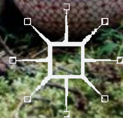
LEISURE STUDIES IN A GLOBAL ERA

Leisure's Legacy

Challenging the Common Sense View of Free Time

ROBERT A. STEBBINS



Leisure Studies in a Global Era

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Challenging the Common Sense View of Free Time

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Introduction: Leisure's Legacy—Challenging the Common Sense View of Free Time

As with some other complex ideas current in the modern world, that of leisure suffers at the level of common sense from an unfortunate legacy: a combination of oversimplification, moral depreciation, and in some quarters, even lack of recognition. Many people outside the comparatively small circle of leisure theorists, researchers, and practitioners—this indictment includes other scholars and university administrators on the outside—might well greet this claim with: "who cares?" But leisure's modern legacy is both profound and immense, despite approximately 45 years of steady research, application, and theory development. In other words, there is plenty of evidence to justify the central proposal in this book that the common sense view of free-time activities can and should be confronted.

And who should do the confronting? That job falls to the leisure studies professors, researchers, practitioners, and their students; it is them for whom this book is written. Ideally, the vast world of common sense would also take an interest in these pages, but alas, the pages are probably too many and too complicated for most of the general public. Meanwhile, the first group needs to know much better the mentality of the people whom they study and how the second look on the free-time phenomena

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the first find so fascinating and important. How else can leisure science effectively get its word out to the general public than by knowing how they think about leisure?

Let it be clear from the outset that this book is a study of the common sense view of leisure and not an exposition of the scientific field of leisure studies. Part of the latter—namely, the serious leisure perspective and certain other concepts—will nevertheless guide this study. Thus the leisure studies literature is invoked only to the extent needed to examine the common sense view and to the extent that this scholarly area has anything to say about this popular outlook. Unfortunately, the scientific writing on this view is extremely thin.[1]

The following chapters will show what this popular outlook is lacking and why it is important to tackle it. In general, the reasons for confrontation are the following. (1) Gatekeepers informed only by the common sense definitions of leisure while working in the institutions of higher education and funding agencies for research and teaching often fail to give research and education in leisure science its due. (2) The general population guided by certain common sense definitions suffers with its ignorance of how it could benefit from a more informed view of free time. (3) Some practitioners in fields where leisure has been shown to benefit clients still refuse to accept this approach. Certain common sense definitions would seem to be behind such thinking. (4) Leisure science's weak reception in many of the mainstream social sciences (e.g., economics and political science, Stebbins, 2012, pp. 20–22) suggests a similar shallow picture there of how people use their free time, why they do this, and why it is important that the general public acquire a more profound understanding of this vast domain of life.

All this might seem like sour grapes: a-nobody-likes-me-but-they-should kind of argument. This retort might have more credibility were it based on a scientific understanding of leisure rather than a commonsensical one. In other words, a more informed response would be to try with data and logic to rebut the four points in the preceding paragraph. Meanwhile, however, this book contains evidence supporting them.

Common sense is defined here as the faculty by which certain beliefs are accepted without philosophical or scientific enquiry or without influence from religious teaching (modified from the Shorter OED, 5th

ed., 2002, sense 4). Common sense and "popular image" will be considered synonymous. This orientation is that of the general public, or the laity (non-religious sense), both also being used interchangeably.[2] Additionally, in Chap. 3, this image will be further conceptualized as a kind of stereotype. Based on these definitions as applied in the 21st century, I address myself to two crucial concerns, which highlight the inadequacies of leisure's popular image: what do the people of today get from their leisure activities and what effect do these activities and their enthusiasts have on the communities in which the enthusiasts live? The answers to these questions are complex and by no means always obvious (obviousness is a hallmark of common sense). The complexity is evident in the fact that casual, serious, and project-based leisure—three main forms of leisure—consist of a diversity of types and subtypes.[3] They often diverge sharply in their content, effects on participants, and influence in the larger community. Moreover, their effects on the individual and their influence in the community can be positive or negative or a combination of the two.

The obviousness of the two questions is another matter. This issue rests in good part on how leisure is defined by the general public, which includes those scholars and intellectuals who are unfamiliar with leisure theory and research. For example, the work ethic of modern times calls for a person to work hard and avoid leisure as much as possible (explained in detail in Stebbins, 2004/2014; 2012). This book shows how simplistic that image of the role of leisure is.

Be that as it may, the common sense image of leisure in the West or anywhere else has never been systematically studied. For this reason treatment of it in this book must be regarded as hypothetical (note how often I use phrases like "seems to," "appears to," and "probably is"). In other words, throughout my career in leisure studies (44 years), I have observed leisure activities and behavior and their place in social life most of the time informally but some of the time augmented by formal data collected by me and several others (see www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography). This empirical base can give rise to hypotheses bearing on common sense images, but little else. On the other hand, the hypotheses and their component concepts can offer provisional understanding about and direct research in this important but little explored area of leisure studies.

This is part of the "evidence" to which I referred in the preceding paragraphs. Another part is composed of the qualitative data generated by the "L-Squares" project, wherein an international sample of university students were asked to draw with a pen on a small square of paper their conception of leisure.[4] The vast majority portrayed there casual leisure in general or one or more particular casual activities. Some squares also or exclusively pictured leisure with a smiley face, the word "fun," or both. These data help validate the ideas on the positive common sense images of leisure set out in this book, for those images are mostly anchored in casual leisure. Finally, at least two other thinkers, one a political economist, the other a philosopher, have also observed the common sense image:

> In contemporary parlance, leisure is synonymous with relaxation and rest. But there is another, older conception of leisure, according to which it is not just time off work but a special form of activity in its own right. Leisure in this sense is that which we do for its own sake, not as a means to something else. (Skidelsky & Skidelsky, 2012, p. 165)

Notwithstanding doubts expressed earlier another goal of this book is to familiarize the general public with the nature of leisure as set out in the field of leisure studies. That goal is not to create experts, however, but rather to engender a liberal arts understanding of leisure such that the common sense image of it is brought much more in line with its scientific reality. Put otherwise, I am trying to produce an encyclopedia-level of lay knowledge about leisure that enables the (now) educated reader to refine his or her image of it.

Considerable theory and data exist in the field of leisure studies, a scholarly corpus that has been growing steadily since approximately 1970 mainly in North America, Europe, Israel, Australia, and New Zealand.[5] In other words, knowledge about the two concerns is not, as it once was, purely speculative. Nonetheless, our contemporary leisure legacy for these countries roots in the history of free-time activities and how they have been interpreted in the past. Early thinkers in philosophy (Plato was the first to weigh in on the subject) and religion (Aquinas discussed leisure) thought leisure to be important enough to devote some attention

to it.[6] Today's leisure legacy is founded on and significantly shaped by this history of ideas about free-time activities.

Before tackling this historical background we must review in Chap. 2 the modern scientific understanding of the nature of leisure, as based on theory and research during the past 45 years. This will provide the needed comparative background for examining the image of leisure outside the scientific study of it. This is accomplished in Chap. 3. After Chap. 4 in which the history of today's leisure legacy is presented, discussion turns to the complexity of modern Western leisure as portrayed in its many types and subtypes (Chap. 5). Chapters 6 through 9 may be regarded as the core of this book, in that they expand in detail the common sense images outlined in Chap. 3, Chap. 6 covers the positive rewards of leisure activities, which leads to Chap. 7 and a look at the activities' negative aspects. Chapters 8 and 9 follow a similar pattern, but this time it is followed with reference to leisure's positive and negative effects in the larger community. Personal development by way of leisure (Chap. 10) was first observed in ancient Greece. This facet of the modern leisure legacy is, however, immensely more richly evolved. Sometimes such development extends into work, where is considered under the heading of devotee work (Chap. 11). Chapter 12 brings to the fore another piece of the legacy—it is a highly pertinent concern in modern times—namely, leisure lifestyle. Among the conclusions set out in Chap. 13 are some practical implications of leisure studies theory and research and the taken-for-granted nature of leisure. In short, Chaps. 4 through 12 introduce from a variety of angles the common sense images and their fit with relevant theory and research in leisure studies, primarily that of the serious leisure perspective.

Notes

1. Much of the leisure studies literature does describe and explain the leisure activities of the general public. But this corpus fails to include their common sense views of the nature of leisure in their society and the wider world.
2. Terms like laity and general public may suggest belittlement on my part. This is not intended. Stereotypes and simplified images abound every-

where around the globe; they are part of being human in a complex world. The responsibility for these images lies with the scientific experts who know the difference and with their failure to negate them with data and theory that lead to a deeper understanding. Still, such negation is no easy task, given the characteristic resistance of common sense to disconfirmatory fact and interpretation.

3. The concepts of serious, casual, and project-based leisure are defined in Chap. 5.
4. Reported in Hartel and Stebbins (2017, unpublished article).
5. Research on leisure before this contemporary period was sporadic, but evolved during the 1970s into a steady, international scholarly interest.
6. Plato's and Aquinas's contributions are considered in more detail and properly referenced in Sylvester (1999, pp. 19 & 26).

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2

The Nature of Leisure

Efforts to define leisure and hence to describe its nature date to ancient Greece and the philosophizing of Plato and Aristotle. Then as now these efforts often resulted in a comparison with work, which was and still is seen as necessary, as the way of making one's livelihood. In this chapter I look first at this conceptualization of leisure, phrased as residual time left over after work is done for the day. But the chapter is titled as the nature of leisure, meaning that it is devoted to considering what leisure is rather than to what it is not (e.g., not work). This is the more difficult assignment, for here scholars must try to discern leisure's essential qualities and their interrelationship. In the interest of sharpening our understanding of leisure's essence, we look first at the essence of work and non-work obligation, two domains of modern life that are sometimes confused with leisure itself, which is a separate domain of its own.

Work

I have become ever more conscious of the fuzzy lines demarcating work and leisure. It has been increasingly clear that a good number of modern human activities fit poorly the definitions of work and leisure, and that

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to help clarify matters, a third category of human activities was needed. In this ferment the concept of domain of activity was born, of which human life could be seen as composed of three types: work, leisure, *and* non-work obligation (Stebbins, 2009a, chap. 1; 2012, chap. 3). A domain encompasses both the institutionalized and the non-institutionalized activities comprising a given area of life. In leisure the latter is exemplified in taking an afternoon nap (in a non-napping culture) and eating lunch on the run (as opposed to eating in a restaurant).

Work has no satisfactory definition, says Herbert Applebaum (1992, p. x), since the idea relates to all human activities. That caveat aside, he sees work, among other ways, as performance of useful activity (making things, performing services) done as all or part of sustaining life, as a livelihood. Some people are remunerated for their work, whereas others get paid in kind or directly keep body and soul together with the fruits of their labor (e.g., subsistence farming, hunting, fishing). Work, thus defined, is as old as humankind, because all save a few privileged people have always had to seek a livelihood. The same may be said for leisure, to the extent that some free time has always existed after work.

Today, in the West, most work of the kind considered here is remunerated, even though the non-remunerated variety is evident, too. The most celebrated example of the latter is house work, but there are also livelihood activities that some people think of as non-work obligations (e.g., do-it-yourself house repairs, money-saving dress making). Work, as just defined, is activity people have to do, if they are to meet their economic needs. And, though some exceptions are examined in Chap. 11, most people do not particularly like their work. For example, were their livelihood somehow guaranteed, many of these workers would be inclined to take up more pleasant activities, assuming of course, they were aware of them.

Obligation: Agreeable, Disagreeable

Obligation outside that experienced while pursuing a livelihood is terribly understudied (much of it falls under the heading of family and/or domestic life, while obligatory communal involvements are also possible)

and sometimes seriously misunderstood (as in coerced "volunteering").[1] To speak of obligation, is to speak not about how people are prevented from entering certain leisure activities—the object of much of research on leisure constraints—but about how people fail to define a given activity as leisure or redefine it as other than leisure, as an unpleasant obligation. Obligation is both a state of mind, an attitude—people sometimes feel obligated—and a form of behavior—they 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 culture of obligation that takes shape around many work, leisure, and non-work activities. It is important to consider non-work obligation, because it can cut into work or leisure time, if not both, and because at the common sense level, it can spawn confusion about what leisure is.

Obligation motivates 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 shrinking the leisure space. *Agreeable obligation* is very much a part of some leisure, evident when such obligation accompanies positive commitment to an activity that evokes pleasant memories and expectations (these two are essential features of leisure, Kaplan, 1960, pp. 22–25). Still, it might be argued that agreeable obligation in leisure is not really felt as obligation, since the participant wants to do the activity anyway.

But my research in serious leisure (see www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography) suggests a more complicated picture. My respondents knew that they were supposed to be at a certain place or do a certain thing and knew that they had to make this 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 could wait. At times, the participant's intimates objected to the way he or she prioritized everyday commitments, and this led to friction, creating costs for the first that somewhat diluted the rewards of the leisure in question (on costs see Chap. 7). Agreeable obligation is also found in devotee work and the other two forms of leisure, though possibly least so in casual leisure.

On the other hand *disagreeable obligation* 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 we have been able to identify three types (more fully described in Stebbins, 2012, pp. 52–54):

- *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,
- *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 and attending a meeting on a community problem.
- *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.

Leisure

This concept has been subject to numerous scientific definitions, with one of the best reviews of this list being written by John Kelly (2012, chap. 2). His review shows that a main fault with the past attempts to define leisure has been the tendency of the definers to focus on one or a few of the idea's essential qualities. In this way time, activity, and experience, for example, have become over the years favorite definitional themes.

Such definitions range in length from a sentence or two to a page or two. And for those wanting such a dictionary-style definition of, say, three or four lines, one will be presented shortly. But let us note here that its supporting argument is set out in a small book (Stebbins, 2012). For defining ideas as complex as those of work and leisure, requires careful and extensive conceptualization, an impossibility when limited to a few lines or even a few pages.[2] That is, to properly define theoretic terms of this nature, we must understand well their larger "systemic meaning" (Kaplan, 1964, pp. 63–65).

The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (5th ed.) defines "definition" (2nd sense) as: "a precise statement of the nature, properties, scope or essential qualities of a thing; an explanation of a concept, etc.; a statement or formal explanation of the meaning or a word or phrase." I wish add to this Ralph Borsodi's (1967, pp. 32–33) four canons of definition. He says a definition must (1) be *adequate*; that is, the referent word stands out from all other referent words. (2) A definition must allow *differentiation*. It must provide "enough specific and significant attributes and properties peculiar to the word's referent" to obviate confusion with anything else. (3) Proper definitions have *impartiality*; they are written such that they do not favor particular attributes and properties over others that also conform to the first two canons. (4) Finally definitions must have sufficient *completeness*. They should be complete enough to enable their audience to recognize the referent word.

In the following definition I have striven to meet these canons. Returning to (Abraham) Kaplan, remember that definitions of concepts, like the theories of which they are a part, are subject to revision as new data and ideas challenge their validity. So the present definitional undertaking is necessarily hypothetical, although as hypothesis, it squares with present data and thought. Moreover, this definition, given its considerably greater detail than others, facilitates greatly the comparisons with the common sense view of leisure that will be carried out in the next chapter.

A Definition

Thus scientifically speaking, leisure is un-coerced, contextually framed activity, pursued in free time and certain kinds of work, which people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually enact in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (sometimes both).[3] Note, in this regard, that it could be argued that boredom occurring in free time is an un-coerced state, but un-coerced or not, it is an experience that bored people want to avoid. Therefore, it is not leisure; it is not a positive experience, as just defined. Two common elements in the standard definitions of leisure—"choice" and "freely chosen activity" (e.g., Kelly, 2012)—have, obviously, been avoided in the foregoing definition. And for good reason given that

the two have come in for considerable criticism. Juniu and Henderson (2001, p. 8), for instance, say that such terms cannot be empirically supported, since people lack significant choice because "leisure activities are socially structured and shaped by the inequalities of society" (see also Shaw, 2001, pp. 186–187). True, experiential definitions of leisure published in recent decades, when they do contain reference to choice, tend to refer to perceived, rather than objective, freedom to choose. The definers recognize thus that various conditions, many of them unperceived by leisure participants and unspecified by definers, nevertheless constrain choice of leisure activities. Juniu and Henderson argue that these conditions are highly influential, however, and that defining leisure even as perceived choice tends to underplay, if not overlook, their true effect.

But what would happen to human agency in the pursuit of leisure were we to abandon mentioning in definitions of leisure the likes of "choice" and "freely chosen"? It would likely be lost, were it not for the principle of lack of coercion. Behavior is un-coerced when people make their own leisure. Un-coerced, people believe they are doing something they are not pushed to do, something they are not disagreeably obliged to do. Emphasis is on the acting individual, which thereby retains human agency in the formula. This is in no way denies that there may be things people want to do but cannot do because of numerous constraints on choice (e.g., aptitude, ability, socialized leisure tastes, knowledge of available activities, accessibility of activities). In other words, when using our definition of leisure, whose central ingredient is lack of coercion, we must be sure to frame such use in relevant structural, cultural, and historical context (see a new book on context, Stebbins, in press). This context is also the appropriate place for discussing choice and its constraints (on this point see also Rojek, 2010, pp. 5–8).

Lack of coercion to engage in an activity is a quintessential property of leisure. No other sphere of human activity can be exclusively characterized by this property. Moreover, note that some workers, including professionals, consultants, craft workers, some small business entrepreneurs, and paid-staff in volunteer organizations, find their jobs so profoundly fulfilling that they closely approach this ideal. They work at "devotee occupations" (Stebbins, 2004/2014).

Where does recreation fit in all this? The word is often used as a synonym for leisure, though the latter term is now far more prevalent in the scientific literature. In keeping with this trend I will speak mainly about leisure. The idea of recreation is most distinctive when referring to activity done in free time, which, after work, refreshes and restores a person to return to work again (Godbey, 1999, pp. 12–13). Of course, some leisure can accomplish the same thing, though that term fails to underscore this function as clearly as the term recreation.

Leisure as Activity

The foregoing dictionary-style definition refers 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. Life 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 diner in a restaurant).

In fact, 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 while 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?

Roles and activities, as will become evident in later chapters, are often central points of operation for groups, organizations, social movements, and the like. Furthermore, both concepts are linchpins linking the social individual with his internal psychology, with his personality, motivation, attitudes, emotions, and so on (Stebbins, in press). Our definition of leisure turns in part on this theoretic hinge, and thereby helps set off the scientific definition of leisure from its common sense counterpart by calling attention to the micro, meso, and macro contexts framing free-time activity.

This definition of activity gets further refined 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 downhill, 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).[4] 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.

Leisure as an Institution

When leisure is conceived of as a social institution (e.g., Kaplan, 1975, pp. 28–31; Frey & Dickens, 1990; Rojek, 2000), the thought immediately evokes a tendency to also see it in relation to the other institutions of society. In other words, by stating that leisure is an institution is to state that it is not, for example, family, economy, polity, education, religion, health, or the arts. The institution of leisure intersects in diverse ways with all these institutions, and others not mentioned, but is nonetheless its own structural/cultural entity. This institutional singularity is thus still another essential quality of leisure, which is hinted at in the earlier dictionary-style definition in the phrase, "contextually framed activity."

Part of the context doing this framing is evident in one standard sociological definition of social institution. It is a relative stable set of abstract relationships, patterns of behavior, 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. Institutions solve, albeit not always ideally according to all the people involved, the problems they want solved such that they can get through a normal year.

There exist numerous patterns of leisure behavior and motivation associated with particular leisure activities as pursued by different segments of the population. These activities include stamp collecting, playing chess, watching television, going to the cinema, and attending cocktail parties. Baseball games, electronic games, the amateur theater, the racetrack, the ski slopes—are all part of leisure. There are also many abstract relationships within leisure, as exemplified in the relationship between amateur actors and the director of a theater company. At the group level, there are relationships among clubs, associations, centers, and the like. Furthermore leisure roles are in evidence everywhere (in theaters, in hockey arenas, on trout streams, on ski slopes, over chessboards, in front of television sets, etc.). Three of the main values of leisure 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 (Roberts, 1978,

pp. 167–168). To this list I should like to add a fourth value that is well documented in the research on the serious pursuits, namely, the value of self-fulfillment. All four are part of the leisure institution.

So far I have described what the institution of leisure contains, established roles, activities, values, and so on. Beyond this edifice lies the fact that all institutions also constrain the behavior of people living within them. (I analyze this process elsewhere under the rubric of "context," Stebbins, in press.) The leisure institution for these people tends to channel their choices of activities, role, values, and the like by, as it were, promoting the activities and roles and their acceptability. Rojek (2010, chap. 3) offers several detailed examples of the way social institutions frame leisure behavior. He also shows in later chapters how the state and corporations accomplish the same thing. In doing this they too contribute, often in ways too complicated and subtle to be pursued in this book, to the structure and culture of the leisure institution. Yet, in his final chapter he holds, as I do in this book, that leisure abounds within this framework, and that people occasionally, if not often, flout the latter by taking up deviant leisure and new leisure (considered in Stebbins, in press, chap. 3). In other words there is, in all this, plenty of scope for human agency, for what people "want to do."

Conclusion

This chapter argues for the conceptualization of leisure as a domain and, within it, as a social institution, both being composed of and centrally organized around a great range of roles and activities. Leisure is thus pursued at the micro- meso- and macro-contextual levels. Within each level leisure is un-coerced (not freely chosen) and engaged in during free time. It is activity that people want to do (values) and, using their abilities and resources and fired by their own agency—actually do in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both). In the next chapter I will attempt to show how the common sense definitions of leisure diverge from this picture.

Notes

1. Parker (1983) does mention "non-work obligation" and related activities in his classification of leisure and leisure-like activities.
2. Applebaum (1992), though rather less attentive to the canons of definition in his discussion of work than I have been in defining leisure, does nevertheless provide throughout his book a substantial supporting argument for his conception.
3. This, the most recent version of this definition, is a modification of Stebbins (2012, p. 4). I have modified it to allow for devotee work, discussed in Chap. 11.
4. Casual and serious leisure are defined in Chap. 5.

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3

Leisure's Common Sense Images

Leisure is a term whose etymologic roots date to Roman times and the Latin noun *licere*. In everyday parlance, leisure refers both to the time left over after work and non-work obligations—often called free time—and to the way we spend that time. Scientific attempts to define the idea have revolved, in considerable part, around the problems generated by this common sense definition.

Having in the Introduction defined common sense in general, we now consider more particularly some common sense views of leisure. These are images of it held outside those scholarly circles where it is an enduring object of inquiry (i.e., leisure studies or, somewhat more broadly, leisure science). Clearly, the lay public holds these views, but so too does the intellectual world, to the (considerable) extent that it has negligible contact with the scholarly study of leisure. Popular conceptions of leisure make difficult its scholarly study, for leisure is far more complex than meets the untrained eye. Many people who might want to take seriously the study of leisure must come to grips with these conceptions, both for themselves and for others who might question whether this interest is truly worthwhile.

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The first section of this chapter contains a discussion of some of leisure's common sense images, all being essentially positive in tone—leisure is regarded favorably. A section on the negative common sense images follows.[1] There is also a professional/practitioner image, which is not, however, of the common sense variety. Since this as the first attempt to identify these images, they must all be seen as hypothetical and, as a list, possibly incomplete. That is, new images may come to light with a closer examination of common sense.

Leisure's Positive Images

These images, positive and negative, are in effect stereotypes of free-time activities. This is in harmony with Sternberg (2016), who explains that "the most common kinds of stereotypes are rationally unsupported generalizations about the putative characteristics of all, or nearly all, members of a given social group. Most people learn many stereotypes during childhood. Once they become accustomed to stereotypical thinking, they may not be able to see individuals or situations for what they are." This definition jibes with what was just observed, namely, that popular conceptions of leisure make its scholarly study difficult, for leisure is far more complex than meets the untrained eye. That eye does get some of it right, however, for leisure is accurately (scientifically) seen in many parts of the world as being one activity or another that people like to do and do not have to do (i.e., it is un-coerced activity). I will refer to this common sense view as its *free-choice* image.[2] Consonant with the condition noted in the preceding chapter, any obligation here is agreeable and hence not typically felt as coerced.

Yet, for some people, leisure seems to be merely *residual fun activity*: what one does when free of the negative obligations of work and non-work. With the free-choice image, real leisure participants are, they believe, freely pursuing an activity that interests them. By contrast, the residual image denotes a passive approach to free time, as expressed in "I'll just vegetate" (until I must return to work, until I have to go grocery shopping, etc.). And what does such vegetation consist of? Examples include a casual, even haphazard, searching for something interesting to

do as realized through television channel surfing or flipping through the pages of a magazine. One might also vegetate by dozing, sitting outside and watching passersby, browsing on a smart phone, or lounging in the warmth of the sun or a blazing fire. All can be classified as casual leisure, as passive activity of one sort or another. This is where in common sense the general public observes play as disinterested activity (Huizinga, 1955). The risk with residual leisure is that it can descend into boredom, given that the first seems typically to be only a half-hearted attempt to avoid the second. Residual leisure is probably most of the time short-term, rather than of longer duration as is true of the other three positive images.

Alternatively, leisure is sometimes seen today as *planned fun*, as casual leisure in an active quest of some kind of hedonism. This type rests on planning. After obligations are met participants here look forward to watching certain TV programs, sitting for a spell in a hot tub, reading some more of a lengthy popular novel, listening to music, and the like. A combination of such activities can be planned in advance for an upcoming period of time free of obligation.

A related image is that leisure is *spontaneous fun*, in the sense that there is little need or desire to plan in advance for it, that what we do in free time can be, perhaps should be, determined on the spot. Such leisure seems often to be born of a full schedule of work and non-work obligation such that little or no time is ordinarily available to plan free-time interests beforehand. A typical scenario might be the person unexpectedly faced with a full day clear of disagreeable obligations and the question of what to do during this time. What to do: watch some television, visit a friend, work on a puzzle, walk in a local park, play solitaire, stroll through a trendy shopping area, or do a combination of these? Much if not all of this is fun, differing from the planned-fun type primarily by its spontaneous entry into the participant's awareness. Still, conscious decisions are made on the spot about what to do to optimally use of the newly found free time. Residual leisure, on the other hand, consists of drifting from one interest to another in an attempt to pass time.

Note the interest in watching television and related media in all three of these types; it is after all estimated to be one of the world's most widely pursued leisure activities (Rowe, 2006, p. 319; Koblin, 2016).

The next most widely pursued activity is probably a combination of playing, watching, and reading about sport (Rowe & Guttmann, 2015). The foregoing indicates that, in common sense, leisure is seen by the laity primarily in very general terms; particular activities are not part of the picture. Research on the matter, however, may show this to be erroneous in certain ways, as the appeal of TV and sport suggest (on sport see Pringle, Rinehart, & Cauldwell, 2015). That is, widespread activities such as watching television and watching and reading about televised and live sport could also be part of the popular image, thereby giving some specificity to what is thought of as fun, whether spontaneous, planned, or residual.

Spanning these different images is that of leisure as *relaxation*, as "down-time." Whatever else leisure is it is neither work nor non-work obligation, unless of course, one likes one's work (see Chap. 11). Leisure in this image is a distinctive domain of life, encompassing activities that are agreeably residual, freely-chosen, planned, and spontaneous, all of which facilitate personal unwinding.

Leisure's Negative Images

"For Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do," proclaimed Issac Watts some 300 years ago. Today negative views of leisure tend not to be of this genre (though some observations on boredom come close, e.g., Brissett & Snow, 1993), but rather appear in different forms. For instance, we saw in Chap. 4 how the work ethic of modern times stresses that a person should work, work hard, and avoid leisure as much as possible. Work is good, while leisure is not (although a little of it after a solid day's work is acceptable). Indeed, the history of leisure presented in Chap. 4 shows the different negative image problems leisure has had to face with the passage of time. At its most general this is leisure as *unwanted activity*.

Today, leisure is sometimes popularly seen as *frivolous*, as simply having fun in an activity defined by both the participant and the laity as having little value or importance beyond the immediate present (this is the public's view of women's roller derby, a serious leisure activity, Breeze, 2015). In the language of leisure studies this is casual leisure and the

quest for hedonism. In this image, having (residual, planned, spontaneous) fun is a positive experience, of course, but the participant also recognizes the frivolity of it all.

The image of frivolity fades off into that of leisure as a *waste of time*, because frivolousness is believed by some people to lead more particularly to nothing substantial. This wastefulness image reflects the holder's belief that free time could be better spent doing something more worthwhile such as working, meeting non-work obligations, or more rarely, engaging in serious or project-based leisure. Put otherwise, the latter alternative presupposes that the person in question knows about such leisure, which as will be shown later, is by no means universally true. For, as Green and Jones (2005) observe, leisure is often (naively) described as the direct opposite of work, and therefore not always readily associated with the "seriousness" experienced in serious and project-based leisure. Moreover, leisure studies offers another interpretation, seen in the several benefits of casual leisure that have been identified (Stebbins, 2001a; Kleiber, 2000; Hutchinson & Kleiber, 2005). Even casual leisure is not uniformly a waste of time.

A related image is that leisure is *unimportant*, in the sense that there is little need to plan for it; that what we do in free time can be determined on the spot. But, as just noted, some other people put a positive spin on leisure by valuing the spontaneity of those activities where planning is unnecessary. Such inconsistency adds to the general ambiguity with which leisure is perceived in common sense.

Finally, in common sense, leisure is sometimes seen as *deviant*. Accounts in the mass media, descriptions from friends and acquaintances, sightings on the street, and the like reveal deviant leisure in our midst. These accounts describe what is observable in public: behavior of drunken revelers or dope-smoking adolescents, naked and near-naked activities, same-sex affectionate behavior, prostitutes on the stroll, Internet pornography, and the list goes on. There exists enough of this sort of thing in the lives of most big-city dwellers to create the impression that leisure there is sometimes deviant. Note, however, that the deviants themselves may not embrace this unsavory image of their questionable activities. Note, too, that negativeness of the image is stronger in cases of intolerable deviance than in those held to be tolerable. Surely we would, for example, view

with greater intolerance serial murder (Gunn & Cassie, 2006) or serial arson as leisure than gamers' social construction of violent video game play as leisure (Delamere & Shaw, 2006). We will return in Chap. 9 to leisure as deviant activity.

What is important to observe with respect to leisure's public image is that deviant leisure can assume either the casual or the serious form (we have so far been unable to identify any project-based deviant leisure).[3] Casual deviant leisure is probably the more common and widespread of the two, though not necessarily the more tolerable. And it seems that the common sense view of deviant leisure roots mostly in the casual kind.

Leisure's Positive Personal Image

Thus it appears that most people see leisure in both a negative and a positive light. Such is the complexity of the common sense image. Personally, however, these same people see their own leisure in parallel as something positive, doing so in at least two ways. One, they commonly see it as fun, expressed in participants smiling, laughing, and being at ease with what they are doing (supported in part by L-Squares data, Hartel & Stebbins, 2017). Hence the intense concentration of the serious leisure athlete or performing artist, for example, is incongruous for them, possibly not even being real leisure. Two, they look fondly on their own leisure and its routine pursuit as most positive (see Chap. 12 on lifestyle). They want to pursue their personal leisure, for here they find satisfaction or fulfillment, sometimes both.

Put otherwise, the general public tends to regard leisure through its common sense lens as both positive and negative activity, while in their personal lives—outside common sense—individual members see it (their own activity) as dominantly positive.[4] The dangers in this inconsistency are obvious. For example, a person might hold a hypocritical attitude toward the leisure domain of life or feel guilty for enjoying casual leisure in the shadow of its negative connotations in the popular image.

Leisure's Positive Professional/Practitioner Image

There is another angle from which leisure is viewed as positive, namely, the one of leisure application. Professionals in a fair range of applied sciences have drawn on leisure theory and research to help inform effective practice. I am not referring here to application of such theory and research to practical problems traditionally considered the province of leisure studies, exemplified in those related to parks, forests, leisure services, and leisure policy. Rather I have in mind a miscellany of applied disciplines whose origins lie outside leisure studies, but which have gained significant nourishment from the latter.

Now it has been argued 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) have 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. 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 in this external literature seldom cite articles in the two journals. Additionally, Susan Shaw (2000) holds that when we do try to talk to people outside leisure studies, no one listens. Others have held that there is a paucity of theory in leisure studies (e.g., Searle, 2000); argue that its research is methodologically deficient (e.g., Witt, 2000, p. 188); or that the typical research problems are banal (Samdahl, 2000, p. 125) or irrelevant (Kelly, 2000). These are said to be additional reasons for the purported failure of leisure studies to make an impact beyond its disciplinary borders.

What we have here is perceived intellectual apartheid. I remain unconvinced, however, by the arguments about deficient or uninteresting theory, methodology, and research problems. One, there is plenty of theory in leisure studies (see Rojek, 2005). Two, these charges can and should also be leveled at a number of other disciplines. Many a modern social science boasts a plethora small theories constructed to explain a little corner

of the larger field (Stebbins, in press) Very few of these sciences have all-encompassing theories that pull together most or all of their research and small-theoretic developments (perhaps economics is the main exception).

If these other sciences are weak for these same reasons, they too should be ignored by outsiders. Yet anthropology, archaeology, and psychology, for example, seem to enjoy considerable credibility in the outside world, while festering internal theoretical and methodological differences have provoked noticeable levels of acrimony and confusion. Furthermore, what proof do we have that researchers, practitioners, and the general public even know about these internal criticisms in leisure studies (or in the other social sciences)? In short, we may question whether these theoretical and methodological "weaknesses" are giving leisure studies a rough ride both in the present and in the future.

In fact, leisure does have a positive image in quite number of disciplines, most of them primarily applied. These disciplines have learned about the serious leisure perspective (SLP), and have adopted aspects of it bearing on their interests. Sometimes word about the SLP has come from within, in that one or more insiders have imported certain parts of the Perspective. On other occasions a leisure studies specialist has exported observations from the SLP to a particular applied discipline.

Elsewhere, Stebbins (2012, pp. 101–118) has discussed this kind of cross-fertilization in some detail. There are 17 fields of which I am aware, fields that have a noticeable infusion of SLP-related thought and research as related to one or more of their central interests:

- Tourism
- Ethnicity
- Quality of Life/Well-Being
- Leisure Education
- Gender
- Retirement/Unemployment
- Disabilities/Therapeutic Recreation
- Library and Information Science
- Entertainment and Popular Culture
- Arts Administration (e.g., zoos, museums, science centers, arts festivals, heritage sites)

- Consumption
- Contemplation/Spirituality
- Adult Education/Lifelong Learning
- Non-profit and Volunteer Sector Studies
- Youth/Delinquency
- Social Entrepreneurship
- Event Studies

In the book just mentioned I examine eight from this list showing how both the study of leisure and the field of practice have benefited from their intermarriage. The "marital" link is that of the SLP with the field in question. Evidence of this link resides in the extensive bibliography presented in www.seriousleisure.net (over 1250 entries). Works in leisure studies falling outside this Perspective that also bear on these intermarriages were not included in this analysis. There could be a significant number of these as well.

Conclusions

A crucial assumption in this discussion about leisure's common sense images is that they influence the laity's behavior. The images are part of a society's belief system, from which individual beliefs guide behavior, often in complicated and sometimes mysterious ways. It is against this cultural background that the scientific study of leisure must contend, posing thereby no mean challenge to the scientific project.

The scientific definition of leisure presented in Chap. 2 sprang in substantial part from conceiving of the common sense images of leisure while bringing to the fore the task of showing how they fail to amount to a proper scientific definition. This has been done by calling attention to the micro, meso, and macro contexts framing free-time activity. Moreover, the common sense definitions are, as we might expect, descriptive rather than analytic: for instance, in leisure choice *is* free, leisure *is* residual, or it *is* spontaneous. Negatively, leisure is unwanted, frivolous, unimportant, a waste of time, among other features. By contrast, the scientific definition knits several concepts into a unified theoretic fabric. They are, in

the main, micro, meso, and macro levels; context; domain; agency; uncoerced activity; and activities that people choose to do. The latter might appear to have a counterpart in positive common sense, but not so. For the scientific concept stresses the diversity of constraints to free choice.

The common sense images of leisure have enjoyed a long history, notwithstanding attempts in philosophical and religious circles to view it more analytically. A main theme throughout time from ancient Greece to the present is that, in the absence of scientific data and theory on leisure, the common sense images could dominate almost all thought on the subject, or at least all popular thought. These images will be elaborated in Chaps. 6–9.

Notes

1. The positive and negative common sense images presented here are not necessarily an exhaustive list. They are only the ones I have observed in my 45 years as a student of the institution of leisure and its myriad activities.
2. Of course there are constraints on free-choice, but this is a scientific rather than a common sense observation. People feel free to choose from a number of possible leisure activities, ruling out of their list those that are too expensive, difficult, distant, inappropriate, and so on.
3. Deviance as serious leisure is found in activities requiring a substantial amount of learning, as in complex deviant religions, radical political ideologies, and deviant sciences (e.g., astrology). See Stebbins (1996, chap. 10).
4. Some people maintain that they have no leisure; work and non-work obligations take up all the non-sleeping time they have. Such people would have no personal image of leisure as discussed in this section. Whereas careful analysis of their lifestyles using the SLP would most probably rebut such claims, it is *their* definition of their situation that is of interest here.

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4

The History of Today's Legacy

According to Duval (2003, p. 17) leisure and work are cultural universals; all societies in all periods of history have exhibited a continuum of use of time linking these two. The object of this chapter is, first, to show, albeit in general terms, the validity of this observation and, then, set out in somewhat greater detail the evolution of the common sense and scientific images of leisure. The second has always had a complicated relationship with the first, whether in conceptualizing leisure or in establishing its study in educational settings and using its findings to solve practical problems.

Lacking any evidence to the contrary, it may only be presumed that the common sense definition of leisure prevailed until ancient Greece, when the first intellectualization of the domain occurred. Before then leisure in everyday parlance seems to have been as described in the preceding chapter as both the time left over after work and non-work obligations—often called free time—and the way people spend that time. Moreover, it was probably the free-choice common sense image that prevailed. Still, I doubt we will ever know how crisply *Homo otiosus* (leisure man) saw these different uses of his time in his day, though it seems naïve to assert that he saw them as sharply as we do in the West in the 21st century.

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Subsistence Societies

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) writes that archaeological data on this sort of leisure gathered from artifacts, living sites, cave painting, and so on are found as far back as the prehistoric cultures. McBrearty and Stringer (2007) hold that

> all humans today express their social status and group identity through visual clues such as clothing, jewelry, cosmetics and hairstyle, shell beads, and haematite used as pigment, show that this behaviour dates to 80,000 years ago in coastal North and South Africa. …
>
> Ochre seems to have been a material with both symbolic and utilitarian functions. The colour red is fundamental to colour classifications in all known human societies, and it seems probable that the substance was indeed used for body painting and to colour artefacts by 165,000 years ago. (p. 764)

Since there seems to be no evidence on the matter, we may only speculate that some disagreeable nonwork obligations also troubled subsistence peoples, whatever the time in history during which they lived. Some of these may have been religious, exemplified in carrying out animal and human sacrifices and participating in sacred rituals. Perhaps there was also the occasional need for mediating family differences, in addition to engaging in activities intended to uphold honor and mete out justice to those felt to have violated group rules. Further, it is conceivable that, in their own way, these societies ministered to their sick and injured, arranging for customary disposal of the dead when these actions failed.

In this discussion of work, leisure, and obligation in subsistence times, I have used these concepts as defined in the preceding chapter. Still it is doubtful that people living then were oriented by these ideas. Nevertheless, they did believe in what they had to do to survive in their world, however scientifically accurate this knowledge. Furthermore, the activities implementing the knowledge were not seen as optional. Today we call this work. In addition there were activities that would seem to be optional as well as enjoyable, including relaxing, dancing, making and listening to music, and at least some of the time, sexual relations. In modern times this is leisure. But what about obligations? I suspect that, though they must have existed then, they were probably poorly understood, or understood simply as customary activities people are supposed to engage in. In this regard little has changed, for the modern common sense understanding of the idea is, at bottom, only marginally more advanced.

Furthermore, work and leisure, however understood, were probably in these societies also sometimes difficult to distinguish. If the hunt is a fulfilling work activity (consisting of, for instance, skill in tracking, knowledge of animal habits, developed prowess with bow or spear), whatever the basic need it fills, is it not akin to the occupational devotion of the modern age (defined in Chap. 5)? Is not decorating a clay pot, which with this activity pushes it beyond its utilitarian value as a receptacle for water, also an expression of an acquired artistic skill? Again, does this not resemble devotee work? In other words, occupational devotion may be far older than suggested in Stebbins (2004/2014).

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, whereas the other emerged during 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 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. In particular, these intellectuals were philosophers; they were held to be 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," that is, 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 such knowledge. Of course, the ordinary workers gained little more from all this than their livelihood.

Aristotle wrote about what has been translated into Modern 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.

A citizen, or a person holding citizenship in a Greek city-state, also enjoyed leisure. Yet, as such, he was no laborer. Furthermore citizens were expected to keep themselves geographically apart from the rest, from noncitizens. The former even had their special agora, in which leisure on the order of the activities listed in the preceding paragraph was pursued. By contrast the agora of the latter was a place for trade, a commercial arena for facilitating the exchange of things the working class made or grew.

Notwithstanding their self-serving model of society, neither Plato nor Aristotle viewed work as inherently demeaning. Rather what was demeaning was the requirement that a person labor, for this created a dependence on work. In other words, if ordinary people fail to work, they will gain no livelihood and therefore soon perish. Additionally, the two philosophers maintained it is demeaning to be unable to experience happiness and realize excellence, both being achievable only during leisure.

Sylvester (1999, pp. 21–23) qualifies the foregoing as an elitist, if not sexist, conception of work and leisure in ancient Greece, noting further that, unfortunately, it is the only recorded statement on leisure available for that era. He explained that: "by applying higher and more rigorous standards to the concept of freedom, aristocrats were able to underscore their superiority while defining the *demos* [common people] as unfree, licentious, and unworthy. Furthermore, the aristocrats identified *freedom* from labor, a condition synonymous with leisure, as a vital form of freedom" (p. 22). As the aristocrats viewed the world the narrow training of the craftsman rendered him unfit for leisure. By contrast, aristocratic training consisted of education in the liberal arts of music, philosophy, speech, and the like. Aristocratic excellence was further expressed in war, sport, and competitions in music, among other pursuits, all of which could be defined in today's terms as serious leisure (see Chap. 5).

Nonetheless, what little evidence there is suggests that the *demos* clearly took pride in their craft work. But it also appears that they failed to value work for its own sake, as in slavery; as a general activity it was never glorified. In the language of this book, the *demos*, when its workers could find self-fulfillment in their labor, did certainly value its core activities and the products they created through their efforts. These craftsmen were independent workers, much like, we might say, some of the small business crafts people of today, identified in the next chapter as occupational devotees.

We actually have no more information on the meaning of free time for the *demos* than we have on those who lived in the subsistence societies. That is, among them it is probably the free-choice common sense image that prevailed. But what of Plato, Aristotle, the other gentlemen-philosophers, and the class of Greek citizens? They seemed to share the view that the leisure of the *Demos* was frivolous and a waste of time. But we also see in all this the beginnings of the modern counterpart to the various contemporary common sense definitions of leisure. Today, this is the scientific definition set out in Chap. 3, even though it began in ancient Greece as a strictly philosophical conception.

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.

We may say that Aquinas was also arguing for a non-common sense definition of leisure, although now as religious contemplative activity. Meanwhile, for those who had to labor, free time from it he believed was filled with unacceptable, if not immoral, activity. Nonetheless, as in earlier times, there is here no actual definition of leisure as practiced by the common people (whether theirs or that of the elite), but only a judgment by the religious establishment that it is not contemplative and therefore is not acceptable according to the religious principles of the day.

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. We might say that at this point a religious/serious leisure definition of leisure was beginning to take shape, but against the enduring, elite-held, negative image of the common man's leisure as frivolous and a waste of time.

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, 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.

Max Weber and the Protestant Ethic[2]

Max Weber published, in German in 1904, the first section of his essay "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," shortly before he set out to visit the United States. Upon returning at the end of 1904 to his native Germany, he published (in 1905) the second part, which was much informed by his observations on American society and its capitalist economic system. Following Weber's death in 1920 the essay was reprinted, along with a number of lengthier works, in one of several large volumes released in the early 1920s. Not long thereafter, Talcott Parsons translated and published as a small book, with direct translation of the title, the only English edition of *The Protestant Ethic …* (Weber, 1930).

Gerth and Mills (1958, p. 25) said of Weber that "although he was personally irreligious—in his own words, 'religiously unmusical'—he nevertheless spent a good part of his scholarly energy in tracing the effects of religion upon human conduct and life." Weber's treatise on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism—his most celebrated essay—is, among other things, about individual men (women are never mentioned in the essay) becoming motivated to pursue the value of success and achievement in an occupation defined by each as a divine calling. It is also about how Western capitalism as an economic system (as opposed to great individual undertakings) evolved in part from the activities of these men. Weber was interested in the worldly asceticism of seventeenth and eighteenth century Protestantism, of which Calvinism was the purest

instance. In particular he was concerned with Calvin's principle of predestination. Calvin had argued that only a small proportion of all people are chosen for grace, or eternal salvation, whereas the rest are not. This arrangement cannot be changed, for it is God's will.

But, alas, the chosen do not know they have been chosen. The tension of not knowing whether you number among the elect could nevertheless be assuaged in this world by maintaining an implicit trust in Christ, the result of true faith. Moreover, it is a man's duty to consider himself chosen and to act as though this were true, evidence for which came from avoiding worldly temptations like sloth and the hedonic pleasures and from treating work as a calling. A calling—a task set by God but nonetheless chosen by mortals—refers as well to a man's duty to enact his occupational role to the best of his abilities, using his personal powers or material possessions and abstaining from creature pleasures and other leisure activities. This was measured, in part, by usefulness for the community of the goods produced in it. But the most important criterion was found in the realm of capitalist enterprise: amassing wealth through thrift, profit, diligence, investments, sobriety, and similar virtues, and not doing this as an end in-itself. Success and achievement in an occupation, whatever their nature, generate self-confidence, thereby reinforcing a man's belief that he has been chosen. In other words, God helps those who help themselves.

While acknowledging in passing that there were others, Weber concentrated primarily on "callings" or "professions" (referred to in this book in modern terms as "occupations") that made it possible to amass wealth. Achieving significant wealth helped generate self-confidence. Hard work, savings, investment, and shrewd decisions in commercial activities all constituted evidence of a man's belief in his own eternal salvation. The result was the emergence of a new social class of self-made entrepreneurs and soon thereafter their integration into the system of Western capitalism as we know it in the present. Weber's object of study was the men who established the family-firm type of capitalist business, common in Western Europe and the United States from the seventeenth century to the present.

According to Cohen (2002, p. 5) Weber was unclear about the relationship between modern capitalist institutions and the Puritans' spirit

of capitalism. Still, from his extensive examination of historical evidence, Cohen (2002, p. 254) was able to conclude that "English Puritanism aided capitalism, but its impact was weaker and less dramatic than Weber claimed." Moreover, the impact, attenuated as it was, was primarily cultural, in that helped legitimate further the emerging capitalism of the day and helped mold the broader work ethic as it was taking shape at that time in Occidental culture.

The Protestant Ethic Today

The Protestant ethic, as an overarching concept for a distinctive set of motives to work, is largely a dead letter today (it was already in serious decline even at the time Weber wrote about it), though some people still work long hours in pursuit of a variety of more worldly rewards. David Riesman and colleagues (1961) argued that the inner-directed men of the 1950s, who *were* oriented by the Protestant ethic, were being rapidly replaced by other-directed men whose love of mass culture was their singular trait. Otherworldly in orientation as it was, the Protestant ethic, it appears, was nevertheless an important cultural precursor of the modern work ethic. It helped steer the search for the cultural value of activity toward the domain of work (as opposed to that of leisure); work is good and hard work is still better. It gave weight to the modern common sense image of leisure as a waste of time.

Although the Protestant ethic was, in fact, both a cultural and an individual phenomenon, Weber wrote mostly about its psychological side; he looked on the ascetic Protestants as constituting a distinctive type of personality with its own worldview. Analysis of the Protestant ethic as a personal worldview reveals three central components. One is attitude: a person should work, work hard, and avoid leisure as much as possible. The second is value: work activity is good, whereas leisure activity is not. The third component is belief: by hard work people can demonstrate their faith that they number among the chosen. On the macro-analytic level, we find in societies where the Protestant ethic is widely shared that all three personal components are also widely shared. Thus the Protestant

ethic is also part of the culture of these societies. And speaking of culture, the Protestant ethic, as mentioned already, also contributed significantly to the rise of the economic system that came to be known as capitalism. That system is now a main social institution in modern Western society.

Another reason for the decline of the Protestant ethic is that it never could become the guiding orientation for all paid work, including certain kinds that were carried out even during the heyday of the ethic (Stebbins, 2004/2014, pp. 26–27). True, Weber wrote, albeit briefly, about all callings and the requirement that those pursuing them demonstrate through hard work their chosen place in Heaven. But then he went on to concentrate exclusively on the capitalist trades and the accumulation of wealth in that sphere. Perhaps, for Weber, the problem was that many other occupations fail to produce evidence of diligence so tangible, countable, and incontrovertible as property and monetary riches. As a result, in Weber's day, as in modern times, there were and still are numerous occupations that, at bottom, lie outside the purview of his essay, including those requiring altruistic service to humankind (e.g., nursing, teaching) and extensive development of personal skills and knowledge (e.g., science, sport, the arts).

It is quite possible therefore that, at the time when the Protestant ethic was a prominent motive for many workers, others were enamored instead of occupations with great intrinsic appeal, but which could offer as evidence of having been chosen few convincing ways of publicly displaying diligence and excellence. Put otherwise, these latter occupations were intrinsically attractive, a quality found in the enactment of the work itself rather than in extrinsic rewards it produced such as high remuneration and great profit. It was, in general, difficult to measure, simply and publicly, intrinsic rewards, such that they could constitute proof of the worker's place among the elect. In brief, occupational devotion lay beyond the scope of Weber's essay.

These intrinsically fulfilling occupations, which were in effect beyond the purview of the Protestant ethic, grew in importance during the twentieth century. And the modern "work ethic," being broader than its religious cousin, the Protestant ethic, finds expression in them as well. What, then, is the work ethic, the ethic that dominates in modern times?

The Work Ethic and Its Variants

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, mentioned earlier. 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.

One widely-discussed characteristic of today's work ethic has been described as "workaholism," an orientation that has probably been around as long as the work ethic itself and that may be seen as another offshoot of the Protestant ethic. Marilyn Machlowitz (1980) pioneered this concept, in an attempt to help explain why a conspicuous minority of modern workers, though not guided by the Protestant ethic, are still exceptionally drawn to their work. Part of this attraction is positive, she said; they find in their work many intrinsic rewards. The other part, however, is negative; that is they are also "work junkies," unfortunates lamentably addicted to their work. These people find joy and fulfillment in their work roles, from which they nonetheless seem compulsively unable to take any real holiday.

The positive, non-addictive side of workaholism bears a strong resemblance to occupational devotion. Thus the modern work ethic—most generally put that hard work is good—is manifested in at least two main ways among other ways: workaholism and occupational devotion. Generally speaking, the scope of the latter has shrunk in some ways. It has been buffeted by such forces as occupational deskilling and degradation (e.g., Braverman, 1974), industrial restructuring (e.g., downsizing), deindustrialization (e.g., plant closure and relocation), failed job

improvement programs (e.g., the Human Relations and Quality of Work movements, Applebaum, 1992, p. 587), and overwork, whether required by employers or sought by workers craving extra income. Nevertheless, certain forms of devotion are more evident today than heretofore, seen for instance, in the rise of the independent consultant and the part-time professional.

But, alas, occupational devotion is a neologism, necessitated partly by the fact that workaholism, as a term, has through careless lay usage become corrupted and distorted to mean, now even for some scientists (e.g., Killinger, 1997; Sonnenberg, 1996), compulsion to work. Perhaps such distortion should have been expected, given that this sense of "ism" refers to the conduct of a class of people seen as much like that of another class, notably, people suffering from alcoholism. In this metaphorical stance compulsive workers, who toil well beyond providing for a reasonable lifestyle, are believed to find little of intrinsic worth in their work, instead they find only an irresistible impulse to engage in it. Workaholism will refer in this book only to this negative meaning, putting it thus, for the most part, beyond the scope of a discussion of leisure. These days most people speak most of the time about workaholics as work addicts, either forgetting or overlooking the fact that occupational devotees also exist.[3] Still, some of those they casually label workaholic may well be devotees in both thought and action.

In the original, Machlowitzian version of the workaholism thesis, the passion people have for their work is explained, albeit in contradictory terms, by, in part, their love for it and by, in part, their addiction to it. Love suggests workers are attracted to their jobs by such rewards as self-fulfillment, self-expression, self-enrichment, and the like. These lead to deep occupational fulfillment. In contrast, addiction suggests workers are dragged to work by forces beyond their control. No rewards here of the sort just mentioned, rather there is only the compelling need to work and for many to make money, often in amounts well beyond those required for comfortable living. And, over the years, the term workaholism has come to mean exclusively this, its earlier reference to a passion for work having fallen into disfavor, perhaps because it so difficult these days to locate instances of it.

In sum, workaholism, occupational devotion, and the work ethic are, with some overlap in meaning, complementary orientations. The work ethic states that work is good, and it is important to do a good job while at it. Workaholism (adulterated version) states that, for some people, working is a compulsion. Occupational devotion includes the condition that work is intrinsically rewarding. The first and third are comprised of both attitudes and values, while the second seriously overextends the first, turning attitude and value into an uncontrollable drive to make money or simply do one's job, if not both. Combined, all three orientations constitute a substantial replacement of the Protestant ethic.

The Role of Leisure

Neither the Protestant ethic nor the work ethic accords a significant role to leisure. In this regard the first was particularly strict:

> The real moral objection is to relaxation in the security of possession, the enjoyment of wealth with the consequence of idleness and the temptations of the flesh, above all of distraction from the pursuit of a righteous life. In fact, it is only because possession involves this danger of relaxation that it is objectionable at all. For the saints' everlasting rest is in the next world; on earth man must, to be certain of his state of grace, "do the works of him who sent him, as long as it is yet day." Not leisure and enjoyment, but only activity serves to increase the glory of God, according to the definite manifestations of His will. (Weber, 1930, p. 157)

Waste of time, be it in sociability, idle talk, luxury, or excessive sleep, was considered the worst of all sins. Bluntly put, unwillingness to work was held as evidence of lack of grace. Sport received a partial reprieve from this fierce indictment, but only so far as it regenerated physical efficiency leading to improved productivity at work (Weber, 1930, p. 167).

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 establish in the female-dominated house their own serious leisure 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 150 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). Interestingly, the intrinsically rewarding aspects of hobbies (e.g., self-fulfillment, well-being, social and personal identity) are missed in this statement. These aspects have also remained the same over the years.

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" (i.e., seemingly wasteful, frivolous casual leisure) 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.

But times have changed even more. Applebaum (1992, p. 587) writes that "with increases in the standard of living, consumerism, and leisure activities, the work ethic must compete with the ethic of the quality of life based on the release from work." And as the work ethic withers further in the twenty-first century, in the face of widespread reduction of work opportunities (e.g., Rifkin, 1995; Aronowitz & Difazio, 1994), leisure is slowly, but inexorably it appears, coming to the fore. In other words leisure has, since the middle nineteenth century, been evolving into an institution in its own right.

At first, however, leisure was a poor, underdeveloped institution, standing in pitiful contrast next to its robust counterpart of work. But now the twin ideas that work is inherently good and that, when it can be found, people should do it (instead of leisure) are now being increasingly challenged. Beck (2000, p. 125) glimpses the near future as a time when there will still work to be done, but of which a significant portion will be done without remuneration:

> The counter-model to the work society is based not upon leisure but upon political freedom; it is a multi-activity society in which housework, family work, club work and voluntary work are prized alongside paid work and returned to the center of public and academic attention. For in the end, these other forms remained trapped inside a value imperialism of work, which must be shaken off.

Beck calls this work without pay "civil labor." Some of it, however, especially club work and voluntary work, is also leisure, for it fits perfectly the definition of "serious leisure" set out in the next chapter: the intensely fulfilling free time activity of amateurs, hobbyists, and skilled and high-level career volunteers.

Nonwork Obligation

Nonwork obligation, being a new scientific concept (though, in the common sense world, it is likely that many people have long recognized the phenomenon as "chores" or "duties"), a history of it remains to be

written. Yet, the idea is crucial. And, because nonwork is not work (not a livelihood), there is a risk that the general public might, for lack of another common sense category, lump it with leisure and thereby muddy their understanding of the latter. In the present chapter, in the section on subsistence societies, I speculated about this domain but then dropped the subject. Nonetheless I am convinced that people have also faced a range of nonwork obligations from the days of ancient Greece to the present, possibly many of them being similar to those described in the subsistence societies.

For the same reason it is no easier to find historical evidence on or analysis of nonwork obligation in the past two to three centuries than before this period. To be sure certain obligations have been considered, particularly in the present, in spheres where they have grown notoriously contentious, for instance, housework, do-it-yourself, and parents' facilitation of the school and extracurricular activities of their children. But the academic literature in these areas has little to say about the history of such activities.

Even in do-it-yourself, where there is a modicum of historical literature, writing centers almost exclusively on the leisure facet of these activities (e.g., Gelber, 1999, chap. 10). Cross and Logemann (2004, p. 448) hint at the obligatory facet of do-it-self when, in commenting on its history, they observe that "the boundary between home improvement as work and leisure was certainly porous for most men of relatively modest means and without servants." Nevertheless their treatment of this subject is otherwise conducted from the angle of free-time activity.

The historical as well as contemporary social conditions framing conduct of our nonwork obligatory activities are enormously important here. A few examples must suffice. Many a householder, past and present, has felt pressed to present a neat and clean residence to visitors, which is obligatory activity carried out to the tune of a cultural value emphasizing these two criteria. Or how many people in democratic societies vote in elections not because they see the activity of voting as leisure but because they feel it as a political, culturally-based duty? And what about bureaucratic red tape and organizational rigidity as experienced when trying to claim an insured reimbursement for medical expenses, establish oneself as a candidate for political office (when defined as a civic obligation),

or introduce a change in regulations through the local school board or municipal government? In brief, any proper history of nonwork obligation will also need to address itself to the plethora and diversity of underlying social conditions in which these activities are pursued.

Conclusions

It has been illuminating to look on contemporary Western society from the standpoint of the Protestant ethic and its ramifications as felt over the years. First, this chapter has given historical depth to our understanding of the modern work ethic, at a time when it faces even greater challenges in the Information Age of the twenty-first century. Likewise, considerable depth has been added to our understanding of the role of leisure *vis-à-vis* that of work, accomplished in the main by charting the way leisure has been slowly but surely inching its way toward center stage, once exclusively the preserve of work. Except for the ancient philosophers, leisure has, down through modern history, been seen mostly as villain, forever perturbing the hero of work. But the future augurs well for a more even balance in the importance of the two for some people and an imbalance skewed toward leisure for many others. In this new world those preferring work over leisure will, it appears, be but a small minority, composed mainly of two types: occupational devotees and stressed-out workaholics. Nevertheless, the real threat to future well-being may turn out to be nonwork obligation.

Second, this chapter reflects the extent to which we in the West have passed from a sacred to a secular society. For the vast majority of people here, work has little or nothing to do with the next world, unless of course, it is religious work. The social and psychological milieu of the ascetic Protestant, rooted as it was in small rural communities of an earlier era, was the antithesis of the sensual, increasingly leisure oriented world of the urbanized worker of modern times.

Today, the Protestant ethic is, as I have argued, a dead letter. Occasionally, a person describes another as a hard worker imbued with this orientation, but such comments are becoming more infrequent with each passing year. Perhaps, too, the comments seem to come mostly from

older people who still remember hearing about the Protestant ethic, even if, in their present-day application of it, they really have in mind nothing more than the broader, albeit simpler, idea of the work ethic. How many people today really think that a person's hard work springs from his desire to demonstrate his election in the hereafter? Be that as it may, the Protestant ethic was an important link in the chain of social conditions leading to the rise of Western capitalism and the framing of the work ethic as we now know both. On the whole, it appears that we are better off having passed through this phase of human social development, as protracted as it has been. And, to be sure, some people, Charles Darwin among them, have always managed to escape its clutches:

> [Being offered a job on the *Beagle*] was further evidence of his [Darwin's father] son's aimless preoccupation with enjoying himself. The voyage would be a useless, dangerous distraction. The unsettling years [five of them] in the company of sailors would taint Charles and spoil him for the Church. It would ruin his professional chances again.... The whole plan looked restless. (Desmond & Moore, 1991, p. 102)

In this conclusion I have taken, as I said I would, the Protestant ethic as a main turning point in the evolution of work and leisure in a time frame running from subsistence to modern living. Still, we can hardly deny Plato and Aristotle's far-reaching influence on the contemporary world. Their speculations set the tone for the medieval debate on work vis-à-vis leisure, particularly as found in the thought of St. Thomas Aquinas. And the ascetic Protestantism of the reformation, of such varied thinkers as Calvin and Luther,, flowed in significant measure from his words. The contemporary world of leisure is, understandably, quite different from that described by the two ancient philosophers. Yet, they were, in effect, discussing serious leisure for themselves, in one breath, while contrasting it with the casual leisure of the *demos*, in another. It is precisely along these lines that Aristotle is frequently invoked in the leisure studies literature of today.

Both Plato and Aristotle were convinced that the common man wastes too much time enjoying the hedonic pleasures; in modern terms the *demos* were held to have had a warped view of how life's activities should

be balanced. Yet, the *demos* have had the last laugh. Today the common sense images of leisure dominate, which they do from their basis in the universal appeal of casual leisure (see Chap. 6).

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. The following is one standard interpretation of Weber's works as applied in this chapter. Nonetheless, some of his ideas continue to be debated, and so this section may read differently when the relevant contentious points get settled, if they ever do.
3. Addictive workaholism is said to have become global. Moreover, take note, treatment for this "affliction" is now available in, among other forms, Workaholics Anonymous.

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5

Modern Complexity: Types of Leisure

The common sense view of leisure largely ignores the latter's complexity. Nevertheless, when conducted along the lines of its three main forms, namely, serious, casual, and project-based activities, the scientific study of leisure attests this complexity and its distinctiveness in modern life. Since a good part of the imagery of common sense leisure can be traced to a simplified view of what is available in the way of free-time activities, we will in this chapter present the basic typology of the serious leisure perspective (SLP). It is capable of demonstrating the actual complexity of this domain of human life, as well as being the guiding framework for studying the common sense image mentioned in the Introduction.

The theoretic foundation of the typology has been reviewed in numerous publications (e.g., Stebbins, 2007/2015; Elkington & Stebbins, 2014), obviating thus any need to repeat it here. Instead, emphasis will be on how the different theoretic types of leisure sometimes fit and at other times fail to fit the various common sense images. The overall object is to show how popular thought about leisure is often wide of the mark, thereby denying its adherents a decent understanding of what they can get from it.

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The Basic Framework

Figure 5.1 provides a helpful visual map of the SLP as drawn according to its main types and subtypes. The empirical support for them, though by no means of equal strength for each one, is available in a wide variety of publications listed in the Bibliography at www.seriousleisure.net.

Many specific activities cluster under each subtype, and being aware of these affords a richer picture of its nature. For a list of many of these activities arrayed by type, see *After Work* (Stebbins, 1998, chaps. 2–4) in the Digital Library at www.seriousleisure.net.[1]

We start with casual leisure, which according to the SLP, is the soil in which the common sense images have sprouted.

Casual Leisure

The meaning of casual leisure has been hinted at in the preceding chapters. In the SLP it is formally defined as immediately intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it. It is fundamentally hedonic, pursued for its significant level of pure enjoyment, or pleasure. The first six subtypes arrayed under Casual Leisure in Fig. 5.1 are recognized as leisure by most adults in the West, and possibly many of those living elsewhere.

In these regions it is easy to see how some people in the general population can see (negatively) play, relaxation, entertainment, sensory stimulation, (e.g., food, music, scenery, sex), and sociable conversation as frivolous, unimportant, or a waste of time, if not two or more of these. Nevertheless, others might view these same kinds of activities positively, as freely chosen, residual pleasure, or spontaneous fun (e.g., finding entertainment on BuzzFeed and gossip on Twitter). And some casual leisure requires planning, as in a romantic evening, sightseeing tour, sociable gathering after work, or evening at a concert. With such contradictory opinions it is understandable how the popular image of leisure can at times be fraught with inconsistencies. In fact, commodified leisure—it is predominantly casual—falls at the center of the common sense view of many of the laity, as they themselves patronize, among others, theme parks, mass sport and entertainment events, electronic product and service providers, and of course, television programming.

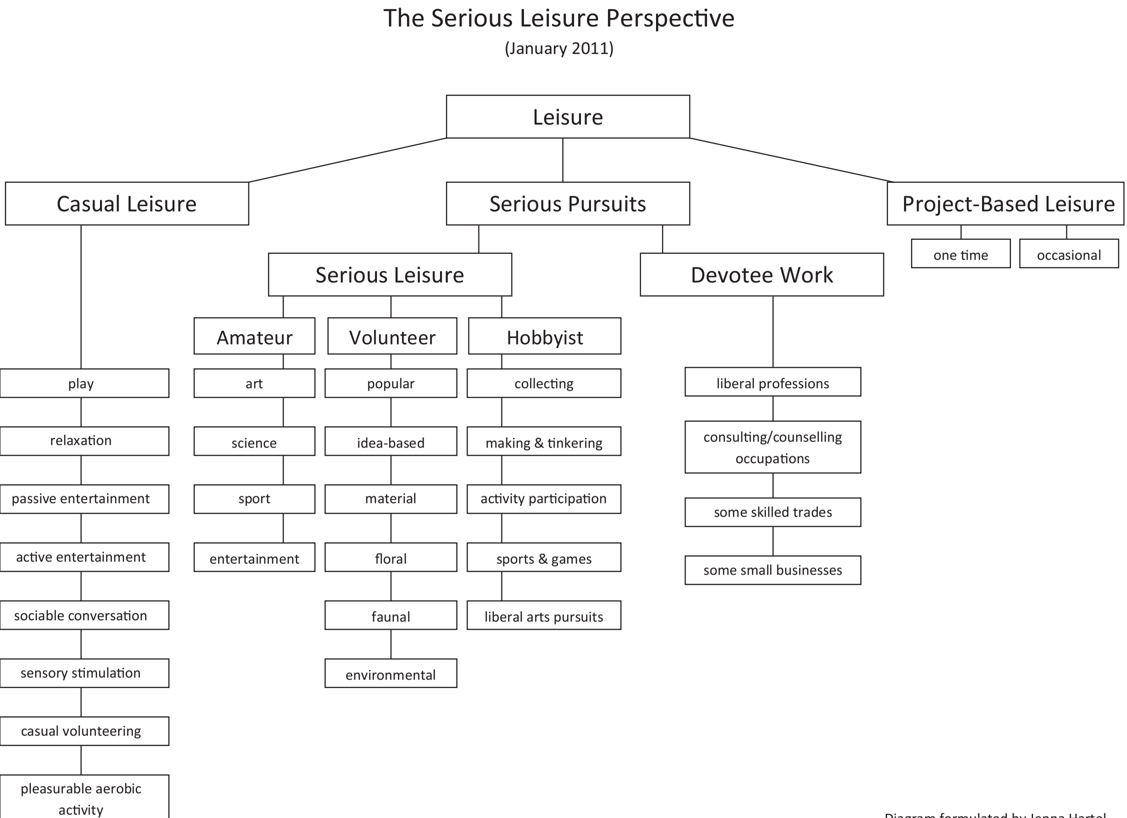

Fig. 5.1 Typological map of the serious leisure perspective

Casual volunteering seems, in the popular mind, to be less clearly leisure of any sort. Many such activities can have an obligatory feel to them: the church needs volunteers to pass the collection plates, the community orchestra needs someone to sell tickets at its concerts, the Salvation Army needs Christmas-time bell ringers to stimulate cash donations on urban street corners, and so forth. For participants is this casual leisure or non-work obligation? That question, be it chiefly of scholarly interest, is probably seldom raised in the sprawling world of common sense. There is in this world an ambivalence about some of the casual volunteering activities, which puts them beyond the scope of this book. In other words, ambivalence cannot spawn an image, a conception that necessarily rests on an effective degree of clarity and simplification of thought.

This brings us to "pleasurable aerobic activity." The term refers to enjoyable physical activities requiring effort sufficient to cause marked increase in respiration and heart rate (Stebbins, 2004). The concept refers to aerobic activity in the broad sense, to all activity requiring 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. As with its passive and active cousins in entertainment, pleasurable aerobic activity is basically another type of casual leisure. That is, such activity requires little more than minimal skill, knowledge, or experience.

Viewed as common sense such activity evinces none of the negative qualities; it is hardly frivolous, unwanted, deviant, or a waste of time. Rather, it is freely-chosen, planned (fun) activity. Kooiman and Sheehan (2015) explain how "exergames" can be understood as both pleasurable and aerobic. Stebbins (2004) reviews a handful of studies of this activity pursued as electronic games and geocaching.

Finally, some casual leisure—mostly of the sensory stimulation and passive entertainment variety—is regarded in common sense as deviant. This list is short but well-known: recreational drug use, immoderate but not addictive use of alcohol, social nudism, consumption of pornography, mate swapping/group sex, and the like.[2] On such activities common sense and the sociology of deviance are in agreement about their aberrant qualities, as is evident in a multitude of scientific books on the subject (e.g., Adler & Adler, 2015; Curra, 2014). Deviance is also studied as a genre of leisure (e.g., Stebbins, 1996; Rojek, 1999).

Serious Leisure

Serious leisure is the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that people find so substantial, interesting, and fulfilling that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a (leisure) career centered on acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience. The many subtypes of serious leisure are presented in Fig. 5.1. Such activity is so attractive for some enthusiasts that they transform their leisure career into a livelihood becoming thereby occupational devotees (see Chap. 11). Most escape popular attention, however, leading therefore to common sense stereotyping. Elite sport is the chief exception to this observation, being rendered visible through its widespread and much ballyhooed coverage on television and in the print media.

This happens because, in part, serious leisure is relatively uncommon. When asked what proportion of the population pursues serious leisure, I have responded with the estimate of, on average, about 20 percent of the overall population is involved in serious activities of some kind. True, more than 20 percent may know about such leisure, but I estimate—and it is admittedly a crude estimate—that about this proportion actually pursues it. Gary Polson has also attempted to estimate the rate of serious leisure in the population. Noting that his basis for estimation appears to be no more solid than mine, he also comes to much the same conclusion about the distribution of serious leisure in the general population. He estimates this to be 15 to 25 percent (see his website, Polson, 2006). More recently and more obliquely Ellen Verbakel (2013) found in her survey of 46 countries in Europe and the Russian Federation that an average of 40 percent of its respondents valued leisure as an opportunity for "learning new things." She developed this interview item from her reading of the literature on serious leisure. Still, she measured a leisure value rather than the rates of pursuit of leisure activities.

Surely, the amateur and hobbyist activities, to the extent that they are even the object of common sense interpretation, are not usually conceived of negatively. They are not ordinarily seen as unwanted, unimportant, or a waste of time. Some amateur-professional activities might, however, be

viewed as deviant, notably, the complex deviant religions (e.g., Church of Scientology, International Society for Krishna Consciousness [deviant primarily in Western countries]) and certain "sciences" (e.g., astrology, parapsychology). Moreover, some of the positive common sense images would apply, namely, free choice and planned fun, as in scheduled amateur sports and arts events.

Career volunteering presents a definitional problem for its practitioners, for many of them evidence suggests are unsure that it is even leisure. Whatever the type of career volunteering, be it in sport, museums, nonprofit management, or something else, the question of whether such activity is leisure or something else is, it appears, difficult to answer when posed to volunteers themselves. Stebbins (2000b) asked such a question of a sample of Canadian volunteers, who responded in equal numbers that what they did was work, leisure, or neither of these two (i.e., a vague, residual, third category). On a theoretic plane we have an answer for this question, but among practicing volunteers themselves, it is seldom raised and, when raised as one of my research interests, it tends to generate confusion.

The point of the preceding paragraph is to show how career volunteering escapes the common sense interpretation of free-time activity. That is, because it fails to qualify as leisure in the popular mind, it is seen instead as an obligation (never mind that it is pleasant) or (unpaid) work. Elsewhere we consider how this second image of volunteering has also become the dominant scientific conception of this practice (Stebbins, 2015). In that book he sets out an alternative definition of volunteering as: "un-coerced, intentionally-productive, altruistic, helping activity framed in a distinctive context and engaged in during free time. It is also altruistic-helping activity that people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually do in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way, if not both" (p. 21).

Bedeviling all the serious pursuits when viewed through the lens of common sense is the image of people putting in a great deal of effort in an activity for which there is little or no remuneration. This could possibly be qualified as a negative image, at least in certain Western societies with their dominant work ethic (see Chap. 4). The idea that people might "work" hard at something for such non-monetary rewards

as self-fulfillment, respected personal and social identity, and valued contribution to the leisure of the group does not figure in the common sense image (on rewards in the SLP see Stebbins, 2007/2015, pp. 13–17). Meanwhile, such rewards, in particular, and motivation, in general, are central to the scientific study of leisure.

Project-Based Leisure

Project-based leisure is a one-off activity that may, however, be repeated sporadically as if it were a new undertaking (Stebbins, 2005a). It is a short-term, moderately complicated, either one-shot or occasional, though infrequent, creative or innovative undertaking carried out in free time. It requires considerable planning, effort, and sometimes a bit of skill or knowledge, but for all that is neither serious leisure nor intended by the participant to develop into such.

The popular mind seems to know about projects, and sees some of them as leisure and others as nonwork obligation. Putting on a neighborhood skit, making a bracelet from a craft kit, and performing one-time volunteer service for a special museum exhibit exemplify project-based leisure. Outside that domain, activities like painting the back fence, suing someone over a perceived wrong, and caring for a temporarily disabled relative may be interpreted as nonwork obligations.

Such projects done as leisure appear to generate no negative images. Instead they are viewed in common sense, if viewed at all there (many people seem never to engage in project-based leisure), as freely-chosen planned fun. Here is a relative rare instance where the scientific and popular definitions of leisure are in agreement.

Conclusions

The preceding discussion of the common sense images of leisure as they relate to the SLP typology demonstrates the utility of such a typology. That is, it enables us to nuance our understanding of leisure, which is by no means a unity (i.e., it can be divided further). It is evident, for instance,

that those images apply unequally across the diverse types and subtypes, as exemplified in the purely positive images of pleasurable aerobic activity and project-based leisure. And casual volunteering—a widely popular interest—with its vague collective image as work, leisure, or something else befuddles common sense attempts to more sharply interpret it.

As portrayed in this chapter leisure is a most complex phenomenon. The popular construction of common sense images, rather like stereotyping, is seldom given to detailed analysis. As with society's many stereotypes a common sense image is a widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of something. The goal of this book is to challenge, or clarify, the modern-day stereotypical thinking about leisure. This is accomplished in the following chapters, beginning with an examination of leisure's positive side as seen through its many rewards.

Notes

1. A more up-to-date list is available in Stebbins (2013, chaps. 3–6). It includes project-based leisure.
2. Addictive use of alcohol (i.e., alcoholism) is not leisure, given that drink at this point is beyond the drinker's control, no longer a matter of choice (see Goodman, 1990).

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6

What Do We Get from Leisure? Positive Rewards

Research on the three forms of leisure helps answer this question. Most leisure the world over generates hedonic pleasure and satisfaction experienced as casual leisure. Its eight types show the extraordinary diversity of this universal form of human enjoyment. This is in itself a huge set of rewards. But, contrary to common sense, casual leisure also leads to a number of substantial benefits, which comprise a second set of rewards. Serious leisure, by contrast, attracts a much more limited set of enthusiasts, while nevertheless offering the far more profound payoff of fulfilling personal rewards (positive psychologists discuss these under the heading of "eudaimonia"). Flow is one of the most celebrated rewards derived from the kinds of serious leisure that routinely generate it. The rewards of space and place are also substantial. Leisure-based projects are rewarding, too, though given their relatively short duration, not as deeply so as the serious activities. Having dealt with the former in the preceding chapter, little more will be said about it in the present one.

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Casual Leisure

This is the source of fun (planned, spontaneous, etc.). Since what is fun about the eight types was considered earlier, the spotlight will now be trained on some of the more profound benefits of casual leisure (e.g., Kleiber, 2000; Stebbins, 2001a). They have been identified through leisure research and, as such, are not part of the common sense image of leisure. Nevertheless, once publicized, many a member of the general public would recognize most of these benefits, even while they typically interpret them as something else. These interpretations are presented below in parallel with the discussion of each benefit.

We have so far been able to identify five benefits, or outcomes, of casual leisure. But since this is a preliminary list—the first attempt at making one—it is certainly possible that future theory and research might add to it (Stebbins, 2007/2015, pp. 41–43).

One lasting benefit of casual leisure is the creativity and discovery it sometimes engenders. Serendipity, "the quintessential form of informal experimentation, accidental discovery, and spontaneous invention" (Stebbins, 2001b), usually underlies these two processes, suggesting that serendipity and casual leisure are at times closely aligned. Serendipity can lead to highly varied results, including a new understanding of a home gadget or government policy, a sudden realization that a particular plant or bird exists in the neighborhood, or a different way of making artistic sounds on a musical instrument. Such creativity or discovery is unintended, however, and is therefore accidental. Moreover, it is not ordinarily the result of a problem-solving orientation of people taking part in casual leisure, since most of the time at least they have little interest in trying to solve problems while enjoying this kind of activity. Usually problems for which solutions must be found spring up at work, while meeting non-work obligations, or during serious leisure.

It seems unlikely that the process of serendipitous discovery would be understood as casual leisure, even though it can occur during such activity. Discovery of the plant or bird could occur while strolling in the neighborhood. The novel instrumental sound could have been created while dabbling on a clarinet or a snare drum. Such discovery cannot logically be part of leisure's common sense image, which is an established part of culture.

Another benefit springs from what has come to be known as *edutainment*, a portmanteau word coined in 1975 by Christopher Daniels (*New World Encyclopedia*, 2008). His term joins education and entertainment in reference to another benefit of casual leisure, one that comes with participating in such mass entertainment as watching films and television programs, listening to popular music, and reading popular books and articles. Theme parks and museums are also considered sources of edutainment. While consuming media or patronizing places of this sort, these participants inadvertently learn something of substance about the social and physical world in which they live or other people once lived. These participants are, in a word, entertained and educated in the same breath. Pleasurable historical novels provide some edutainment for the reading set. In all this the casual leisure aspect of edutainment is obvious, though the educational side of it may not be (e.g., how many people reading a historical novel are conscious of its factual roots in the past?). That is, the educational part seems to be omitted in common sense.

Third, casual leisure affords regeneration, or re-creation, possibly even more so than its counterpart, serious leisure, since the latter can sometimes be intense. Of course, many a leisure studies specialist has observed that leisure in general affords relaxation or entertainment, if not both, and that these constitute two of its principal benefits. What is new, then, in the observation just made is that it helps distinguish casual and serious leisure, and more importantly, that it emphasizes the enduring effects of relaxation and entertainment when they help enhance overall equanimity, most notably in the interstices between periods of intense activity. In this benefit the common sense and scientific interpretations of leisure share some definitional territory, even though most lay people are probably unaware of the multitude of physiological and psychological processes by which such regeneration is realized.

A fourth benefit that may flow from participation in casual leisure originates in the development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships. One of its types, the sociable conversation, is particularly fecund in this regard, but other types, when shared as sometimes happens during sensory stimulation and passive and active entertainment, can also have a similar effect. The interpersonal relationships in question are many and varied, and encompass those that form between friends, spouses, and

members of families. These 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. Here, too, the laity is aware of the leisure element in relationships, sensory stimulation, and entertainment, but probably much less aware of how such involvement fosters those relationships, leads to positive appraisals of self, and facilitates the bonding that thrives on shared interests.

Well-being is still another benefit that can flow from engaging in casual leisure. But here the warp and woof of leisure activities is extremely intricate. Speaking only for the realm of leisure, perhaps the greatest sense of well-being is achieved when a person develops an *optimal leisure lifestyle*. Such a lifestyle is "the deeply satisfying pursuit during free time of one or more substantial, absorbing forms of serious leisure, complemented by a judicious amount of casual leisure" (Stebbins, 2007/2015, p. 42). People find optimal leisure lifestyles by partaking of leisure activities that individually and in combination realize human potential and enhance quality of life and well-being. Project-based leisure can also enhance a person's leisure lifestyle. A study of kayakers, snowboarders, and mountain and ice climbers (Stebbins, 2005b) revealed that the vast majority of the three samples used various forms of casual leisure to optimally round out their use of free time. For them their serious leisure was a central life interest, but their casual leisure contributed to overall well-being by allowing for relaxation, regeneration, sociability, entertainment, and other activities less intense than their serious leisure. We return to this subject in Chap. 12.

Still well-being experienced during free time is more than this, as Hutchinson and Kleiber (2005) observed, since this kind of leisure can contribute to self-protection, accomplished by buffering stress and sustaining coping efforts. Moreover, casual leisure can also preserve or restore a sense of self. This was sometimes achieved in their samples, when subjects said they rediscovered in casual leisure fundamental personal or familial values or a view of themselves as caring people.

Well-being is as a benefit for the general public experienced as a subtle reward of casual leisure. It does not appear to be a sentiment that figures directly in the common sense images, even while it is well-established and empirically grounded concept in leisure studies and positive psychology.

Nonetheless, the laity does get a general sense of well-being when conditions promote it, as is possible when pursuing any type of leisure that leaves a highly favorable impression. Comments like "my holiday in Spain was magnificent," "my bird watching last summer was extraordinary—I saw…," and "the poems I have written in the past six months have pleased me immensely" express a deep satisfaction with life at that time.

Serious Leisure

We will start with the four subtypes of amateurism: art, science, sport, and entertainment (see Fig. 5.1). Each will be examined for its common sense imagery *vis-à-vis* the understanding of it in leisure science. Next, the same formula will be followed for the hobbies and then for volunteer activities. I have been arguing that the common sense images of leisure revolve around most of the types constituting its casual form. That said, the general public does recognize in the realm of serious leisure the amateurs at work there, though this conception is clearest for those in sport, entertainment, and the arts. The same holds for its conception of hobbyists and career volunteers, again with some kinds of activities being more visible than others.

Note that this special lay image of certain serious leisure pursuits seems to exist apart from the dominant, generalized, common sense image of leisure as, in its essence, consisting of casual activities. This special image of the serious leisure pursuits can be conceived of as a *parallel but unrelated idea*. That is, this idea seems to exist in the popular mind in isolation from the dominant common sense image.

Amateur Activities

This is the classificatory home of non-professional music, theater, dance, painting, photography as well as literature. The laity knows about amateurs here, if for no other reason than they occasionally want to determine who is professional among all participants in the art in question. Sometimes this is a matter of perceived excellence, as in a high-school

play or that of a local theater company, a concert by a civic orchestra or one by a professional group, or an "open-mic" night or a Friday evening headliner at a comedy club. That public also knows that the paintings displayed in an urban mall are of lower (i.e., amateurish) artistic quality than those sold at upscale galleries and hung in local art museums.[1]

The lay image of serious leisure roots in the basic differences separating it from the lay image of casual leisure. The second is sought for hedonic reasons, whereas the first is seen as an avenue to fulfillment (Aristotle's eudaimonism). In harmony with this scientific distinction, the general public recognizes that amateur actors, musicians, and Sunday pointers, for example, must put in some significant effort to reach their artistic level, even if it is considerably lower than what most professionals and aspiring professionals must do. Moreover, these amateur participants are recognized by the laity as possessing a substantial knowledge of their art and that the former must sometimes persevere in their efforts to apply this knowledge. Perseverance, effort, and knowledge are also the first three of six qualities (or characteristics) said in leisure science to distinguish serious from casual leisure (Stebbins, 2007/2015, pp. 11–13). The road to fulfillment is paved with, among others, these very qualities that define the activities pursued along the way.

So, the general public has its common sense image of casual leisure and its parallel image of certain serious leisure pursuits of which it is also aware. Meanwhile, the enthusiasts of serious leisure fail to see all leisure in strictly common sense terms. They are therefore not part of the laity as defined in this book. They know firsthand the rich rewards that they derive from it, and that those rewards cannot usually be found in casual leisure.[2] Leisure studies has so far identified ten such rewards (Stebbins, 2007/2015, p. 14):

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 serious leisure participants, with clients, serving 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)

At the same time those passionate about one or more serious leisure activities enjoy some casual leisure as part of their overall (possibly optimal) leisure lifestyle. They therefore know well how to distinguish the two forms and how to assign meaning to each.

The laity's parallel image of amateurism is uneven when viewed across the four types. It seems to be richest for sport and weakest for science. Professional and elite amateur sport has nearly magnetic appeal as manifested in a multitude of live events and televised coverage of them. Even here sports like soccer, basketball, tennis, and golf have far wider exposure and hence contribute more to the parallel image than such sports as racquetball, bowling, boxing, rodeo, and figure skating. The latter set is simply much less often in the eye of the general public. In addition, the laity observes more ordinary sport when watching young family members play on school teams and for youth-based clubs and programs. Here, parents and other relatives may be economically and emotionally involved at a very deep level.

By contrast, amateur science as conducted, for example, in archeology, astronomy, entomology, ornithology, and botany rarely comes to the attention of the general public. Local astronomy clubs, using their

own telescopes or local professional instruments, sometimes hold “star nights” for the public. And amateur local historians occasionally publish a book of interest to people living nearby. But most of the time this kind of serious leisure is quietly pursued, known primarily to its participants and professional counterparts who use the (usually descriptive) data that the former gather for them (Stebbins, 1980). No parallel image here for the general public.

Entertainment amateurs were briefly mentioned above in the example of stand-up comics. In fact, entertainment offers rich soil for growing the laity’s parallel image of serious leisure. Thus amateurs and professionals abound in popular music (e.g., rock, folk), the variety arts (e.g., clowning, entertainment magic), popular dance (especially ballroom and jazz), and puppetry, with special help from that presented professionally in film and on television. The laity in fairly large numbers makes contact with a diversity of amateur activities. These include adolescent rock bands, magician-animated children’s birthday parties, high school plays, and recitals at music and dance programs.

Flow

Flow—a distinctive psychological state and optimal experience—refers to the intensity with which some participants approach their work or leisure activities. It is possibly the most widely discussed and studied generic, intrinsic reward in the psychology of work and leisure. Although many types of work and leisure generate little or no flow for their participants, those that do are found primarily in the “devotee occupations” (see Chap. 11) and serious leisure. Still, it appears that each work and leisure activity capable of producing flow does so in ways unique to it. And it follows that each of these activities, especially their core activities, must be carefully studied to discover the properties contributing to the unique flow experience it offers.

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 holds 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 face of uncontrollable external forces. This condition is well illustrated in situations faced by mountain hobbyists (Stebbins, 2005b), as when the water level suddenly rises on the river being kayaked or an unpredicted snowstorm results in a whiteout on a mountain snowboard slope. Viewed from the serious leisure perspective, psychological flow when experienced becomes a central component of the reward of self-enrichment and, to a lesser extent, a component of the rewards of self-actualization and self-expression.

Flow is not a common sense term, in the sense that it has not found a place in the vocabulary of the general public. Nor, obviously, is it nor can it ever be casual leisure Yet, with a little empathy, members of that public seem to get a sense of the flow gained from an activity when they

watch live or televised coverage of downhill ski races, white-water kayaking, mountain snowboarding, basketball games, ice hockey matches, and on and on. These members have in their parallel image of serious leisure this sense of flow-based leisure (and devotee work) for those activities in which it is routinely felt.

Hobbies

It is the absence of a professional counterpart that most clearly distinguishes hobbyists from amateurs. Nevertheless, looking solely at the former, this lack should never be misunderstood as a mark of inferiority, simplicity, or triviality. A hobby is a systematic, enduring pursuit of a reasonably evolved and specialized free-time activity having no *professional counterpart*. Such leisure leads to the acquisition of substantial skill, knowledge or experience or a combination of these. Although hobbyists differ from amateurs because they lack a professional reference point, they do sometimes have commercial equivalents and often have small publics who take an interest in what they do (Stebbins, 2007/2015, pp. 8–9).

The amateur activities described above are the most restrictive of the three types of serious leisure. Executing them at a fulfilling level requires routine training and practice in art, sport, and entertainment, while science requires extensive acquisition of knowledge and, possibly, development of technique. By contrast, many hobbies are highly accessible. In spite of certain exceptions most of them are learned informally, commonly by browsing the Internet, reading books or articles, listening to CDs or DVDs, and talking with other hobbyists. Acquiring knowledge in this manner is relatively inexpensive and easily molded around the enthusiast's work, leisure, and family schedules. Furthermore, many hobbies can be pursued within that individual's personal timetable; he or she need not wait for a scheduled meeting, practice, rehearsal, or public match or performance. Hobbies learned fully or partly through adult education or online courses are at odds with these observations, in that there is both a fee to pay and a schedule to meet.

It is for reasons like these that the hobbies may, someday, be shown to be the most popular of the serious pursuits. They are pursued in almost

bewildering variety, which in the SLP, have been organized according to five types (see Fig. 5.1). Note, however, that the realm of hobbies is subject to (dare we say blessed with) all sorts of innovations and that, therefore, this typology may well see additions in the future. In this section we cover collecting, making and tinkering, non-competitive activity participation, hobbyist sports and games, and the liberal arts hobbies.

Some hobbies, though not part of the common sense image of leisure, are nonetheless known among many of the laity. They therefore constitute another component of the serious leisure parallel image. Stamp collecting is possibly the most prominent example among the collecting hobbies. But collecting music recordings, paintings, books, and figurines are also widely recognized pastimes. In the making and tinkering field, knitting, baking, gourmet cooking, wood working, and gardening number among the best known pursuits.

In non-competitive activity participation the hobbyist steadfastly goes in for a kind of leisure that requires some significant physical movement, has inherent appeal, and is pursued within a set of rules. Often the activity poses a challenge, though normally a non-competitive one. When carried out continually for these reasons, the activities included in this type are as diverse as fishing, video games and barbershop singing. Just as well recognized by the laity are such non-competitive activities as hiking, snowmobiling, wave surfing, sailing, and fishing. Most of the laity knows someone who engages in one of these hobbies, which gives substance to this aspect of the parallel image provided by hobbyism.

The hobbyist sports and games offer still another group of activities many of which the non-participant general public know about and have even observed being played. These activities include such sport as: darts, pool/billiards, long-distance running, table tennis, and certain martial arts. Among the publically recognized games are poker, bridge, Scrabble, and certain electronic games. Finally, this type includes popular puzzles like the crosswords and jigsaw puzzles. These hobbies lack an established professional counterpart, even while some of them are in the process of professionalizing (thereby moving toward amateurism).

The liberal arts hobbyists are enamored of the systematic acquisition of knowledge for its own sake. Many of them accomplish this by reading voraciously in a field of art (fine and entertainment), sport, cuisine,

language, culture, history, science, philosophy, politics or high-culture fiction and poetry (Stebbins, 1994, 2013c). But some of them go beyond this to expand their knowledge still further through cultural tourism, documentary videos, television programs, and similar resources. These hobbyists look on the knowledge and understanding they gain as an end in itself rather than, as is common in the other serious leisure pursuits, as background, as a means to fulfilling involvement in a hobby or an amateur activity. Compared with the other hobbies and the various amateur activities, the knowledge acquired in the liberal arts pastimes is of primary rather than secondary importance.

Hobbyist-level reading is much less common than reading as casual leisure, referred to in the SLP as reading for pleasure, as entertainment (Stebbins, 2013c). Be that as it may many people in the general public probably know someone who reads voraciously, whether for pleasure or for fulfillment. Hence, here too there is a parallel image of reading as leisure (the "book worm"), albeit at times a confused one, because the reader in question may actually be searching for a hedonic experience, entertainment brought to the participant via the printed page.

Career Volunteering

That we may have a (leisure) career as a volunteer has given birth to the distinction between *career volunteering*, the serious leisure form, and *casual volunteering*. In this regard, it has been argued that the motive of self-interestedness drives the pursuit of such a career more than the accompanying motive of altruism. This even holds where our altruism inspired us to enter the field in the first place. A main reason for this difference is that career volunteering involves acquiring, over time, certain skills, knowledge, or training and, not infrequently, two or three of these. Their acquisition contributes to the sense of an evolving career, itself highly rewarding (Stebbins, 2013b, pp. 96–97).

Moreover, as with other leisure, volunteering may only be seen as either a fulfilling or a pleasurable, positive experience. Otherwise we are forced to conclude that the so-called volunteers of this kind are somehow pushed into performing their roles by circumstances they would prefer to

avoid, which is a contradiction of terms. Note further that, whereas, it is true that in rare instances volunteers are paid, even beyond the expenses they incur, these emoluments are much too small to constitute a livelihood or obligate the person in some way. Finally, it is also true that volunteering normally includes the clear requirement of being in a particular place, at a specified time, to carry out an assigned function. But, as we have already seen with reference to amateurs and hobbyists, some serious leisure may be obligated to some extent, though in general, certainly not to the extent typical of work.

How much of this is visible to the general public is moot. Can it be argued that career volunteering engenders a parallel image among the laity? People whose partners or close friends volunteer at this level are undoubtedly aware of the time commitments and possibly of some of the costs and rewards that the latter experience. But most of the general public seems to be more removed from career volunteering than this. Meanwhile, many high-level volunteer roles routinely have low visibility, including serving on a nonprofit board of directors or a special committee or acting as volunteer coordinator (when not a remunerated post). Furthermore, because many volunteer roles can resemble work roles, the laity may mistake volunteers for paid workers. Lastly, confusion reigns in the common sense world over the nature of volunteering, fostered substantially by labeling as volunteer work that which is seen as nonwork obligation (e.g., driving one's child to an early-morning sports practice; "volunteer" community service as a court-directed punishment). Table 6.1 shows the extent of volunteering and where the general public might see volunteers in action.

Table 6.1 A leisure-based theoretic typology of volunteers and volunteering

	Type of volunteer		
Leisure interest	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

This analysis enables us to identify critical gaps in current knowledge. For example, note the observation made earlier by Stebbins (2000a, 2000b) that career volunteers often define their activity as much as a form of work as a form of leisure. Service learning raises the question of whether volunteering is always a free and unconstrained activity. There are many similar examples where volunteerism involves some element of obligation or even coercion (for a quantitative examination of this matter, see Galant, Smale, & Arai, 2016). Third, there is a gap in knowledge around whether volunteers' sense of obligation to their roles and host organizations can change over time. Indeed, it may be that, as the years pass, an initially agreeable volunteering activity becomes onerous. In sum, it is presently difficult to make a case for a parallel image of career volunteering, at least until we have conducted much more research on the matter.

Space and Place

Leisure activities occur somewhere, and where that is can make a difference on how rewarding they are for the participant. People when at their leisure may 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 (e.g., Agnew, 2011; Cresswell, 2013). Places emerge in space, as well as have spaces between them.

Consider some examples in casual leisure. When John relaxes after work he does so in his favorite easy chair situated in a room that facilitates this goal. Mary likes eating out at a certain restaurant as much for its appealing ambiance as for its quality of food. Some resort hotels offer their patrons rooms with fine views of the sea, the mountains, or the cityscape for which they must pay extra compared with those looking out on more ordinary scenery. And then there are the "great good places," which Ray Oldenburg (1999) has written about in the United States, the cafes, coffee shops bookstores, bars, and other hangouts in the local community. Here sociable conversation is the dominant activity.

The same holds for serious leisure, except that the space/place pattern emerges with reference to a particular activity. Thus, jazz musicians have their favorite restaurants and night clubs to play in based on, among others, the quality of performance conditions and receptivity of their audiences. Golfers know the idiosyncrasies of the courses on which they often play. It is likewise with cross-country and downhill skiers who know well the distinctive features of the trails and runs that they frequent. The stand-up comics whom Stebbins (1990, pp. 35–38) interviewed talked at length about the visual and acoustical strengths and weaknesses of the performance venues that they had worked in.

From the standpoint of participants in casual and serious leisure, space and place are obviously important considerations in much of it. But do the considerations figure in the common sense image of leisure? Does the general public know about them? In casual leisure it appears that they do, and that they see these spaces in terms of the four positive images (thereby transforming those spaces into places). In other words the common sense image of leisure sometimes includes the spatial basis of these four, but probably mostly that of planned and spontaneous fun.

Space and place are major considerations in many of the serious pursuits, but the laity is generally unaware of this aspect of these passions. Of course, individual members may know, for example, a serious dancer, brewer, chess player, or scuba diver who speaks with enthusiasm about the best sites for pursuing these interests. But this insight into one amateur or hobbyist activity cannot be generalized to its entire class of serious pursuits. This is because they are highly varied as to their spatial requirements and the meaning assigned to the relevant spaces, meaning that defines them as places. In short, adding space to the explanatory framework of the SLP as is now being done in leisure sciences (e.g., Crouch, 2006; Stebbins 2013a; Elkington, 2014) has not reached the general public and its common sense imagery.

Conclusions

The common sense images of leisure badly under represent the rewards and benefits that flow from all leisure. More precisely, the rewards of the serious pursuits remain outside the purview of the general public.

And this notwithstanding the fact that particular interpersonal relationships may give some purely hedonically inclined people a sense of these rewards as experienced by a friend or relative. Space and place in casual leisure do figure in the common sense imagery, but not in any lay ideas about the eudaimonic activities, which is consistent with the lack among most of the laity of a satisfactory understanding of those activities.

So far we have examined only the positive rewards and benefits of leisure, some of which are recognized in common sense. The next chapter concentrates on the negative side of this domain, namely, the costs which sometimes parallel, even dilute, the experience of a reward.

Notes

1. This is not to say that mall art lacks aesthetic and commercial value. On the contrary, it is affordable for a wide range of people some of whom find it beautiful enough to purchase.
2. In fact, a few of these rewards are also available in casual leisure, notably, numbers 6, 9, and 10. Nonetheless, these three remain conceptually distinct, since they are understood by participants in their unique relationship to casual leisure or to serious leisure.

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7

What Do We Get from Leisure? Its Costs

To engage in leisure is, in general, to engage in positive activity. Yet, within this positive frame, engaging in leisure sometimes engenders certain costs. Well-known in this regard is the friction that can arise over what is defined by an intimate (e.g., spouse) as the other's devotion of an excessive amount of time or money to a casual or serious leisure activity. In a different area, tension can arise while pursuing serious leisure, seen in stage fright, acrimonious disagreements with a director or coach, or perceived danger of certain sports and hobbies. Selfishness (Stebbins, 2009a, pp. 115–117) often plays a key role in this the dark side of the otherwise happy realm of free time. Additionally, some leisure leaves its participants with a lifetime of problems, such as the effects of concussions and damaged knees. And late in life the capacity to play sport, write novels, paint pictures, and so on may decline substantially, greatly disappointing and discouraging those so afflicted.

First, we cover the costs that come with leisure activities, a set of counterparts to their rewards. Next, we consider how these costs—they are also very much a part of leisure—fit in the common sense imagery of it as well as the scientific theory and research that strives to explain it.

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Costs

The rewards presented in the preceding chapter are not only fulfilling in themselves, but also fulfilling as counterweights to the costs encountered in the activity. Whereas this applies most vividly to the serious pursuits, costs can also emerge while trying to enjoy casual and project-based leisure. These leisure costs, conceived of here as *situational*, have been identified as *tensions, dislikes, and disappointments* (Stebbins, 1992, pp. 100–107). Every leisure activity contains the possibility of its own combination of these, which each participant may have to confront in some way. Since 1992 several scholars have joined the discussion showing that serious leisure experiences sometimes have a negative side, a feature not to be overlooked (e.g., Lamont & Kennelly, 2012; Codina, 1999; Harries & Currie, 1998; Siegenthaler & Gonsalez, 1997; Lee, Dattilo, & Howard, 1994).

In line with this reasoning, I have always asked my respondents to discuss the costs they face in their serious leisure. But so far, it has been impossible to develop a general list of them, as has been done for rewards, since the costs tend to be highly specific to each serious leisure activity. Thus each activity I have studied to date has been found to have its own constellation of costs, while the respondents saw them as invariably and heavily outweighed in importance by the rewards of their activity. Nonetheless, all research on serious leisure considered, its costs are not nearly as frequently examined as its rewards, leaving thus a gap in our understanding that must be filled. What is more, we have comparatively little formally-collected data on the costs of casual and project-based leisure.[1]

Serious Leisure

Both rewards and situational 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. Consider first their dislikes. For instance, an amateur football

player may not always like attending daily practices, being bested occasionally by more junior players when there, and being required to sit on the sidelines from time to time while others get experience at his position. Yet he may still regard this activity as highly fulfilling—as (serious) leisure—because it also offers certain powerful rewards. 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 high price discourages a hobbyist reader from purchasing it.

The tensions tend to be interpersonal, as in civic orchestra conductors who lambaste the playing of an instrumental section, friction between volunteer coordinators and the volunteers whom they direct, or disagreements with the management of a recreational center that provides racquetball and badminton courts. Gillespie, Leffler, and Lerner's (2002) study of people who go in for "dog sports" can be classified as a making and tinkering hobby. That is, some dog owners train their pets to compete in various competitions, including obedience trials, hunt trials, sled dog racing, and draft pulling. In this sense they "make" their dogs into competitive animals. Gillespie and colleagues found that this kind of serious leisure, like many others, is often ardently pursued, creating in the process tensions within other spheres of everyday life, chief among them family, work, and religion. Such tensions generate the need to constantly negotiate between spheres, so as to be able to continue pursuing the hobby while honoring obligations elsewhere. Their research looked, as only a few studies have, at the costs that come with engaging in this serious leisure activity, these tensions being one category of them.

Then there are leisure's disappointments. Thus, it can be a powerful let down to fail to place in a sports contest, to be unable to afford a treasured antique for one's collection, or to be able to paint a landscape as the artists believes it should be done. Interestingly, certain positive psychological states may be founded, to some extent, on particular negative, often notorious, conditions (e.g., tennis elbow, frostbite [while cross-country skiing], stage fright, and frustration [in acquiring a collectable, learning a theatrical part]). Such conditions can enhance the senses of achievement and self-fulfillment as the enthusiast manages to conquer such adversity. People exploring a serious pursuit need to be aware of these possibilities,

recognizing especially that they are normal and that many people overcome them.

Seriousness: The Laity's View

A poignant disappointment for some serious leisure participants is failing to be taken seriously by the larger public. They are serious about pursuing their activity, but that activity is not considered serious by outsiders. This is what Maddie Breeze (2015) learned in her study of women's roller derby, particularly as it relates to sport in general and male domination there the world over. The aim of this research was to "demonstrate that roller derby occurs in an inherited context of women's literal and symbolic exclusion, marginalization, and trivialization in sport … Women's sport is a struggle for gendered legitimacy" (Breeze, 2015, p. 23). That roller derby is new leisure only seems to exacerbate this situation.

This portrait of roller derby and other female sport is consonant with the frivolous and unimportant components of the common sense image of all leisure. Here is one place where common sense meets serious leisure. In fact, many of the female interviewees in my studies of amateur and professional astronomers, stand-up comics, entertainment magicians, and hobbyist kayakers and barbershop singers commented on the dominant male influence (some academics say "power") in their serious pursuit (see www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography for my studies of these amateurs and hobbyists). Nevertheless, a principal difference between this group and the females in sport is that the issue of gender bias in the first stays within the pursuit. It fails to become part of broader common sense.

Despite such unpleasantness, for roller derby women, women in other sports, and serious leisure participants in general, the drive to find fulfillment there is the drive to experience the rewards of a given leisure activity. In this formula its costs are seen by the participant as more or less insignificant by comparison. Put otherwise, they remain with the activity regardless. This is at once the meaning of the activity for the participant and that person's motivation for engaging in it. It is this motivational 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 constitute two sides of the same social psychological coin.

Casual Leisure

As with serious leisure the casual type has its costs, albeit with one exception, not always the same ones. Some arise because the potential benefits of casual leisure have not been realized. We have so far been able to confirm four costs of this nature which, for lack of a better term, I will call *inherent costs*. These costs are broader than the situational costs, even though as with the latter, they fall outside the negative popular image of leisure and inherent costs are endemic to the casual leisure from which they have arisen.

One of them is boredom, an unmistakable sign of momentary absence of well-being, or momentary presence of low quality of life. Boredom seems most likely to appear when the participant experiences none of the aforementioned benefits and therefore becomes disinterested in both amount and kind of casual leisure at the moment. Weariness and restlessness are bound to follow. Still, boredom is not an ineluctable feature of casual leisure, as its place in an optimal leisure lifestyle clearly attests. Rather, it is a possible situational condition lurking in the background, ready to spring out and spoil the person's fun should the latter somehow lose appeal.

Second, casual leisure is, in most instances, unlikely to produce for its enthusiasts a distinctive leisure identity. Few people are inclined to proclaim to the world that they are, for example, inveterate nappers, television watchers, or consumers of fast food. To the extent that faceless causal leisure dominates the free time of people, this less than optimal balance of leisure activities deprives them of one or more leisure identities that they could otherwise have. For instance, Ken Roberts (1999, pp. 9–13), after analyzing the literature in the area concluded, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary, that today's evanescent youth scenes fail to offer special identities to those who frequent them. Leisure of the kind found in these scenes can enhance self-confidence and help foster

positive self-images, but it is too superficial and transient to generate a special identity.

This situation also suggests a third cost: large blocks of casual leisure, even if not boring, leave little time for serious leisure and therefore in yet another way deprive the person of an optimal leisure lifestyle. The economic concept of "opportunity cost of time" is applicable here (Frey, 2008). It refers to time lost in an activity that could have been used to pursue a more satisfying one such as self-employment or high-level salaried work (e.g., professionals, top bureaucratic positions). It takes good self-control to avoid the high opportunity costs of time that come from the excessive watching of television and involvement in other hedonic temptations.

Also at issue here is a significant reduction of, or at least significant barrier to, the rise in well-being and quality of life. Exclusive or nearly exclusive pursuit of pure pleasure, or hedonism, may bring a certain level of happiness, but it can never bring the richest expression of that emotion. German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer commented on at least two occasions about happiness, boredom, and casual leisure. On one of them he observed that "the most general survey shows us that the two foes of human happiness are pain and boredom" (from *Essays. Personality; or, What a Man Is*). Later he noted that "there is no more mistaken path to happiness than worldliness, revelry, high life" (from *Our Relations with Ourselves*).

A fourth cost of casual leisure is that, most often, it makes only a limited contribution to self and community. Unless the person has created, discovered, or learned something new in casual leisure, it offers little chance of producing a distinctive identity, which constitutes one aspect of this cost. Others aspects include the common failure of casual leisure to generate good feelings about oneself—the value of self-esteem—and to lead to self-development—the value of personal improvement. Further, much of casual leisure, outside its oftentimes considerable economic punch (see next chapter), otherwise contributes little to the development of the community. Development in this sense means participation by community members in an activity resulting in improvement of one or more of its valued aspects and strengthening communal patterns of human and institutional interrelationships (Pedlar, 1996; Ploch, 1976). Of note,

however, are casual leisure volunteers; they are exceptions to the observations just made. Their work does contribute to self and community.

The fifth cost, the one shared with the serious pursuits, are the occasional disappointments encountered in some casual activities. How often have we gone to the cinema or a music performance and left, perhaps before it ended, deeply disappointed? Or the scenery we paid a fancy price to see cannot be decently viewed because of inclement weather. Or the lively conversation we hoped to have with colleagues after work turns into a bitching session about a superior whom you like. We expect disappointments in life, but just the same they tarnish a bit its rewards and benefits. Even hedonic casual leisure is not immune to such unpleasantness.

Situational Costs

Obviously, theoretical and empirical interest in situational leisure costs has been confined to those marring the serious pursuits. Yet, a session of casual leisure can sometimes be unexpectedly blemished by untoward tensions, dislikes, and disappointments. The common sense image of leisure does not include this kind of negativeness, even though it is realistically possible. In other words, that image is also an *idealized* (and stereotyped) picture of casual activities. Consider such idealization and reality across the eight types of casual leisure.

We start with play. It can generate tension, as when a child annoys its parents with too much banging on a drum, a doodling colleague at a meeting suggests a disconcerting lack of interest in the business at hand, and playing with the family dog at a party distracts and thereby annoys guests who want to talk seriously about something. These odious activities are simultaneously dislikes, which is in part why they spark tension. Turning to relaxation, it may lead to tension when someone else thinks such behavior is inappropriate, as in dozing off before the television while that someone else is standing nearby with a list of chores for the “slacker” to do.

Passive and active entertainment can stir up the same kinds of tension. According to the American Time Use Survey (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015), television is the champion in the passive category, with

Americans of all ages averaging daily 2 hours and 29 minutes before it. The next most common activities were socializing and communicating (daily average of 38 minutes), and playing games/using computer for leisure (daily average of 27 minutes). Dining out, reading books, and going to the beach are also popular. Except possibly for dining out, any of these could generate tension over the amount of time spent doing them and with whom. In real life, expressions like "weekly nights out with the boys (girls)," "addictive surfing and gaming on the Internet," and "boozer" signal underlying tensions with other people relative to such attachment to certain casual leisure activities. Sherry Turkle (2010) explains how the likes of Facebook. Twitter, and the "Smart" phones along with robotic pets and even robotic lovers have taken over our emotional lives. This is at first a positive trend, but she holds that it is now losing its appeal (see next chapter). Furthermore, disappointment may follow on viewing a popular film or attending a pop music concert that has been widely promoted as excellent fare.

Sociable conversation (exemplified above as socializing and communicating) may be disliked by participants whenever the subject of conversation drifts toward disagreeableness (e.g., too boring, gossipy, personal). Interpersonal tension is also possible in these circumstances. Elsewhere, activities offering sensory stimulation are brimful of possibilities for disappointment, among them, a scenic bus tour on a rainy and foggy day, a comedy show watched through bad sight lines, or a sexual rendezvous that failed to unfold as hoped.

Casual volunteering is probably largely free of these costs. The tasks assumed in this set of activities are simple, leading thus to realistic expectations about their nature. The bigger problem for these volunteers is sustaining their motivation to stick to their altruistic ideals while avoiding descent into another non-work obligation. With this leisure disappears. Pleasurable aerobic activity also seems to be mostly free of such costs for the same reasons, with the exception of possible disappointment. Those who intentionally engage in this kind of exercise buoyed by hope of, say, losing weight or increasing aerobic capacity and this fails to occur have to face this outcome.

So, casual leisure can also have its situational costs, though they seem to have more to do with abandoning an activity because of its unpleasantness

than with persevering through it to improve the experience being sought. More to the point, these costs in casual leisure appear not to figure in the common sense image of all leisure. Why, because they are unexpected. People seeking casual leisure do not expect unpleasantness of this sort. Since it is no fun for the hedonically inclined, these people would want to avoid it. When costs are foreseen it makes sense to substitute another casual activity that looks to be free of them.

Project-Based Leisure

It was noted in the definition presented in Chap. 5 that project-based leisure is not all one of a kind. Whereas systematic exploration may reveal others, two types are evident at this time: one-shot projects and occasional projects. The first of these two are presented next using the classificatory framework for amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities developed earlier in Chap. 5.[2]

In all these projects people generally use the talents and knowledge they have at hand, even though for some projects they may need to 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 and the next most common, some kind of volunteering. First, the following hobbyist-like projects have so far been identified, with those in the areas of making and tinkering, the liberal arts, and the arts projects often requiring some background utilitarian reading:

Making and tinkering:

- Interlacing, interlocking, and knot-making from kits
- Other kit assembly projects (e.g., stereo tuner, craft store projects)
- Do-it-yourself projects done primarily for fulfillment, some of which may even be undertaken with minimal skill and knowledge (e.g., build

a rock wall or a fence, finish a room in the basement, plant a special garden). This could turn into an irregular series of such projects, spread over many years, possibly even transforming the participant into a hobbyist.

Liberal arts:

- *Family history* (not as ongoing hobby): genealogy, scrapbooking, memory journaling
- *Tourism*: special trip, not as part of an extensive personal tour program, to visit different parts of a region, a continent, or much of the world
- *Renaissance-man reading projects* (e.g., read all the Pulitzer Prize winners in letters and drama for a particular year or set of years)
- *Activity participation*: long back-packing trip, canoe trip; one-off mountain ascent (e.g., Fuji, Rainier, Kilimanjaro).

One-off volunteering projects are also common, though possibly somewhat less so than hobbyist-like projects. And less common than either are the amateur-like projects, which seem to concentrate in the sphere of theater.

Volunteering:

- Volunteer at a convention or conference, whether local, national, or international in scope.
- Volunteer at a sporting competition, whether local, national, or international in scope.
- Volunteer at an arts festival or special exhibition mounted in a museum.
- Volunteer to help restore human life or wildlife after a natural or human-made disaster caused by, for instance, a hurricane, earthquake, oil spill, or industrial accident.

Arts projects:

- *Entertainment theatre*: produce a skit or one-off community pageant; prepare a home film, video or set of photos.

- *Public speaking*: prepare a talk for a reunion, an after-dinner speech, an oral position statement on an issue to be discussed at a community meeting.
- *Memoirs*: therapeutic audio, visual and written productions by the elderly; life histories and autobiographies (all ages); accounts of personal events (all ages).

The three kinds of situational costs can surface in any of these activities. For example, frustration and disappointment are possible in the making and tinkering projects as well as in those centered in the liberal arts primarily involving family, tourism, and activity participation. The arts projects can also be seedbeds for disappointment, as in a set of photos some of which are blurry or too dark or a public talk that loses audience attention because it is too long.

Tensions are also possible in leisure projects. Thus, stage fright can occur in entertainment theater and public speaking. One-shot volunteering may become tense when volunteer supervisors clash with their altruistic helpers over such matters as punctuality, quality of service, and treatment of the target of service. Tension could spring up in the kit-based projects, in that the kits with their multiple pieces and related equipment temporarily take up domestic space that others prize.

Dislikes seem generally not to be a cost in project-based leisure. For why would anyone take up a project that he or she dislikes? Nevertheless, a project could turn sour as its completion unfolds, failing to live up to the expectations of the participant. It might turn out to be more complicated than anticipated, for instance, or require more time than the participant has to give to it. Moreover, tensions may arise at this point. Thus, as a project, a person buys a 10,000 piece jigsaw puzzle, which when completed will cover an entire room. But who else wants to use this space? Does the enthusiast have the enthusiasm to follow through to the end? These can become emotional issues in a residence where space is at a premium.

I said earlier that project-based leisure seems to have escaped the negative common sense images of leisure. But, as with the other two main forms, it may still have its unrecognized and unanticipated situational costs. The science of leisure, when it devotes more time to this more

disagreeable side of leisure, will fill in where common sense leaves off, giving us in this fashion a more profound understanding of this aspect of our use of free time.

Selfishness

Selfishness could be considered a leisure cost were it not for the fact that selfish participants by no means always realize that they are seen as such people. Consequently, leisure studies has tended to treat this attitude as a special mental state, costly to be sure, but not necessarily for everyone involved. Part of the problem theoretically is that the alleged selfish person may dispute the imputation of selfishness or, if in acknowledging its validity, still refuse to change his or her questionable ways. Whatever else it is selfishness in leisure is not part of leisure's negative common sense image, even while the attitude is well recognized in the scientific study of leisure. Moreover, the victims of selfishness associated with a free-time activity know intimately the effects of this attitude, even while they seem to share the common sense image of leisure held by the laity.

Selfishness is the act of a self-seeker judged as selfish by the victim of that act (Stebbins, 1981). 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. In comparing the three forms, it is evident that serious leisure is nearly always the most complicated and enduring of them and, for this reason, often takes up much more of a participant's time (Stebbins, 1995). Consequently it is much more likely to generate charges of selfishness. For instance some types of serious leisure and even some project-based leisure can only be pursued according to a rigid schedule (e.g., amateur theatrical rehearsals, volunteer guide work at a zoo, volunteer ticket selling at an arts festival), which unlike most casual leisure, allows little room for compromise or maneuver. Thus imputations of selfishness are considerably more likely to arise with regard to the first two.

Furthermore we can make a similar observation about serious and causal leisure activities that exclude the participant's partner *vis-à-vis* those that include this person in a way that interests the latter. Logically speaking, it is difficult to complain about someone's selfishness when the would-be complainer also engages in the activity, especially with significant fulfillment. Furthermore serious leisure, compared with casual leisure, is often more debatable as selfishness, when seen from the standpoints of both the victim and the self-seeker. For serious leisure enthusiasts have at their fingertips as justifications for their actions such venerated ideals as self-enrichment, self-expression, self-actualization, altruistic service to others, contribution to group effort, development of a valued personal identity, and the regeneration of oneself after work. As for casual volunteering it is a partial exception to this observation, in that it too can be justified by some of these ideals, most notably altruistic volunteer service to others and regeneration of oneself.

It is at the point of choosing an activity and allocating time to pursuing it that selfishness tends to emerge. Leisure activities have magnetic pull, especially the serious ones and the casual ones that approach addiction. This pull can be so strong that, at times, participants may be accused of being selfish in their use of time and perhaps money. These two resources are seen by those claiming selfishness as rightfully theirs. Such accusations may be denied by the participant thus "charged," leading most of the time to acrimonious argument. There is evidence of this in culture (e.g., see on Google "golf widow," "baseball widow," "theater widow") and in research, both showing that relationships can be severely strained by leisure selfishness (e.g., Stebbins, 1979, pp. 81–81, 221–222).

Such contretemps certainly reduce, sometimes seriously, the positiveness that is in general the hallmark of leisure. Planning well for leisure at any time in life includes keeping selfishness at bay. One route to this goal is to include as much as possible those who would be adversely affected by an alleged over-strong commitment to a particular activity. So get them hooked on traveling, collecting, hiking, bridge, or whatever one's passion. If they have little interest in it, perhaps there is a parallel interest that appeals. She loves to hike; he has no taste for it, but does love to assemble her photos from the outback into slide shows or posting them online. He loves to travel; her medical conditions prevent this, but she reads voraciously on the regions he visits, and so can supply him with a rich historical, cultural, geographical background of them.

Conclusions

This chapter makes clear that the general public can talk at length about its shared positive and negative views of leisure and in its narrow focus overlook its inherent and situational costs. This point of view seems to prevail even for people who know well someone enamored with a serious pursuit who occasionally faces some of these costs. It prevails, too, even when the laity gets bitten by situational costs.

Clearly, just how disagreeable the situational costs of casual leisure depends in part on their frequency. If nearly every time that patrons found their restaurants overpriced, the beaches polluted, the after-work happy hour too gossipy, and so on, these particular casual leisure activities might begin to take on a different (negative) image. Perhaps we can also say this about modern economy-class travel on most of today's airlines. Years ago passengers received even on short-haul routes free food and drink, roomier seating, and more space for carry-on items, all while not having to stand in long check-in and security lines and wait for what seems like an eternity in the baggage claim area. Flying was fun in those days. But now it appears that traveling economy has for most people become a nonwork obligation that must be met to enjoy a distant holiday or fly somewhere on business.[3]

Still, these examples fail to speak for casual leisure as the most popular variety of free-time activities. That is, the general public seems quite capable of maintaining its negative and positive images of leisure in the face of situational costs that seriously blemish a few of its activities. Thus, people can find cheaper restaurants, participate in happy hour with a different group, and give up the beach lifestyle for, say, one of lounging beside the pool at a private club.

From another angle, we might hypothesize that the positive side of the common sense image is resistant to contradictory evidence, as is true for stereotypes in general. All common sense is part of the larger society's culture, with the latter being only rarely a force in social change. Meanwhile, some new casual leisure activities can, of course, gain a certain level of acceptance, as exemplified in the following:

- *Bog Snorkeling*. This international sporting contest held in mid-Wales since 1985 has contestants competing for the fastest time over two lengths of a 60-yard trench cut through a peat bog. They may wear a snorkel and flippers, but may not use conventional swimming strokes. (see http://llanwrtyd-wells.powys.org.uk/bog.html, retrieved 25 March 2016)
- *Working-Class Style Show*. Swarns (2002) describes a South African style contest held Saturday evenings, during which working-class men strut their finest clothing. Reliable information on its origins is unavailable, but most locals believe the activity may be 40 to 50 years old.
- *Turkey Bowling*. A recently invented American game consisting of rolling a frozen turkey at bowling pins (see www.fundraisers.com/ideas/frozenturkey.html, retrieved 25 March 2016).
- "*Googlebox*." A popular British television program about modern British life. It is presently showing in 16 countries (*The Economist*, 2016).

To the extent that such specialized activities catch on, casual leisure does contribute to the growth of culture, but not it appears to change in the common sense images of leisure in general.

This contribution of casual leisure to the larger culture is but one of many made to the community by all forms of leisure. The next chapter explores these contributions as they bear on leisure's image among the laity.

Notes

1. The costs of leisure may also be seen as a type of leisure constraint. Leisure constraints are defined as "factors that limit people's participation in leisure activities, use of services, and satisfaction or enjoyment of current activities" (Scott, 2003, p. 75). Costs certainly dilute the satisfaction or enjoyment participants experience in pursuing certain leisure activities, even if, in their interpretation of them, those participants find such costs, or constraints, overridden by the powerful rewards also found there.

2. Although occasional projects are not covered here, the costs discussed with reference to their one-shot cousins also apply to the occasional variety.
3. The proliferation of entertainment features in today's economy sections does not seem to offset these situational costs. And, of course, none of this applies to business and first-class passengers.

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8

Leisure in the Community: Contributions

Quite obviously, the search for casual leisure has resulted in an immense financial contribution to the economic well-being of the community, the most phenomenal being the money made from theme parks (*The Economist*, 2016), spectator sports events, food provision, tourist attractions, and the other widely popular leisure services. Beyond this (economic) sphere the greatest number of participants delivering a sizeable number of contributions to the community is found among the volunteers whose involvements can be classified as casual, serious, or project-based leisure. Elsewhere, and still less extensive, are the contributions of amateurs and devotee workers in art, sport, science, and entertainment, evident in for instance, community orchestra concerts, adolescent football games, science fairs, and stand-up comedy festivals (see research in www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Amateurs). Hobbyists contribute by way of model train exhibitions (Stevens-Ratchford, 2014), quilt displays (Stalp, 2007), barbershop shows (Stebbins, 1996), camel races (in the Arab Middle East, Stebbins, 2013d), garden competitions, among a multitude of other pursuits.

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The general public is certainly involved, sometimes extensively, in community-level leisure, primarily through one or more of the casual activities. Nevertheless, the principal goal of this chapter is to examine the entire range of contributions, namely, those that all three forms of leisure make to community life, and to show throughout how they relate to the common sense images. We start with the leisure service organizations.

Leisure Service Organizations

The leisure service organizations are not voluntary groups (discussed later). Rather, they are collectivities consisting of a paid staff that provides one of more leisure services to a specified clientele. To be sure, these clients are engaging in particular leisure activities, but the organizations providing them are not themselves organizers of leisure as happens in clubs, societies, teams, and arts groups. Leisure service organizations are established either to make a profit, the goal of many a health spa, amusement park, and bowling center, for example, or in some instances, simply to make enough money to continue offering their services. This is the goal of charitable, nonprofit groups like Meals on Wheels, the YMCA and YWCA, and the Road Scholar (Elderhostel) Programs.

What makes leisure service organizations important for leisure participation is that they can influence in manifold ways a client's desire to spend some free time in one or more of them. For instance, 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 lacking. They can exclude many clients with high prices or ask a lower price that brings in greater numbers. Leisure service organizations are therefore not to be overlooked. As Godbey (1999, p. 349) observed: "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."

Godbey (1999, pp. 353–357) discusses several types of leisure service organization. The *neutral provider* attempts to identify and supply

leisure experiences in which certain groups of people want to participate. Municipal parks and recreation departments operate at times in this capacity. Other service organizations serve as *change agents*, providing activities their directors believe people should be involved in (e.g., company fitness programs, after-school programs for youth). Some leisure service organizations function as *coordinators of leisure opportunities*. Schools and municipal park and recreation departments also do this, as does the YMCA and YWCA. Additionally, organizations are established to provide leisure for the *recreationally dependent*, for example, people who are poor or have handicaps. Most of the organizations listed in this paragraph operate on a nonprofit basis.

Other organizations—the most pervasive in the leisure service field (Godbey, 1999, p. 361)—are for-profit establishments. One type promotes *specific leisure activities and facilities*, such as bowling centers, skating arenas, golf courses, and bingo halls. Services that *enhance the physical environment* strive to provide good boating, fishing, hunting, or camping experiences. Related to the change agents are the *health promoters*; they organize activities for people who yearn to improve their health and physical conditioning. Of course, their clients need no persuading in this regard, just an opportunity to pursue this kind of leisure, whereas the clients of change agents have to be encouraged to take up the leisure being offered. Some organizations—among them Road Scholar and various programs in adult education—provide *leisure education*, offering this service across a great range of amateur and hobbyist activities. Finally, *promoters and facilitators of tourism* deal in one of the most sought after forms of leisure in the twenty-first century. Here we find, for instance, the highly-profitable theme parks, spectator sports events, and ocean cruises.

The common sense images of leisure do include some awareness of its provision through service organizations. Extensive advertising alone ensures this. Moreover, those leisure images often include a recognizable physical (geographical or structural) component, such as seaside resorts, popular restaurants, and famous tourist attractions. Likewise, many planned activities are embedded in well-known formal programs intended to be experienced at certain times in certain physical locations (e.g., river cruises, organized tours, festivals and sports tournaments). All this is also evident in the discussion of positive images of leisure set out

in Chap. 3. That is, casual leisure activities viewed both positively and negatively are also seen as being enjoyed *in places* that make them possible. Thus, thinking (in common sense terms) of leisure as frivolous or a waste of time evokes images of people in such places as they sit before TV sets, ride roller coasters, drink at a bar, have a picnic, or stroll on a beautiful beach.

Serious and Project-Based Leisure

Many of the serious leisure activities also contribute to the community, albeit usually in specialized ways. Even so they often do this through some sort of formal provision of services or facilities, which however, seems to escape the laity's images of leisure. For example, many people routinely drive by and notice a tennis club, hobbyist supply shop, fitness center, or art school without in the typical case incorporating these places in their conception of leisure.

What about altruism as a motive for contributing to the community? As in all voluntary action altruism is strongly felt when volunteers contribute to the community. That said, volunteers, career and casual, are not the only contributors to community life (interpreted here to include national and international communities), since many amateurs, hobbyists, and participants in projects do the same. Nevertheless, they leaven their altruism with the distinctive flavor of self-interest. As shown in the next section, altruism and self-interest motivate participation in civil labor and the formation of social capital, to show how these two contribute to collective life through community involvement. To the extent that they have a social base, all the serious pursuits have this effect.

Community Involvement

Most generally put, community involvement is the process by which volunteers, amateurs, and hobbyists contribute to collective life through serious leisure. Such involvement is defined in general terms as:

> local voluntary action, where members of a local community participate together in nonprofit groups or in other community activities. Often the goal here is to improve community life. This concept, which is synonymous with those of civic, civil, citizen, and grassroots involvement, is broader than that of "citizen participation," in that it includes both local political voluntary action and non-political voluntary action. (Smith, Stebbins, & Dover, 2006, p. 52)

According to this definition, the goal is often to improve communal life. Often, yes, but not invariably. For, as will become apparent shortly, a number of leisure activities do not have as their goal such improvement, even if, at times, some of them realize it anyway.

Community Contribution Through Leisure

Much of what has been written in the past under this heading has borne on the contributions serious leisure enthusiasts make to the social and cultural enrichment of their local community. This kind of community involvement is evident when, for example, the town's civic orchestra provides it every three or four months with a concert of classical music or the local astronomy society offers an annual "star night" during which the public may observe the heavens using the telescopes of club members. And model railroaders in the area sometimes mount for popular consumption exhibitions of the fruits of their hobby. Lyons and Dionigi (2007) found, in a study of older Australian adults in Masters sport, that, through their participation there, they feel a sense of "giving something back" to the community. Furthermore, Hemingway (1999) and Reid (1995) have argued that, when considering leisure's contribution to community, it is important to distinguish between different kinds of activities. The examples above—all of them serious leisure—illustrate contributions quite distinct from those made through the casual and project-based forms.

Serious leisure activities can also contribute to the everyday life and collective identity of particular towns and small cities, where the activity amounts to a community-level central life interest. For instance, the

National Geographic sponsors a website on the "world's best" surfing and skiing towns, classified as "best" in part because relations with the surfers, skiers, and townsfolk are warm and facilitative of the pursuit in question.[1] Likewise, one or two of a town's amateur sports might become the dominant center of its attention during the season of play, with the players participating in various community functions in addition to their athletic responsibilities.

A broader sort of community involvement (at times carried out on a regional or societal level) comes from pursuing volunteer activities, which may be enacted as serious, casual, or project-based leisure. This is the most common conception of "community involvement," which is sometimes treated of as *civil labor*. Such "labor" has members of a local community participating together as volunteers in nonprofit groups or other community activities. On this plane a principal intention is to improve community life. Civil labor, which is broadly synonymous with community involvement, differs mainly in emphasis; the stress is on human activity devoted to unpaid renewal and expansion of social capital (Rojek, 2002, p. 21).

Rojek (2002, pp. 26–27) argues that, for the most part, civil labor consists of the community contribution made by amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers when pursuing their serious leisure. This is precisely what Leadbeater and Miller (2004) had in mind in their book about how amateurs in various fields are shaping the 21st century economy and society in the West. Helft (2007) offers a concrete example in an article about amateur mapmakers, who using simple Internet tools, are reshaping online map services and offering viewers far more detail of many more geographic sites than heretofore available. Then there is the question of whether participation in mass protests and demonstrations is seen by the laity as nonwork obligation or volunteer action and as acceptable or deviant.

Civil labor, however conceived of, generates *social capital* defined here, following Putnam (2000, p. 19), as the links among individuals manifested in social networks, trustworthiness, acts motivated by the norm of reciprocity and the like that develop in a community or the larger society. The term is an analogy on the concepts of human capital and physical capital (e.g., financial resources, natural resources); it emphasizes that

human groups of all kinds also benefit from and advance their interests according to the salutary interrelations of their members. Community involvement also generates social capital, but as already noted, it includes amateur and hobbyist activities, where this result, though it occurs, is not their primary purpose.

Self-interest dominates in nearly all casual leisure, the glaring exception being of course casual volunteering. It is done expressly as civil labor. And, in the process of doing this, volunteers may well meet and serve with people never before encountered. So we must conclude, contrary to Rojek, that such labor is not limited to serious leisure, but finds an outlet in the volunteer type of casual leisure as well.

Moreover, volunteer project-based leisure may be conceived of as civil labor. Project-based leisure has potential for building community in at least two ways. First, it too can bring into contact people who otherwise have no reason to meet, or at least meet frequently. Second, by way of event volunteering and other short-term, collective altruistic activity, it can contribute to carrying out community events and projects. In other words, some project-based leisure (mostly one-shot volunteer projects, it appears) can also be conceived of as civil labor as just defined, suggesting that such activity can be other than serious leisure. In fact, the mountain hobbyists studied by the author (Stebbins, 2005b) occasionally rounded out their leisure lifestyles by sporadically undertaking or participating in (typically volunteer) projects of this nature.

Clearly, to constitute community involvement, leisure must be collective in some fashion; the reclusive hobbies and amateur activities (e.g., liberal arts reading, some amateur piano and guitar) fail to qualify. Furthermore, when it comes to social capital, as opposed to civil labor and community involvement, I do not believe a case exists for privileging any of the three forms of leisure as the principal or most important way of generating the former. What is important is that people come together in voluntary action, as motivated by voluntary altruism, doing so long enough to learn something about one another, learn to trust one another (where experience warrants), develop “other-regarding” or altruistic love for one another (Jeffries et al., 2006), and for these reasons become willing to continue their interaction. True, many forms of serious leisure encourage sustained contact capable of fostering such learning, as seen

in routine participation in many volunteer emergency services, hobbyist clubs, and arts and sports groups. Project leisure can also be a source of social capital, though here, such capital is of more limited scope than that generated through the long-term serious pursuits.

As for casual leisure volunteering, it may be short-term or long-term. Here people are sometimes joined in such leisure with strangers, especially these days by means of the Internet. The same happens with *tribes*: fragmented groupings left over from the preceding era of mass consumption, groupings recognized today by their unique tastes, lifestyles, and form of social organization (Maffesoli, 1996). Maffesoli identifies and describes this postmodern phenomenon, which spans national borders. In this regard, he observes that mass culture has disintegrated, leaving in its wake a diversity of tribes, including the followers of heavy metal music and those youth who participate in raves. Tribes are special leisure organizations, special ways of organizing the pursuit of particular kinds of casual leisure. Tribes are also found in serious leisure, but not however, in the project-based variety (see Stebbins, 2002, pp. 69–71).

Contributions to the community through serious and project-based leisure occur in ways too complex, subtle, focused, and infrequent to become part of the general public's stereotyped image of leisure. Still, close associates of these contributors may possibly have a more profound though limited idea of these contributions, as evident from the serious or project-based participation of relatives or friends. It is by no means clear that participants in complex leisure (i.e., serious/project-based) are aware of their contributions, which tend to be of concern primarily to academics. For instance, members of a community orchestra love playing classical music before an appreciative audience (an immediate contribution), but do not commonly think of themselves as contributing more abstractly to local culture.[2] The same may be said for the astronomers' star nights, quilters' exhibitions, and an amateur basketball team's games. For such reasons I hypothesize that these momentary brushes with the community contributions of non-casual leisure are too infrequent and fleeting to become part of the laity's common sense image. A possible exception to this generalization is contribution noted above made by hobbyists and amateurs to towns and small cities where the local population is substantially wrapped up in the former's leisure activities. With

such a fascinating kind of serious leisure so omnipresent, leisure in general for these towns people might be imaged somewhat more broadly than argued in this book.

Contribution to Organizations

In leisure, as in most other areas of life, many activities are structured, or organized, in small groups (including dyads and triads), social networks, and grassroots organizations as well as in larger complex organizations and still more broadly, in tribes, social worlds, and social movements (Stebbins, 2002). Each structures the social behavior of its members in particular ways, some of those ways being unique to a certain kind of organization. And, as stated earlier, individual interests also structure the organizational entities that facilitate these interests, which includes establishing those entities in the first place. Here the role of human agency is again apparent. Thus we may say about leisure organizations, as with other kinds of organizations, that participation in them amounts to a two-way street of influence running from individual to collectivity and the reverse. This is the first of three critical assumptions on which this discussion of leisure and organization is based.

The second critical assumption is that members of the different sorts of organizations (defined below in the wide sense of social organization) know they are members. Third, such people value highly their membership for, given that we are considering only leisure organizations entered without coercion, members would abandon them were they substantially disvalued. Moreover, when they are highly valued, belonging itself becomes an important motive, since membership enables pursuit of one or more of the leisure activities the organization promotes and facilitates and its members are eager to pursue. Yet it should be clear that belonging to any of these organizational entities, even when centered on leisure, is never wholly a positive experience; for example, spouses have their tiffs, dissension shakes up some groups, ideological differences can splinter a social movement, and so on.

Let us note before going further into the matter of the organization of leisure that many leisure activities in all three forms also appear to

allow for, if not require, solitary participation, volunteering being the chief exception. Thus, someone may, in solitude, play the piano or the guitar, collect rocks or seashells, sit and daydream, or assemble a complicated electronic device from a kit. Volunteering, however, is inherently organizational in the broad sense of the word, since by definition, it involves directly or indirectly serving other people, be they individuals or groups. What, then, do I mean by "the broad sense" of the concept of organization?

"Organization" is used here as shorthand for the range of collectivities mentioned at the start of this section (dyads to social movements) that add social and psychological structure to leisure life. Accordingly, discussion in this section will center primarily on several of these different types manifested as leisure organizations rather than on the community or societal organization of leisure, as seen in the sweeping communal arrangements that make available leisure services and opportunities. Additionally, the present chapter requires only an *aperçu* of the different kinds of organization common in leisure, with a fuller treatment of them being available elsewhere (Stebbins, 2002). Finally, the social world being an exceptionally complex organizational form makes its relationship to the common sense images difficult to trace. Therefore it will not be taken up in this chapter. As for tribes they were considered earlier.

Types of Organizations

Some leisure is pursued in dyads (e.g., two friends who together regularly play squash or go to the cinema). The triad is also a recognizable arrangement within which to partake of such leisure (e.g., three people on a fishing trip, a classical music trio), and the same holds for the small, primary group (e.g., church basketball team, several friends who routinely hike together, four couples who dine monthly at a restaurant). In fact, these three types of organization are found in all three forms of leisure.

Consider next the social network. The definition of it having the best fit with the small amount of work done on this form of organization within the domain of leisure is that of Elizabeth Bott (1957, p. 59). Hers 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 structure), no commonly recognized hierarchy, and no central coordinating agency. Nevertheless, links exist between others in the network, in that some members are directly in touch with each other while other members are not.

As individuals pursue their leisure interests, they commonly develop networks of friends and acquaintances related in one way or another to these interests. When a person acquires more such interests, the number of networks tends to grow accordingly, bearing in mind, however, that members of some of these will 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—which would probably include golf-related suppliers, course personnel, and other golfers. Knowing about people's leisure networks helps explain how they, fired by positive agency, socially organize their leisure time.

At the next level of organization—the grassroots association—serious leisure predominates, while some manifestations of it can also be found in casual leisure. The very nature of project-based leisure would seem to preclude grassroots associations from emerging around this form. According to Smith (2000, p. 8):

> grassroots associations are locally based, significantly autonomous, volunteer-run formal nonprofit (i.e., voluntary) groups that manifest substantial voluntary altruism as groups and use the associational form of organization and, thus, have official memberships of volunteers who perform most, and often all, of the work/activity done in and by these nonprofits.

The term "formal" in this definition refers in fact to a scale of structure and operations that, in an actual association, may be informal, semiformal, or formal. Moreover, the line separating grassroots associations from paid-staff voluntary groups—treated of in the next paragraph as volunteer organizations—is unavoidably fuzzy, distinguishing the two being primarily a matter of gradation. Both types fall under the heading of *voluntary groups*: "nonprofit groups of any type, whether grassroots

associations or based on paid staff, and whether local, national, or international in scope" (Smith, 2000, p. ix). Formal grassroots associations include such entities as Girl Guide troops, stamp collectors' societies, singles' clubs, outlaw biker gangs, and college fraternities and sororities. By contrast, self-help, friendship, and book-discussion groups, for example, are often informal.

Turning to volunteer organizations, they offer leisure only to career and casual volunteers and to volunteers serving on projects. 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 objectives.

Pearce (1993, p. 15) holds that by far the largest number of volunteers work in these organizations. Yet some volunteer organizations may be staffed entirely by remunerated employees, volunteers only being engaged as unpaid members of their boards of directors. Hospitals and universities present two main examples. Many foundations can be similarly classified. Other volunteer organizations have a more even mix of paid and volunteer personnel; they include Greenpeace, Amnesty International, and the Red Cross. Finally, some have only one or two employees, with all other work being conducted by volunteers. They are, at bottom, grassroots associations that have grown complicated enough to justify paying someone to help with some of the group's routine operations that its volunteers are unable or unwilling to carry out.

What remains, then, to be examined in this section on leisure and organization is the social movement. A social movement is a non-institutionalized set of networks, small groups, and formal organizations that has coalesced around a significant value, one inspiring members to promote or resist change with reference to it. The first question is whether participation in a social movement is a leisure activity. The answer is both yes and no, for it depends on the movement in question. Movements abound that gain members through their own volition, suggesting that the members experience no significant coercion to become involved. Some religious movements serve as examples, as do movements centered on values like physical fitness and healthy eating. Still, the latter two also include people who feel pressured by outside forces to participate, as

when their physician prescribes exercise and weight loss or face an early death. Thus some social movements are composed of enthusiasts who are there for leisure reasons and other people who are compelled to be there (not leisure).

Finally, there are movements that seem to find their impetus primarily in people who feel driven to champion a particular cause, such as the celebrated temperance movement of early last century and the vigorous antismoking movement of modern times. A strong sense of obligation fuels participation in them. Those who make up the gun control and nuclear disarmament movements seem cut from the same cloth. Whether this is leisure must be determined empirically through direct research on the motivation of members.

Social movements, be they primarily of the leisure variety, the forced variety, or a combination of the two, have left a prominent mark on modern and postmodern life. Homer-Dixon (2007), for instance, commenting on the success of the mothers' movement in the 1960s that championed banning atmospheric nuclear testing, a practice that contaminated children's milk, now urges a similar formation fired by the goal of trying to bring global warming under control. Thus, considered alone, a social movement is a distinctive form of organization, which often provides serious and casual leisure for volunteers. Further, they are also likely to provide leisure projects for volunteers, enabling the latter to become involved for a limited period of time with a movement. Examples include participating in a fund-raising campaign, organizing a major rally, or lobbying for a crucial piece of legislation.

Volunteering has popped up in several places in this chapter, and it is a type of activity with which the general public is familiar. Could it comprise part of their common sense conception? This matter was considered in Chap. 6, ending with the observation that career volunteers as a group have a mixed understanding of such activity. Some see it as work, some as leisure, and some as neither, with volunteering in the latter case being thought of as a category of its own (Stebbins, 2000). If career volunteers are ambivalent about how to describe their activity, the laity can hardly be expected to have a clearer image of it. In theoretic terms we have in this case another parallel image. Moreover, we may conclude the same for "leisure interest volunteering."

Leisure Interest Volunteering[3]

The target of leisure interest volunteering (LIV) is the immense variety of leisure activities launched with, and often subsequently pursued, by using volunteers. That volunteering itself can be conceptualized as a kind of leisure (see earlier) is not at issue in the present section. Rather, attention here is centered on the leisure-based target of benefits and on what volunteers typically do for them. That target is, conceivably, the entire domain of leisure, though it will become apparent that by no means all leisure is facilitated in any significant way by volunteers. Hence, one main insight gained from this section is a sense of the extent of volunteering serving this vast domain of activity as a distinctive contribution to the community.

Casual Leisure

Widely evident is LIV intended to facilitate play, it appearing primarily for children in such informal arrangements as a parent accompanying a small group of them for a couple of hours (possibly including his or her own child) at a local park, swimming pool, or sandy beach. Such informal volunteering can also aid entertainment, as when someone escorts the group to a cinema, amusement park, or local zoo. A parent taking the neighborhood children out for pizza or ice cream exemplifies volunteering intended to give the second some sensory (gustatory) leisure. Such volunteering becomes formal when enacted in the context of, for example, the Scouts, though here the volunteer may be helping paid staff with complex activities like camping, hiking, and horseback riding.

Sociable conversation may be informally facilitated by volunteers who organize meetings of friends or colleagues at work, the goal being to "get together to chat." The intention is to enjoy each other's company and not to solve a problem of some kind. Gossip is often a mainstay of such gatherings. Pleasurable aerobic activity (Stebbins, 2007/2015, p. 39)—enjoyable physical activity that simultaneously elevates the heart rate—often depends on volunteers when conducted in groups. Thus, somebody must arrange the treasure hunt to be undertaken by the Hash House Harriers

(see gthhh.com) or similarly oriented groups. Moreover, casual volunteers are often recruited by volunteer-run community organizations to provide temporary help for particular leisure projects or routine functions. Likewise, the volunteer organizing committee for a high school dance must find still other volunteers to run the beverage stand and clean up the premises once the event is over. Only relaxation (e.g., napping, strolling, physical luxuriating), perhaps because it is commonly individual, appears only rarely to require volunteer assistance, though some commercial service or professional help may be necessary (e.g., sauna, massage).

Serious Leisure

We look first at LIV intended to facilitate the amateur pursuits. Amateurs find leisure in fields where professionals make some, or all, of their livelihood (Stebbins, 2007/2015, p. 6). One main class of volunteers in this area are the amateurs themselves; they volunteer for activities that support their own dance, theatrical, sport, musical, science, or writing group. For example, many such entities are incorporated nonprofits, run by boards of directors staffed entirely or partly by their members. Additionally, there may be opportunities for casual volunteering to, for instance, set up the music stands for a community orchestra concert, arrange for refreshments at the reception following an amateur play, or distribute programs at an avocational science fair. The amateurs themselves usually carry out these functions as well.

The principal distinction between amateurs and hobbyists, as noted earlier, is that the latter lack a professional counterpart. Facilitative volunteering seems to be rarest in collecting, a chiefly individual pastime. Nonetheless, when they mount or participate in an exhibition of their collectibles (e.g., stamps, dolls, plates, vintage cars), they themselves or other people recruited for this purpose volunteer to help with logistics. Makers of hobbyist objects, among them, knitters, potters, woodworkers, and show dog owners, when holding their own exhibitions face similar needs for facilitative, usually casual volunteers.

Activity participation refers to non-competitive, rule-based activities and includes hunting, fishing, backpacking, mountain climbing, and the

folk arts (for a more complete list, see Stebbins, 1998, pp. 58–61). On the one hand, many of these activities, most of which are individual, rarely, if ever, need volunteer support. On the other hand, folk concerts (including shows featuring barbershop singing) and exhibitions of folk crafts commonly have the same needs for volunteers as their counterparts in the amateur fields.

The hobbyist sports and games are also rule-based but, in contrast, rest on inter-human (nonprofessional) competition. Here competitive orienteering, long-distance running, martial arts tournaments and curling bonspiels, to make these events possible, require volunteer assistance of the sort described for amateurs and the other hobbyists. Turning to games, many have no audience, being played exclusively for the pleasure of the participant (e.g., solitaire, some computer games) or other participants (e.g., dart, checkers, billiards). Nevertheless, there are tournaments in, for example, bridge, chess and poker, each having its needs for volunteer facilitators.

The liberal arts hobbyists, compared with the other serious leisure types, probably have the least to do with facilitative volunteering, though they may do some of it themselves in other spheres of serious leisure or in the casual pastimes. Reading is a main, if not the main, way of gaining the desired knowledge, which usually needs no volunteer assistance. One exception are the handicapped and elderly hobbyists who depend on volunteers to bring them material and, to the extent they cannot consume it on their own, have the latter read it to them.

Finally, turning to the world of volunteering, volunteers even help each other occasionally, doing so in much the same way as just described for their facilitative contributions to amateurs and hobbyists. This often happens when nonprofits with few paid staff stage an event for which they recruit additional help. Examples include an immigrant cultural day, afternoon picnic organized by a minority religious establishment, and evening of ethnic cuisine. The volunteers serving on these occasions may contribute low-skilled, casual services such as taking tickets, selling drinks, and assisting with post-event clean-up. Additionally, professionals might volunteer their services by acting as a master of ceremonies, emergency medical worker, accountant, or cook. Outside the framework of special events, professionals sometimes volunteer their expertise on a pro

bono basis to help, for example, write a constitution for a new nonprofit or set up its accounting system.

Project-Based Leisure

Some of these latter services might just as frequently be carried out as volunteer projects. Project-based volunteering is common in arts festivals, sports competitions, special museum exhibitions, community fairs, and the like. This kind of LIV is mostly casual leisure, though some assignments—e.g., score-keeper, exhibit guide, and food handler—may require a modest amount of training and thus deliver a measure of fulfillment. All these activities qualify as LIV, since the central participants in the festivals, competitions, and so on are amateurs, hobbyists, or occupational devotees.

Conclusions

It might be argued that contributing to the community in all its manifestations is something its members are obligated to do by dint of their citizenship in it. According to Margaret Somers citizenship is

> a personal political status rooted in a set of universal rights that are enforceable by claims on the state and, historically, founded on the legal necessities of capitalist society and its government. Membership, participation, association, inclusion/exclusion, national identity, and the rule of law number among the core components of citizenship (Somers, 1993, pp. 558 & 594).

Sometimes referred to as "active citizenship," this conceptualization includes not only rights but also responsibilities, commonly understood as feeling obliged to work toward improving community life.

This chapter shows that the "responsibilities" of active citizenship can be felt as a commitment to engage in a serious pursuit. Here, meeting these responsibilities is a leisure undertaking, even though such terminology might suggest that doing so is non-work obligation.

Nonetheless, membership, participation, and association can be part of a lifestyle leading to fulfillment in a free-time activity. This is an agreeable obligatory community or organizational contribution made at the lofty heights of the commonweal. Be that as it may, this kind of contribution is too intricate and abstract to gain a place in the broad-gauged images of leisure shared by the general public.

But what, then, about the negative effects of leisure experienced in the wider community?

Notes

1. Source: http://adventure.nationalgeographic.com/adventure/trips/best-surf-towns-photos/#/surf-taghazout-morocco-camel_55811_600x450.jpg, retrieved 18 April 2016.
2. The abstract contributions are usually observed by leisure studies specialists, as is evident earlier in this section.
3. This concept is introduced here for the first time.

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9

Leisure in the Community: Negative Effects

Certain kinds of leisure are unwelcome by certain segments of society or in certain parts of town. Some of this is obvious, as in street prostitution (leisure for the john), raucous behavior by patrons leaving bars after closing time, and noisy late-night parties in backyards and apartment buildings. These activities amount to casual leisure of one sort or another. Somewhat less obvious, perhaps, are the skateboarders who frequent special parks placed in neighborhoods where the noise of the boards and the behavior of their riders displease nearby residents. Deviant leisure, ranging from sexual swinging and nudist resorts to cross-dressing clubs and organizations of radical politics, though usually discrete, nonetheless bothers some of the more straight-laced citizens, to the extent that they are aware of them.

Do these negative effects of leisure have a place in the laity's common sense images? To answer this question, we first consider this negative view of leisure within the larger frame of leisure as positive activity. Next, we look at the negative effects of casual, serious, and project-based leisure. Meanwhile, some leisure is intolerably deviant, whereas other activities are new to society and are therefore in the course of being examined for

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their moral implications. Another quality that characterizes some leisure is its annoyingness. These many variations on the theme of negativeness are the subject of this chapter.

Negativeness in a Sea of Positiveness

A bias exists in leisure studies toward parading the positive face of free-time activities and their consequences. There is plenty of theory and research about the usefulness of leisure in, for instance, therapeutic recreation, health promotion, and social and psychological well-being. Leisure's value in the general population is evident nowadays in such slogans as "Thank God it's Friday," "the end of labor is leisure" (originating with Aristotle) and, more indirectly if not more poignantly, the first verse of Fats Domino's tune "Blue Monday:"

> Blue Monday how I hate blue Monday
> Gotta work like a slave all day
> Here comes Tuesday oh Tuesday
> I'm so tired I've no time to play
> Here comes Wednesday
> I'll be to myself
> My world's poor by the time that I'm up
> But then it's a hard workin' day
> But I gotta get my pay
> (http://www.metrolyrics.com/blue-monday-lyrics-fats-domino.html, retrieved 8 October 2015)

Zuzanek (2014) provides evidence for the proposition that today people also have "Sunday blues," or emotional discomfort arising from the prospect of a new week. Third, leisure studies scholars have written at length about the positive role of leisure in personal development and community volunteering. Indeed, it has been observed that leisure studies is the "happy science," the discipline that centers exclusively on the positive side of human existence (Stebbins, 2007).[1]

Leisure and the study of it *are* positive, but certain kinds of leisure are unwelcome by certain segments of society or in certain parts of town.

That is, leisure, positive as it is for its participants, is sometimes defined negatively by non-participants who observe it, who for the most part see, hear, or smell aspects of a leisure activity that offend them. Moreover, the leisure experience encountered under conditions of an obvious negative public reception is undoubtedly different from that experience when the activity is widely accepted.

These effects are classified as products of casual, serious, and project-based leisure. The relevant proposition for the common sense images is that there will be less sympathy for hedonic leisure having negative effects than such effects emanating from the more serious undertakings based on skill, knowledge, commitment, and self-development.

Casual Leisure Effects

This type has great variety, with some of its activities being most obtrusive for the public forced to witness it. Above I mentioned female street prostitution (leisure for the john), raucous behavior by patrons leaving bars at closing time, and noisy late-night parties in neighborhood backyards and urban apartment buildings. In fact, disagreeable noise is a main, sometimes the sole, unwanted quality of these negative consequences. Joyriding motorcyclists speeding along urban streets at all hours on machines seemingly without mufflers are a well-known example. Recreational jet skiers create their own disagreeable noise. Jet skis are noisy, especially when several are skimming at full throttle over the same stretch of water. For tourists and coastal residents who value the peace and quiet of a lake or an ocean front, growth in opposition to it has paralleled its increasing popularity, at least in the United States and Britain (e.g., Roe & Benson, 2001).

The annoying, urban-neighborhood, barking dog is by no means always a source of the owner's casual leisure, say, as his or her source of relaxation, play, or sensory stimulation (primarily watching the dog's actions). But, whatever the nature of the leisure, if any, BarkingDogs.Net (http://barkingdogs.net/persuadeneighbors.shtmlNet, retrieved 10 October 2015) shows the difficult problems that can boil up when an aggrieved neighbor tries to silence the offending animal. Furthermore,

the consequences can be serious, as when the barking routinely prevents sleep, the animal's owner gets confrontational upon being asked to take measures to silence it, and the like.

Some casual leisure or combinations thereof give off a variety of noxious effects. For example, consider the "party house," a rental establishment in an otherwise ordinary urban neighborhood. This one is in Austin, Texas:

> Emmy Jodoin lives next door to … (one) with her family. "It is loud, and there is live music and karaoke stuff, and it's all done outside because of the pool," she said. "They're out in front at 4 in the afternoon waiting for their Uber to come, drunk on the front lawn."
>
> Homeowners had other complaints about guests, including trash bins overflowing with beer cans, public urination, catcalling, foul language, racist remarks, companies throwing events and the appearance of a rainbow-colored painted pony. "Sometimes, when they are outside, they're playing beer pong just wearing their underwear," said Hazel Oldt, age 11, who can see them next door from the third-floor rooftop garden of her house. (Lieber, 2015)

Obnoxious presentations of self through dress and bodily decoration can negatively affect observers of these creations. Some passersby are disgusted by wildly-colored hair arranged in offensive hairdos, by seemingly outlandish make-up, and by the risqué clothing that sometimes adorns both sexes. Here the (sensory and playful casual) leisure of the offending individual is found in deciding how to dress and decorate oneself in ways that appeal to a particular group, while announcing in this fashion to the outside world that one is a bone fide member of that group.

Serious Leisure Effects

Somewhat less obvious, perhaps, are the skateboarders who frequent special parks placed in neighborhoods where the noise of the boards and the behavior of their riders displease some of the nearby residents. Karsten and Pel (2000) write that this conflict continues with the boarders colonizing conducive public spaces for their activity. Thus, during their study the authors learned that owners of the Albert Heijn grocery store and

other shops located on Jodenbreestraat in Amsterdam could not reach an agreement with the boarders about their use of the smooth walkway leading to the entrances of their shops. Eventually, however, the boarders did find a less offensive place for their activity.

If we may consider raising chickens in one's urban back garden a serious leisure (making and tinkering) hobby, then there is a small list of objectionable consequences that are sometimes foreseen by the neighbors about to become party to these pets. The following website lists some of these, arguing however, that they are insubstantial: http://blog.mypetchicken.com/2012/07/20/the-6-silliest-arguments-againstbackyard-chickens (retrieved 10 October 2015). Here negative consequences may only exist in the eyes of the beholder, and then only where roosters are not forbidden by law.

Elsewhere, tourists may develop a fractious relationship with the locals or, alternatively, the former may simply annoy the latter (Cohen, 1984, pp. 381–382). This is an enormously complex area of human interaction, which is impossible to cover adequately in this short chapter. Casual leisure mass tourists are possibly guiltier of antagonistic or annoying behavior than serious leisure cultural tourists are (Stebbins, 1996c).[2] For instance, mass tourists may crowd the town's parks, streets, sidewalks, roadways, and restaurants. They may litter inordinately and drive or walk around the tourist zone at a significantly slower pace than the locals would like. Nonetheless, the patronage of commercial establishments brings additional employment and revenue to the community, which is welcomed by some of its residents (Woo, Uysal, & Sirgy, 2016). That the town is worthy of touristic attention is a compliment. Hence the love/hate relationship with regularly-occurring tourism that sometimes roots in this kind of leisure.

The Effects of Leisure Projects

Streaking (naked) would seem to offend some viewers of the act but probably not others. It can be classified as project-based leisure, though conceivably among those who find the experience exhilarating, a project that might be repeated occasionally. The project-like nature of this activ-

ity is described in http://www.wikihow.com/Go-Streaking (retrieved 10 October 2015). Elsewhere lawn decorations—basically leisure projects—may be offensive to neighbors. Grace Murano (2013) has posted 11 of them online that had brought official action. Several were temporary, such as when created for Halloween, whereas others were meant to have an indefinite life. Here beauty is certainly in the eyes of the beholder.

Meg Malone (2012) writes about "disgusting holiday decorations" for inside the home. The project-based leisure in this is evident in her list of 13 such decorations, from which one selects those that will be lightly disgusting for visitors during the holidays. "Lightly" usually means in this case a decoration that is not so disgusting that those who see it become deeply offended.

Negative Effects from Intolerable Deviance

Why stop with the visible negative effects of leisure? There are plenty of instances of virtually invisible negative effects to examine as well. They are found in a diversity of deviant casual leisure activities, ranging from sexual swinging, consumption of pornography, and private nudist activities to use of non-addictive recreational drugs, cross-dressing and patronizing casinos and bingo parlors. Moreover, they are usually discrete or relatively so.[3] As such they appear to bother only the less tolerant citizens of the town when they are directly aware of them. Studying this small group is a challenge, since these offended citizens would be hard to locate for either observation or interview.

Now, all the foregoing bears only on tolerable deviant leisure. Some intolerable deviance—it is illegal—is nevertheless engaged in as leisure activity, for example, rape (rapist's view), vandalism, and animal blood sports (e.g., cockfighting and dog fighting are illegal in some jurisdictions). "Brutal leisure" (Stebbins, 2013d, chap. 6)—a global interest—may also be legal or illegal. It consists of violent acts that can be understood as either serious leisure or devotee work, where sometimes a leisure career from the first to the second is possible. The activities considered under this heading include terrorism, assassination, religion-based violence, revolutionary violence, some police work, and some of the mili-

tary occupations. The violence in question occurs as rape, torture, beatings, and killings.

The preceding two paragraphs contain a very mixed bag of leisure activities, which fails to lend itself to the analysis presented in the preceding sections of this chapter bearing on the negative effects of visible leisure. For some intolerable deviance is visible and may not even be intolerable in some parts of the community (e.g., sectarian violence, revolutionary violence). Animal blood sports may be illegal but nonetheless draw a crowd of clandestine viewers. Rape and vandalism ordinarily have no observers other than the participants themselves. And a substantial proportion of intolerable deviance is not leisure, but rather work or adjustment to personal circumstances that eventuate in addiction or mental disorder (Stebbins, 1996a, pp. 6–7, 11–15).

The negative aspects of intolerable deviance and the annoyances of casual, serious, and project-based leisure may be perceived by the general public as more a social problem than someone's leisure. Community indignation over instances of rape, prostitution, vandalism, and participation in an animal blood sport, for example, set in motion shared moralistic visions like dastardliness, blameworthiness, retribution, and prevention. These things are felt to be wrong—"there ought to be a law!" That such activity is also leisure for its willing participants (not the victims) seems to be out of the question in popular thinking, which instead is concentrated on these visions. As a result this kind of fun fails to find a place in the common sense images (positive or negative). Yet, it has attracted significant research and theory in the scientific study of leisure (see, for example, www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Deviance). This reasoning also applies to the after-hours revelers, jet-skiers, owners of barking dogs, and tenders of obnoxiously decorated gardens: motivating them is their desire for leisure, while the offended community is thinking of these activities as moral issues.

New Leisure

New leisure refers to 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 (Stebbins, 2009b).

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 (e.g., lacrosse, archery). Then the activity gains a following in the surrounding region, nation, or beyond. Most often, however, new leisure activities appear to have been recently invented, albeit commonly with one or more older, established activities as models. New leisure activities are a diverse lot, found in the 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 processes contributing to globalization.

This definition of new leisure is admittedly vague. Such terminology as "recent," "a number of," and "established leisure" lack precision, which will only be possible to obtain with careful exploratory research on these activities. The definition above is therefore tentative, but hopefully clear enough to focus the following discussion as well as future research. On the other hand, the idea of invention is clearer, even if joined here with that of recency to emphasize the contemporary sociocultural context within which new activities are conceived.

The dissemination of a new activity is part of the just-mentioned globalization. That is, word of an interesting new activity spreads quickly these days through the mass media and the Internet. Aided by the growing universality of a reading knowledge of English, human interest articles in this language on new leisure appear from time to time in various newspapers and magazines. Enthusiasts also use the Internet, forming websites, writing blogs, and establishing electronic discussion groups. This broad, complex interconnectedness makes possible, depending on the activity, extra-local competitions, conferences, expositions, and very likely more informal get-togethers such as meetings of like-minded folk in restaurants and private homes and by e-mail.

New leisure may be deviant, though such activity appears to be comparatively rare. Durkin (2007) has studied "money slavery," which serves as an example. It consists of males making monetary payments to women in exchange for being humiliated and degraded, a form of masochism. In this new leisure participants meet over the Internet (e.g., www.goddessmaya.com/you).

Media notices of new leisure activities would seem to get the public's attention depending, one suspects, on how dramatic, prurient, unusual, and the like it is. Cup stacking gained recognition in the *New York Times* (Seminara, 2016), while drone-racing has been covered in *The Economist* (2016). Since both were described as sports, the laity might be inclined to include these two examples in their common sense images of leisure. Remember that nonprofesssional sport is well-known leisure among the laity (see Chap. 3).

Annoying Leisure Pursuits

Deviant activities, both tolerable and intolerable, are moral infractions. To round out this chapter on the negative effects of leisure in the community, we look further at some instances of the annoying leisure pursuits. They are not viewed as immoral, as deviant, but rather as irritating rejections of a custom or folkway (see Stebbins, 1996a, p. 3, Table 1.1). This is evident in the skateboarding controversy and the use of jet skis where residents on land want peace and quiet (both covered earlier) and the hiking versus mountain biking disagreements. With the exception of hiking it can be argued that the other two activities are also new leisure. Consider three examples from the domain of leisure.

Hiking and Mountain Biking

Whereas hiking is probably as old as humankind, mountain biking on a bicycle built for such activity dates to approximately 1970 (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mountain_bike, retrieved 13 September 2015). Since the obvious place for riding mountain bikes is an already established hiking trail, hikers after 1970 have come more and more into contact with riders of these new and constantly improving machines. In a study of the two types of participants, the hikers expressed the following complaints about mountain bikers: Riding out of control, Riding too fast, Rude and discourteous, Not yielding the right of way, Passing too closely, and No warning on approach (Carothers, Vaske, & Donnelly, 2001).

The most obvious explanatory context here is micro: interpersonal conflict. Some of this conflict can be two-way, as when hikers are rude and discourteous to the cyclists or fail to yield the right of way to them. More subtle, but also vitally important as an explanation, is the macro context of invention and technological evolution of the mountain bike. Such equipment at its best is expensive, but for all that mighty attractive as a consumer item and as a vehicle for experiencing the natural environment and finding fulfillment in a hobby. Another macro-level force is cultural: the values of experiencing the natural environment and mastering a respected and challenging mode of transportation. Finally, a lively written and video-taped literature on cycling activities has emerged, which includes portraying them being pursued on an international scale. In short, mountain biking is immensely attractive for a variety of reasons.

These hobbyists have established local clubs for hiking and biking (they tend to form with reference to only one of the two activities). At this level both are also served by bricks-and-mortar and online suppliers and repairers of equipment and related necessities. A local lore also exists about trails commonly frequented by local participants, as pertains to difficulty, beauty, dangers, accessibility, and the like. This social world adds further to the appeal of both hobbies.

Furthermore, most of the social world of hiking and mountain biking is facilitative—the clubs, suppliers, values, literature, manufacturers of equipment, and so on. In other words, these costs are outweighed by the rewards of the two activities. Note, too, that some hikers walk trails that appeal little to a mountain biker, such as those with lengthy stretches of swamp, numerous steep uphill sections, and consistently rocky terrain above tree-line. Meanwhile, these occasional contretemps between two numerically-small hobbyist groups fail to reach the general public and figure in its images of leisure.

Motorcycles and Peace and Quiet

The website "NoiseOFF" has a special section on the noise emitted by some motorcycles. NoiseOFF is a free online resource for citizens, elected representatives, law enforcement professionals, educators, researchers, students, and activists from the United States and abroad. The website constitutes

a working toolkit for people to use to reduce what is for them annoying noise pollution in their lives and communities. According to NoiseOFF:

> Motorcycles are an enjoyable and purposeful machine when operated properly. In the United States, motorcycles are built to federally mandated noise control standards. The reason why some motorcycles are loud is because riders modify the exhaust system or install an aftermarket exhaust system that is not street legal.
>
> A roaring exhaust system can be heard and felt over a wide distance, rattle windows and travel through walls. Millions of people are adversely affected by motorcycle noise.
>
> Riders who choose to ride with illegal exhaust systems ruin the image of the lifestyle and sport of motorcycling for others. Responsible riders and motorcycle clubs should advocate the use of legal exhaust systems.

In the United States laws exist to control motorcycle noise. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has set noise emissions standards for motorcycle exhaust systems, with the standard for street-legal exhaust noise emissions being 80 dB(a). All motorcycles must display an EPA stamp on the chassis and exhaust system. Still, the EPA recognizes the intricacies of accurate field-testing, which are beyond the jurisdiction of law enforcement agencies. Thus its label match-up is designed as a regulatory measure for states and municipalities to control motorcycle noise. Furthermore, riders can legally buy and install aftermarket exhaust systems, which are however, required to meet EPA noise emissions. In fact, most aftermarket exhaust systems are not street-legal, intended as they are only for off-road and professional track use.

The California Air Resources Board estimates that a motorcycle whose catalytic converter has been removed emits up to ten times the amount of smog forming pollutants. This is just one of many common modifications to emissions equipment, often intended to make the bike louder, that also reduces air quality and increases noise pollution. Residents dealing with the problem of motorcycle noise are actively lobbying their elected officials for better legislation and enforcement. Additionally, there are increasing motorcycle restrictions for public lands, private roads, and gated communities. Source: http://www.noiseoff.org/motorcycles.php (retrieved 11 April 2016).

Loud Music

Listening to loud music is entertainment casual leisure for some people and the music itself is, for others within earshot, an annoyance. An exchange between a fan of such music and the editors of The Mix (a British website, formerly known as YouthNet UK and Get Connected) is a site that offers expert advice for the "under 25 s." It recently answered the following question: how loud can I play my music?

> [questionner] Do I have any rights if I want to play loud music in the afternoon? My neighbours complain, but can't I turn up the volume between certain hours of the day?
>
> [editors] There are two sides to this answer because both you and your neighbours have rights in this area. Because of this, a balance between your 'right to play music' and your neighbours' rights to 'quiet enjoyment' needs to be found.
>
> Although you both have rights, it would appear that your neighbours have more than you because of the Noise Act 1996, the Environmental Protection Act 1990 and the Common Law of Nuisance.
>
> The neighbours can call on the Environmental Health Officer (EHO) of the council and the police to get you to make less noise. The EHO is able to get an abatement order from the court requiring you to reduce the volume. If this does happen and you don't stop creating the same level of noise they can seize the noise making equipment. If the police become involved there could be a prosecution or you could be issued with a Community Protection Notice (CPN).
>
> The best course of action to enable you to play your music would be to approach your neighbours and have a chat about it. That way, you will be able to reach a compromise that suits both parties. (Source: http://www.thesite.org/crime-and-safety/your-rights/how-loud-can-i-play-my-music-9490.html, retrieved 12 April 2016).

This passage shows well the irritating though non-deviant features (it is particular municipal bylaws that are being violated) of this kind of leisure.

Annoying leisure pursuits could conceivably give leisure a bad name, though only in the eyes of those offended by it and, it appears, only with reference to the annoying activity. But it is difficult to see how sporadic or even regular incidents of this nature might be generalized to the common

sense images. Critically, mountain biking, riding loud motorcycles, listening to loud music, and so forth seem to be evaluated negatively as an annoyance rather than as someone's leisure. In harmony with the earlier discussion about the negative aspects of intolerable deviance and the annoyances of casual, serious, and project-based leisure, a key feature of annoying leisure may be the dominant perception of the people annoyed that it is more a problem than a leisure activity.

Conclusions

It has been argued that leisure is not freely chosen (e.g., Juniu & Henderson, 2001). One heretofore ignored manifestation of this principle is that our chosen leisure activity may have negative consequences in the community that we, as citizens in it, would not want to be seen as causing (though not true for streaking and disgusting holiday decorations). For this reason alone we may realize that we are not really as free to engage in this activity as we first thought we were. The leisure seeker's empathic capacity is clearly at issue here. Still, even when empathy reveals significant opposition to the activity in question, some seekers may cling to their controversial interest. This determination brings up on a new plane the issue of selfishness as it drives the pursuit of that which we want to do (Stebbins, 1995), despite negative consequences for other people and the community.

The concept of selfishness was introduced in Chap. 7, where it was defined as the act of a self-seeker judged as selfish by the victim of that act. When people define an act as selfish, they 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. In that chapter selfishness was described as arising from the desire to pursue a socially acceptable leisure activity, a genre of over-zealousness that sometimes is defined by close friends and relatives as exploiting them.

Selfishness would also seem to be imputed to those who perpetrate deviant and annoying leisure acts. That laws and bylaws exist to control noise, obnoxious decorations, annoying activity, and the like suggests that selfishness in these areas is also a force to be reckoned with. These formal attempts at controlling behavior have been enacted (and sometimes

enforced), because informal measures fail to work well enough. Even the formal ones are not completely effective, in that loud motorcycles and music, for instance, can still be heard. The lyrics of a traditional, medium-tempo jazz tune with roots in early 20th century New Orleans—"Mama don't Allow"—sum up nicely this portrait of selfishness and its seemingly inextinguishable appeal for the self-seeker:

> Mama don't allow no bass [choose any jazz instrument] playin' in here;
> Mama don't allow no bass playin' in here;
> I don't care what mama don't allow, play that bass fiddle anyhow;
> Mama don't allow no bass playin' in here.
> [Followed by a heart-stopping, foot-stomping slap-bass solo]

We turn in the next chapter to personal development through leisure. That chapter and the two that follow take us still farther from the stereotyped lay view of leisure. To write off leisure as consisting only of the positive and negative images described in this book is to miss some of leisure's most profound contributions to the human existence.

Notes

1. Positive psychology is also a happy science, a field that was born in 2000 and that I was still unaware of when I wrote in 2007.
2. The assumption here is that serious leisure (cultural) tourists are attracted to the town because they like it as it is, unchanged as much as possible by external influences. They have come for its architecture, music, museums, history, geographic beauty, and the like. They have come to learn about such interests as liberal arts hobbyists.
3. In the addictive use of drugs the user loses control over the habit, making the activity no longer one that is freely chosen.

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10

Personal Development Through Leisure

Personal agency (or "intentionality," Rojek, 2010) is a crucial antecedent to the personal development that can be achieved through leisure. Both serious and project-based leisure tend to be anchored in self-motivated and self-directed learning (SDL) effected by reading books and websites, talking with other participants, observing the activity, taking adult education courses, and so on. It is through such learning that participants realize their individual tastes and talents and thereby find fulfillment. And through this process these enthusiasts develop a valued identity and recognition of their own individuality rooted in their serious pursuits or leisure projects. Their sense of accomplishment in all this is profound, as is their sense of a career of personal development running from neophyte to established participant in the activity. The social side of such involvement is equally strong, for this person becomes immersed in a social world (Unruh, 1980) of other participants, organizations, equipment suppliers and repairers, community admirers, and the like. Casual leisure is ordinarily part of this development, by dint of the relaxation it provides from the steady effort and concentration required by most serious activities. Furthermore, casual leisure dabbling can be the soil in which a serious leisure career takes root (Stebbins, 2014).

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Only the observations about casual leisure made in this chapter are consonant with the stereotyped common sense images (e.g., see section on addiction). Personal development through leisure is far too subtle and profound to make its way into the popular mind. That is, the central processes in this development lead to self-fulfillment, which because this can take years, is only possible by way of the serious pursuits. We look first at personal agency and its central role in self-motivated and self-directed learning. Discussions of leisure career, individuality, and addictive leisure round out the chapter.

Agency, Learning, and Fulfillment

Self-directed learning is a central process in the serious pursuits and one that also boosts self-efficacy there. Roberson (2005, p. 205), drawing on an earlier conceptualization by Lambdin (1997), states that "self-directed learning is intentional and self-planned learning where the individual is clearly in control of this process." Such learning may be formal (here it would be synonymous with adult education), but most often it is informal. An important condition is that the learner controls the start, direction, and termination of the learning experience. Both adult education and SDL are types of "lifelong learning." The latter as an idea is broader than the first two, summarized by Selman et al. (1998, p. 21) as learning done throughout a person's lifetime, "from the cradle to the grave."

Self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997) rests on, among other conditions, knowledge about how to execute the core activities of the serious pursuit. For instance, musicians should have greater self-efficacy in playing their instrument to the extent that they have learned the techniques for doing this. Writers will have greater efficacy to the extent that they read some of the best exemplars of the genre of literature in which they are trying to excel.

Be that as it may, it is one thing to be self-efficacious and motivated to undertake the requisite SDL and quite another to organize life such that this actually happens. The serious pursuits are long-term endeavors, which give rise to leisure careers. Succeeding in them, even moderately, requires significant personal agency over the years, during which the participant

organizes, depending on the activity, numerous sessions of learning, practice, writing, performing, and so forth. And participants must have not only considerable initiative and organizational talent but also considerable influence with those intimates who make occasional demands on their time. Thus, learning about jazz or classical music requires time for plenty of reading, as does learning how to write *belles lettres*. Would-be authors must learn well the stylistic conventions of their language as well as a vocabulary that will facilitate expression of their ideas.

Self-Fulfillment

Self-fulfillment refers to either the act or the process of developing to the full one's capacity, or more particularly, to developing one's gifts and character. In this sense fulfillment and achievement are closely intertwined. It was observed earlier that the serious pursuits are highly fulfilling. Nevertheless, each serious activity has its own recipe for fulfillment. For instance, fulfillment is different in a team sport like basketball compared with an individual sport like long-distance running. In the former players may experience the rewards of participating in good teamwork and the camaraderie of collectively winning a game or, even more exciting, sharing a tournament or a championship. In the latter the participants are in it alone, mostly sharing their successes with interested non-participants like spouses and friends. Both types of sport offer further opportunities for fulfillment through acquisition of skill and knowledge. Here, the link to personal gifts and character becomes especially evident, as seen in athletes endowed with exceptional balance, speed, or strength.

Serious leisure and devotee work can be main arenas for self-development and, especially, for self-fulfillment. Both unfold within the framework of a leisure career. It is a subjective concept, two major components of which are the serious leisure career and the career of devotee work. Of these two the first is the more foundational, since as will be pointed out in the next chapter, today's devotee occupations actually owe their existence, in one way or another, to one or more serious leisure precursors.

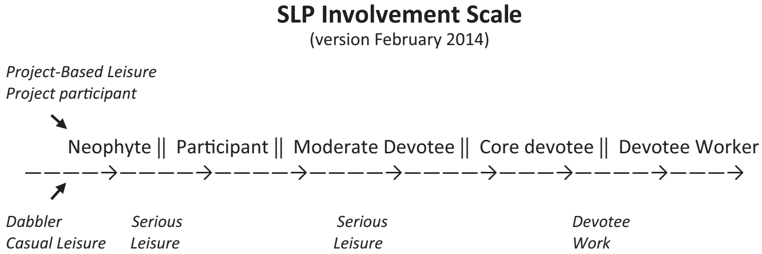
Leisure Career

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 role or activity and possibly into and through a work role (Stebbins, 2007/2015, pp. 18–22). The effect of human agency and SDL in a person's career in serious leisure (and possibly later in devotee work) is evident in his or her acquisition, perfection, and application of a combination of the special skills, knowledge, and experience associated with the core activities. Furthermore every serious leisure career both frames and is framed by the continuous search for certain rewards, a search that takes months, and in some fields years, before the participant consistently finds deep fulfillment in the chosen amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer role or sometimes later on in a variety of devotee work (these rewards were discussed in Chap. 6). Following a leisure career is, it should now be clear, a major source of motivation to continue to engage in the leisure or devotee work activity.

That people who go in for a serious pursuit follow a leisure career by advancing through it is not an aspect of leisure that shows up in the common sense images. Having pioneered this idea in leisure studies, Stebbins (2014) says that, over his nearly 45 years of immersion in leisure studies, he has found that both lay and professional people (e.g., Parker, 1996) often confuse it at first blush with the culturally dominant idea of a work career. He uses the term much more broadly, however, doing so in harmony with Goffman's (1961) elaboration of the concept of "moral career." Broadly conceived of, careers are possible in all substantial, complicated roles and activities, including most notably those in work, leisure, deviance, politics, religion, and interpersonal relationships (see also Lindesmith, Strauss, & Denzin, 1991; Hewitt, 1991).

Figure 10.1 presents the general trajectory of the leisure career running from neophyte to as far as devotee worker for those who eventually find in their pursuit a livelihood of some sort.

This scale depicts, as the years go by, the growing level of involvement in the core activity, with the amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer typically becoming ever more competent while finding ever greater fulfillment in it. Nonetheless, such careers may peak or plateau, say, at moderate



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. 10.1 SLP Involvement Scale

devotee and even go into decline. A participant does not inevitably and steadily advance. For our purposes, it is unnecessary to explain further the leisure career and the meanings of its concepts in Fig. 10.1 (see Stebbins, 2014, pp. 32–33).

Where does all this fit in the common sense images? Mostly it does not fit at all. There are no proper leisure careers in casual leisure, the theoretic home of these images. Still, some members of the laity may have a close friend or a relative who is well along the way in just such a career, most probably one in sport or somewhat less likely one in music. The relationship reveals what these participants are going through to pursue their passion: the skills to be mastered, experience to be acquired, advances to be made in a competitive world, setbacks to be endured, and so forth. But as before, such (highly personal) knowledge seems to exist in isolation from the positive and negative stereotypes that portray leisure in the general public. Instead, this is part of their parallel but unrelated image of leisure. On the broad cultural plane the seriousness of these leisure careers clashes with the elements of frivolity, residual activity, and spontaneousness composing the positive image.

Six Distinguishing Qualities

The serious pursuits are further defined by six distinguishing qualities (or characteristics, as they are sometimes described), found among amateurs, hobbyists, volunteers, and devotee workers alike (Stebbins, 1992,

pp. 6–8; 2014, p. 14). One is the occasional need to *persevere*, such as in confronting danger (Fine, 1988, p. 181), supporting a team during a losing season (Gibson, Willming, & Holdnak, 2002, pp. 405–408), or managing embarrassment (Floro, 1978, p. 198). Yet, it is clear that positive feelings about the activity come, to some extent, from sticking with it through thick and thin, from conquering adversity. A second quality is, as already indicated, that of finding a leisure *career* in the endeavor, shaped as it is by its own special contingencies, turning points and stages of achievement or involvement.

Careers in the serious pursuits commonly rest on a third quality: significant personal *effort* using their specially acquired *knowledge*, *training*, *experience*, or *skill*, and, indeed at times, all four. Examples include such characteristics as showmanship, athletic prowess, scientific knowledge, and long experience in a role. Fourth, eight *durable benefits*, or broad outcomes, of serious leisure have so far been identified, mostly from research on amateurs. They are self-actualization, self-enrichment, self-expression, regeneration or renewal of self, feelings of accomplishment, enhancement of self-image, social interaction and belongingness, and lasting physical products of the activity (e.g., a painting, scientific paper, piece of furniture). A further benefit—self-gratification, or the combination of superficial enjoyment and deep personal fulfillment—is also one of the main benefits of casual leisure, to the extent that the enjoyable part dominates. In general a benefit is an agreeable outcome, anticipated or not, of a person's participation in a leisure activity. That outcome may be anything appealing to the participant, whether physical, social, psychological, or something else. Durable benefits number among the consequences of pursuing serious leisure, and are therefore not to be confused with its motivational antecedents: the rewards of such activity (discussed later).[1]

A fifth quality of the serious pursuits is the *unique ethos* that grows up around each instance of it. An ethos is the spirit of the community of serious participants, as manifested in shared 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). Unruh (1980, p. 277) developed the following definition of social world:

> A *social world* 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.

In a second article Unruh added that the typical social world is characterized by voluntary identification, by a freedom to enter into and depart from it (Unruh, 1979). Moreover, because it is so diffuse, ordinary members are only partly involved in the full range of its activities. After all, a social world may be local, regional, multiregional, national, even, international. Third, people in complex societies such as Canada and the United States are often members of several social worlds. Finally, social worlds are held together, to an important degree, by semiformal, or mediated, communication. They are rarely heavily bureaucratized yet, due to their diffuseness, they are rarely characterized by intense face-to-face interaction. Rather, communication is typically mediated by newsletters, posted notices, telephone messages, mass mailings, Internet communications, radio and television announcements, and similar means, with the strong possibility that the Internet could become the most popular of these in the future.

The sixth quality revolves around the preceding five: participants in the serious pursuit tend to *identify* strongly with their chosen pursuits. In contrast, casual leisure, though hardly humiliating or despicable, is nonetheless too fleeting, mundane, and commonplace for most people to find a distinctive identity there. In fact, a serious leisure pursuit may hold greater appeal as an identifier than a person's work role.

The Nature of the Six Qualities

In fact, not all these qualities need further explanation. Three of them do, however, they being perseverance, social world, and identity.

Perseverance is an attitude and, as such, is not easily observed by the laity. Nonetheless, evidence of it may occasionally creep into lay awareness, as in the persistent practicing (at home) of a musical part or dance step, the daily training routine for a sport, the production of multiple sketches of a painting, and the like. There can be frustration here and possibly disappointment as the participant strives to solve the immediate problems facing him. On the other hand, most lay people would not even see the writer's multiple drafts, the actor's struggle with memorizing and interpreting a complicated line in the script, the hobbyist's attempts to find the right words in the crossword puzzle, and so on.

The social worlds of most, if not all, serious pursuits are far too complex and distant for most laity to grasp with any depth, even when the participant in it is a close relative or friend. Elements like team feeling, relationships with coaches, ties with equipment dealers and repairers, collegial rankings of excellence, relations with the audience and in particular certain members of it, and performance conditions are too subtle for the typical outsider to comprehend. The social world of a serious pursuit is, à la Durkheim, an abstract collective representation. Participants learn about it as insiders, a mental picture formed over many years of daily involvement there. As for the common sense images they simply cannot, by definition, as stereotypes, admit something so detailed and notional.

The strong identification with a serious pursuit that characterizes its enthusiasts is evident to their parents, partners, and close friends. Indeed, my observations of amateurs and hobbyists suggests that they have a difficult time staying silent for long about their passion, such that intimates nearby have an equally difficult time avoiding hearing about it. Nevertheless, this is about identity with the specialized leisure of one person, and it defies generalization to leisure in the larger society. The reasoning in play here may be that as the level of skills, knowledge, and experience grow the amateur participant is conceived of more and more in terms appropriate to professional work in the activity. The amateur's involvement, the laity seems to reason, now barely resembles typical leisure, but rather, is more akin to what the pros in the field are doing. For the pros the activity is a job, albeit an agreeable one. Meanwhile, in the public's mind the good amateurs seem to have advanced to a kind of unpaid work, or at least reached a high level of participation that jibes

poorly with its stereotypes of leisure while fitting imperfectly the common sense image of work (as a remunerated livelihood).

The Quest for Individuality as Leisure

One possible dramatic outcome of the leisure career leading to fulfillment is individualization of the participant, whereby this person achieves an uncommon distinctiveness in a serious pursuit. In fact, individuality may also be realized in casual and project-based leisure, but because fulfillment careers root primarily in the serious pursuits, discussion is mostly confined to the latter (Cohen-Gewerc & Stebbins, 2013). Seekers of glory commonly get the attention of the general public, the latter often being the audience the former strive to impress.

It is in the quest for glory and individuality in one of those pursuits that selfishness can reach its extreme expression. Be they highly committed enthusiasts—even addicts—seekers of glory in the extreme sports and hobbies may be accused of being selfish by intimates who will suffer mightily with what the latter see as probable death or serious injury of the former. In these circumstances the intimates may conclude, sooner or later, that the enthusiast is more far enamored of the core leisure activity and its glory than of them. When a participant, seemingly out of control, takes on too much of the activity or too much risk in doing it, imputations of selfishness from certain important others (whether overtly made or covertly held) are surely just around the corner. This is one avenue along which certain members of the laity (i.e., relatives and close friends) become conscious of activity intended to bring the participant fame, perhaps even fortune.

Individuated performance in this kind of serious leisure is heady stuff, though chiefly for the participant. It is easy to see how in searching for distinctiveness such people might engage in some selfish acts. Still, individuated involvement, at least in some serious activities, raises certain prickly questions. Do its lofty ends—for example, providing the community in remarkable ways with amateur theater, volunteering for an extraordinary number of hours for the Salvation Army, or providing the

same lengthy service for the Olympic Games—justify the selfish routes by which they are sometimes reached?

Most of the time, however, *Guinness World Records* distinctions celebrate achievements in casual or project-based leisure such as how many pizzas or hot dogs are consumed in a specified period of time. Moreover, some enthusiasts who go in for high-risk activity are literally paid by a sponsor to engage in it. The latter is hoping to sensationally promote a product. There is also the possibility of further remuneration from the feat gained through public speaking engagements or a contracted book or article. The most celebrated might even be recognized in *Guinness World Records*.[2] A number of popular books glorify taking intentional high risk in nature, thereby contributing disproportionately to the popular image that the hobbies in question are inherently hazardous (e.g., Sebastian Junger, *The Perfect Storm* [1999]; Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Viet Nam* [1995]). Still, self-fulfillment from glory and individuation is not the usual goal of the fulfillment career, where the core activities of the serious pursuit have enormous intrinsic appeal, a powerful reward of its own.

Thus the general public is aware of many of these quests for individuated recognition, though they are probably not recognized as leisure, given the dramatic contrast of such activity with the common sense images. Meanwhile, it is possible that the quests are seen by the participant basically as obligations, though presumably pleasant ones (they are willingly undertaken). That is, "this is something I have to do to prove my worth in this world, my distinctiveness there" (see Booth, 2004, p. 104 on this quest for prestige in surfing). But is this part of the laity's parallel but unrelated image of leisure? Those partners, friends, and the like who have to deal with the selfish side of such quests may well share this image. The definitive answer remains to be provided in research.

"Addictive" Leisure

Leisure is sometimes described by the laity as addictive, referring in this chapter to certain highly appealing leisure interests other than the recreational use of drugs, which are covered in Chap. 10. Aviel Goodman, a

psychiatrist, developed a definition of addiction he believed fit 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 when the effects of the drug or activity wear 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, freely chosen activity. Physically addicted people, when they feed their addiction, are not engaging in leisure.

Psychological dependence operates in 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 particular 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 un-coerced, 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) and surfing and gaming on the Internet (Li & Chung, 2006). People deeply attached to such activities may feel that, when denied an opportunity to engage in them, their psychological well-being is substantially threatened. Is not this feeling of threat 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 threat of divorce, financial ruin, jail or a heavy fine, public ridicule, or 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 might be addictive? Given its rewards and distinguishing qualities, can serious leisure participants become addicted to their amateur, hobbyist or volunteer activity, activity that generates such a 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 a number of constraints. Six

are mentioned here. One is mental or physical fatigue, and sometimes 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 might 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 while sailing (on northern fresh water) is limited to times of the 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.

Nevertheless, it has been argued over the years (e.g., Stebbins, 2007/2015, pp. 17–18) that the desire to engage in the core amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity can become for some participants some of the time significantly *uncontrollable*. This is because it engenders in its practitioners the desire to engage in the activity beyond the time or the money (if not both) available for it. I wish to underscore in this book, however, that uncontrollability is a *tendency* not an inescapable compulsion or obsession. Furthermore, this tendency is often felt in ways having little to do directly with addiction, as in a desire to upgrade equipment or clothing or acquire ever more relevant training or education.

Searching for Flow

Considering the foregoing constraints to participation in serious leisure, it is difficult to see how it can, for the typical participant, be qualified as addiction. And that despite the passion serious participants commonly express for their activities and the enthusiasm (as measured, for instance, in time, energy, monetary costs) with which they go about them.

Nonetheless, exceptions exist; some people defy these constraints suggesting thereby that they are addicted to, or dependent on, their serious leisure. Consider Régine Cavagnoud, French world champion in alpine skiing, who died in a collision with a ski coach while hurtling down a slope in the Alps.

> Many times previously Miss Cavagnoud had been badly injured on the slopes while pushing herself to her natural constraints, and probably beyond, in her drive to become a world champion. …Miss Cavagnoud did feel fear. Considering the risks involved, there have been relatively few deaths on the slopes. …But many skiers are badly injured. Miss Cavagnoud dreaded ending up in a wheelchair. But even more, she said, she dreaded doing badly. (*The Economist*, 2001)

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. The 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 say they are motivated by an "adrenalin rush." While this would be abhorrent to the majority, it becomes for this minority as it did for Ms Cavagnoud an addictive magnetism, accompanying fear notwithstanding. This in addition to the search for individuality mentioned above.

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, for instance, 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 allegiance to these constraints. Still such hyper-enthusiasts are comparatively uncommon, and therefore figure little in either the common sense or parallel but unrelated images of leisure.

Searching for Success

The drive for success in any field of work or leisure can be heavily time consuming, suggesting to some people that addiction is the cause of activity this intense. Where success is achieved through extended felt flow experiences and the constraints of participation are ignored, as can happen in playing jazz or engaging in alpine skiing, for example, addiction could conceivably be an outcome. But, when success is reached in activities offering only intermittent flow, or none at all, the label of addiction seems far-fetched, implausible. Meanwhile more empirically valid and profound explanations for such behavior exist. They include the list of rewards presented earlier and the qualities of serious leisure and devotee work (devotee work has these same qualities and set of rewards, see next chapter). These observations call into question whether the supposed workaholic is really an addict, as some writers have claimed (for a discussion of workaholism as addiction, see Stebbins, 2004/2014, pp. 28–29).

The drive for success does not mean that the behavior leading to it is uncontrollable, as true addictions are. Rather the successful person in leisure or work knows full well what it takes to succeed and, with a strong sense of control, personal competence, and commitment has set out to

reach this goal. He or she *is* in reasonable control of an unfolding career personally designed to achieve identifiable rewards. In other words the drive for success is carried out by way of a variety of positive activities. In contrast addiction itself, as defined in this chapter, is negative—an unpleasant state—to which the addiction-related behavior brings only temporary relief. This hardly sounds like an antecedent to success in the multitude of activities in which people aspire to achieve this goal.

The general public knows (sometimes erroneously) about addiction. Indeed, its members are often quick to maintain that a friend or relative is "addicted" to computer games, competitive running, cell phone texting, televised sport, Internet browsing, pornography, and the list goes on. That is, such people cannot seem to get enough of these activities. By inference they are regarded as uncontrollable. Following in leisure's negative image so-called addictive leisure is, at that level of participation, certainly unwanted. It may also be conceived of among the laity as deviant, or at the very least, annoying. On this last point, too, we need much more research.

Conclusions

Of all the aspects of leisure considered in this book, personal development by way of leisure and devotee work quite possibly stands in greatest contrast to the common sense images. Such development is achieved mainly and most profoundly through serious leisure and devotee work, while some leisure projects can also have this outcome though typically one of more limited scope (e.g., volunteering at the Olympic Games, preparing a family genealogy, making a one-time visit to the Antarctic). Meanwhile, casual leisure figures in the participant's developmental process primarily as a respite from the intense involvement that comes with the serious pursuits. This outcome of such leisure does square with the positive common sense images, for the relaxing activities are freely chosen and can be residual, planned, or spontaneous.

In the next chapter we complete this picture of personal development with a discussion of devotee work, a sphere of essentially leisure activity even farther removed from the general public's common sense images.

Notes

1. This definition of durable benefit is similar, if not identical, to the first of Driver's (2003, p. 31) three definitions of benefit. Driver's work makes it clear that the concept of benefit in leisure studies is far broader than that of durable benefit used in the SLP.
2. Most of the time, however, *Guinness World Records* distinctions celebrate achievements in casual or project-based leisure such as how many pizzas or hot dogs are consumed in a specified period of time.

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11

Devotee Work as Leisure

Even thinking about work as leisure is enough to set the laity to scratching their heads. In their common sense view leisure is the antithesis of work. Yet, thought and research in leisure studies suggests that the matter is in reality far more complex than this. In particular, the negative images of leisure—as frivolous, waste of time, and unimportant—are seldom used to describe work. Work might be boring, but nevertheless it is usually necessary as a livelihood and therefore hardly frivolous, unimportant, and the like.

So why cover in this book those kinds of work that can be understood as essentially leisure? The main reason is to show those aspects of the second that the common sense images are omitting, and *ipso facto*, why on occasion it may be either foolish or shortsighted to act without considering them. Still, common sense might be forgiven, since the some-work-is-leisure proposition is relatively recent (Stebbins, 2004/2014), and contrasts with the earlier scholarly belief that the two domains are wholly separate (e.g., Parker, 1983; Kaplan, 1960, pp. 22–25). Devotee work is the activity that so closely resembles serious leisure as to make distinguishing the two very difficult at times.

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Devotee Work

Devotee work is remunerated activity whose lasting appeal suggests it is essentially serious leisure, albeit activity from which these workers gain a significant part of their livelihood (Stebbins, 2004/2014). It is motivated by *occupational devotion*, a strong, positive attachment to a form of self-enhancing work, where the sense of achievement is high and the core activity (set of tasks) is endowed with such intense appeal that the line between this work and leisure is virtually erased. This devotion finds its expression in the *occupational devotee*. Further, it is by way of the core activity and its tasks that devotees realize a unique combination of, what are for them, strongly seated cultural values: success, achievement, freedom of action, individual personality, and activity (being involved in something). Other categories of workers may also be animated by some or even all of these values, but still fail for various reasons to realize them in their gainful employment.

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 regarded with scorn. Still, positive identification with the job is not a defining condition of occupational devotion, since such identification can develop for other reasons, including high salary, prestigious employer, and advanced educational qualifications.

Such identification might also develop through pride of workmanship, but it, too, is not a distinctive condition of occupational devotion. True, occupational devotees are highly likely to exhibit this attitude, even if it is not unique to them. Yet, unskilled laborers can also have pride in what

they do, only that what they do is much simpler than what devotees are involved in. Fitting perfectly the spirit of the modern work ethic, the janitor, for instance, can keep a building sparkling clean, be most proud of this effort, and bask in the gratitude of the building's tenants who appreciate such service. Nevertheless, the janitor's work fails to meet several of the defining criteria of occupational devotion to be set out later in this chapter.

Occupational devotion is a special orientation that some people hold toward their livelihood and, more particularly, toward the routine activities constituting its core. In fact, this core of activity is a major value in its own right; this core is the principal attraction of their work. Earlier three examples of such activity were presented as found in the work of jazz saxophonist Bud Freeman, librarian Sarah Houghton, and stonemason Charlie Murray Bates (Stebbins, 2004/2014, pp. 1–2) For them there is huge intrinsic appeal in what they do, such that, had they another source of income and some free time (e.g., income from retirement, another job, or independent wealth), they would be inclined to treat the activity as leisure. Indeed, the world has many amateur jazz saxophonists and people who work with stone as a hobby and serve in libraries as volunteers, all of them pursuing serious leisure.

We will, as we go along, encounter other devotee occupations evincing the same basic quality: there exists work—i.e., a set of core activities—that can be infectiously attractive. In such work the line between it and leisure is effectively erased. But make no bones about it devotee work is work, not leisure, in the sense that its devotees are coerced by necessity to find remunerative employment of some kind. Whereas leisure, among its many other distinctive properties, is decidedly un-coercive.

Furthermore, the term occupational devotion tends to mask the fact that, for devotees, the positive side of their occupations is so intensely appealing that it overrides the negative side. In other words, no occupation generates undiluted fulfillment. Freeman says he likes to practice his instrument, but many musicians care little for this aspect of their trade. Houghton dislikes "shushing" talkative students in her library, and one gets the impression (from other parts of his vignette not quoted in Stebbins, 2004/2014) that Bates would rather lay stone than brick. In short, into every occupational devotee's life a little rain does occasionally

fall, watering down to a degree the pure fulfillment felt there. But these passing showers fail to dampen significantly that person's overall enthusiasm for the core activity.

But what about work conditions and love for the highly valued core activity? Freeman found playing jazz in nightclubs to be "endless," presumably because of the occasional drunken and noisy patron who pays scant attention to the music. Perhaps Bates likes much less cutting stone on a hot day than on a cool one. Many a university professor retreats to the office at home, in face of seemingly interminable interruptions suffered while trying to write in the one at school. In these examples, people are working in adversity at their passion, which certainly attenuates its appeal, especially when contrasted with its pursuit under ideal or nearly ideal conditions.

Poor working conditions, whether social or physical, can amount to a cost so poignant that it overrides the love for the core activity, thus forcing the worker into another occupation or, if circumstances permit, early retirement.[1] But in true occupational devotion it is the good conditions that prevail on a reasonably regular basis, with the bad ones, though seen as costs, being nevertheless outweighed by the first. In brief, occupational devotion is only possible if working conditions are defined, *on balance*, as favorable.

Note, however, that some people like their work, primarily because they enjoy the people with whom they work, often talking informally with them as they go about the various tasks that constitute their jobs or socialize with them on official breaks. In addition, or alternatively, they may like the clients or customers they meet. For these workers, who are not occupational devotees, it is not the nature of the work itself that draws them to it (that work is uninteresting), but the social life that goes with it. Yet, at bottom, this social life is not work at all, but leisure seized in the interstices of free time found on the job, even while such leisure helps makes palatable the job itself. Indeed, these work ties may extend into the domain of free time well beyond the place of work, as work friends get together during an evening at a restaurant or an afternoon on the golf course.

But it is questionable how many people who are bored with their work tasks though pleased with their work friends or customers would perform that work for no pay, as leisure. Or how many look forward to going to

work after the weekend or equivalent period of time off? Or would they recommend their work as a lifelong career for their children? And what about the fourth "litmus test" in use here, namely, is the line between work and leisure erased? It fails, too, because the humdrum, if not downright unpleasantness, of the core job remains, giving it a decidedly obligatory and chore-like character.

Saying that people like their work because they enjoy its social life, is much the same as saying that people like their work because it pays well or provides great fringe benefits. All such rewards of the job are extrinsic, rewards found outside the core tasks themselves. By contrast, occupational devotion roots in intrinsic rewards, in values realized by carrying out the work tasks themselves. There is no doubt that extrinsic rewards of the sort just described encourage people to accept jobs and come to work to perform them. And we should be thankful that people can be motivated thus, for there is much work to be done, comparatively little of which is capable of generating occupational devotion.

And this is not to say that occupational devotees gain no extrinsic rewards, only intrinsic ones. Although the second are key devotees, too, may enjoy their work colleagues and, relatively rarely it appears, even reap a high rate of pay and benefits. This is the best of all worlds, to be sure, but as far as work is concerned, this Leibnizian state is all too infrequent (Stebbins, 2004/2014, chap. 7). In other words, occupational devotion, as a concept, directs attention to the core activities making up a work role, by proceeding from the assumption that, more than anything else, it is those activities that attract people to and hold them in that role. The four criteria just mentioned—erasing the line between work and leisure, yearning to go to work after the weekend, recommending the work to one's children, and being eager to do the work without pay (as leisure)—serve as reasonably accurate and valid measures of occupational devotion.

Devotee Occupations

Given how little research there is on the deeply appealing qualities of the wide variety of devotee occupations found in Western society, it is impossible to present here a detailed statement about these qualities.

Freidson (1990) reviews the meager literature on "unalienated" work, in which it is evident that the few observers who have looked into what I am referring to as occupational devotion have failed to tackle its positiveness head on. Indeed, he concludes that "most of what has been written about work through the ages is hostile in character" (Freidson, 1990, p. 149). This observation notwithstanding there is an enormous scientific literature on job satisfaction, where satisfaction is conceptualized much more broadly than occupational devotion as "a pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences" (Locke, 1976, p. 1304). Yet, most people who say they are satisfied with their jobs (and many are not) find only pleasure or contentment in them, which is a far cry from finding profound fulfillment there. To gain a sense of what occupational devotion looks like in real life, then, it must suffice to look at the types of occupations where it is known, or appears likely, to occur.

Before examining these types, let us note, more generally, that, although certain occupations and types of occupations lend themselves much more than others to the generation of devotees, all so-called "devotee occupations" have some workers who cannot be classified thus. These "nondevotees" are, however, significantly less common in the devotee occupations than elsewhere. Nonetheless, for reasons not systematically taken up the work and leisure literatures, the nondevotees have failed to catch the spirit that animates their devotee colleagues. Like the workers mentioned earlier they, too, are motivated largely, if not exclusively, by extrinsic rewards.

Six criteria are used to identify devotee occupations (Stebbins, 2004/2014, p. 9). To generate occupational devotion:

1. the valued core activity must be profound; to perform it acceptably 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 freedom, and force 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 waking hours (see Chap. 6);
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 man'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); and
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 avoidance of excessive paperwork (for an example in medicine, see *The Economist*, 2001, p. 33), caseloads, class sizes, market demands, and the like.

Sounds ideal, if not idealistic, but in fact occupations exist that meet these criteria.

We will see later how these criteria also characterize serious leisure, giving further substance to the claim being explored here that it and devotee work occupy a great deal of common ground.

Liberal Professionals

The liberal professions constitute one set of occupations where occupational devotion is noticeably and famously high. These professionals have long been known for the special orientation they hold toward their work.

This orientation, which may not even be shared by the majority of members of a given profession, reaches its broadest expression in a common outlook discussed elsewhere as the *spirit of professional work* (Stebbins, 2000). This concept denotes the distinctive set of shared values, attitudes, and expectations that form around a given type of professional work, where as a result of their occupational socialization, the work itself is seen by its practitioners as socially important, highly challenging, intensely absorbing, and for these reasons among others, immensely appealing. This work is highly complicated, executed most effectively by practitioners with many years of training and experience. Additionally, the spirit of professional work pervades the work lives of a sufficient number of employed professionals to constitute an important part of their occupational subculture. Thus, from what is known through research on occupations in general, this spirit, as expressed in each profession, endows the culture of that profession with a special quality not found in any other profession or, more broadly, any other occupation. Karp (1989, p. 751) concludes, after an extensive review of the research literature, that "one of the most consistent research findings in the social science literature is that professionals are relatively more satisfied with their work than nonprofessionals." To expand on the words of T.H. Marshall (1963, p. 151), who by the way confined his observations to professionals, these devotees are paid so they may work, whereas most people work so they may be paid.

But even the professional's work life is not uniformly rosy. Although many professionals find their work meets the six criteria, there is nonetheless a negative side consisting of certain costs. So the excitement of professional work stands out in relief against the boring, mundane tasks also required there from time to time (the mundane side of being a judge is discussed by Paterson, 1983, pp. 280–281). Moreover, some professionals, it appears, never escape the ennui of their occupation, a gnawing tension that pushes a significant number of them to leave it at an early or middle stage of their career (e.g., Wallace, 1995). Others, though initially infused with the spirit of professional work, lose it later in their careers, and as a result, seek relief from the boredom in early retirement, a group not to be confused with those professionals who love their work but are forced to retire early for reasons of health or industrial restructuring.

Many client-centered professionals operate as small businesses, even if some income tax departments may classify them otherwise. The same is true for many public-centered professionals in the fine and entertainment arts. I am speaking here of, at most, lightly-bureaucratized enterprises composed of, say, ten employees or less, where the unpleasantness of working in and administrating a complex organization is minimal. The main service of these enterprises and the core activity of their entrepreneurs, which is technical advice, is typically provided by people trained either as consultants or as counselors.

Consultants and Counselors

The term "consultant" is usually reserved for free-lance professionals who are paid for technical advice they give to clients to help the latter solve a problem. Occupational devotion is best observed among full-time consultants, in that part-timers and moonlighters (employees of organizations who consult as a sideline) simply have less time to experience the high fulfillment available in such work. Professional consultants operate in a great range of fields, among them, art, business, careers, and computing as well as nutrition, communications, and human resources. Note, too, that examination of the yellow pages of a typical North American metropolitan telephone book reveals the existence of consulting enterprises that are not, in the sociological sense of the word, liberal professions. If fashion, landscape, and advertising consultants, for example, are not professionals according to sociological definitions, they are nonetheless free-lancers in fields technical enough to be quite capable of generating occupational devotion. Such workers are, however, more accurately classified for the purposes of this book as small businesses.

Such taxonomic confusion does not seem, however, to bedevil the counseling field. Counselors offer technical advice as therapy. Occupational devotion can be most richly observed among full-time counselors with such professional interests as grief, religion, addictions, and crisis center work in addition to family problems, interpersonal relationships, and stress at work. Most counselors are trained as nurses, clergy, psychologists, or social workers.

Skilled Trades

The skilled trades offer the main arena for occupational devotion among blue-collar workers, even though it may also be found among certain kinds of technicians and mechanics. The trades have often been likened by social scientists to the professions, although this "profession-craft model" has been challenged for its lack of empirical support (see most recently de Jonge, 2014, pp. 93–99) and, even as an analogy, it has been shown to have definite limits (Hall, 1986, p. 68). Nonetheless, pride of workmanship, ownership of one's tools, autonomy of working from a blueprint, and skill and fulfillment in using tools help establish the basis for occupational devotion, the outlet for which is the construction industry. Today automation and deskilling (Braverman, 1974) of blue-collar work have taken their toll, so that "intrinsically gratifying blue-collar jobs are the exception rather than the rule, and are found mainly among the skilled trades" (e.g., Canadian Apprenticeship Forum, 2015). That some of the trades have hobbyist equivalents in, for instance, wood and metal work, further attests the intrinsic appeal of these activities. Finally, fulfillment in this kind of work appears to be greatest at the top end of the apprentice-journeyman-master scale of experience and licensing.

Small Business Proprietors

The aforementioned consultants and counselors, operating as small businesses, are obvious examples of occupational devotion in this area. But what about other types of small businesses, where occupational devotion is also reasonably common? We can only speculate, since data are scarce. But consider the small *haute cuisine* restaurant open five days a week serving up meals to, say, a maximum of thirty patrons and which thereby provides a manageable outlet for a talented chef. Or the two- or three-person website design service. Or two women who, given their love for working with children, establish a small day-care service. Still, this is a difficult area in which to study occupational devotion, for there are also small entrepreneurs who feel very much enslaved by their work. The differences here separating devotees from nondevotees revolve primarily

around seven criteria, perhaps more: efficiency of the work team and the six criteria of occupational devotion described earlier (skill/ knowledge/ experience; variety; creativity/innovativeness; control; aptitude/taste; social/physical milieu).

Perusal of the yellow pages and their online equivalents turned up a fair variety of devotee occupations pursued as small businesses, occupations that were then placed in one of eleven categories (Stebbins, 2004/2014, pp. 13–17). This typology should be taken as provisional rather than definitive. For at this, the exploratory stage in the study of occupational devotion, we should expect it to be modified in various ways as suggested by future open-ended research.

The *skilled crafts* are also capable of generating devotee small businesses. Applying the six defining criteria, the work of the handyman, people who remodel homes (internally or externally), and the stonemason serve as three examples. The handyman and those who remodel homes encounter with each project they take on some novelty and some need to be innovative, as does Bates the stonemason (on hobbyist handymen see Rosenberg, 2011; Brayham, 2015).

Teaching as a small business is distinct from professional teaching in primary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education. It is also different from teaching the occasional adult or continuing education course, something usually done as a sideline. Rather teaching as a small business centers on instruction of a practical kind, the demand for which is sufficient to contribute to the livelihood of an instructor or small group of instructors. Thus, small businesses have been established to teach people how to ride horses, fly small airplanes, and descend to earth in a parachute. Many local dance studios fall into this category, as do driver training schools. Innovativeness here revolves around adapting lessons to the needs of individual students and their capacities to learn the material of the course.

Custom work is another type of small business where occupational devotion abounds. Indeed, compared with other small business fields, it may offer the most fertile soil for this kind of personal growth. Here, to meet the wants of individual customers, the devotee designs (in collaboration with the customer) and sometimes constructs distinctive and personalized new products. Examples include workers who make their

living designing and assembling on order special floral arrangements (e.g., bouquets, centerpieces) or gift baskets or confecting such as items as specialty cakes, cookies, or chocolates. Tailors, tattooists, hair stylists, makeup artists, and furniture makers, when working to the specifications of individual customers, also belong in this category. Alternatively, individual customers may be seeking a reshaping or remodeling of something they already possess, such as custom modifications to a car or truck or an item of clothing.

Animal work, though less prevalent than custom work and possibly even less so than devotee handicraft, nevertheless sometimes meets the seven criteria of devotee small business. The main examples here, of which I am aware, are the people who make a living training or showing, cats, dogs, or horses. Just how passionately this work can be pursued is seen in Baldwin and Norris's (1999) study of hobbyist dog trainers.

Evidence that *dealers in collectables* can be occupational devotees also comes from the field of leisure studies, where the love for collecting has been well documented (e.g., Olmsted, 1991). Dealers and collectors work with such items as rare coins, books, stamps, paintings, and antiques. Still dealers are not collectors; that is, their collection, if they have one, is not for sale. But even though dealers acquire collectables they hope to sell for extrinsic speculation and profit, they, like pure collectors, also genuinely know and appreciate their many different intrinsic qualities. Thus, when such collectors face the opportunity to sell at significant profit items integral to their collection (again, if they have one), these motives may clash, causing significant personal tension (Stebbins, 2004). Here is an example of a work cost quite capable of diluting occupational devotion.

Repair and restoration center on bringing back an item to its original state. Things in need of repair or restoration and, in the course of doing so, capable of engendering occupational devotion include old clocks and antique furniture as well as fine glass, china, and crockery. There is also a business in restoring paintings. This work, which calls for considerable skill, knowledge, and experience, is typically done for individual customers. It offers great variety and opportunity for creativity and innovation.

The *service occupations* cover a huge area, but only a very small number seem to provide a decent chance to become an occupational devotee. One category with this potential can be labeled "research services."

Though most research is conducted by professionals, nonprofessionals do dominate in some fields. Exemplifying the latter are commercial genealogists and investigators concerned with such matters as fraud, crime, and civil disputes as well as industrial disputes, marital wrangles, and missing persons.

The accident reconstruction expert also fits in this category. Day care and dating services as well as the small *haute cuisine* restaurant and the small fund-raising enterprise constitute four other services that can generate occupational devotion, as the earlier examples suggest. And here is the classificatory location of such small business, nonprofessional consultants as those in fashion, landscape, advertising, and the emergent field of personal coaching. By and large, however, the service sector is not the place to look for exciting, fulfilling work, in part because the service itself is often banal, even if important, and in part because of the ever present possibility of fractious customer relations.

The *artistic crafts* offer substantial scope for the would-be occupational devotee. Some are highly specialized, like etching and engraving glass, brass, wood, and marble. Others are more general, including ceramics work and making jewelry. Many people in the artistic crafts are hobbyists, who earn little or no money, whereas other people try to derive some sort of living from them. It is the second group, which consists of many part-time and a few full-time workers, who may become devotees. Variety and creativity are the principal defining criteria separating them from non-devotees in this field. It is one thing to turn a dozen identical pots and quite another to turn a dozen each of which is artistically unique. Those whose sole livelihood comes from the latter are likely to be card-carrying members of the starving artist class; in a world dominated by philistines, sales of artistically different products are relatively infrequent.

Most *product marketing* is the province of organizationally based employees, working in large bureaucracies, constrained there by all sorts of rules and regulations, and locked into excessive time demands not of their making. Meanwhile, some small businesses do survive in this field, offering the product marketers there a devotee occupation. The archetypical example here is the small advertising agency that, similar to the small customs work enterprises, designs and places publicity on a made-to-order basis for customers with budgets so restricted that they are unable

to afford the services of bigger companies. Website design and promotion services can also be conceived of as a kind of product marketing. Only two defining criteria appear to separate product marketers in small and large firms, namely control of time and bureaucratic social milieu. These two are nonetheless powerful enough to distinguish devotees from non-devotees in this sphere.

Most *planning work* is likewise bureaucratized in either governmental or medium-sized business firms. Indeed, city and town planners were listed earlier as professionals (Stebbins, 2004/2014, p. 16). But there are others facets to the occupation of planning that, on the small business level, can generate deep occupational devotion. Here, for instance, is the classificatory home of party and event planners, who if they seek sufficient variety, meet all six defining criteria. An Achilles heel of this business is the level of efficiency of the work team, which if it fails in any major way, could result in disaster for the planner and a concomitant drop in sense of occupational devotion. Thus, it is one thing to plan well for some entertainment during the conference and quite another for the entertainers to fail to show up. Funeral planners suffer similar contingencies, by far the worst being a fumbled casket during the ceremony (Habenstein, 1962, p. 242).

The *family farm* is the final small business considered here. A dwindling phenomenon, to be sure, it still nonetheless offers many owner-families an occupation to which they can become deeply attached (see Farmer, 2012). Though they may exploit either plants or animals, the operation must be manageable for the family. All criteria apply here, though some need explaining. Farmers must be innovative when it comes to dealing with untoward pests, weather conditions, governmental policies, and the like. As for variety they experience it in rotating crops over the years and in observing how each crop grows during a given season. Especially at harvest time, farmers lack control of their own hours and days. But there is usually a lengthy period between growing seasons, when farmers have more control over their own lives. To the extent the farm is also run with hired hands, their level of effectiveness can contribute to or detract from the owner's occupational devotion.

Conclusion

Our attention to the modern interest in devotee work further highlights the importance of the leisure career (see Chap. 10). In other words, the present chapter shows how some neophytes start pursuing their leisure passion, eventually reaching a point where they can earn some or all of their living from it. The foregoing also gives weight to the proposition that every professional starts as an amateur and thus further belies the common sense image that all leisure is trivial.[2]

As observed earlier for serious leisure participants, the intimates of those in devotee occupations are aware of the latter's passion for their work, of their career in it, of their costs and setbacks, and so on. The epithet "workaholic" may well root in this relationship (discussed in Chap. 10). Nonetheless, such insider familiarity with the work-related aspects of someone's serious pursuit seems unlikely to generalize to leisure as one of life's three domains. What mass society does in its free time and what, for example, amateurs, professionals, hobbyists, and some small business people do are held in the popular mind to be two fundamentally different kinds of activity.

It was noted in Chap. 7 that a sharp disappointment for some serious leisure participants is failing to be taken seriously by the larger public. They are serious about pursuing their activity, but that activity is regarded as frivolous and unimportant by outsiders. At the devotee level, however, such trivialization is virtually nowhere to be found. Rather, devotee work is considered important, honorable, sometimes absolutely indispensable. To call it (common sense) leisure is to insult its immense contributions to society and personal development.

We turn next to the leisure lifestyle, an arrangement of use of free time that we all have however minimal the amount of time thus organized. For most people their leisure lifestyle is a manifestation of their common sense understanding of leisure.

Notes

1. For an example, see Balay and Shattell (2016) on the exodus of long-haul truck drivers from their skilled occupation fueled by complaints about low pay and poor working conditions.
2. Stebbins (2004/2014, pp. 73–74) defends the argument that client-centered professionals get their start as amateurs.

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12

Leisure Lifestyle

The idea of having a leisure lifestyle had little meaning for the general population until the typical workweek shrank to approximately 40 hours. This part of the contemporary leisure legacy began in the West largely between the 1940s and the 1960s (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Workweek_and_weekend). Now most everyone has a leisure lifestyle of some kind, and unless that lifestyle lacks sufficient excitement (as happens, for example, with some juvenile delinquents, Caldwell & Smith, 2007), most everyone likes this way of passing his free time.

A "leisure lifestyle" is really a lifestyle in which a person has found an agreeable, perhaps exhilarating, balance of work, non-work obligations, and leisure itself. For some people this discovery is facile; involvements in these three domains seem to fall into place with little trouble. By contrast, other people find such coordination of life's involvements to be extremely difficult. For example, they feel they have to work, perhaps because they need the money or feel they must save money by meeting various unpleasant non-work obligations. In any case, part of today's leisure legacy is its central role in the individual's search for an attractive way of living.

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In the first part of this chapter, I will present a précis of the leisure lifestyle as viewed through the prism of leisure studies. The second part will consist of a comparison of this image with the laity's images of leisure lifestyle.

The Life of Leisure

The following definition of *lifestyle* fits well in the SLP: 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 (Stebbins, 1997; see also Veal, 1993). At bottom leisure lifestyle centers on the ways people allocate their minutes, hours, days, weeks, and so on to free-time pursuits. In leisure studies free time has long been considered a key resource for the individual to manipulate to his or her personal ends.

In other words 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 hopes to devote, to carrying out an activity (Stebbins, 2006). Such commitments are both process and product. That is, people either set (process) their own time commitments (products) or willingly accept such commitments (i.e., 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, rest on personal agency. In short, this conception of time commitment finds expression in leisure and the agreeable aspects of work.

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. Hence they fall beyond the scope of this discussion and, with some interesting exceptions, beyond the scope of leisure (see discussion on leisure costs, Chap. 7).

More generally we commonly speak of past, present, and future time commitments (discretionary and coerced) at work, leisure, and in the domain of non-work obligations. The kinds of time commitments people make help shape their work and leisure lifestyles and they constitute part of the patterning of those lifestyles. In the realm of leisure the nature of such commitments varies substantially across its three forms.

Generally speaking 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. In addition 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 (e.g., 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 leisure enthusiasts take on (agreeable) obligations that demand their presence at certain places at certain times (e.g., rehearsals, matches, meetings, events). But most important, the core activity, which is the essence of a person's serious leisure, is so attractive that this individual very much wants to set aside sufficient time to engage in it. In other words, serious leisure, as mentioned earlier, often borders on being *uncontrollable*; it engenders in its practitioners a desire to pursue 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.

Project-based leisure may be accompanied by similar demands. In volunteering projects there are often scheduled meetings or responsibilities, if not both, and though of short-range, the condition of uncontrollability

can 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 the use of discretionary time that separates it from serious leisure. Furthermore, with project-based leisure comes a unique sense of time allocation: time use is more or less intense but limited to a known and definite period on the calendar (e.g., when the athletic games are over, the stone wall is built, 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 foreseen.

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 coffee klatch. Further some casual leisure, famously watching television, is attractive, in part, because it is often available on a moment's notice—described in this book as residual activity and spontaneous fun; it can fill in gaps between discretionary and coerced time commitments, and in the process, stave off boredom. Elsewhere, 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.

Moreover, in fashioning their leisure lifestyles, people blend and coordinate their participation and allocation of free time in one or more of the three forms. In this regard, some people try to organize their free time in such a way that they approach an "optimal leisure lifestyle" (Stebbins, 2000). The term refers to the deeply rewarding and interesting pursuit during free time of one or more substantial, absorbing forms of serious leisure, complemented by judicious amounts of casual leisure or project-based leisure or both. People find optimal leisure lifestyles by partaking of leisure activities that individually and in combination help them realize their human potential, leading thereby to self-fulfillment and enhanced well-being and quality of life.

Voluntary Simplicity

Voluntary simplicity is a distinctive lifestyle that bridges work, leisure, and non-work obligation. Its spirit energizes a growing social movement

today which goes by the same name. In a book entitled *Voluntary Simplicity* Duane Elgin (1981), who was 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 voluntary simplicity movement, which also goes by the denominations of, among others, "simple living" 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). Still, the quotations below suggest that need for the movement is centuries old:

> Better is an handful with quietness, than both the hands full with travail and vexation of spirit—Ecclesiastes 4:6
>
> Half our life is spent trying to find something to do with the time we have rushed through life trying to save—Will Rogers, *Autobiography*

As a practical strategy voluntary simplicity may be seen as cutting back on something held by a person to be unnecessary. True simple livers—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. Rather 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 this book voluntary simplicity refers to this entire range of practices leading to a more or less simpler lifestyle than before.

As a balance strategy finding a measure of simplicity opens up the possibility of lowering dependence on the paying job as a whole or on some of its key obligations. One might ask, "Should I need to earn $100,000 annually, were I to drive a cheap, economical car or reduce the size of my house or apartment?" Or "should I need such a job were I to do my own yard work rather than meet this obligation by hiring a costly commercial service?" Voluntary simplicity enables people to live on a reduced income, commonly achieved by, in some way, decreasing the amount of money they allot to managing their non-work obligations and possibly even some of their leisure interests.

Increase in Non-work Obligation

Let us turn, now, to the second implication of Elgin's conception of voluntary simplicity (Stebbins, 2009, p. 63). It is that, in effecting a lifestyle truly consistent with the tenets of voluntary simplicity, devotees of this lifestyle also appear destined both to increase their list of non-work obligations and to reduce the amount of free time in which "heartfelt" leisure might be pursued. Non-work obligations are activities that must be engaged in outside the spheres of work and free time. In principle, such an obligation can be agreeable, and given that it is not part of work or economic activity, it is, in that state, defined by some people as essentially leisure (e.g., walking the family dog, watering the household plants, babysitting the grandchildren). Yet many non-work obligations are downright unpleasant: most people dislike shoveling snow off sidewalks, going to the dentist, driving in city traffic (in this discussion, beyond that done in relation to work), and for some, doing health-promoting exercises. Non-work obligation is terribly understudied (much of it falls under heading of family and/or domestic life, but there are also disagreeable communal involvements), but hardly irrelevant in a discussion of voluntary simplicity and balance in lifestyle.

Consider that living simply might require a person to, for instance, walk and use public transit (in lieu of driving a car), take recyclable trash to a recycling depot (in lieu of sending it to the municipal landfill), grow vegetables or bake bread (in lieu of buying these items at a supermarket),

and acquire and use wood for home heating (in lieu of purchasing gas or oil for this purpose). Some of these simple living obligations might well be seen by some people as pleasant, as essentially leisure, including tending a garden, baking bread, and even chopping wood for home heating. But all such activities take time, which is to be found in the weekly hours of free time the person has. But when the activity is disagreeable, this robbing of Peter to pay Paul cuts into the hours that could be used for self-fulfilling free-time activities. It also cuts into time for casual leisure, consequently weakening access to, or the experience of, the previously-mentioned benefits it can offer, besides leaving fewer of these activities for rounding out an optimal leisure lifestyle. What is more people, to the extent they are absorbed with both work and non-work obligations, now have, when it comes to trying to organize their daily lives, significantly less room for maneuver.

Retirement Lifestyles

The matter of lifestyle becomes critical in retirement, for now there is often no longer a paying job to occupy much of one's time. Even people who only partially retire must come to grips with how to use a significant number of newfound hours. Retirement, unless narrowed by the need to work part-time, is the stage of our existence during which the leisure lifestyle can reach its greatest efflorescence. Now leisure may be sought full-time, which is often done in some combination of two, if not all three of the serious, casual, and project-based forms. Alternatively, some people pursue their leisure in parallel with part-time devotee work. Breheny and Stephens (2016) found in their Australian sample that most gave priority to productive leisure (i.e., serious and project-based) over leisure for enjoyment.

This scenario suggests a need for careful planning. A rich leisure lifestyle does not magically appear. Rather, retirees who want one should consciously work up a set of attractive, though feasible activities, then choose among them and, finally, blend those chosen into an appealing lifestyle.

Types of Retirement Leisure Lifestyle

Five retirement leisure lifestyles are considered in this section: homebody, traveler, townie, outbacker, and part-time retirement (more fully described in Stebbins, 2013b). What people like to do in their leisure depends in significant part on how much they like to be on the move. Here "on the move" means temporarily leaving home (their dwelling) and immediate neighborhood for 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.

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.

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, services, and the like needed for their domestic leisure. Further, they might occasionally break with this lifestyle: enjoy the odd ride in the countryside or a trip to a distant city, say, to visit a friend or relative.

In other words, for homebodies, their most important leisure activities are found where they live. In general, homebodies find their domestic leisure is sufficiently attractive. Other leisure lifestyles hold little interest. Some retirees are forced to remain at home as dictated by a physical or mental disability.

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 leisure *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 type of sightseer is the cultural traveler. One difference is that this type commonly wants to experience the local cultures of cuisine, marketplace, museums, street scenes, and the like.

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 eighteen sectors discussed in Chap. 6 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 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 attached to the 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 the part-time job. The homebody lifestyle offers, on the whole, 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 broadcast sports games. Nevertheless, that lifestyle minimizes

well the time lost in commuting, normally a non-rewarding, but necessary period 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 linked to 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.

Leisure Lifestyles in Common Sense

The lay person knows his own leisure lifestyle, conceived of however, in less highfalutin terms as the routine pursuit of free-time interests. In fact, this routine forms part of the personal image of leisure. As such, as was argued in Chap. 3, it falls outside common sense, which is shared and therefore part of culture.

Nevertheless, the common sense imagery of leisure also has a place for the laity's view of publicly visible leisure lifestyles. There are those of the rich and famous, the modern teenager, the elderly, and so on. They will be further discussed later in this section. First, however, we must consider the use of time.

Using Time

The preciousness of time is a distinctly modern concern (for an American example, see Robinson & Godbey, 1999, p. 34), and as such, a prominent feature of the common sense world. Most everyone in modern industrial and post-industrial society shares this interest, in the sense that each is aware of schedules to be met, temporal limits on activities (both positive and negative), the scarcity of time, and the like. Furthermore, ordinary people see not only their use of their own time in these ways but also that

use of others whom they encounter routinely. For example, urban commuters whose route takes them through a run-down area of town may note idlers on the sidewalks and in the parks, prostitutes soliciting, or groups of young men talking and lounging about. Elsewhere, neighbors might observe a steady interest in backyard parties, youth playing basketball or ice hockey, gardening, birding, cycling and walking in public parks to mention a few.

By way of these observations of the routine leisure activities of some of the other people in the community, the laity gains a truncated sense of one facet of the former's leisure lifestyles. There is in all this a realization that others in the community routinely spend their time differently (or the same) as the observer. The common sense conclusion is that people have leisure lifestyles, even if only parts of those lifestyles are manifested in places where the observer can see the component activities.

Time Commitments

This concept of leisure studies also has a common sense parallel. The laity knows that occasionally they willingly commit some of their free time to leisure interests, to for instance, agreeing to meet someone at a restaurant, deciding to watch a certain TV program, scheduling a weekend at a gambling resort, and committing oneself to serve as a volunteer at a local music festival. The general public is also aware of coerced time commitments. Work schedules are prime examples (for most people), as are medical appointments, income tax deadlines, opening and closing hours of businesses and offices, and public transit timetables. Time is of concern to the laity, not only because it is limited but also because it structures routine life; that is, it contributes to the development of a lifestyle of some kind much of which revolves around leisure.

Future time commitments (coerced and discretionary) also figure in this formula at the common sense level. This is evident in the ways that obligations several months down the road take priority over would-be future interests (e.g., I can't come to dinner that night, since I have tickets to the symphony; I can't attend that meeting because I will be on holiday in the Caribbean). These, too, are matters of lifestyle.

Voluntary Simplicity

Simple living varies according to its inclusiveness, according to how much of daily life is given over to living simply. A person might walk and use public transit, having renounced use of a car to save money and avoid polluting the environment. This sole manifestation of voluntary simplicity might not even be conceived of as such, but rather conceived of as a smart way to economize and do one's part to save the planet. It is probably not even viewed as leisure, since it has an obligatory sense about it. Nonetheless, it is an obvious change in the individual's overall lifestyle.

By contrast, another person not only adopts the walk-and-transit means of getting around town, but also grows her own vegetables, buys only second-hand clothing, eschews expensive cuts of meat, performs all maintenance on her house (one just large enough to meet needs), and makes her own clothing. This is a true simple liver, someone ideologically motivated by the movement to create a lifestyle based as fully as possible on the principles of voluntary simplicity. Furthermore, it is also for her a conscious lifestyle and probably a distinctive one at that. It might also be conceived of in the leisure domain as an optimal lifestyle.

That a person's leisure lifestyle is optimal is probably not a state of mind thought of in such professional terms. This is the language of leisure studies. The laity, to the extent that they have such a way of life, seem most likely to view it as a pleasant or exciting existence. Personal descriptions of one's present situation such as "life is good," "life doesn't get any better than this," and "this is the good life" reveal, in these instances, a positive lifestyle. Such assessments of life at present are probably not limited to leisure, even if free-time activities comprise most of its foundation. Work and non-work obligations must also be generally seen here as at least tolerable.

Retirement Lifestyles

It is likewise with these lifestyles among retirees: they sense them, can recognize themselves in the descriptions of them, and find them attractive, but would not typically think so abstractly about them as to give them

these scientific labels or place them in broader theory. Nonetheless, the outbacker, for instance, is keenly aware of lifestyle-related matters such as how weather forecasts, road conditions, patterns of human involvement in the outdoors, and the like can force a change of plans. Similar considerations affect the traveler's lifestyle. Of the five types of participants in these leisure lifestyles, the homebodies may be the least conscious of their lifestyle's features, since it unfolds mostly at home and thus depends less than the others on external forces like weather, other people's involvements, security concerns, and problems with public and private transportation.

Temporal Frames

Life in the West also unfolds according to various temporal frames, which add their own dimension to the lifestyle equation.[1] The principal issue here is when and according to what schedule, if any, do people pursue their leisure. In mapping out a leisure lifestyle, it is certainly critical to consider the daily, weekly, monthly, and seasonal temporal frames of the activities that constitute it or might constitute it. The activities involved are appealing, whereas their scheduling requirements may be much less so. The laity knows directly about the temporal frames of their leisure activities, for better or worse.

Daily Frame

The daily requirements are those that arise most every day or on certain days of the week. I use the phrase "most every day" to refer to activities that, perhaps ideally, should be enacted daily but that, in practice, can occasionally be skipped for one day. Slacking off thus, participants can still maintain and advance their expertise in a serious pursuit. Such a requirement is critical to every skill-based activity, from playing musical instruments to training in sports. To find the greatest rewards here means to adhere to a most-every-day schedule of practicing or working out in the basic and advanced techniques. In some other activities, however,

improvement in skill comes with actually doing the core activity, exemplified in knitting, wood working, and craftwork. Participants in these hobbies do not ordinarily practice or workout. Rather, they get better at their hobby by making new wooden, knitted, or crafted objects.

Normally, participants have a degree of choice as to when during the day they engage in their hobbies. One of the attractions of leisure in general is that participants have, more than in the other two domains of life, considerable discretion as to how they deploy the minutes and hours of each day. In particular, they may decide it is best for them to work out in the morning, knit in the evening, or practice the piano in the afternoon. They may further decide how much time to devote to each. Note, too, that some most-every-day leisure is found away from home, in such establishments as commercial gyms and certain "great good places" (discussed in Chap. 6). Their hours of business must be taken in account. In the end, part of the appeal of leisure is being able to set your own pace and develop an optimal leisure lifestyle around the different temporal requirements of your activities.

Weekly Frame

In much of home-based leisure, the day-to-day routine spreads across the weeks, a pattern that may, however, have to be adapted to the weekly requirements of leisure pursued outside the home. For example, some people belong to organizations that convene weekly in the evenings or on the weekends. Such schedules are popular, since they accommodate the work obligations of the non-retirees in the group, who usually constitute the majority of members. The collective arts groups commonly rehearse at night, and many sports teams also practice at this time (or early in the morning). For these same reasons many adult education courses are offered on Saturday or at night, once or twice a week.

In contrast, many of the clubs and informal groups devoted to activities in the outback are active on weekends, unless composed exclusively of seniors. The latter have the advantage of being able to frequent the outback during the week, when they have less human and vehicular traffic to contend with. The distances to be covered in reaching the outback

are typically such that a better part of a day is usually consumed in a single session of leisure. One reason for the lure of weekends and statutory holidays is obvious here. Moreover, as observed earlier, carefully planned schedules for outback activities can be undermined by the weather and official closures.

Clubs and informal groups established to enable gaming and certain participatory activities are also likely to meet weekly. This is a main occasion for pursuing the leisure in question. Groups interested in chess, role-playing games, and certain card games (e.g., poker, bridge) attest this pattern. It is likewise with clubs devoted to orienteering and geo-caching.

Monthly Frame

Most of the monthly requirements emanate from clubs and other organizations that meet with this frequency (some meet semi-monthly). Social clubs—their main attractions are a lunch or dinner and sociable conversation—tend to operate according to a monthly schedule. Science clubs usually hold monthly meetings, at which there is typically a guest speaker and, invariably, plenty of shoptalk about doing the focal science. Hobbyist clubs of collectors and makers and tinkers also tend to follow this pattern of monthly meetings. Interestingly, the pattern persists, despite the parallel proliferation of online discussion groups that allow conversation and interaction at any time.

The scientific and hobbyist organizations facilitate certain amateur and hobbyist pursuits, whereas the core activities of those pursuits are carried out elsewhere. In contrast, similar to the enabling groups discussed above, some clubs and informal groups that meet weekly actually enable their core activities. In effect, members of the latter have no desire to wait a month to engage in their passion. A week is often too long, as it is.

Some community events are also held monthly. For instance, a cinema may show a particular genre of film on such a schedule; buffs will be sure to attend. Certain bars and restaurants are known for offering a featured monthly drink or menu. Then there are the many book clubs, which, because reading a book as leisure takes time, normally assemble

only monthly. In this case, however, this meeting is the capstone of the reading process as it has unfolded over the preceding weeks.

Seasonal Frame

Seasonal requirements blend with annual events, which, though not usually linked to a particular season, are known for taking place on a yearly basis. In the domain of leisure, such occurrences are legion: annual general meetings of organizations, annual commercial sales (for those who seek pleasure through shopping), annual playoffs in sport, annual holidays, annual arts festivals and concerts, annual community events, and so on. Again, these affairs, however agreeable, count for comparatively little in anyone's overall leisure lifestyle. Nonetheless, in harmony with most of the monthly activities, they do contribute to that lifestyle becoming a noticeable element in it at a certain time of the year.

By contrast, a multitude of leisure activities are directly related to the four seasons, either through their dependence on certain climatic conditions or through their place in the calendar as it encompasses the seasons. We have already observed that many of the outbacker activities are seasonal, in the climatic sense. Some of the events and festivals mentioned in the preceding paragraph are, in effect, climatically seasonal, as are events such as lilac festivals (spring), ice-sculpting contests (winter), and pumpkin festivals (fall). Then there are the summer camps offered in the fine arts.[2] Nevertheless, many other kinds of leisure are needed to carry participants in these activities through a full year of free time, especially in the amount available to a full-time retiree.

The calendarial season presents a different set of requirements in work and leisure. Thus, seasons in the fine arts typically run from September through the following May or so. Courses in adult education are often offered according to academic term, frequently labeled as Fall, Winter, Spring, or Summer. Yet, these titles rarely correspond accurately to the climatic season and seldom have anything to do with its properties. As a third example, consider summer programming on television, which for many years has been widely panned as boring. The long-held belief is that

at this time viewer interest mostly lies elsewhere, hence the usual offering of reruns, reality programs, and other filler.

Seasonal requirements do make a difference in the leisure lifestyle, especially those directly related to a climatic season or to a calendarial season. Knowing them helps people plan their leisure lifestyle such that they maximize the benefit they gain from it. Being aware of seasonal requirements will, for example, enable a person keen on traveling, but equally passionate about attending concerts of the local symphony orchestra, to plan well in advance. This person must settle on travel and performance dates that harmonize with each other. This is no mean feat when some of the most interesting among the latter clash with some of the most interesting among the former (as scheduled in guided tours).

Conclusions

It may be concluded that leisure lifestyle is not part of the common sense image of leisure, but is rather part of the individual's positive personal image of leisure. That other people also have leisure lifestyles is evident to the general public through limited casual observation, which however, results in a profoundly incomplete picture of those lifestyles. That picture is too sketchy to serve as soil for an additional component in the common sense image or even as a parallel but unrelated idea, as was said earlier, for example, about serious leisure.

Meanwhile, what may we say about our common sense leisure legacy in modern times? How do people think about it generally and, in particular, how do they think about it in higher education and leisure provision? These questions are taken up in the final chapter of this book.

Notes

1. The importance of temporal frames was initially considered in Stebbins (2013a) as they bear on retirement. The concept is much broader, however, and is thus discussed here for all age categories.

2. These camps operate in summer, because their activities are often held outdoors and much more extracurricular leisure is possible than in other seasons. That said, summer is also preferred for calendarial reasons, chief among them is that school is not in session.

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13

Conclusion

The foregoing chapters show why leisure is vitally important in modern Western society, notwithstanding some negative effects. Those chapters also show an almost bewildering variety of angles from which to examine the ins and outs of the common sense understanding of leisure. We have looked at what those images presently contain and what they could contain were the theory and research of leisure studies better known in the larger community.

This is a legacy of note and, it should now be noted, a practical one at that. For instance, leisure plays an important role in therapeutic recreation, art-science-heritage administration (especially through volunteering), tourism and tourist events, ethnic lifestyles, aging and retirement, among other areas of contemporary life. More generally, to engage in leisure is to experience the positive side of life, forming a welcome counterweight in personal outlook on today's world awash as it is in negativeness.

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Thinking About Leisure

Leisure is like good health: many people find there is little or no reason to think about it when available, when having it is no problem. This is a time-centered conception of leisure, with work and non-work obligations as comparative backdrop. In particular, however, the laity must think of leisure activities when they plan for them, when viewed as planned fun. Furthermore, they must think about leisure activities that fail to unfold as expected (e.g., the concert gets canceled, the baseball game gets rained out, or the restaurant dinner is marred by a couple quarreling at the next table).

This taken-for-granted, time-centered orientation toward leisure poses numerous threats to individual and society. One, continuing with the metaphor of health, people seem little inclined to improve their leisure lifestyle when they see it as unproblematic. Thus, a free-time existence of hedonic pleasures may be sufficiently agreeable to dispel any real thought of pursuing a serious leisure interest, even when the latter is nevertheless seen as leading to substantial self-fulfillment, self-identification, and self-development, while in some activities, also contributing to betterment of the community (e.g., amateur theater productions, model airplane shows, volunteer work at heritage sites).

Two, like good health taken-for-granted leisure becomes a central part of a person's overall lifestyle. That is, the component activities become routine and therefore part of a familiar, comfortable existence. Certain activities occur regularly, as in TV programs, sessions at a great good place (Oldenburg, 1999), or scheduled events for which the participant has season tickets. More precisely, one's everyday leisure existence is also accompanied by a financial stability during free time; that is, the component activities can be comfortably afforded. Additionally, the friends, relatives, and acquaintances involved form, with few or no exceptions, a pleasant social milieu for the activities in question.

Three, both good health and good leisure lifestyle are, in the typical case, inadequately understood by the general public. For them both remain something of a mystery, even while in principle they cherish both. A main problem is that both are immensely complex, so much so that

ordinary people lack the time, desire, and possibly, the intellectual capacity to grasp these areas of life, which they need to benefit themselves to the fullest. In sum, points one and two (among others) weigh against taking the necessary steps to master sufficiently point three.

Taken-for-Granted Nature of Leisure

First, note that leisure cannot be taken for granted for some people some of the time. For instance, a routine leisure activity might become too expensive to pursue, as in a substantial increase in the price of season tickets or gasoline for the camper trailer. Ill-health or debilitating injury can put an end to serious involvement in tennis, bird watching, or hobbyist reading (e.g., vision problems). Or, for some outdoor enthusiasts, access to nature may change for the worse. Examples include closure of trails for all-terrain vehicles in an effort to protect the environment, severe limitations on hunting licenses to control for over-hunting, and controls on the pollution of lakes and streams that destroys fish stocks.

Thus such constraints on leisure can occur, which nonetheless, usually affect only one of a participant's set of activities. In general, then, the taken-for-granted nature of leisure becomes another side of the prism through which to view free time and, by extension, educational and governmental policies related to it. This is also applies to serious and project-based leisure, though not to situations where effort must be made, concentration while engaging in an activity is unavoidable, outcomes are sometimes uncertain, and similar conditions. These situations cannot be taken for granted.

Thinking About Personal Leisure

It was suggested in Chap. 3 that most people see community-level leisure in both a negative and a positive light. Personally, however, these same people see their own leisure in parallel as something positive, doing so in at least two ways. One, they commonly see it as fun, expressed in participants smiling, laughing, and being at ease with what they are doing.

Hence the intense concentration of the serious leisure athlete or performing artist, for example, is incongruous for them, possibly not even really leisure. Two, they look fondly on their own leisure and its routine pursuit as something positive (see Chap. 12 on lifestyle). They want to pursue their personal leisure, for here they find satisfaction or fulfillment, sometimes both. Put otherwise, the general public tends to regard leisure through its common sense lens as both positive and negative activity, while in their personal lives—outside common sense—individual members see it (their own activity) as dominantly positive.

Common Sense View of Serious Leisure

Chapter 7 contained a discussion of the poignant disappointment for some serious leisure participants of failing to be taken seriously by the larger public. They are serious about pursuing their activity, but such activity is not considered serious by people outside the circles of complex leisure. In that chapter I cited Maddie Breeze's (2015) study in which she demonstrated that women's roller derby "occurs in an inherited context of women's literal and symbolic exclusion, marginalization, and trivialization in sport. … Women's sport is a struggle for gendered legitimacy" (Breeze, 2015, p. 23). In general, women's stigmatized participation in sport in general and male domination there the world over have contributed to a common sense invisibility of this area of the serious pursuits.

That roller derby is new leisure only seems to exacerbate this situation. New leisure refers to 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 (Stebbins, 2009b, p. 78). 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 (e.g., lacrosse, archery). Then the activity gains a following in the surrounding region, nation, or beyond. Most often, however, new leisure activities appear to have been recently invented, albeit commonly with one or more older, established activities as models. 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 processes leading to globalization

It typically takes many years for a new leisure activity to gain public recognition, as is evident with snowboarding, Sudoku, and scrapbooking (Stebbins, 2009, pp. 79–80). Meanwhile, other new serious leisure pursuits are, at the common sense level, still languishing in relative obscurity, among them, parkour, ice golfing, eXtreme croquet, lock picking, and roller derby. This has also happened with certain casual leisure interests, including bog snorkeling, cell-phone throwing, and turkey bowling. The proposition here is that the common sense view of leisure will never include new leisure, whatever its form. But, as some new leisure gains public acceptance and recognition, it in effect, ceases to be new and the casual activities may enter the realm of common sense.

Addictive Leisure

In Chap. 10 I wrote that the general public is aware of addiction to certain leisure activities. Indeed, its members are often quick to maintain that a friend or relative is "addicted" to computer games, competitive running, cell phone texting, televised sport, Internet browsing, pornography, and the list goes on. In other words, such people seem to be unable to get enough of these activities. By inference their pursuits are regarded as uncontrollable. In line with leisure's common sense negative image, so-called addictive leisure is, at that level of participation, certainly unwanted. It may also be conceived of among the laity as deviant, or at the very least, annoying.

On the other side of the coin, addiction to free-time (non-drug) activities is seen by the "addict" as something positive. Addiction is both a process and a psychological state. It can result from pursuing regularly a leisure activity, especially a highly attractive one. Addicted participants cannot seem to get their fill, but nevertheless try to do so even in the face of major obstacles, for instance, cost, parental/spousal opposition, reputation as a fanatic. That is, addictive activity is activity that tends to engender addiction. The laity views the addictive behavior as *ipso facto* uncontrollable; in other words, they see it as coerced.[1] Meanwhile, its

enthusiasts are powerfully attracted to it, which in the end, overrides in importance its uncontrollability. Thus both groups see such behavior as leisure, albeit with different interpretations: addictive and therefore negative (unwanted) versus hugely attractive and therefore positive.

The Spatial Basis of the Common Sense Images

Does the public image have a geographic/spatial base? Probably not. People do see many of the leisure spaces in their community—the sports venues, concert halls, bar and restaurants, children's playgrounds, book shops, and so on—but these are activity specific. And they do vary by locality, region, and country, such as more outdoor hockey rinks in Canada than in the southern United States, more lakeside beaches in Minnesota than in Arizona, more gambling establishments in Las Vegas than in Salt Lake City, and so forth.

But the broad images of leisure seem not to have a geographic basis. That is, leisure is generally fun, planned, or spontaneous or unwanted, frivolous, or a waste of time. As such, the common sense images can be viewed as a distinct part of a society's culture. Within that society there will be patterns of leisure activity evident across demographic lines: social-class, religion, gender, occupation, age, and the like. Yet, the common sense images seem to transcend these social indicators and their geographic bases.

The Common Sense Images in Higher Education

I argued earlier that, when it comes to research specialties and teaching programs, these images of free-time activity seem to be alive and well in colleges and universities. More precisely, they tend to influence administrative decision-making in these two areas. What does this mean in practice? The evidence across much of the world, though less than systematic,

is that academic units devoted teaching and research in leisure studies are under siege. Their instructional staff is being reduced in size and, in some instances, folded into another academic unit or simply eliminated.

A common destination is a faculty or department centered on management or business, especially one that includes a specialty in tourism. Another is in a health sciences faculty or department, while a third is a school of environment and natural resources. Certain aspects of the study of leisure fit well in these units, as does sport in the health sciences and outdoor recreation in environment and natural resources. Though tourism is a main interest in business administration, it is also a prominent form of leisure and an avenue for international volunteering (e.g., Wearing, 2001). Yet, the study of amateur pursuits in the arts and sciences, some hobbyist pastimes, and various volunteering interests are often marginalized under these new administrative arrangements. The same may be said for the study of certain types of casual leisure, notably, play and sociable conversation.

Most of the time, official administrative justification for these changes is financial. That is, budgets must be trimmed in response to reduced governmental funding, dwindling private donations, declining user-pay revenues, and so forth. But that leisure studies is so often singled out as the means for achieving these financial goals, raises the question of why them rather than one or more other departments. One cannot help thinking that leisure studies, mainly because it studies leisure, commonly winds up at the top of the list of the most dispensable research and teaching units on campus. The common sense images covered in this book show the basis of the background reasoning that also appears to be used to justify such administrative change. Who in the academy besides the leisure studies scholars themselves will support them, especially in the face of like treatment of, say, social work, philosophy, history, classics, or even linguistics or religion? For organizational strategies such as budget cuts and the redeployment of units, better leisure studies than us they might argue. Moreover, all in this list have more intellectual allure with which to defend against such actions than leisure studies and its trivializing common sense images.

Government and the Common Sense Images

Governmental officials in charge of leisure-related policy and services also hold these common sense images. At the same time, however, they are responsible at the municipal and state/provincial levels for establishing and maintaining these policies and services. As a result, they know something about what people in their geographic area want to do in their free time and what government can do to facilitate those interests or constrain interests that are inimical to larger community interests (e.g., overfishing, dirt bike riding that erodes terrain, feeding wildlife, and outdoor swimming in restricted waters). Governmentally facilitated leisure provision includes providing playgrounds, picnic areas, hiking trails, swimming pools, basketball courts, libraries, adult education programs, and much more.

Thus governmental workers in leisure provision know about a range of serious leisure activities—e.g., hiking, swimming, basketball, reading, adult education—as well as activities that are fun, such as picnicking, enjoying playground attractions, observing gardening displays, and going in for casual volleyball, softball, bird watching, and kite flying. To a substantial degree these practitioners join leisure studies scholars in a much-richer-than-common sense understanding of what people do in their free time. Could they become the conduit for expanding the common sense images of leisure, for informing the general public of the serious and project-based leisure which also make up in the domain of free time?

Conclusions

Those who practice leisure provision in the public and private sectors do have their ears to the ground when it comes to learning what the public wants in the way of free-time activities. Thus, they hear about local needs for rehearsal space, playing fields, library facilities, local recreation centers, and neighborhood centers with space for meetings and events and the like. Serious and project-based leisure thrive in such places. Casual leisure on the other hand is more often than not provided by commercial,

nongovernmental sources, as found in, for example, cinemas, bars and restaurants, amusement parks, concert venues, and gambling establishments. Here we find the fun in which the common sense images are anchored.

That said, those who provide public leisure also offer hedonic activities. Public zoos, picnic sites, walking trails, scenic vistas, and botanical gardens exemplify this facet of their role. By this route, they are in a position to bridge the three forms of leisure when they represent the latter to their clientele: the general public. For instance, they help accomplish this by publicly identifying and promoting all types of services and facilities using websites, pamphlets, and printed and posted schedules of these leisure offerings. Thus, a look at, say, the fall schedule of municipal adult educational courses reveals those in language instruction, book binding, yard and garden design, among many others. The latter two might be approached as leisure projects, whereas all three could become the starting point for a serious leisure career in the activity. Juxtaposed to all this are such purely enjoyable offerings as exhibits, water parks and wave pools, and festivals and events.

To the extent that the laity makes routine contact with those who practice leisure provision and their programs and facilities, the first should be able to expand their understanding of what leisure actually is in the modern world. Even if it is not for them, the laity could come to conceive of leisure as including projects and serious activities, leisure as not only pure fun but also as something deeply rewarding, fulfilling, and enduring. This neo-common sense image might eventually work to buoy up leisure studies in the academy and provide lay support to aspiring artists, athletes, scientists, hobbyists, and volunteers without, however, renouncing or denying fun and hedonism as a prominent feature of life, modern and ancient.

Thus practitioners of all sorts can serve as foot soldiers who help carry to the laity corrective information bearing on the stereotype of leisure. Researchers and professors can do their part by appearing in the print-audio-visual-social media with statements designed to achieve the same effect. One approach here might be to arrange for a review of this book! One hook for all these intellectual emissaries is to flaunt the oxymoronic phrase "serious leisure," which I have found commands attention and, under favorable circumstances, allows for some informative elaboration.

Note

1. The laity's stance here is scientifically speaking illogical, in that leisure is *un-coerced* behavior. But, then, logicality has never been a badge of commonsense.

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