There is a voluminous literature on high-risk hobbies, much of which is quite recent and by no means all of which is based substantially on the SLP.

Individualism/Individuality

As was noted earlier in this book, Cohen-Gewerc and Stebbins (2013) asked in effect the following question: "now that we have learned that modern individuals stand out from society and cannot today be seen as merely one of many cogs in a wheel, what makes them stand out from each other?" Thus their point of comparison is not society – which contrasts with individualism (eg, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002) – but rather the other individuals in their daily lives whom people meet or know about. Cohen-Gewerc and Stebbins provided a comprehensive examination of individuality, particularly as it thrives substantially in leisure and devotee work. Put otherwise, serious leisure and devotee work can, vis-à-vis other kinds of work and leisure, offer rich soil for the growth of modern individuality and escape from alienation.

- The preceding discussion of high- and low-risk leisure makes reference to the many studies offering support for the following proposition: that the serious pursuits are often capable of individuating their participants by their admirable levels of knowledge, skill, perseverance, and commitment, thereby engendering an exceptional personal and social identity. Thus the SLP has the conceptual tools to help explain the motivation to engage in high-risk activities in modern culture where such accomplishments are often seen as amazing, "mind boggling," but for some observers also seen as crazy, fool hearty.

Social Capital/Civil Labor

▶ Social capital (Putnam 2000) can be generated through the pursuit of leisure activities, exemplified by becoming involved in particular socially-based leisure projects (Stebbins 2009a, 104).

> The process by which this happens is known alternatively as "community involvement" or "civil labor." Community involvement is local, meso-level voluntary action, where members of a local community participate together in non-profit groups or other community activities. Often the goal here is to improve community life in a particular way. Civil labor, Rojek (2002, pp. 21, 26–27) observes, differs from community involvement only in its emphasis on human activity that is devoted to unpaid renewal and expansion of social capital. He holds that, for the most part, civil labor is the community contribution that amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers make when they pursue their serious leisure.[3]

With a couple of exceptions casual leisure appears not to make this kind of contribution to community. In the past it has been rare for people to interact with strangers in such leisure, though modern Internet gaming and the social media may be changing this tendency. That said, we make in casual leisure our most profound contribution to social capital through casual volunteering, but only when we do this with others previously unknown to us.

Turning to project-based leisure it can, in at least two ways, help build community. First, it can bring people into contact who otherwise have no reason to meet, or who only meet infrequently. Second, through event volunteering and other one-off collective altruistic activity, it can help the community realize events and projects. In other words, some project-based leisure (mostly one-off volunteer projects, it appears) can also be conceived of as civil labor as just defined, suggesting that such activity is not strictly limited to serious leisure.

Working with the concept of serious leisure, Perkins and Benoit (2004) studied the implications for community social capital of the work of volunteer fire fighters in the United States. Earlier Susan Arai (2000), using qualitative data, developed a typology of career volunteers to help explain their impact on social capital, citizenship, and civil society. Gallant, Smale, and Arai (2010) concluded from another study that aligning mandated community service with serious leisure may increase quality of the experience by providing a channel to the rewards and benefits associated with civic participation. Most recently, Young (2015) examined the links among serious leisure, civic engagement, and animal welfare and well-being.

▶ ~~Social~~Stebbins (2010) and Durieux and Stebbins (2010) have examined social enterprise from the standpoint of the SLP. Social entrepreneurship is a kind of altruism. These entrepreneurs create and implement innovative solutions to what they define as social problems, which may be local, national, or international. In social entrepreneurship people use the principles of enterprise to engender social change, done by establishing and managing a

venture. Some of them set up small, medium, or large non-profit groups designed to ameliorate a difficult situation threatening certain people, flora, or fauna or a certain aspect of the environment (see Table 2.1), if not a combination of these. Others are profit-seekers. They hope to establish a money-making enterprise that also aims to improve a threatening situation in one of these four areas.

▶ The serious leisure perspective offers a two-pronged explanation that meets this requirement. The crux of the argument is that pursuit of non-profit entrepreneurship is a serious leisure undertaking of the career volunteer kind, whereas pursuit of for-profit entrepreneurship is a kind of devotee work. That said, casual volunteers are sometimes asked to help and sometimes project-based volunteers make a contribution.

Research on social entrepreneurship, thin in most fields of study, is so far bolstered in the SLP by a single exploration. Lara Ruiz Campo (2017) undertook an extensive qualitative examination of five child development enterprises in five developing countries. Social entrepreneurship covers a vast area of social life where private and governmental efforts to solve social problems are inadequate to non-existent and where enlightened altruistic volunteering can conceivably help. On a broader plane, whereas there is considerable theory and research on volunteering as inspired by the SLP, the Perspective has so far failed to generate notable interest in all matters of social capital and civic engagement.

Deviance[4]

▶ Deviant leisure has been defined in the SLP as a contravention of the moral norms of a society that frame leisure behavior (first discussed in Stebbins 1996).[5] What is important to note with respect to the serious leisure perspective is that deviant leisure may take either the casual or the serious form (there appears to be no project-based deviant leisure). Casual leisure is probably the more common and widespread of the two. Tolerable deviance undertaken for pleasure – as casual leisure – encompasses a range of deviant sexual activities including cross-dressing, homosexuality, watching sex (eg, striptease, pornographic films), and swinging and group sex.[6] Heavy drinking and gambling, but not their more seriously regarded cousins alcoholism and compulsive gambling, are also tolerably deviant forms of casual leisure, as are the use of cannabis in some circles and the illicit, pleasurable, use of certain prescription drugs. Social nudism has also been analyzed within the tolerable deviance perspective (all these forms are examined in greater detail with accent on their leisure qualities in Stebbins 1996, chaps. 3–7, 9). In the final analysis, deviant casual leisure roots in sensory stimulation and, in particular, the creature pleasures it produces.

Beyond the broad domains of tolerable and intolerable deviant casual leisure lies that of deviant serious leisure, composed primarily of aberrant religion, politics, and science. Deviant religion is found in the sects and cults of the typical modern society, while deviant politics is constituted of the radical fringes of its ideological left and right. Deviant science centers on the occult which, according to Truzzi (1972), consists of five types: divination, witchcraft-Satanism, extrasensory perception, Eastern religious thought, and various residual occult phenomena revolving around UFOs, water witching, lake monsters, and the like (for further details, see Stebbins 1996, Chap. 10). Thus deviant serious leisure, in the main, is pursued as a liberal arts hobby or as activity participation, or in fields like witchcraft and divination, as both.

In whichever form of deviant serious leisure a person participates, *Homo otiosus* will find it necessary to make a significant effort to acquire its special belief system as well as to defend it against attack from mainstream science, religion, or politics. Moreover, here, he will discover two additional rewards of considerable import: a special personal identity grounded, in part, in the unique genre of self-enrichment that invariably comes with inhabiting any marginal social world. What is deviant in the SLP version of tolerable and intolerable deviance is, in part, what the dominant society defines as deviant. The sociology of deviance generally embraces this analytic approach.

From this angle such behavior is understood as stigmatizing for the deviant person. But, as Spracklen and Spracklen (2012, 2014) and Spracklen 2017) have observed in *dark leisure*, some so-called stigmatized deviants want their deviance to be known; they are proud of it. Dark leisure is, among things, "communicative." The Spracklens studied Pagans, Satanists, and Goths by way of example. And I wish to add here that some scientific deviants might well feel the same way, proud as they are of their water witching abilities (join the Canadian Society of Dowsers) or interest in a lake monster (join the Loch Ness Monster Fan Club).

According to www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Deviance, 21 studies have been conducted on deviance as guided by the SLP framework alone. Their methodology is predominantly qualitative and their focus is scattered, though with a significant concentration on sadomasochism (see Williams 2006, 2008, 2009; Reid 2012; Franklin-Reible 2006; Newmahr 2010, 2011; Ross 2012).[7] Based on her research Newmahr makes an especially detailed case that such deviance is serious leisure.

Brutal Leisure

Save the studies on serial murder by Gunn and Cassie (2006) and Williams (2016), none of the research on deviant leisure just mentioned can be considered *brutal leisure*. To this point we have examined what might be called "normal" leisure. This is leisure that, though constrained at times by various politico-religious forces, consists of activities that some ordinary members of society actually do or can see themselves doing. In other words, were

circumstances right – had they, for example, sufficient time, money, taste, talent and access – they could see themselves pursuing those activities. Such leisure is normal because, within these limits, it appeals to certain segments of the population and because they view it as morally acceptable. True, people who identify strongly with certain politico-religious constraints have a narrower zone of acceptability – of normal leisure – than those who want to push beyond these confines. This was characterized as "subversive leisure" in Stebbins' (2013f, p. 139) study of leisure in the Arab and Iranian Middle East. It is subversive in the sense that it holds the potential for significant, possibly unsettling, social change.

Nevertheless, there is another angle from which to understand how people choose their leisure, namely, by studying its facilitators as opposed to the constraints. In particular, what role does culture play in encouraging its people to go in for certain kinds of free-time activities? Stebbins (2013f) examined several manifestations of this line of influence, evident in the distinctive Middle-eastern arts, sport, scientific and entertainment fields. Several kinds of casual leisure were also shown to be facilitated by the culture of the region.

It is important to note, however, that there is in the Arab and Iranian Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and elsewhere a notorious set of leisure pursuits of considerable profundity which is anything but normal. Not normal, yes, but still encouraged and thereby facilitated by the local culture. One group of these activities, which Stebbins (2013f, Chap. 6) referred to as *brutal leisure*, may be classified as either serious leisure or devotee work, where sometimes a leisure career from the first to the second is even possible. The activities he considered under this heading are terrorism, assassination, religion-inspired violence, revolutionary violence, some police work and certain military occupations. Such activities are also highly dangerous, mainly because their targets strive mightily to oppose them with their own version of brutality or, at the very least, with apprehension and imprisonment. For example, security personnel at foreign embassies have orders to shoot to kill terrorists attempting to destroy their buildings or assassinate their officials.

From the standpoint of leisure studies, these acts, unless the actors have been conscripted or otherwise coerced against their will to perpetrate them, may be conceptualized as leisure of the brutal kind. Moreover, because significant skill, knowledge, and experience are typically required to engage in them, they constitute either serious leisure or devotee work, the latter designation being valid when these

participants find all or a part of livelihood in the activity. As serious leisure (and not work) they may be conceived of as either career or project-based volunteering. In all cases they must therefore be understood as another class of human development and community involvement, as twisted as this classification may seem to Western sensibilities. Evidence for brutal leisure as leisure is primarily journalistic, as Stebbins shows in his Middle-East book, but evidence is also found in the dedication and desire of the participants to learn needed knowledge and skill to enact the brutal activity.

Annoying Leisure

▶ *Annoying leisure* is pursued outside the zones of tolerable and intolerable deviance, and as such is not felt to be immoral. Instead it is regarded as an irritating but nonetheless legal rejection of one or a small cluster of customs or folkways (on folkways see Stebbins 1994, 1995, 1998, 2013, 2016).

▶ Some of these annoyances are generated in the pursuit of either serious or casual leisure (eg, skateboarding controversy Karsten and Pel 2000]; hiking vs. mountain biking disagreements [Carothers et al. 2001]; playing on noisy jet skis while the residents on shore crave peace and quiet [Roe and Benson 2001]). These examples and two others (loud motorcycles and music) are further explored in Stebbins (2017b, Chap. 9).

New Leisure

▶ New leisure is any activity of recent invention undertaken in free time, in the sense that a number of people in a region, nation, or larger sociocultural unit have only lately taken it up as a pastime. In fact, the activity might have been, until some point in history, entirely local, say, enjoyed for many years but only in an isolated small town, ethnic enclave or minority group (eg, lacrosse, archery). Later the activity gains a following in the surrounding region, nation, or beyond. But most often new leisure activities appear to have been recently invented, albeit frequently with one or more older, established activities as models (eg, golf leading to ice golf, bowling leading to frozen-turkey bowling). New leisure activities are a diverse lot, found in serious, casual, and project-based forms. They also appear to be created at a much greater rate today than earlier, in significant part because of conditions that foster their globalization.

Most research in leisure studies has centered on established activities. Meanwhile, the research on new leisure that has been conducted in the name of the SLP has so far considered only hobbies: Cappello (2013) studied surfing the net; Cox and Blake (2011) looked into food blogging; Hsieh and Kao (2012) examined the Taiwanese happy roll elastic ensemble (a music group); Briggs and Stebbins (2014) reported on climbing iced solos; and Kaya, Argan, and Yetim (2017) explored a virtual

community of mountaineering. New leisure offers a rich area in which to study cultural change. There are also a couple of studies of "e-leisure" as casual activity (Kooiman and Sheehan 2015; Nimrod and Adoni 2012). Finally, though certainly understandable as new leisure according to our definition above, no one has yet studied project-based leisure from this angle.

Conclusion

Not all of leisure has been viewed through a cultural or a social change lens. In other words, one contribution of this chapter was to show what doing so looks like, what new light can be shed on leisure when considered culturally and when considered as either a result or cause of change. More particularly, what new light can be shed on these interests when examined through the SLP and centered on ethnicity, gender, information, social class, and geographic space. Culture in this macro-level sense is that of an entire society or one of its main regions. The same analytic stance was taken for social change. Culture and change within activity-based social worlds are thus omitted (they are meso-contextual). The litmus test for both culture and change is that the large majority members of the society recognize the cultural or change-driven item, even if not all these members adopt the item or even like it. This section covered SLP-related trends, mass leisure and consumption, digital and Internet leisure, high-risk leisure, individualism and individuality, social capital/civil labor, deviance and brutal leisure, annoying leisure, and new leisure.

Social movements were first linked to serious and casual leisure in Stebbins (2002, Chap. 7).[8] This is a field where all three types of volunteering are very much in evidence, but for all that have yet to be studied through the prism of the SLP. So, all that can be said in the present book is to signal the need to close this empirical gap. The above-mentioned chapter consists of a section on the types of social movements, which could well serve as a map for studying volunteering in this lively sphere of modern life.

Much of this chapter is anchored in concepts imported into the SLP with little adaptation. In the main these are culture, social change, ethnicity, gender, social class, social trends, social capital/civil labor, and consumption. The other concepts, when not inductively created as are new leisure, annoying leisure, and brutal leisure, have had to be adapted to the SLP, including costs, constraints, general deviance, space, and social enterprise. Such adaptation has often meant nuancing the basic definitions of the concepts in question such that they can be applied to leisure without, however, abandoning any of their distinctive features. In any case, this set of concepts, imported and inductive, enables us to see leisure at the macro level and how it fits in social science theory.

This chapter has also offered a display of contextual embeddedness. Thus, gender-based discrimination at the micro level in, for example, entertainment magic (eg, male performer telling a female performer that such magic is only for men and boys to present) is a manifestation of macro-level, cultural bias about a woman's place in the variety arts (Stebbins 1993, p. 53). Or consider consumption: much of

the West and its capitalistic culture includes, at the macro level, the importance of buying goods and services. At the micro level one can see this orientation enacted in window shopping (brick and mortar and Internet) and "shopaholic" behavior.

This chapter concludes our synthesis of the theory and research of the SLP as both relate to its basic concepts and propositions. Still, there remains one important field to review and integrate, namely, the SLP in practice.

Notes

1. (http://www.salon.com/2017/03/02/fly-me-to-the-moon-elon-musks-spacex-rocket-men-or-women-will-launch-next-year. Retrieved 31 July 2017.
2. For those who must prepare a celebratory meal, that activity might be conceived of as a leisure project or, depending on attitude, a non-work obligation (see Bella 1992).
3. See also Backlund and Kuentzel (2013) for a similar argument on the relationship of serious leisure and the generation of social capital as it leads to social change.
4. This section is reprinted from Stebbins, R.A. (2018b, pp. 48–49).
5. Other early thinkers on deviant leisure, include Curtis (1988, on "purple recreation") and Rojek (1997) on "abnormal leisure."
6. Staci Newmahr (2011) sums up the highly complex scientific view of homosexuality *vis-à-vis* public sentiment on the matter: "irrespective of whether homosexuality is relevant as an analytical category, many people view deviation from the cultural norm of heterosexual dyadic partnerships as deeply problematic" (p. 258). That homosexuality is listed in this book as tolerably deviant leisure is consistent with commonsense and the micro-macro context within which same-sex activities are carried out.
7. See www.seriousleisure.net /Deviance for complete references.
8. Project-based leisure entered the SLP in 2005.

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Part IV

Theory and Practice

The SLP in Practice

9

A few years ago (Stebbins 2017) I wrote that professionals in a fair range of applied sciences have tapped leisure theory and research to help inform them about effective practice.

> Not referred to in this discussion is the application of such theory and research to the practical problems traditionally considered the province of leisure studies, such as those related to parks, forests, leisure services, and leisure policy. Rather, my focus is on a miscellany of applied disciplines whose origins lie outside leisure studies, but who have gained significant nourishment from the latter. (Stebbins 2017, p. 25)

Now, it was argued a while back that practitioners in these applied disciplines are seriously unaware of what the field of leisure studies has learned about leisure. "Thus, Samdahl and Kelly (1999) observed that far too often we fail to inform the larger world about theory and research in leisure, be that world other academic and applied disciplines or the general public" (Stebbins 2017, p. 25). After a review of the two main leisure studies journals in the United States, the two authors also concluded that leisure studies specialists seldom cite articles on leisure published outside the leisure studies literature. Meanwhile, writers of this external literature seldom cite articles in the two main journals of leisure studies. Additionally, Susan Shaw (2000) holds that when we do try to talk to people outside leisure studies, no one listens.[1] In fact, leisure does have a presence in several external disciplines, most of them mainly applied. These disciplines have learned about the serious leisure perspective (SLP) and have adopted aspects of it bearing on their interests (Stebbins 2017, p. 26). Sometimes word about the SLP has come from within, accomplished by one or more insiders importing certain parts of the Perspective. On other occasions a specialist in leisure studies has exported observations from the SLP to a certain applied discipline.

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_9

Elsewhere, I (eg, Stebbins 2012, pp. 101–118) have discussed in some detail this kind of cross-fertilization. There are 17 fields of which I am aware, with some of them receiving a substantial infusion of SLP-related thought and research as related to one or more of their central interests. In this chapter I examine 5 from this list to show how the study of leisure and various fields of practice can benefit from this intermarriage. The "marital" link is that of the SLP with the field in question. The goal here is to set out the nature of the theory and research in each link by drawing on the extensive bibliography found in www.seriousleisure.net. Consistent with the aims of this book, works in leisure studies falling outside the Perspective that also bear on these intermarriages are excluded from this analysis. There could be a significant number of these as well.

Tourism and Events

Tourism has been studied through the lens of the SLP for over 25 years, starting with the conceptualization of Hall and Weiler (1992). It is thus one of the oldest of the Perspective's extensions. Tourism may be understood as serious, casual or project-based leisure (Stebbins 1996). These uses of free time help explain what tourists want from such activity, while giving the tourism industry insight into what motivates its clients. Moreover, this industry also engages people who are seeking a leisure experience as volunteers (ie, the field of volunteer tourism). The same may be said for events, the more prominent ones themselves sometimes being tourist attractions.

In this section we first examine the ways that people tour, as interpreted using the SLP. We then explore the importance of personal identity among tourists. The section concludes with an examination of events and the SLP. There has been a notable amount of research on cultural tourism and other special interest tourism as serious leisure, with many of these studies being listed in www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Tourism and Event Analysis.

Serious Leisure Touring

▶ Peter Laimer (2010) presents in three slides his definitions of traveler, visitor, and tourism:

> IRTS 2008, para 2.4:
> Travel refers to the activity of travelers. A traveler is someone who moves between different geographic locations, for any purpose and any duration.
> IRTS 2008, para 2.9:
> A visitor is a traveler taking a trip to a main destination outside his/her usual environment, for less than a year, for any main purpose (business, leisure or other personal purpose) other than to be employed by a resident entity in the country or place visited. These trips taken by visitors qualify as tourism trips. Tourism refers to the activity of visitors.
> IRTS 2008, para 2.12:
> Tourism is therefore a subset of travel and visitors are a subset of travelers.

These are general definitions, descriptions of what people do when they tour. The definitions are compatible with the non-devotee aspects of the SLP, where both tourism and the SLP revolve around unremunerated activities. In other words, both are concerned with leisure, even while some tourists also travel to certain places as required by their livelihood and where they then mix pleasure with business.

Cultural and Adventure Tourism

▶ Cultural tourism is commonly contrasted with general, or mass, tourism. Hall and Weiler (1992, pp. 8–9) forged the first link between tourism and the serious leisure perspective when they described "special interest tourism" using the SLP's distinctive qualities and durable benefits. But to argue, as they do, that all special interest tourism is serious leisure is to miss some critical differences, among them, the ones separating cultural and adventure tourism (see below). These differences are sharpened when cultural tourism is conceived of as a liberal arts hobby. The latter, as noted earlier, is the systematic and fervent pursuit during free time of knowledge for its own sake (Stebbins 1994a). These hobbyists have as their primary goal the acquisition of a broad, profound, nontechnical knowledge and understanding of, for example, an art, cuisine, language, culture, history, or area of the world. Most acquire their liberal arts knowledge by reading,

▶ chiefly in books, magazines, and newspapers. But reading can be supplemented with direct participation in activities related to the pastime. This certainly holds for cultural tourists, who may even see reading and traveling as equally important and satisfying or regard the first as supplementing the second.

▶ Cultural tourism can be distinguished from adventure tourism. Motivationally speaking, the second hinges on the tourist's desire to use a given geographic area to express or realize an amateur or hobbyist interest. This interest is profound and, depending on its nature, requires a certain level of skill, knowledge, conditioning, or experience. The modern world is replete with places renowned for such passions as golf, fishing, hunting, bird-watching, ocean surfing, alpine skiing, deep-sea diving and mountain backpacking. In harmony with the SLP, we treat of adventure tourism as hobbyist or amateur activity carried out away from home by enthusiasts financially and physically able to travel in pursuit of it. Thus hobbies (and amateur activities) pursued through adventure tourism differ from cultural tourism, a separate hobby of its own.

McKercher (2002) framed his two-dimensional model of cultural tourists with the SLP. The "purposeful cultural tourist" is engaged in serious leisure, whereas tourists of the "incidental," "casual," and "sightseeing" varieties are classifiable as participating in casual leisure. The fifth type, the "serendipitous cultural tourist," unexpectedly finds a deep (serious) interest in a cultural attraction, which might be understood as a spontaneous leisure project.[2] McKercher tested his ideas on a sample of tourists visiting Hong Kong, whose responses to his survey lent empirical support to the model.

Tourism is one of the most heavily researched of the SLP extensions, as evidenced by 105 theoretical and empirical references in the SLP website Bibliography (Tourism and Event Analysis). The majority of these bear on serious leisure, with many of them examining one or more kinds of adventure tourism. Bailey and Fernando (2012) provide the only study on tourism as project-based leisure and see Tsaur and Huang (2018) for their scale separating casual and serious leisure participation in tourism.

Event Studies

Don Getz (2007, p. 405) states that "events studies" appears to have been coined as a term in 2000, when he made a passing reference to the field in a speech (as early as 1993 Getz had been writing about "event tourism"). Since 2000 that field has blossomed, owing in good part to the pioneering work done there by Getz himself. The field centers on planned events, of which there are six types:

- CULTURAL CELEBRATIONS (festivals, carnivals, commemorations, religious events)
- POLITICAL AND STATE (summits, royal occasions, political events, VIP visits)
- ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT (concerts, award ceremonies)
- BUSINES AND TRADE (meetings, conventions, consumer and trade shows, fairs, markets, educational and scientific congresses)
- SPORT AND RECREATION (amateur and professional sport or games for fun)
- PRIVATE EVENTS (weddings, parties, socials)

(source: Getz 2012, pp. 40–41)

Planned events occur in certain spaces at set times. Each is unique, because of the way people interact within the setting and relate to the management system and the event's program. Indeed, this uniqueness constitutes a substantial part of the appeal of events; interested participants must attend to get the full experience, which will never be possible to obtain once the event is terminated. Nowadays there are also "virtual events," which can be attended by way of diverse electronic media and which do provide the full experience for as long as their electronic recording is available.

Events studies "is the academic field devoted to creating knowledge and theory about planned events. The core phenomenon is the experience of planned events and meanings attached to them" (Getz 2012, p. 4). This area is highly interdisciplinary, drawing on among other fields that of leisure studies. In his book, which may well be the first and so far the only textbook on the subject, Getz devotes 9 pages (pp. 146–155) to the place of leisure studies in event analysis. He sees serious leisure as helping to explain how people become involved in planned events, owing to their commitment to participating in them possibly to the extent that they find a leisure career in pursuing such activity. For empirical support of the event studies-SLP link, see in the SLP Bibliography the seven works by Getz (as first author) and colleagues as well as those by Halpenny, Kulczycki, and Moghimehfar; Lee, Brown, King, and Shipway; Lockstone and Baum; Maussier; Patterson, Getz, and Grubb; and Shipway and Jones.

Disabilities/Therapeutic Recreation

Disabilities as they bear on leisure lifestyle were briefly discussed in Chap. 6. In the present chapter we look more broadly at therapeutic recreation (TR) as a field of practice serving people with disabilities that has harnessed the SLP to help practitioners reach their professional goals.

According to David Austin and colleagues (2015) TR began to develop as a profession following World War II. Professional organizations began appearing in the 1950s. One of them, the American Therapeutic Recreation Association, describes TR as follows:

> Our services play a critical role in the comprehensive rehabilitation of individuals with illnesses and/or disabling conditions. We contribute to the broad spectrum of healthcare through delivery of treatment services, leisure education, and through the provision of physical and recreational activities – each of which is instrumental in improving and maintaining physical, cognitive, and psycho-social functioning, preventing secondary health conditions, and enhancing independent living skills and overall quality of life. (http://atra-online.com/displaycommon.cfm?an=12, retrieved 15 Sept. 2017)

The link between TR and leisure is obvious in the title, even though this definition portrays the first as encompassing all of life's activities (all three domains) as well as, more broadly, health and wellness.

Given this direct link with leisure, in general, it may come as a surprise that a more particular link with the SLP, in particular, was put forth only in the 1990s. Judith McGill (1996) wrote on the serious leisure identity as a positive marker for people with disabilities. Shortly thereafter Ian Patterson (1997) conceived of serious leisure as a meaningful activity that could act as substitute for work and, consistent with McGill, enhance personal identity.

Research linking TR and the SLP has been conducted along lines of three themes: identity, substitute for work, and neurorehabilitation. McGill (1996, p. 8) made a sweeping condemnation of the early tendency to ignore serious leisure in TR:

> Leisure as defined in human service terms, has not been recognized as a realm in which people with disabilities can explore or discover who they are and who they might become. There has been little recognition that supporting and allowing people with disabilities to experience the full range of leisure expressions is important to their finding meaning and creating balance in their lives.

Instead, she said that leisure service professionals and even many family members concern themselves primarily with keeping such people busy. The idea that people with disabilities might try to pursue a leisure activity capable of providing deep fulfillment through personal expression and a valued identity is flatly incongruent with the view of them held by most professionals and family members (for a review of research supporting her observation, see Patterson 1997, p. 24). Today, we can report a modest increase in research relative to the SLP and disabilities, though the area still constitutes one of the more inadequately examined extensions of those considered in this chapter (see www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Therapeutic Recreation & Disabilities [n=31] and the articles by Dieser, Christenson, and Davis-Gage in the Bibliography/Positive Psychology-Sociology).

Nevertheless, a handful of scholars in the field of leisure studies are now working from the idea that people with disabilities can benefit from pursuing serious leisure. For instance, based on his research on people with spinal cord injuries, Fenech (2010, p. 13) suggested that serious leisure activities could become a crucial aspect of the rehabilitation process of the disabled, possibly "by reconnecting with the self what was temporarily 'lost' or in setting a new direction for a new self." If those with disabilities can participate successfully in a serious leisure pursuit, this can become the basis for self-respect and through their accomplishments something to be viewed with great pride. These pursuits can foster an arrangement where initiative, independence, and responsibility for one's own success or failure become a routine part of leisure life. Furthermore, whether participating in a scientific project, an artistic performance, or an athletic contest, the person contributes to society. And it is bound to be one that will be appreciated by a segment of that society however small (Patterson 1997, p. 26).

Surprising, perhaps, is the nearly complete absence of research on the nature of bodily identification stemming from having a physical handicap and the kinds of serious leisure that can help compensate for, possibly even eliminate the existence of, the disability. The one exception to this observation, of which I am aware, is Megan Axelsen's (2009) auto-ethnographic account of her transformation from anorexic to healthy triathlete. Her article suggests an alternative explanation to the traditional claim that exercise plays a negative role in eating disorders.

Neurorehabilitation

Turning to the field of neurorehabilitation, leisure has been, for some time, among the tools used to rehabilitate people afflicted with disabilities caused by injury to the nervous system. Rehabilitation programmes for such people include the goals of helping them re-enter the larger community, develop their leisure interests and even acquire a certain level of education about leisure. These programmes further incorporate some occupational therapy designed to increase the client's capacity to physically meet, within limits of the disability, not only self-maintenance needs like eating, toileting, grooming and dressing, but also routine work and leisure needs as these relate to the activities this person engages in there. Thanks to such programmes people with neurodisabilities are no longer necessarily consigned to the margin, forced to watch from the sidelines life being played out by the non-disabled. Now after participating in one of these programmes a fuller, more rewarding lifestyle on society's main playing field is possible.

Nevertheless, from the standpoint of leisure, there is still room for improvement. And this notwithstanding the progress made in this area.

To this end, Stebbins (2008) explored the role of the SLP in neurorehabilitation. Leisure as a tool for rehabilitating people with neurodisabilities was, by the time he wrote his article, well established. Yet, despite significant progress in this area, problems remain in the way leisure is being used for this purpose. One, yet unresolved problem, is how to determine which leisure activity or activities will attract individuals with particular disabilities. Along these lines Anne Fenech (2009) found in her study of residents with complex neurological disabilities living in a long-term care facility that the majority were nonetheless able to engage in an interactive drama for a significant part of its presentation.[3] Interactive Drama is a form of theatre in which audiences participate in the performance; that is, their interventions are a planned part of the performance. Interactive drama, Fenech learned, offered the residents opportunities for enjoyment, achievement, challenge, and the experience of meaningful activity.

A challenging problem in TR and neurorehabilitation is how to neutralize the persistent, dominant public view in the Western world that real personal worth is measured according to the work people do rather than the leisure they pursue (Stebbins 2012, pp. 100–101). Practitioners, to show that the serious pursuits are also worthy interests, may have to debunk some of the distorted images of them that their clients hold. Another challenge is to inform practitioners, many of whom are unaware of the recent advances in leisure theory, about those advances. Contemporary leisure theory can help them solve the first problem as well as deal with the second. Meanwhile, it is primarily up to the leisure studies specialists to tackle the third problem, as by directly speaking to and writing for the professionals in these fields (eg, Suto 1998, does this by citing the SLP along with other approaches; see also Taylor 2015, writing on occupational therapy).

In recent years the SLP has been applied to health and medicine. For example, Dieser, Edginton, and Ziemer (2017) have explored its utility for decreasing patient stress and burnout among medical workers. Somewhat earlier Dieser, Christenson,

and Davies-Gage (2015) integrated flow theory and the SLP into the field of mental health counseling. Other relevant publications include Dieser and Christenson (2017); Dieser**,** Christenson, and Davis-Gage (2016); and Meyers (2018).

Library and Information Science

As shown in Chaps. 6 and 8 the concept of information behavior makes a major explanatory contribution to the study of leisure. It does this by centering attention on how participants need, seek (and retrieve), give (disseminate), and use (including storage and organization of) information with reference to different free-time activities and sets of activities. For example, neophytes in golf need information on how to improve at the game. They commonly meet this need by seeking utilitarian reading in the form of manuals augmented with personal lessons. They then use this information to work on their game, sometimes telling other neophytes what they have learned. Likewise, someone wanting to make the most of a visit to Italy or learn a foreign language has a need for a certain kind of information, seeks it out, subsequently uses it, and not infrequently it appears tells others about the utility of the information used. Reading a pamphlet, to the extent that this act is agreeable (eg, a report on the annual evaluation of a nonprofit agency, a written analysis of future directions for a science club), constitutes another instance of information behavior where the information sought is utilitarian. Hartel's (2006) hobbyist cooks reported spending countless hours with their cookbooks and related practical resources following, in effect, the model of information behavior.

Beyond these links between information behavior and utilitarian interests, lies the complicated role of both in pleasurable reading. Ross (1999) studied how readers use information to choose (ie, seek) books for enjoyment. She found that her interviewees "usually depended on considerable previous experience and meta-knowledge of authors, publishers, cover art, and conventions for promoting books and sometimes depended on a social network of family or friends who recommended and lent books" (p. 788).

Information is knowledge obtained from investigation, study, or instruction as it pertains to a certain subject, event, or other matter of interest and which then may be communicated. Marcia J. Bates (1999, p. 1044) defined the field of library and information science as "the study of the gathering, organizing, storing, retrieving, and dissemination of information." Information seekers "must experience a problem situation," which stimulates them to launch a search for knowledge that will solve the problem (Ross 1999). Nonetheless, Ross observed in her study of readers that they may also serendipitously encounter information and other material that turns out to relate in important ways to their lives. That is, they are sometimes involved in "finding without seeking."

Such finding adds to the totality of information gathered, information springing from informal advice, self-directed learning (SDL – see Chap. 6), and experiential knowledge. The studies in the Foundational Ethnographies contain plenty of evidence of SDL, of informal advising, of picking up tips from coaches, experienced colleagues, and even friends and relatives on how to perform amateur magic and

stand-up comedy, play amateur baseball, and kayak in mountain rivers (see also Fulton 2009; Carpenter et al. 1990; Hebestreit 2007; Jones and Symon 2001). The few SLP-related studies directly focused on information bear on mentoring youth (Stebbins 2006a), collecting (Lee and Trace 2009), and heritage volunteering (Demasson 2014).

Some of this information can be gathered through SDL, though the latter also includes reading about the activity in books, magazines, websites, and the like. Watching videos, CDs, taking adult education courses, and actual conduct of the activity in question also constitute SDL. For more references on LIS and the SLP, see www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Library and Information Science.

Arts, Science, and Heritage Administration

Application of the SLP to arts administration dates to research by Noreen Orr (2003), in which she examined museum volunteering as serious leisure and to Margaret Graham (2004), who studied from the same angle volunteers working in heritage museums. The next year Stebbins (2005b) published an occasional paper, in which he interpreted arts administration according to the overall SLP.

Most people who attend cultural events (eg, concerts, festivals, exhibitions, displays) or patronize cultural facilities (eg, galleries, museums, libraries, zoos) are seeking a leisure experience. At the same time the administrators of these event and facilities make substantial use of volunteers, which includes engaging them to serve the visiting public. Additionally, administrators of these places are responsible for marketing the art, science or heritage feature they have been hired to manage. Thus they can benefit from knowledge about the needs and experiences of their visitors and their distribution in the population.

The modern list of cultural facilities is long. For the purposes of this book, they are all non-profit, public venues or for-profit establishments that hold regular or occasional public events. Those in the arts include museums, schools, libraries, theatres, religious establishments, commercial galleries, concert halls, night clubs (for jazz and folk music performances) and public parks and grounds offering arts performances. Science may be viewed, in among other places, museums, libraries, zoos, aquaria, science centres, public gardens and during community nights at astronomical observatories. Our conception of heritage facilities is in line with that of the ICOMOS Ename Charter and its several notions of place: “Cultural Heritage Site refers to a locality, natural landscape, settlement area, architectural complex, archaeological site, or standing structure that is recognized and often legally protected as a place of historical and cultural significance.”

Serious Leisure and Cultural Administration

Amateurs and hobbyists in a given activity constitute a small, though important, part of the public the cultural administrator is trying to reach (Stebbins 2005b). That is, most people who attend a cultural event or patronize a cultural facility – ie, the public of the feature in question – are not themselves serious participants in it. They are not, for example, amateur painters or musicians, hobbyist quilters or coin collectors. Still, for the administrator, these amateurs and hobbyists are special. They do know the feature intimately. Through this knowledge and experience, they may have some useful ideas on how to present it. Furthermore, if they like what they see or hear, they are in a position, because of their deep involvement in the social world of the activity, to spread the word about a certain concert, exposition, collection and so on. They may also be counted on to argue publicly and politically for the importance of the feature in question and financially for its continued community and governmental support. And they themselves may be, or may become, significant financial donors.

The liberal arts hobbyists, as part of the feature's public, occupy a unique place there; they are as noted earlier buffs (Stebbins 2005b). They must be distinguished from their casual leisure counterparts: the consumers (fans). Buffs have, consistent with their serious leisure classification, considerable knowledge of and experience with their specialized interest in the art, science or heritage feature on display. Consumers, by contrast, observe the feature for the enjoyment and pleasure this can bring; it is at bottom a hedonic activity requiring little or no background skill, knowledge, or experience.

By contrast, cultural volunteers, as such, are not members of the public patronizing a certain art, science or heritage facility, but are rather, unpaid helpers who assist in presenting the cultural feature to its public. Among the career volunteer roles in the cultural facilities are those of guide (often in a museum), receptionist and member of the board of directors of the establishment. Nevertheless, the career volunteers at cultural facilities may also be amateurs or hobbyists in the same field and, in that capacity, also members of its public. Such people have thus a dual serious leisure involvement in their activity. Edwards (2005) and Holmes and Edwards (2008) described this kind of multifaceted free-time participation in their study of volunteers as hosts and guests in museums.

A powerful motive underlying the pursuit of all serious leisure is the search for deep self-fulfillment (Stebbins 2005b). Pursuing a fulfilling activity leads to such fulfillment. Consistent with this observation Orr (2005) found in her study of a large sample of museum volunteers in Britain that they assigned the greatest importance to the rewards of self-gratification, self-actualization and self-expression which they experienced while volunteering. Both self-actualization and self-expression are components of self-fulfillment. Personal enrichment is also a component of self-fulfillment, though it was regarded by her sample as the least important reward.

Since cultural administrators hold considerable responsibility for setting the core tasks and working conditions of their volunteers, they may affect the level of fulfillment the latter can find in this role. More particularly, these administrators, if they are to retain their volunteers, must enable the latter to meet six criteria. These are the same criteria presented in Chap. 2 for devotee work, criteria that must also be met by the volunteers if they are to find fulfillment in their activity and develop a passion for continuing in it. For convenience the six are repeated below, adapted to the circumstances of cultural career volunteering:

- The valued core volunteer activities must be profound; to perform them acceptably requires substantial skill, knowledge or experience or a combination of these.
- The core must offer significant variety.
- The core must also offer significant opportunity for creative or innovative work, as a valued expression of individual personality.
- Volunteers must have reasonable control over the amount and disposition of time put into their core activities, such that they can prevent them from becoming a burden.
- The volunteer must have both an aptitude and a taste for the activities in question.
- Volunteers must work in a physical and social milieu that encourages them to pursue often and without significant constraint their core activities.

Solving the various problems associated with trying to recruit and retain volunteers hinges substantially on cultural administrators being willing and able to meet these criteria. Britain's National Trust (formed to protect heritage sites) recognizes this observation. It stresses points 2, 3, and 4 above in managing its volunteers, of which there were in 2013 more than 70,000 (National Trust 2013).

Casual Leisure and Cultural Administration

Turning next to casual leisure and cultural administration, note that the public seeking this kind of experience tends to visit cultural facilities as relatively passive consumers of their content. They come to observe what is on offer. Still, as casual volunteers, as with their career counterparts, they are special. In this second role they are hardly passive consumers, but rather active and valued helpers. Here, under the wing of a cultural administrator, they perform a variety of useful though comparatively simple functions, ranging from taking or selling tickets, handing out programmes and giving directions to ushering, serving drinks (when paid bartenders are not employed) and stuffing envelopes. If properly designed and managed these activities can be enjoyable, a responsibility that also falls to the cultural administrator.

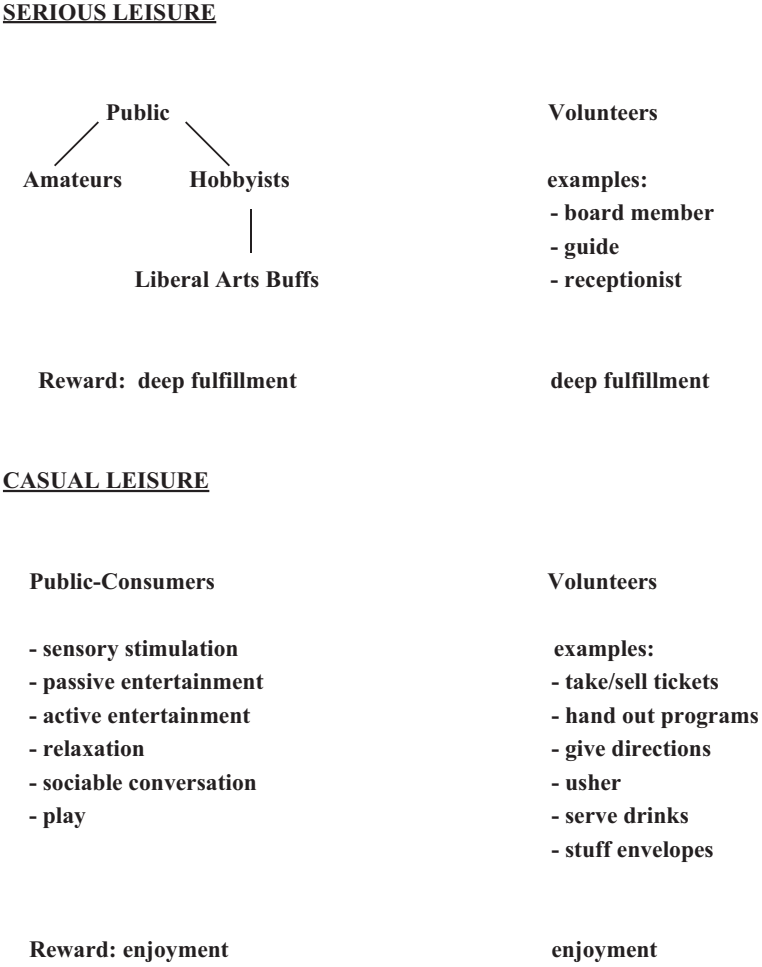

Fig. 9.1 Serious and casual leisure in arts administration. (Source: Stebbins (2005b))

The discussion to this point about serious and casual leisure and arts administration is summarized in Fig. 9.1.

Project-Based Leisure and Cultural Administration

The project-based leisure of greatest interest to cultural administrators is, by and large, the one-off variety and involves volunteers. Organizers of arts festivals and certain historical and scientific expositions in museums have need for numerous one-time, project-based volunteers. Although, it was observed earlier that this form

of leisure is distinct from serious leisure, both forms offer the same list of motivating rewards. Furthermore, project-based leisure requires considerable planning and effort as well as, at times, skill or knowledge. And, for these reasons, its participants expect a fulfilling experience. As with serious leisure it is largely up to the cultural administrator to ensure that this happens.

We lack hard data on the proportion of all volunteering that is, in fact, of the one-off variety. But we may say with confidence that a sizeable demand exists for it. Conferences of all sorts rely heavily on volunteer help, as do sporting competitions, arts festivals and special exhibitions mounted in zoos, museums and science centers. This is events volunteering. Furthermore, it may become regular, and it appears, is usually repeated annually.

Nonetheless, such may sometimes be classified as occasional project-based volunteering. By way of example consider Anne Campbell's (2009) study of a sample of women who return annually to serve at the National Folk Festival in Canberra, Australia. She interviewed a set of single women over 50 years of age, the results of which revealed several distinct rewards. These included the social benefits provided by the camaraderie and security that came with being part of the larger, supportive group; the self-esteem stemming from participation in the activities of the group (not being just a visitor); excitement of being an insider at the Festival; and pride in achievement. This last benefit refers to the fact that Campbell's interviewees were also solo female travelers. As such their pride in achievement was founded mainly on self-development, particularly in terms of increasing self-confidence, independence, and overcoming initial fears of being alone in an environment perceived as dangerous and hostile for single women travelers.

Leisure, this section shows, is for many reasons an important consideration for cultural administrators (Stebbins 2005b). Good administration in this sphere increases exposure of the cultural feature and enhances the financial and professional status of the artist or scientist being displayed. Administrators are therefore key to success in many cultural occupations. Yet, they can have this effect, in good part, because they understand the leisure interests of their patrons and those of their serious, casual and project-based volunteers. They also are effective because they imaginatively apply this knowledge to organizing presentations of the cultural features in their charge.

Compared with some of the others, this extension is relatively under-researched. In addition to the references presented in this section, see in the SLP website Bibliography (Arts & Science Administration/Volunteering) the other publications of Orr and Holmes and those of Bendle and Patterson; Campbell; Carpenter; Champion; de Lacerda and Veiga; Geoghegan; Holmes and Slater; Lepp; Stamer, Lerdall, and Guo; and Urban, Marty, and Twidale. Orr and Holmes continue to be the leading contributors to the study of this facet of culture as it relates to leisure.

Aging and Retirement

This pair of theoretic interests and the research they have generated are part of the larger field of gerontology which however includes the non-social scientific interest in the biological aspects of aging. Furthermore, retirement, mainly the early variety, is not always significantly related to aging, to bodily and mental change caused by getting older. The study of aging and serious leisure dates from a short article on amateurism in retirement by Stebbins (1978), on elderly shuffle boarders by Snyder (1986), and on serious leisure and satisfaction among older adults by Mannell (1993).

By the dawn of the twenty-first century, the SLP and aging and retirement as field of research had begun to come into its own. Craike (1999) studied the contributions of serious leisure and related leisure factors made to the leisure satisfaction and mental health of older adults. Next Stebbins (2000) examined the leisure of retired professionals, followed by Long and Scraton's (2002) overview of serious leisure and retirement in general. In recent years Jinmoo Heo and colleagues have become the leading research team, often using quantitative methods to examine leisure satisfaction, well being, and successful aging in various samples of elderly participants (see his team's 12 publications in www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Aging-Retirement). Other researchers have focused on specific activities: H.-P. Cheng et al. on gardening and rugby; Oliviera and Doll on long-distance running; Kleiber, Nimrod, and others on retirement. Altogether, as of September 2017, 60 publications comprise this list, most of them appearing since 2010.

Most of this research centers on how later life satisfaction and well being are found by pursuing leisure, in general, or certain leisure activities, in particular. Following this line of inquiry this extension could eventually offer a rich catalogue of serious, casual, and project-based leisure activities for retirees along with information on the costs and rewards of these activities. This is the goal of Stebbins (2013), but a much richer foundation of research would inflate its contribution significantly.

Future Extensions

The possibilities for extending the SLP to other areas of modern life are, in principle, indefinite. I will mention here only two: youth and delinquency and social entrepreneurship. They already have a start, albeit a slim one.

Applying the SLP to youth and delinquency would seem an obvious avenue leading to rehabilitating their errant ways and preventing those ways from becoming established. Working from the ameliorative angle, Linda Caldwell (Caldwell and Smith 2007; Caldwell 2011) and Siegenthaler and Gonsalez (1997) are so far the only scholars to explore this area. Two studies of juvenile auto thieves describe and explain such activity but do so with little suggestion about how to discourage interest in it (Drozda 2004; Wilkening 2004).

The problem for practitioners is how to counteract the present-day, widespread tendency for youth to devote much of their waking lives to activities that lead to little or no profound personal development. The goal among a large majority of them, after the disagreeable obligations of life are either met or ignored (often those associated with school or work), is to have "fun." The recent crazes in the use of iPads, MP3 players, cell phones, video gaming facilities, and the like spring from a long-standing interest in hedonic activities that, in the past, was evident in, partying, watching television, going to the cinema, hanging out (in bars and restaurants and on street corners), lying on beaches, to mention but a few. Their image of leisure typically excludes the serious and project-based forms.

Turning to social entrepreneurship as a possible future extension, all that can be done at this time is simply to note this prospect. The leisure aspects of social enterprise were presented in the preceding chapter under the rubric of social change. Thus the subject has been broached. Time will tell whether leisure studies will take up the torch.

Conclusions

Professionals in a fair range of applied sciences have drawn on leisure theory and research to help inform effective practice. This concerns a miscellany of applied disciplines whose origins lie outside leisure studies, but which have gained significant nourishment from the latter. This kind of cross-fertilization is evident in 17 fields, with some of them receiving a substantial infusion of SLP-related thought and research as related to one or more of their central interests. This chapter examined 5 from this list to show how the study of leisure and various fields of practice can benefit from this intermarriage: tourism and events; disabilities/therapeutic recreation; library and information science; arts, science and heritage administration; aging and retirement; and future extensions.

We began this chapter with the observation that various leisure studies specialists have argued that they and their colleagues write but few people outside that interdiscipline seem to read what they have to say. This chapter shows that many a scholar in leisure studies does write about an applied field, but do members of that field read what has been said about it? I know of no information capable of answering this question.

One way of getting an approximate answer is to examine the proportion of authors listed in the relevant headings in the SLP Bibliography who have written in the applied literature compared with those who have written in the leisure studies

periodicals. The applied literature was identified by concepts that signal interest in the practice side of the extension, such as therapeutic recreation, tourism management, recreation administration, and vacation marketing. By contrast, the mainstream leisure studies journals attract and mainly publish theory and theory-driven research.

Using these criteria, a cursory scan of the lists constituting the SLP Bibliography suggests, in the case of TR and tourism and events that roughly 60 percent of the publications bear substantially on practice, with most of them appearing in sources practitioners are likely to read. In the others – arts administration, aging and retirement, and LIS – approximately 40 percent of the publications appear to have chiefly practical import. In short, leisure studies does seem to be finding its way to the outside intellectual world, albeit unevenly and selectively.

Notes

1. Several other reasons for the presumed failure of leisure studies theory and research to gain recognition in other disciplines are considered in Stebbins (2017, p. 25).
2. The initial statement on project-based leisure appeared three years later in Stebbins (2005a).
3. Also see her other publications in the Therapeutic Recreation/Disabilities section of the SLP Bibliography.

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Conclusion: The Conceptual Composition of the SLP

10

One major feature of this synthesis has been its parade of the concepts comprising the SLP. This intellectual procession began in Chap. 2 and was led by the theoretic center of leisure studies in general and the SLP in particular, namely, the idea of leisure itself. Activity and experience were next in line, followed by the basic conceptual framework constituting the SLP. The concept of context and its three levels was intentionally placed at the end of the parade, as an effective way to show how the many conceptual components of the SLP are interwoven. In other words, the SLP treats of leisure at all levels of individual, organizational, societal, and cultural complexity and their interrelationship.

The Nature of Concepts

▶ Definition In the social sciences the word "concept" refers to a class of acts, thoughts, activities, processes, or structures that we scientists have learned have enough in common to warrant treating them under a single name. That is, a concept is, at bottom, a generalized idea about an aspect of the empirical world, and as Kaplan (1964, p. 78) observed, one subject to continual revision until perfected, usually late in the development of the field in question. In other words, concepts are essentially hypotheses that will become invalid, should they fail to fit in some critical way the empirical reality they claim to represent.

Early in the development of a science, when largely in its descriptive phase, most of its concepts are low-order labels for the fundamental classes of the phenomena on which the science is centered. Later as the science matures more abstract ideas about those phenomena emerge, often achieved by tying the lower-order classes to one another. In both forms, concepts constitute the very heart of the science and of any theory constructed in its name. Thus, as Matthew Arnold said of ideas (concepts), they "cannot be too much prized in and for themselves, cannot be too much

R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3_10

lived with." In a science its concepts drive research, steering inquiry according to the meaning of each.

There is a certain amount of evidence in leisure studies and other social science disciplines that we who work in them respect Arnold's evaluation. For example, numerous books designed for classroom use have recently come on the market purporting to treat of the key, or core, concepts of a particular field of study. Further, the practice of listing the main "key words" contained in journal articles has become a valuable indicator of what is written there, while being easily disseminated over the Internet for word-search purposes. And concepts figure conspicuously in scholarly publications, often as the center of analysis or as a means for organizing the work as by chapter or section.

Bennett, Grossberg, and Morris (2005, p. xix) wrote that "key words" – their term for concepts – cluster in sets to become a "vocabulary." This body of words is shared among colleagues, constituting an in-group language for general discussion there. But it is the point made by Barney Glaser that most stimulated me to write this section. He said, in discussing what to put into an exposition of grounded theory, "The most important thing to remember is to *write about concepts not people* [italics in original]. . . . The power of theory resides in concepts, not description" (Glaser 1978, p. 134).

Glaser wrote these words because he saw too many exploratory researchers losing sight of the chief mission of science – to generate theory, which is built from concepts – to spend valuable space and time quoting interviewees. Too much quoted material of this sort, which is highly idiographic, occludes the occasional nomothetic generalization and component concepts that are supposed to emerge from it. This likely happens, as well, in exploratory research on leisure, though my concern for leisure studies is broader than this. My concern has been that leisure studies seems to be an under-conceptualized discipline. After all, especially in North America, it began as a practically-oriented, problem-centered discipline, where direct action was more prized than abstract ideas. A field bereft of concepts would also be short on theory uniquely bearing its stamp.

> One way to conceptually portray a scholarly field is to work from the old research formula of the five Ws: who, what, whom, when, and where. I dredged up this formula (acquired somewhere during my 56-year scholarly career) to indicate in a general way what exploratory researchers in the social sciences should be looking for as they go about their discovery work. (I consider, as data generating devices, the five in Stebbins 2001, p. 23. See also Denzin 1970, pp. 269–284.) In exploration the researcher wants to learn *who* is doing (thinking, feeling) *what* to (with, for, about), *whom* and *when* and *where.*

Open-ended procedures generate data on these five questions that, in turn, become the basis for generalizations in the form of concepts and their interrelationship in propositions. What the old formula neglected and, consequently, I therefore neglected to mention in the little book on exploration, and will now correct, is that

there is also a most important seventh question: *how*? How do the people being observed do *what* they do? This is not so much a conceptual concern, however, as a descriptive one. The answer to this question gives the descriptive, ethnographic, underlay on which the explorer constructs a more abstract grounded theory revolving around the five Ws and I now add a sixth. That is, there is also the theoretical question of *why*. Answering it does not steer data collection, but it does greatly aid data interpretation. So, this chapter revolves around six Ws and a (seventh) H.

Concepts in Leisure Studies

It seems to me that the sum of the concepts generated from answering the six Ws and the 1 H forms the conceptual foundation of any social science field, once of course, the question of how has been answered. Let us try out this claim on leisure studies to reveal its conceptual base. I will, in doing this, limit discussion to concepts primarily oriented to leisure.

First, which of our concepts speak to the question of who? The most obvious answer is the person who is taking leisure: leisure man, *homo otiosus*. From the standpoint of all of humankind and its social sciences, leisure studies is unique for its broadest focus, which is on this type of person. But, more narrowly, there are many other "whos", including the leisure service provider, the manager of leisure services, and the leisure educator (counselor). There are also the amateurs, hobbyists, volunteers, and categories of casual leisure enthusiasts. These types add further to the distinctiveness of the field. There is also a burgeoning literature on, for example, gays and lesbians and people with handicaps as they act as particular types of leisure individuals, though these concepts are shared with several other disciplines. It is likewise for the participants in deviant leisure.

Furthermore, have we conceptualized what these people do? *Homo otiosus* pursues leisure activities and leisure experiences, two widely-discussed concepts in leisure studies. But most fundamentally *homo otiosus* pursues leisure or recreation, if not both, two concepts whose definitions have, over the years, engaged many a scholar. Concern with leisure meaning, a closely related concept, has also occupied for at least as many years a great deal of attention. Both the activities and the experiences can be further conceptually analyzed as serious, casual, or project-based leisure, with several subtypes flowing from each of these three. Play, and to a lesser extent relaxation, two subtypes of casual leisure, have themselves been the subject of discussion. Recreational specialization, which refers to a narrowing of focus of certain free-time activities, is properly placed under this rubric. Deviant leisure is also part of this conceptual cluster, as is "purposive leisure" (Shaw and Dawson 2001).

The concepts clustering around the question of "whom" organize a great deal of leisure studies thought. Although variously identified, the leisure client is a main type in the fields of leisure service and leisure education. From another angle, people seek leisure either *for* their own benefit or, in the case of volunteering, for the benefit of self and others. The relevant concepts here are "self-interested leisure participant" and "altruistic leisure participant", which are not, however, widely

discussed as such in the literature. By contrast, *with* whom people pursue their leisure is rich in concepts that are widely discussed, although these concepts are shared with many other disciplines. Thus we study family leisure, gay-lesbian leisure, adolescent leisure, leisure among the elderly, all-male and all-female leisure, and so on. The concept of leisure social network also helps answer the question of with whom do people spend their free time.

The question of whom also encompasses the broad idea of leisure group, which is not, alas, part of the leisure studies vocabulary. True, some types of leisure groups have nonetheless systematically considered, most notably, the family and the adolescent friendship group. But a huge range of grassroots associations (Smith 2000) have been, as such, largely overlooked conceptually in leisure studies (though not in nonprofit sector studies). So have dyadic, triadic and other informal small group leisure been neglected as such. Collective phenomena such as the "tribe" (Maffesoli 1996), and the social movement, both of which help explain who pursues certain kinds of leisure with whom have likewise been largely overlooked (Stebbins 2002). Some scholars working in leisure studies do recognize nevertheless the concept of "social world", another collective phenomenon that is, however, not exclusively a leisure studies term (see Unruh 1979, 1980).

When people pursue their leisure has been an important question for leisure studies, largely considered under the concepts of time and time use. These two are closely identified with the field of leisure studies. The same may be said for the concept of lifestyle, so long as we qualify it as leisure lifestyle. Leisure lifestyle relates to patterns of leisure behavior enacted during the typical day, week, month, and year. Optimal leisure lifestyle refers to a personally defined agreeable balance of time in and quality of serious and casual leisure activities. The concepts of lifecycle and life-course relate to the question of when, over the years, we pursue which forms of leisure. The concept of leisure constraints, in part, falls under this heading, since people may be blocked by non-leisure time commitments from pursuing leisure when they would like to. But leisure constraint applies as well to whom people pursue their leisure with as well as where they do it and what leisure they engage in. The constraint is one of leisure studies' broadest concepts. Finally, the concept of obligation (Stebbins 2000) bears on when people pursue their leisure. Leisure obligations (always agreeable) are part of this calculus. Work obligations (can be disagreeable) and non-work obligations (are disagreeable) make up other parts of it.

Where do people engage in leisure? More and more today this question is being posed in the language of space. The concept of home leisure helps answer this question. Concern for leisure activities pursued in parks and recreational areas and centers also conceptualizes the *where* question. Theme park and amusement parks can also be added to this list, as can the various venues for viewing sport (stadia, arenas, stands) and staged artistic performances (halls, auditoria, theaters, cinemas, night clubs). Some people frequent zoos and museums in search of leisure. Tourism, as a leisure concept, addresses the where question, and this includes such sub-concepts as types of sites of volunteer tourism, cultural tourism, mass tourism, sex tourism, and the like. The question of where looms large in discussions of deviant leisure,

since it must be clandestinely pursued. Yet, conceptual terminology here is borrowed from the sociology of deviance, as in brothel, gay bar, stripper stage, nudist resort, cult church, and Internet pornography website. Moreover, some leisure is pursued, say, annually at fairs and festivals. Finally, there is a range of concepts for places of informal leisure, notably bars, pubs, casinos, restaurants, trendy shopping districts, games parlors, scenic areas, and drop-in and social centers.

Last but hardly least is the question of *why*. This is the home of leisure theory (bundles of concepts linked by propositions), itself made up of many of the afore mentioned concepts. Explanations of leisure motivation help answer the question of why, as do constraints theory and the SLP. Moreover, theories about gender differences in leisure interests form part of the answer, as do those about access and exclusion to leisure opportunities. The feminist approach, based on the concept of feminism, looks at the woman's unique experience of leisure and the unique problems she faces trying to engage in it. Recreational specialization, as mentioned earlier, explains why people specialize in their pursuit of a certain kind of complex leisure. Discussions of the concept of leisure meaning can also be classified as part of the question of why. Furthermore, the concept of leisure choice (however constrained) should be included here, in that it helps explain the questions of whom (with, for), what, when, and where.

The Future

The foregoing attests the immense variety of concepts in leisure studies, and yet, by no means all were covered in the sample contained within. By my reckoning, slightly over half are substantially or exclusively associated with this inter-discipline, with the rest being imports developed and applied in one or more external fields as well. My conclusion then is that leisure studies does have a distinctive conceptual core. It, too, has borrowed from other disciplines, but that is as it should be for a hybrid discipline. Such borrowing is likely to continue, but the core of native, homegrown leisure concepts will also expand, signaling a certain level of conceptual maturity of the field.

This is a good sign. Well-validated concepts have a much better chance of standing the test of time than those that are more-weakly anchored empirically. It is evident in this synthesis that some areas of it are only lightly supported compared with some others. For example, we need further work on project-based leisure; art, science, and heritage administration; positive psychology and leisure; youth and the SLP; and social capital/civil labor and the serious pursuits. Such requirements joined with the many kinds of new leisure that seem to be emerging nearly daily suggest this synthesis will need some updating before too long.

The SLP covers the entire domain of leisure, though it does this at present more thoroughly in some areas than in others. Thus, it is weakest at the macro level where research on its cultural, historical, geographical, and macro-sociological (eg, class, gender, religion) bases is relatively thin. Moreover, studies of the serious pursuits

and their flow-inducing properties are still uncommon. Now that a framework for studying social worlds has been developed (see Stebbins 2018), I hope we will see more detailed empirical attention given to this central aspect of leisure life. Finally, another meso-level interest worthy of examination is the SLP's role in sustaining the adage: "a family that plays together stays together." At stake here, among other concerns, is the golf-widow type of relationship.

The SLP is broad, relating to much of the domain of leisure as well as to aspects of the domains of work and non-work obligation. This said the Perspective only links to but does not dig deeply into many of the specialized research foci of leisure studies. For instance, it was shown earlier in this book that leisure constraints can be conceived of as costs in the costs/rewards formula of the serious pursuits and that some of these constraints form part of the macro context within which the three forms of leisure are pursued. But beyond such links lies the need to examine the nature of the constraints, their interrelationship, their implacability, and the viable leisure choices that remain for *homo otiosus* beyond a given constraint. The same holds for the study of recreational specialization, gender relations, ethnic free-time interests, and others. This book has linked the SLP to these areas, but at the same time, leaves ample scope for filling in the details about the internal dynamics of specialization, gender, and so on.

Conclusions

One major feature of this synthesis has been its parade of the concepts comprising the SLP. This intellectual procession began in Chap. 2 and was led by the theoretic center of leisure studies in general and the SLP in particular, namely, the idea of leisure itself. Activity and experience were next in line, followed by the basic conceptual framework constituting the SLP. The concept of context and its three levels was intentionally placed at the end of the parade, as an effective way to show how the many conceptual components of the SLP are interwoven. In other words, the SLP treats of leisure at all levels of individual, organizational, societal, and cultural complexity and their interrelationship. This chapter looked at the nature of concepts and concepts in leisure studies. The foregoing parades the immense variety of concepts in leisure studies, and yet, by no means all were covered in the sample contained within. Slightly over half are substantially or exclusively associated with this inter-discipline, with the rest being imports developed and applied in one or more external fields as well. My conclusion then is that leisure studies does have a distinctive conceptual core. It, too, has borrowed from other disciplines, but that is as it should be for a hybrid discipline. Such borrowing is likely to continue, but the core of native, home-grown leisure concepts will also expand, signaling a certain level of conceptual maturity of the field.

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R. A. Stebbins, *The Serious Leisure Perspective*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48036-3

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