Contents

List of Table and Figures viii

Preface ix

Acknowledgments xii

1 The Nature of Leisure and Consumption 1

2 Conspicuous Consumption 30

3 Consumption and Leisure in Context 56

4 Phase One: Shopping 82

5 Phase Two: Consuming the Purchase 108

6 Organizing for Consumptive Leisure 134

Notes 160

Bibliography 163

Index 172

1

The Nature of Leisure and Consumption

Consumption studies, which describes and explains consumers, their consumptive behavior, and the creation, distribution, and purchase of the goods and services they consume, is a decidedly interdisciplinary field. Clarke, Doel, and Housiaux (2003, pp. 3–20) observe that, scientifically, consumption has been approached in three different ways, resulting in three identifiable bodies of literature. Economics and marketing look at it from the financial angle of the production and distribution of wealth. Anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies examine the social and cultural implications of consumption. History and geography explore consumptive practices across time and space. Such concerns as politics, ethics, and aesthetics, these authors observe, cut across these three bodies.

The early stages of consumption studies revolved mainly around economics, primarily the measurement of production and product consumption, and around marketing as expressed in research on consumer motivation to learn what customers want and what sorts of products interest them. Soon, however, abstract considerations emerged in the fields of sociology and cultural studies. Here thinkers began pondering such questions as the mass appeal of products, the consequences of popular consumptive patterns for the larger society, and the gendered basis of consumption, often taking a critical, if not moralistic, stand on their subject. Changes in consumptive practices over the years have also interested historians, while anthropologists have studied consumption cross-culturally, often in preliterate societies.

Yet consumption studies is not as interdisciplinary as it might be, and in this book I will argue, as it should be. As evidence note the observation by Zukin and Maguire (2004, p. 173) that sociologists in the United States 'have generally ignored the topic of consumption,' while those in

Europe have tended to line up more directly under the banners of such allied fields as cultural studies, feminist scholarship, and social history. Taking the sociological standpoint, Zukin and Maguire note that consumption is a vast subject, sprawling across all social institutions, these collective representations forming a distinctive prism through which sociologists have tended to view society.

From the institutional angle a good deal of consumption of goods and services may be said to be related to work, such as buying clothing and paying for transportation, but much of it, too, may be seen as familial (e.g., purchasing groceries, tickets to an amusement park). Quite clearly consumption has an economic function, while a lot of it is related to education (books, computers, field trips, etc.) and, not inconsequentially, to religion (e.g., religiously motivated arrangements related to baptism, marriage, and death). And then there is consumption carried out in the name of art, sport, science, and entertainment (some of which is also familial or educational). And, lest we forget, politics and government are part of the interdisciplinary formula, as seen in, for instance, regulations limiting store and bar hours, safety codes for various products, and taxes on goods and services. No wonder some sociologists have had difficulty getting their own intellectual grip on so diverse, amorphous, and widespread a field (as opposed to a grip on an established interdiscipline or an allied field like cultural studies).

Nonetheless the gap in the interdisciplinarity of consumption studies on which this book is centered is different. Here we look into the failure of specialists in this domain to systematically consider leisure in their explanations of consumers and their consumptive behavior. As with consumption leisure may be analyzed and understood through the lens of all the institutions just mentioned, even work (e.g., Stebbins, 2004a; in press). Yet leisure in these institutions is by no means always consumptive. In fact, leisure and consumption have a very complex relationship with each other. I argue in the following pages, after Ken Roberts (1999, p. 179) and Jackie Kiewa (2003, p. 80), that in no way can all of leisure can be equated with consumption, even mass consumption.

In other words, leisure and consumption are not always an identity. But Daniel Cook, for example, fails to see it this way: ‘We don’t live near or beside consumer society, but within it. Consequently we don’t seek, experience, make or find leisure and recreation anywhere else’ (Cook, 2006, p. 313). McDonald, Wearing, and Ponting (2007, p. 495) hold that leisure ‘has become an escape from the pressures of the competitive individualized labour market through the process of therapeutic consumption. The importance placed upon the acquisition and consumption of commodities has resulted in fetishism . . . over-consumption, luxury fever . . . .' That is, it is common in scholarly circles to view leisure as little more than purchase of a good or service. My overall goal, as we move through the chapters of this book, is to clarify and explain where consumption and taking leisure are separate processes, where they are similar if not the same, and in such overlap, what that looks like. This clarification and explanation is missing in the literatures on consumption and leisure.

The aim of the present chapter is to lay down the conceptual framework needed to work toward the promised clarification and explanation. This is accomplished in two major sections: the nature of consumption, which is the basic process in consumption studies, and the nature of leisure. In subsequent chapters these two approaches will perform on the same stage, as I try to show where they are separate actors, where they are similar if not the same, and in such closeness of character, what that looks like.

The nature of consumption

From the standpoint of the buyer, purchasing something is often far more complicated than the simple act of exchanging of money for a good or service. Consider the common, mundane act of buying some AA batteries. For one person this act is an annoyance, because those powering the travel alarm clock have gone dead just before departure on a long business trip. For another the new batteries are acquired with enthusiasm, for they will enable the purchaser to use a new GPS-operated personal navigator, long awaited to facilitate route finding on backpacking trips. A third person buys some of these batteries while shopping for something else, on the realization, triggered by product display, that the supply at home is running low and should therefore be replenished. This buyer basks, however momentarily, in the self-congratulatory light of being personally prudent and foresightful.

Only the second purchase is clearly related to leisure. The first is in service of a work-related obligation. The third is neutral, in the sense that keeping a supply of AA batteries on hand can conveniently serve any future want or interest, however defined by the user. Many other purchases of, for instance, food, clothing, and petrol could be shown to generate the same or similar patterns of allied sentiments.

Consumption, says Russell Belk (2007, p. 737), 'consists of activities potentially leading to and actually following from the acquisition of a good or service by those engaging in such activities.' We are dealing here with *monetary acquisition*, defined in this book as either buying or renting with money a good or service. Bartering, borrowing, stealing, begging, and other forms of nonmonetary acquisition are deliberately excluded from this definition and hence from these pages. Each of these forms is sufficiently different sociologically to warrant separate treatment, lengthy undertakings that would take us too far afield from the goals of this book. Moreover consumption through monetary acquisition is intentional. As such receiving gifts falls beyond the purview of this work, because giving the gift roots in the intention of the giver rather than the receiver. Nevertheless a giver of a gift may present the gift as, in whole or in part, a conspicuous expression of consumptive power, a process examined in Chapter 2.

More particularly the social scientific study of consumption has been primarily concerned with a celebrated variety of this process, namely mass consumption, or the wide spread acquisition of popular goods and services (with these two sometimes referred to as mass culture). Further there is in the literature on mass consumption a tendency to say little about leisure other than to relate it to such consumption, thereby creating the impression that mass leisure is the only leisure that exists. As noted in the next section this tendency has a long history.

We will consider both parts of Belk's definition – 'activities potentially leading to and actually following from the acquisition of a good or service by those engaging in such activities.' The second part will be taken up in Chapter 5 as the second phase of consumption. Discussion of the first phase – activities potentially leading to acquisition of a good or service – will for the most part be limited to Chapter 4. Phase One of consumption, compared with Phase Two, has been well examined, both conceptually and empirically, under the banner of 'shopping' (e.g., Prus and Dawson, 1991; Bowlby, 1997; Falk and Campbell, 1997; Stebbins, 2006). Whereas what follows after the act of acquiring a good or service, the second phase of consumption, has, from the angle of leisure, been comparatively unexplored. My underlying model is that the act of monetary acquisition (i.e., purchasing or renting) of a good or service stands between these two phases, demarcating them, in the old days often and figuratively by the melodic ring of a cash register, but today, more often than not, by the muted hiss of a bank card being swiped. Note that the informal, or nonmonetary, borrowing of something, since no commodity is traded in this process, is not regarded here as consumptive acquisition. This two-phase model is elaborated further at the beginning of Chapter 4.

Mass consumption

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

Herbert Gans has provided a useful overview of the mass leisure/mass culture critique that some analysts made of its perceived socially and psychologically harmful effects. This critique, more than any other force, set the stage for the rise of the contemporary view that leisure is largely, if not entirely, a matter of consumption, as an identity with this process. Gans (1974, pp. 4–5) starts by noting that such an assessment is endemic to urban industrial society, which in the 18th century saw work time and free time become separate periods in everyday life. Popular literature was the object of criticism during that era, which shifted in the 19th century to a focus on the ‘iniquities’ of alcohol and illicit sex and then later on the deleterious effects of sedentary spectator sport and televised entertainment. These practices, it was argued, lead to boredom, unhappiness, possibly even social chaos.

> With respect to leisure facilities in the nineteenth century, the critique emphasized the allegedly harmful effects of the music hall, the tavern, and the brothel; from about the 1920s to the 1950s, it focused on the movies, comic books, radio, and spectator sports. During the affluence of the 1950s, it expanded its concern to mass consumption in general, and to the suburban life-style in particular, but in the 1960s it narrowed again, centering now mainly on the negative effects of television viewing.
>
> (Gans, 1974, p. 4)

Though the object of criticism changed over this period, the theme remained much the same: popular leisure, as defined by the critics, is dangerous for both individual and society. Two influential anthologies assembled by Larrabee and Meyerson (1958) on mass leisure and by Rosenberg and White (1957) on mass culture gave intellectual expression to this stance.

Gans (1974, p. 5) goes on to note that, by the late 1960s, the mass leisure critique had come to an ideological fork in the road. Figuratively speaking, some critics took the leftish route, railing against what they saw as a youth culture founded on political radicalism, hedonism, mysticism, and nihilism. Of interest in the present book is the hedonic, consumerist component of this culture. Herbert Marcuse, a philosophical and sociological Marxist, became a key figure in criticizing this tendency, arguing in *One-Dimensional Man* (Marcuse, 1964) that mass culture is a potent repressive force. Disguised as affluence and liberty, technological rationality has become the major instrument of social domination. Better living supported by more and more gadgets is increasing alienation, he maintained. Humanity is willfully accepting its own domination by technology. 'People recognize themselves in their automobile, hi-fi set, split-level home, kitchen equipment. . . . There is only one dimension, and it is everywhere and in all forms' (Marcuse, 1964, pp. 9, 11).

Up the 'rightish' route went those who regarded the mass culture critique as dead, because high culture had by then been embraced at the popular cultural level. That is they saw cultural choice as no longer determined by class position. This proposition was most visibly championed by Nathan Glazer (1971) and Daniel Bell (1970). Gans (1974, p. 6), however, found this assessment insufficiently nuanced. He agreed that high cultural standards had been adopted outside the upper class, most particularly by the upper-middle class, but it was still possible to differentiate high and popular culture. The former only had a broader base than it previously had.

The mass leisure/mass society debate has, since the early 1970s, given way to a number of more specialized polemics such as the nature and impact of popular culture and the cultural industries. Of concern in this book is the continuation of the putative identity of leisure and consumption. Linking the two this way is common practice in discussions of the consumer society.

The consumer society

The belief that we presently live in a consumer society, flows logically from the belief that many kinds of leisure and culture have mass appeal. This reasoning assumes, however, that attractive leisure and culture are purchased (on a mass basis). It also assumes that most people in the consumer society have plenty of money to spend on purchases of hedonic good and services and that they therefore buy correspondingly. So central is consumption in this argument that, according to Zygmunt Bauman (2003 p. 26) the individual member 'needs to be a consumer first, before one can think of becoming anything in particular.' In other words, we are known by what we consume and, to be sure, are also socially ranked by that same criterion. This applies both in leisure and outside of it.

Chas Critcher (2006, p. 281) holds that commercialized leisure is an essential feature of the consumer society; leisure is something bought in the marketplace. Citing Celia Lury (1996) he lists several characteristics of the consumer society:

- Mass availability of consumer goods.
- Penetration of the market into almost all spheres of life.
- Use of advertising and promotion to attract consumers.
- Popularity of shopping in all its forms.
- Importance of selling and buying style, perhaps even lifestyle (Critcher, 2006, p. 281).

These characteristics are typical of the economy as a whole, though with emphasis on sport and leisure as commercial enterprise. These two, Critcher observes, also serve as vehicles for marketing goods and services in other spheres of life.

Critcher goes on to note that the rise of the consumer society has reduced the importance of social class as a correlate of leisure activities. The contemporary process of leisure customization helps explain this tendency.

Consumption and leisure customization

Mass consumption is still with us in the 21st century, though in the words of Geoffrey Godbey, it is now noticeably more 'customized' than earlier. That is mass consumption and mass leisure continue as before, exemplified in eating for pleasure at MacDonald's, watching popular films, listening to popular music, and attending games of the local professional team. Western nations are, among other things, consumer societies, and, as argued in this book, a significant part of consumption there may be qualified as leisure or leisure-related activities. Moreover we shall see in Chapter 3 that the social scientific critique of mass consumption continues apace.

Meanwhile overlaying the mass consumption of today is a trend toward shaping the leisure consumed to suit particular categories of consumers (Godbey, 2004). Mass leisure has always had a clear sense of equality about it – it is for everyone. But now, though mass leisure is still enjoyed, another kind of leisure is growing alongside it. This leisure is 'appropriate'; it is customized by or for special categories of society. And the emergence of these categories reflects some of the recent transformations to postmodern society. Godbey explains how these groups emerge in the wake of today's brisk pace of social change.

One, he notes the explosive population growth in the West. It is fueled substantially by international migration, which brings different sets of leisure-related customs. The efflorescence of 'ethnic' restaurants and grocery stores is evidence of this, as is the demand for special recreational facilities for Muslim women (VandeSchoot, 2005). Films shown in cinemas catering to particular nationalities constitute another sign of customization along lines of immigrant tastes. How many immigrants from Germany, Italy, Japan, or Korea, for example, buy cars in their new country that were made in the old country, cars used for leisure and for work and other obligations? Now we find video and CD shops catering to certain ethnic tastes in film and music. In the area of illegal deviant leisure, roosters are raised and sold for cockfighting in North America by immigrants from Asia and Latin America where this practice is legal (Pynn, 2008).

Two, composition of the family has changed considerably, with many more single-parent units, gay and lesbian unions, and multiethnic and multiracial groups. In most Western countries today a number of hotels operate according to a 'gay friendly' policy. Three, the world's population is aging. This has been paralleled by an increase in leisure programs and services for the elderly exemplified in their own exercise programs, musical performances, dance sessions, and local tours. Crafts are popular with older people, which leads some of them to take courses in this area and many of them to patronize stores supplying relevant material and tools to work with.

Four, work is, for many people, different now from what it used to be. Today the typical worker is always learning something new. Part-time jobs are now more common, as is work at home. Some seniors continue working part-time. Writing on new leisure I observed (Stebbins, 2009a) that part-time employment opens up workers to free-time opportunities as diverse as making up languages and practicing money slavery (where males make monetary payments to women in exchange for being humiliated and degraded over the Internet). And for those in the workforce

PROOF

suffering from a time famine, they may now play with dispatch the new 'express' board games.

Five, Godbey holds that today's economy is, in many respects, an experience economy. Evidence for this trend is ubiquitous. Thus, the rich may have the expensive, though highly unusual, experience of spaceflight, as provided by the Russian Space Agency. Nowadays people pay to ride on a luge run or a zip line, be pulled in a dog sled, go rafting on a raging river, eat at a fine restaurant, enjoy a spa, ride a helicopter to a mountain top, and similar thrills. All this for the distinctive experience each can bring.

Six, religion is also becoming more diverse in the West, thereby forcing customization of leisure services to accommodate the diverse free-time interests that are commensurate with religious principles. The example above about special recreational services for Muslin women fits here, too, as do some of the ethnic restaurants and grocery stores, their ethnicity in this instance being religious (e.g., those vending vegetarian cuisine; kosher food; special meat, fish, or foul for sacred holidays). Religion and custom also lead people to different leisure while celebrating their own special days. Ramadan, Ukrainian Christmas, and the Chinese New Year illustrate these practices.

The 'galactic city' (Lewis, 1995) is an increasingly common urban phenomenon. This kind of community – it spreads over considerable territory toward the outer edge of a larger metropolitan area while having no clear center – encourages use of the automobile and involvement in local leisure. This situation helps explain the popularity of, for example, neighborhood conversation cafés. These casual leisure, sociable conversations operate, often fortnightly, on a no-charge basis, and are held in a public setting, usually a local café. Anyone may participate, which is done by speaking in turn on a mutually agreed-upon subject. This session is followed by open dialogue. A skilled host leads the session.

The nature of leisure

Before turning to the serious leisure perspective – the vantage point we will use to examine the relationship of leisure and consumption – we must first look at three basic concepts that not only undergird this framework but also help clarify and explain that relationship. These concepts are leisure, general activity (and role), and core activity. They are also central to positive sociology, defined as the study of what people do to organize their lives such that their lives become, in combination, substantially rewarding, satisfying, and fulfilling (Stebbins, 2009b, pp. 1–2). Because leisure is inherently positive and positiveness through leisure is a fundamental line of inquiry for positive sociology, reference to this condition and the branch of knowledge devoted to studying and promoting it will surface at various points in this book.

What is leisure?

Scientifically speaking, leisure is uncoerced activity undertaken during free time. Uncoerced activity is positive activity that, using their abilities and resources, people both want to do and can do at either a personally satisfying or a deeper fulfilling level (Stebbins, 2005a, 2007a, pp. 4–5). Let us be clear at the outset about the place of boredom in everyday life. This state of mind is more complex than sometimes acknowledged. For boredom occurring in free time is a *coerced* state; it is not something bored people *want* to experience. Therefore it is not leisure; it is not a positive experience, as just defined. In fact any activity may be boring, be it free-time, work, or nonwork obligation. In these circumstances the desired end and the means to it are uninspiring. In free time the boring activity (e.g., hanging out on a street corner with nothing else to do, watching uninteresting television) is commonly the only activity seen by participants as available to them.

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

Activity and role

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 according to whether they fall within the domain of work, leisure, or nonwork obligation.[1] They are, furthermore, general. In some instances they refer to the behavioral side of recognizable roles, for example commuter, tennis player, and chair of a meeting. In others we may recognize the activity but not conceive of it so formally as a role, exemplified in someone sleeping, mowing a lawn, or eating lunch (not as patron in a restaurant).

The concept of activity is an abstraction, and as such, is broader than that of role. In other words, roles are associated with particular statuses, or positions, in society, whereas with activities, some are statuses and 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 were we unable to routinely sleep or eat lunch?

Moreover another dimension separates role and activity, namely, that of statics and dynamics. Roles are static whereas activities are dynamic.[2] Roles, classically conceived of, are relatively inactive expectations for behavior, whereas in activities, people are actually behaving, mentally or physically thinking or doing things to achieve certain ends. This dynamic quality provides a powerful explanatory link between an activity and a person's motivation to participate in it. Nevertheless the idea of role *is* useful in positive sociology, since participants do encounter role expectations in certain activities (e.g., those in sport, work, volunteering). Although the concept of activity does not include these expectations, in its dynamism, it can, much more effectively than role, account for invention and human agency.

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 the participant seeks. As with general activities, core activities are pursued in work, leisure, and nonwork 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 volunteer fire fighting is putting out blazes and rescuing people from them. In each case the participant takes several interrelated steps to successfully ski down hill, make a cabinet, or rescue someone. In casual leisure core activities, which are much less complex than in serious leisure, are exemplified in the actions required to hold sociable conversations with friends, savor beautiful scenery, and offer simple volunteer services (e.g., handing out leaflets, directing traffic in a theater parking lot, clearing snow off the neighborhood hockey rink). Work-related core activities are seen in, for instance, the actions of a surgeon during an operation or the improvisations on a melody by a jazz clarinetist. The core activity in mowing a lawn (nonwork obligation) is pushing or riding the mower. Executing an attractive core activity and its component steps and actions is a main feature drawing participants to the general activity encompassing it, because this core directly enables them to reach a cherished goal. It is the opposite for disagreeable core activities. In short, the core activity has motivational value of its own, even if more strongly held for some activities than others and even if some activities are disagreeable but still have to be done.

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

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

The serious leisure perspective

The serious leisure perspective may be described, in simplest terms, as the theoretic framework that synthesizes three main forms of leisure showing, at once, their distinctive features, similarities, and interrelationships.[3] Additionally the Perspective (wherever Perspective appears as shorthand for serious leisure perspective, to avoid confusion, the first letter will be capitalized) considers how the three forms – serious leisure, casual leisure, and project-based leisure – are shaped by various psychological, social, cultural, and historical conditions. Each form serves as a conceptual umbrella for a range of types of related activities. That the Perspective takes its name from the first of these should, in no way, suggest that I regard it, in some abstract sense, as the most important or superior of the three. Rather the Perspective is so titled, simply because it got its start in the study of serious leisure; such leisure is, strictly from the standpoint of intellectual invention, the godfather of the other two. Furthermore, serious leisure has become the benchmark from which analyses of casual and project-based leisure have often been undertaken. So naming the Perspective after the first facilitates intellectual recognition; it keeps the idea in familiar territory for all concerned.

My research findings and theoretic musings over the past 35 years have nevertheless evolved and coalesced into a typological map of the world of leisure (for a brief history of the Perspective, see the history page at www.soci.ucalgary.ca/seriousleisure, or for a longer version, see Stebbins, 2007a, Chapter 6). That is, so far as known at present, all leisure (at least in Western society) can be classified according to one of the three forms and their several types and subtypes. More precisely the serious leisure perspective offers a classification and explanation of all leisure activities and experiences, as these two are framed in the social

PROOF

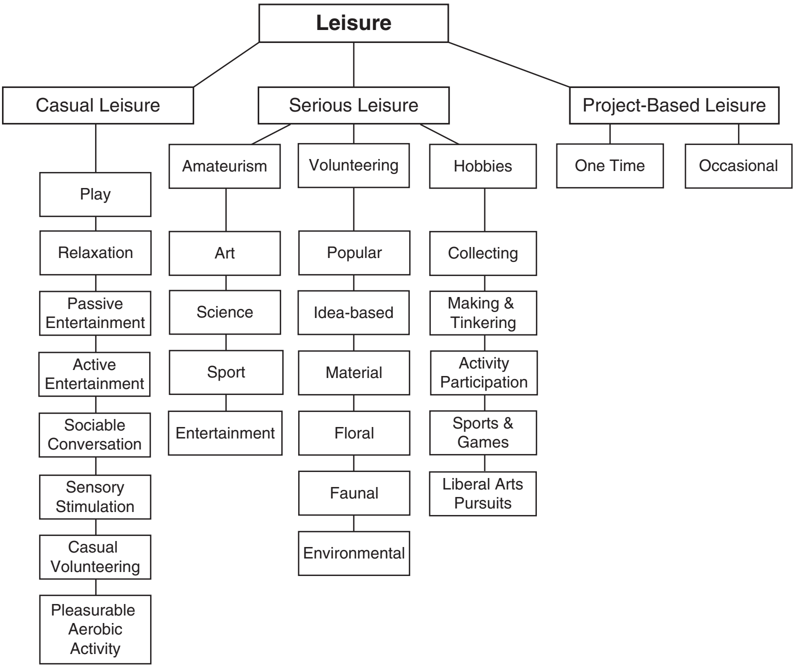
Leisure
Casual Leisure
Serious Leisure
Project-Based Leisure
Play
Relaxation
Passive Entertainment
Active Entertainment
Sociable Conversation
Sensory Stimulation
Casual Volunteering
Pleasurable Aerobic Activity
Amateurism
Art
Science
Sport
Entertainment
Volunteering
Popular
Idea-based
Material
Floral
Faunal
Environmental
Hobbies
Collecting
Making & Tinkering
Activity Participation
Sports & Games
Liberal Arts Pursuits
One Time
Occasional

Diagram formulated by Jenna Hartel

Figure 1.1 The Serious Leisure Perspective
Source: http://www.soci.ucalgary.ca/seriousleisure

psychological, social, cultural, and historical conditions in which each activity and accompanying experience take place. Figure 1.1 portrays the typological structure of the Perspective.

Serious leisure

Serious leisure is the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity sufficiently substantial, interesting, and fulfilling for the participant to find a (leisure) career there acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience. I coined the term (Stebbins, 1982) to express the way the people he interviewed and observed viewed the importance of these three kinds of activity in their everyday lives. The adjective 'serious' (a word my research respondents often used) embodies such qualities as earnestness, sincerity, importance, and carefulness, rather than gravity, solemnity, joylessness, distress, and anxiety. Although the second set of terms occasionally describes serious leisure events, they are uncharacteristic of them and fail to nullify, or, in many cases, even dilute, the overall fulfillment gained by the participants. The idea of 'career' in this definition follows sociological tradition, where careers are seen as available in all substantial, complex roles, including those in leisure. Finally, as we shall see shortly, serious leisure is distinct from casual leisure and project-based leisure.

Amateurs are found in art, science, sport, and entertainment, where they are invariably linked in a variety of ways with professional counterparts. The two can be distinguished descriptively in that the activity in question constitutes a livelihood for professionals but not amateurs. Furthermore, most professionals work full-time at the activity whereas all amateurs pursue it part-time. The part-time professionals in art and entertainment complicate this picture; although they work part-time, their work is judged by other professionals and by the amateurs as of professional quality. Amateurs and professionals are locked in and therefore defined by a system of relations linking them and their publics – the 'professional-amateur-public system,' or P-A-P system (discussed in more detail in Stebbins, 1979, 1992, Chapter 3; 2007a, pp. 6–8).

Hobbyists lack this professional alter ego, suggesting that, historically, all amateurs were hobbyists before their fields professionalized. Both types are drawn to their leisure pursuits significantly more by self-interest than by altruism, whereas volunteers engage in activities requiring a more or less equal blend of these two motives. Hobbyists may be classified into five types: collectors, makers and tinkerers, noncompetitive activity participants (e.g., fishing, hiking, orienteering), hobbyist sports and games (e.g., ultimate Frisbee, croquet, gin rummy), and the liberal arts hobbies (primarily reading in an area of history, science, philosophy, literature, etc.; see Stebbins, 1994).

Smith, Stebbins and Dover (2006, pp. 239–240) define *volunteer* – whether economic or volitional – as someone who performs, even for a short period of time, volunteer work in either an informal or a formal setting. It is through volunteer work that this person provides a service or benefit to one or more individuals (they must be outside that person's family), usually receiving no pay, even though people serving in volunteer programs are sometimes compensated for out-of-pocket expenses. Moreover, in the field of nonprofit studies, since no volunteer work is involved, giving (of, say, blood, money, clothing), as an altruistic act, is not considered volunteering. Meanwhile, in the typical case, volunteers who are altruistically providing a service or benefit to others are themselves also benefiting from various rewards experienced during this process (e.g., pleasant social interaction, self-enriching experiences, sense of contributing to nonprofit group success). In other words, volunteering is motivated by two basic attitudes: altruism *and* self-interest.

The conception of volunteering that squares best with a positive sociology revolves, in significant part, around a central subjective motivational question: it must be determined whether volunteers feel they are engaging in an enjoyable (casual leisure), fulfilling (serious leisure), or either enjoyable or fulfilling (project-based leisure) core activity that they have had the option to accept or reject on their own terms. A key element in the leisure conception of volunteering is the felt absence of coercion, moral or otherwise, to participate in the volunteer activity (Stebbins, 1996a), an element that, in 'marginal volunteering' (Stebbins, 2001b), may be experienced in degrees, as more or less coercive. The reigning conception of volunteering in nonprofit sector research is not that of volunteering as leisure, but rather volunteering as unpaid work. The first – an *economic* conception – defines volunteering as the absence of payment as livelihood, whether in money or in kind. This definition, for the most part, leaves unanswered the messy question of motivation so crucial to the second, positive sociological, definition, which is a *volitional* conception.

Volitionally speaking, volunteer activities are motivated, in part, by one of six types of interest: interest in activities involving (1) people, (2) ideas, (3) things, (4) flora, (5) fauna, or (6) the natural environment (Stebbins, 2007b). Each type, or combination of types, offers its volunteers an opportunity to pursue, through an altruistic activity, a particular kind of interest. Thus, volunteers interested in working with certain ideas are attracted to idea-based volunteering, while those interested in certain kinds of animals are attracted to faunal volunteering. Interest forms the first dimension of a typology of volunteers and volunteering.

But, since volunteers and volunteering cannot be explained by interest alone, a second dimension is needed. This is supplied by the serious leisure perspective and its three forms. This perspective, as already noted, sets out the motivational and contextual (sociocultural, historical) foundation of the three. The intersections of these two dimensions produce 18 types of volunteers and volunteering, exemplified in idea-based serious leisure volunteers, material casual leisure volunteering (working with things), and environmental project-based volunteering (see Table 1.1)

Table 1.1 A Leisure-Based Theoretic Typology of Volunteers and Volunteering

Leisure Interest	**Type of Volunteer**		
	Serious Leisure (SL)	**Casual Leisure (CL)**	**Project-Based Leisure (PBL)**
Popular	SL Popular	CL Popular	PBL Popular
Idea-Based	SL Idea-Based	CL Idea-Based	PBL Idea-Based
Material	SL Material	CL Material	PBL Material
Floral	SL Floral	CL Floral	PBL Floral
Faunal	SL Faunal	CL Faunal	PBL Faunal
Environmental	SL Environmental	CL Environmental	PBL Environmental

Six qualities

Serious leisure is further defined by six distinctive qualities, qualities uniformly found among its amateurs, hobbyists, and volunteers. One is the occasional need to *persevere*. Participants who want to continue experiencing the same level of fulfillment in the activity have to meet certain challenges from time to time. Thus, musicians must practise assiduously to master difficult musical passages, baseball players must throw repeatedly to perfect favorite pitches, and volunteers must search their imaginations for new approaches with which to help children with reading problems. It happens in all three types of serious leisure that deepest fulfillment sometimes comes at the end of the activity rather than during it, from sticking with it through thick and thin, from conquering adversity.

Another quality distinguishing all three types of serious leisure is the opportunity to follow a (leisure) *career* in the endeavor, a career shaped by its own special contingencies, turning points, and stages of achievement and involvement. A career that, in some fields notably certain arts and sports, may nevertheless include decline. Moreover, most, if not all, careers here owe their existence to a third quality: serious leisure participants make significant personal *effort* using their specially acquired knowledge, training, or skill and, indeed at times, all three. Careers for serious leisure participants unfold along lines of their efforts to achieve, for instance, a high level of showmanship, athletic prowess, or scientific knowledge or to accumulate formative experiences in a volunteer role.

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

Fifth, serious leisure is distinguished by a unique *ethos* that emerges in parallel with each expression of it. An ethos is the spirit of the community of serious leisure 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). According to David Unruh (1979, 1980) every social world has its characteristic groups, events, routines, practices, and organizations. It is held together, to an important degree, by semi-formal, or mediated, communication. In other words, in the typical case, social worlds are neither heavily bureaucratized nor substantially organized through intense face-to-face interaction. Rather, communication is commonly mediated by newsletters, posted notices, telephone messages, mass mailings, radio and television announcements, and similar means.

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

Every social world contains four types of members: strangers, tourists, regulars, and insiders (Unruh, 1979, 1980). The strangers are intermediaries who normally participate little in the leisure activity itself, but who nonetheless do something important to make it possible, for example, by managing municipal parks (in amateur baseball), minting coins (in hobbyist coin collecting), and organizing the work of teachers' aids (in career volunteering). Tourists are temporary participants in a social world; they have come on the scene momentarily for entertainment, diversion, or profit. Most amateur and hobbyist activities have publics of some kind, which are, at bottom, constituted of tourists. The clients of many volunteers can be similarly classified. The regulars routinely participate in the social world; in serious leisure, they are the amateurs, hobbyists, and volunteers themselves. The insiders are those among them who show exceptional devotion to the social world they share, to maintaining it, to advancing it. In the serious leisure perspective such people are analyzed according to an involvement scale as either 'core devotees' or 'moderate devotees' and contrasted with 'participants,' or regulars (Siegenthaler and O'Dell, 2003; Stebbins, 2007a, pp. 20–21).

The sixth quality – participants in serious leisure tend to identify strongly with their chosen pursuits – springs from the presence of the other five distinctive qualities. In contrast, most casual leisure, although not usually humiliating or despicable, is nonetheless too fleeting, mundane, and commonplace to become the basis for a distinctive *identity* for most people.

Motivation

Furthermore, certain rewards and costs come with pursuing a hobbyist, amateur, or volunteer activity. Both implicitly and explicitly much of serious leisure theory rests on the following assumption: to understand the meaning of such leisure for those who pursue it is in significant part to understand their motivation for the pursuit. Moreover, one fruitful approach to understanding the motives that lead to serious leisure participation is to study them through the eyes of the participants who, past studies reveal (Stebbins, 1992, Chapter 6; 1996b; 1998; Arai and Pedlar, 1997), see it as a mix of offsetting costs and rewards experienced in the central activity. The rewards of this activity tend to outweigh the costs, however, the result being that the participants usually find a high level of personal fulfillment in them.

The rewards of a serious leisure pursuit are the more or less routine values that attract and hold its enthusiasts. Every serious leisure career both frames and is framed by the continuous search for these rewards, a search that takes months, and in some fields years, before the participant consistently finds deep satisfaction in his or her amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer role. Ten rewards have so far emerged in the course of my various exploratory studies of amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers. As the following list shows, the rewards are predominantly personal.

PROOF

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 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).

Further, every serious leisure activity contains its own costs – a distinctive combination of tensions, dislikes, and disappointments – which each participant confronts in his or her special way. Tensions and dislikes develop within the activity or through its imperfect mesh with work, family, and other leisure interests. Put more precisely, the goal of gaining fulfillment in serious leisure is the drive to experience the rewards of a given leisure activity, such that its costs are seen by the participant as more or less insignificant by comparison. This is at once the meaning of the activity for the participant and 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, an idea that emphasizes outcomes rather than antecedent conditions.

Nonetheless, the two ideas constitute two sides of the same social psychological coin. Moreover, this brief discussion shows that some positive psychological states may be founded, to some extent, on particular negative, often noteworthy, conditions (e.g., tennis elbow, frostbite [cross-country skiing], stage fright, frustration [in acquiring a collectable, learning a part]). Such conditions can make the senses of achievement and self-fulfillment even more pronounced as the enthusiast manages to conquer adversity.

Thrills and psychological flow

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

Over the years I have identified a number of thrills that come with the serious leisure activities I studied. These thrills are exceptional instances of the *flow* experience. Thus, although the idea of flow originated with the work of Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi (1990), and has therefore an intellectual history quite separate from that of serious leisure, it does nevertheless happen, depending on the activity, that it is a key motivational force there. For example, I found flow was highly prized in the hobbies of kayaking, mountain/ice climbing, and snowboarding (Stebbins, 2005b). What then is flow?

The intensity with which some participants approach their leisure suggests that, there, they may at times be in psychological flow. Flow, a form of optimal experience, 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 the ‘devotee occupations’ (discussed in Chapter 5) and serious leisure. Still, it appears that each work and leisure activity capable of producing flow does so in terms 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 distinctive 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 fact of uncontrollable external forces, a condition well illustrated in situations faced by the mountain hobbyists mentioned above, as when the water level suddenly rises on the river or an unpredicted snowstorm results in a white-out on a mountain snowboard slope. Viewed from the serious leisure perspective psychological flow tends to be associated with the rewards of self-enrichment and, to a lesser extent, those of self-actualization and self-expression.

Casual leisure

Casual leisure is 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. Much of the debate over the years on mass leisure revolves around this form. The termed was coined by the author in the 1982 conceptual statement about serious leisure, which at the time, depicted its casual counterpart as all activity not classifiable as serious leisure (project-based leisure has since been added as a third form, see next section). As a scientific concept casual leisure languished in this residual status, until Stebbins (1997a, 2001c), belatedly recognizing its centrality and importance in leisure studies, sought to elaborate the idea as a sensitizing concept for exploratory research, as he had earlier for serious leisure (see also Rojek, 1997). It is considerably less substantial and offers no career of the sort found in serious leisure.

Its types – there are eight (see Figure 1.1) – include *play* (including dabbling), *relaxation* (e.g., sitting, napping, strolling), *passive entertainment* (e.g., TV, books, recorded music), *active entertainment* (e.g., games of chance, party games), *sociable conversation*, *sensory stimulation* (e.g., sex, eating, drinking), and *casual volunteering* (as opposed to serious leisure, or career, volunteering). Note that dabbling (as play) may occur in the same genre of activity pursued by amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers. The preceding section was designed, in part, to conceptually separate dabblers from this trio of leisure participants, thereby enabling the reader to interpret with sophistication references to, for example, 'amateurish' activity (e.g., *The Cult of the Amateur* by Andrew Keen, 2007).

The last and newest type of casual leisure – *pleasurable aerobic activity* – refers to physical activities that require effort sufficient to cause marked increase in respiration and heart rate. Here I am referring to 'aerobic activity' in the broad sense, to all activity that calls for such effort, which to be sure, includes the routines pursued collectively in (narrowly conceived of) aerobics classes and those pursued individually by way of televised or video-taped programs of aerobics (Stebbins, 2004b). Yet, as with its passive and active cousins in entertainment, pleasurable aerobic activity is basically casual leisure. That is, to do such activity requires little more than minimal skill, knowledge, or experience. Examples include the game of the Hash House Harriers (a type of treasure hunt in the outdoors), kickball (described in *The Economist*, 2005, as a cross between soccer and baseball), and such children's games as hide-and-seek.

It is likely that people pursue the different types of casual leisure in combinations of two and three at least as often as they pursue them separately. For instance, every type can be relaxing, producing in this fashion play-relaxation, passive entertainment-relaxation, and so on. Various combinations of play and sensory stimulation are also possible, as in experimenting, in deviant or nondeviant ways, with drug use, sexual activity, and thrill seeking through movement. Additionally, sociable conversation accompanies some sessions of sensory stimulation (e.g., recreational drug use, curiosity seeking, displays of beauty) as well as some sessions of relaxation and active and passive entertainment, although such conversation normally tends to be rather truncated in the latter two.

Notwithstanding its hedonic nature casual leisure is by no means wholly inconsequential, for some clear costs and benefits accrue from pursuing it. Moreover, in contrast to the evanescent hedonic property of casual leisure itself, these costs and benefits are enduring. The benefits include serendipitous creativity and discovery in play, regeneration from early intense activity, and development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships (Stebbins, 2001c; other benefits are discussed in Stebbins, 2007a, pp. 41–43). Some of its costs root in excessive casual leisure or lack of variety as manifested in boredom or lack of time for leisure activities that contribute to self through acquisition of skills, knowledge, and experience (i.e., serious leisure). Moreover, casual leisure alone is unlikely to produce a distinctive leisure identity.

Project-based leisure

Project-based leisure (Stebbins, 2005c) is the third form of leisure activity and the most recent one added to the Perspective. It is a short-term, reasonably complicated, one-off or occasional, though infrequent, creative undertaking carried out in free time, or time free of disagreeable obligation. Such leisure requires considerable planning, effort, and sometimes skill or knowledge, but is for all that neither serious leisure nor intended to develop into such. Examples include surprise birthday parties, elaborate preparations for a major holiday, and volunteering for sports events. Though only a rudimentary social world springs up around the project, it does, in its own particular way, bring together friends, neighbors, or relatives (e.g., through a genealogical project or Christmas celebrations), or draw the individual participant into an organizational milieu (e.g., through volunteering for a sports event or major convention).

Types of project-based leisure

It was noted in the definition just presented that project-based leisure is not all the same. Whereas systematic exploration may reveal others, two types are evident at this time: one-off projects and occasional projects. These are presented next using the classificatory framework for amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities developed earlier in this chapter.

One-off projects

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

- 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:
    - Genealogy (not as ongoing hobby).
    - 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.
- 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.
- Entertainment Theater: produce a skit (a form of sketch) or one-off community pageant; create a puppet show; prepare a home film or a set of videos, slides, or photos; prepare a public talk.

Occasional projects

The occasional projects seem more likely to originate in or be motivated by agreeable obligation than their one-off cousins. Examples of occasional projects include the sum of the culinary, decorative, or other creative activities undertaken, for example, at home or at work for a religious occasion or for someone's birthday. Likewise, national holidays and similar celebrations sometimes inspire individuals to mount occasional projects consisting of an ensemble of inventive elements.

Unlike one-off projects occasional projects have the potential to become routinized, which happens when new creative possibilities no longer come to mind as the participant arrives at a fulfilling formula wanting no further modification. North Americans who decorate their homes the same way each Christmas season exemplify this situation. Indeed, it can happen that, over the years, such projects may lose their appeal, but not their necessity, thereby becoming disagreeable obligations, which their authors no longer define as leisure.

And, lest it be overlooked, note that one-off projects also hold the possibility of becoming unpleasant. Thus, the hobbyist genealogist gets overwhelmed with the details of family history and the challenge of verifying dates. The thought of putting in time and effort doing something once considered leisure but which she now dislikes makes no sense. Likewise, volunteering for a project may turn sour, creating in the volunteer a sense of being faced with a disagreeable obligation, which however, must still be honored. This is leisure no more.

Deviant leisure

The study of deviant leisure is at least a decade old (see Stebbins, 1996d, 1997a; Rojek, 1997, pp. 392–393; 2000, Chapter 4; Cantwell, 2003; special issue of *Leisure/Loisir*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2006), and readers interested in it are encouraged to turn to these sources. What is important to note with respect to the serious leisure perspective is that deviant leisure may take either the casual or the serious form (we have so far been unable to identify any project-based deviant leisure). Casual leisure is probably the more common and widespread of the two.

Casual or serious, deviant leisure mostly fits the description of 'tolerable deviance' (exceptions are discussed below). Although its contravention of certain moral norms of a society is held by most of its members to be mildly threatening in most social situations, this form of deviance nevertheless fails to generate any significant or effective communal attempts to control it (Stebbins, 1996c, pp. 3–4). Tolerable deviance undertaken for pleasure – as casual leisure – encompasses a range of deviant sexual activities including cross-dressing, homosexuality, watching sex (e.g., striptease, pornographic films), and swinging and group sex. Heavy drinking and gambling, but not their more seriously regarded cousins alcoholism and compulsive gambling, are also tolerably deviant forms of casual leisure, as are the use of cannabis and the illicit, pleasurable, use of certain prescription drugs. Social nudism has also been analyzed within the tolerable deviance perspective (all these forms are examined in greater detail with accent on their leisure qualities in Stebbins, 1996c, Chapters 3–7, 9).

In the final analysis, deviant casual leisure roots in sensory stimulation and, in particular, the creature pleasures it produces. The majority of people in society tolerate most of these pleasures even if they would never think, or at least not dare, to enjoy themselves in these ways. In addition, they actively scorn a somewhat smaller number of intolerable forms of deviant casual leisure, demanding decisive police control of, for example, incest, vandalism, sexual assault, and what Jack Katz (1988, Chapter 2) calls the 'sneaky thrills' (certain incidents of theft, burglary, shoplifting, and joyriding).[4] Sneaky thrills, however, are motivated not by the desire for creature pleasure, but rather by the desire for a special kind of excitement, namely, going against the grain of established social life.

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

In whichever form of deviant serious leisure a person participates, he or she will find it necessary to make a significant effort to acquire its special belief system as well as to defend it against attack from mainstream science, religion, or politics. Moreover, here, the person will discover two additional rewards of considerable import: a special personal identity grounded, in part, in the unique genre of self-enrichment that invariably comes with inhabiting any marginal social world.

Clearly there are various kinds of deviant leisure (most of it serious leisure) that fall beyond the orbit of the commercial consumption of goods and services, among them, joyriding, swinging at private parties, and much of deviant science. Yet a good amount of casual deviant leisure *is* consumptive, as in buying pornographic videos, illegal recreational drugs and alcohol (for the alcoholic), and the services of a prostitute. Indeed deviance offers a fine laboratory for exploring both the separateness and the overlap of consumption and leisure.

Conclusions

The two main sections of this chapter – the nature of consumption and the nature of leisure – contrast with one another in that, generally speaking, the first is macro-sociological whereas the second is micro-sociological. In the first we considered leisure society, some of its trends, and some of the debate about what they mean. In the second we stayed largely on the experiential level (with the partial exception of social world), discussing such processes as activity, motivation, career, flow, and deviance. Still I did state near the beginning of the section on the serious leisure perspective that its three forms – serious leisure, casual leisure, and project-based leisure – are shaped by various psychological, social, cultural, and historical conditions. The macro-sociological section preceding it is precisely about such conditions.

The next two chapters present considerably more detail about these background conditions, served up headings of conspicuous consumption and consumptive leisure in context. Then, in Chapters 4 and 5, which set out Phases One and Two of consumption as shopping and then as consuming the purchase, we shall see how the micro-sociological part of the consumptive life as it relates to leisure fits within this macro-sociological shell. Do not expect the fit to be perfect in all respects, for it will not. These two grand theoretic-analytic traditions have a sad history of paying rather little attention to each other. Chapter 6 returns to the contextual motif with an examination of the organizational basis of leisure and consumption. It ends on a micro-macro note, however, with a look at two critical issues raised by consumptive leisure: the drive for voluntary simplicity and leisure's impact on the environment.

Index

Aberle, D.F., 149–50
amateurs, *see* serious leisure, amateurs and
apparel, 48–9
Arai, S.M., 19
Aronowitz, S., 77
Asbridge, M., 45

Back, K.W., 136
Barber, B.R., 97
Baudrillard, J., 60–3, 96, 98
Bauman, Z., 7, 68–9
Belk, R., 3–4, 75, 108
Bell, D., 6
Benjamin, W., 91
Bennett, A., 52
Binham, C., 44
Blackshaw, T., 139
Booth, W., 140
Bott, E., 139
Bourdieu, P., 65–8, 73
Bowen, C.D., 127
Bowlby, R., 4, 88, 90–1
Brennan, Z., 100
Britt, R., 156–7
Browning, L., 46
Bryman, A.E., 72–3
Buchsbaum, J., 79
Butler, S., 128–9

Campbell, C., 4, 88, 89, 90, 161
Cantwell, A.-M., 27
casual leisure, 22–4
  conspicuous consumption, and, 43–4
  definition of, 22–3
  as deviant, 26–7
  Disneyfication leading to, 73
  initiatory consumption in, 110
  nonconsumptive, 118–20
  reputation of, 81
  as shopping, 91–2, 94
  and simple living, 153
  as tourism, 47–8
  in tribes, 50–1, 146
  volunteers and, 148
  and waste, 53–4
  see also organization of consumptive leisure
Chon, K.-S., 105
Clarke, D.B., 1, 85, 160
clothing, *see* apparel
Collins, R., 67
competitive compassion, 40–2
conspicuous consumption, 30–55, 110, 132
  adoption stages and, 40
  gifts in, 35–8
  identity and, 44–52, 97–8
  invidious comparison, 31
  kula as, 34–5, 110
  in leisure, 42–4
  and the leisure class, 31–2, 54
  potlatch as, 33–4, 35, 36, 44, 110
  primitive, 33–5
  reciprocity and, 37–8, 110
  through apparel, 48–9
  through technology, 38–40
  through tourism, 46–8
  today, 32–3, 38–44, 53–4, 54–5, 62–3
  tribes and, 49–52
  Veblen's theory of, 30–3
  and waste, 52–4
  see also competitive compassion; new goods and services
conspicuous waste, 52–4
consumers, 3–4
  agency of, 61–2, 64–5, 80, 135
  as buffs, 43, 146
  as citizen-consumers, 101–3, 105
  as fans, 43, 146, 160
  knowledge (information) of, 74–5, 89, 93, 102–3, 104, 118, 137, 138–9, 139–40, 141, 142, 144
  needs, 96–7

PROOF

  as playful (inventive), 61–2, 64–5, 80
  as prosumers, 98–9, 105
  wants and, 90–1, 96–8, 105, 159
  see also conspicuous consumption; consumption; shopping
consumer society, 6–7, 60, 62
consumption, 3–4
  in the 19th century, 56–7
  adoption stages and, 39–40, 53, 97–8, 137–8, 152
  anthropology of, 73–5
  authenticity and, 130–1
  Baudrillard on, 60–3
  Bauman on, 7, 68–9
  confidence and, 131–2
  conspicuous, 30–55
  de Certeau on, 63–5
  definition of, 3–4, 74, 75, 160
  deviant, 103–6
  Disneyfication and, 73
  Disneyization and, 71–3
  Douglas on, 74–5
  economists' view of, 132
  and happiness, 128–30
  as having, 108, 130, 131
  Isherwood on, 74–5
  Lefevbre on, 59–60
  and leisure, 2–3, 7, 54–5, 82–107, 97–8, 108–33, 159
  and leisure customization, 7–9
  McDonaldization (Ritzer) and, 69–71
  Marx on, 56–7
  mass, 4, 5–6, 8
  as monetary acquisition, 4
  obligatory, 82–3, 87–8, 97–8, 103, 109, 110, 111, 143
  positive side of, 59, 64–5, 67, 73–5, 78–9, 80, 94, 128–30, 158–9
  as practical, 132
  Simmel on, 58–9
  and social class, 85–6
  and social movements, 149–58
  through leisure service organizations, 143
  two-phase model of, 4, 82–107, 108–33
  see also competitive compassion; consumers; facilitative consumption; initiatory consumption; new goods and services; organization of consumptive leisure; shopping; simple living; sustainable consumption
consumption studies, 1–3, 56, 82, 106–7
  macrosociological nature of, 28, 56
Cook, D.T., 2
Critcher, C., 7
Csikszentmihalyi, M., 21–2, 43
Curtis, J.E., 104

Dawson, L., 4, 87–8
de Bury, R., 116
de Certeau, M., 63–5, 98
de Mille, A., 115–16
DiFazio, W., 77
direct sales parties, *see* shopping
Disneyfication, 73
Disneyization, 71–3
  compared with McDonaldization, 73
Doel, M.A., 1, 85, 160
Douglas, M., 74–5, 159
Dover, M., 15
Dunning, L., 119–20

Elgin, D., 150–1
Ershkowitz, H., 85–6
Etzioni, A., 130

facilitative consumption, 42–3, 111–18, 131
  definition of, 111
Falk, P., 4, 88
Farnish, C., 102
fashion, 58–9
  as initiatory consumption, 59
flâneur, 91–2, 161
Franz, P., 33

Gandhi, M., 150, 152
Gans, H., 5, 6
gender, *see* shopping, and gender
gift, 4, 35–8, 60, 74

Gill, B., 71
Glazer, N., 6
Godbey, G., 7–9, 76, 98, 137
Godbout, J., 35, 36
Goffman, E., 62, 128
Gouldner, A., 37
Gregg, R., 151, 152
Gupta, R., 104, 161

Hardwick, J., 104
Harris, D., 71, 160
Harris, M., 40
Harrison, J., 12
Helft, M., 39–40
Hewer, P., 90
hobbyists, *see* serious leisure, hobbyists and
Holson, L.M., 98–9
Homans, G.C., 37
Homer-Dixon, T., 148
Housiaux, M.L., 1, 85, 160
Howard, A., 77
Howe, C., 76

identity, 44–52, 112
  apparel and, 48–9
  authenticity and, 131
  symbols, 45–6
  tourism and, 46–8
  in tribes, 145–6
  types of, 5, 44
  wants and, 97–8
initiatory consumption, 42, 59, 109–11
  definition of, 109
Isherwood, B., 74–5, 159

Jenkins, C., 160
Johansen, D.O., 34
Johnston, J., 101–2

Kane, M.J., 47–8
Katz, J., 27
Keen, A., 23
Kellner, D., 61
Kelly, J.R., 10, 137
Kiewa, J., 2, 118
Killian, L.M., 148
Kodas, M., 43
Kohm, S., 105

Lambert, R.D., 117
Larrabee, E., 5
Layard, R., 129–30
Lee, K.J., 114
Lefevbre, H., 59–60, 97, 98
Lefkowitz, B., 76
leisure, 9–13
  as activity, 10–13, 87, 154, 160
  Baudrillard on, 61, 63
  boredom and, 10
  Bourdieu on, 65–8
  Bryman on, 72–3
  constraints on, 10
  and consumption, 2–3, 7, 82–107, 108–33, 159
  as core activity, 11–13, 115, 120, 127, 132
  definition of, 10
  deviant, 27–8, 103–6, 159, 160
  as doing, 108, 130, 131
  economics of, 78–9
  generational analysis of, 78–9
  the happy science and, 133, 158, 159
  incomplete conceptualization of, 80–1
  Lefevbre on, 60
  nonconsumptive, 117, 118–26
  opportunities for, 77
  Ritzer on, 70
  as role, 11, 160
  and selfishness, 127–8, 159
  and social class, 7, 54
  in social movements, 147, 148, 149–58
  social worlds of, 144, 146
  time, 75–6, 78, 81, 127, 152
  as uncontrollable, 127–8, 159
  see also organization of consumptive leisure; serious leisure perspective; simple living; sustainable consumption
leisure customization, 7–9, 98
lifestyle, 50, 55, 150–3, 154, 155
Long, J., 139

Lopez, S., 130
Lury, C., 7

McCall, G.J., 44
McDonaldization, 69–71, 73
  compared with Disneyization, 73
McDonald, M., 2–3
MacKellar, J., 128
McKinley, S., 105
Maffesoli, M., 49–51, 145, 146
Magliozzi, R., 32–3
Magliozzi, T., 32–3
Maguire, J.S., 1–2
Maniates, M., 154–5
Marcuse, H., 6, 63
Martin, B., 92
Martin, I., 104, 161
Martin, S., 88–9
Marx, K., 56–7, 59, 60–3, 70
Mason, S., 92
mass consumption (leisure/culture), 4, 5–6, 8, 145
  critique of, 5–6, 60, 63, 68–9, 71–3, 110–11
  history of, 85–6
Mauss, 34–5, 36, 37, 66
Meyerson, R.B., 5
Miller, C.C., 116–17
Moubarac, J.-C., 104, 161

Nava, M., 89, 90
Nazareth, L., 78–9, 159
new goods and services, 43
  adoption stages of, 39–40
  non-adoption of, 40, 53
nonconsumptive leisure, 117, 118–26
  as casual leisure, 118–20
  definition of, 118
  as serious leisure, 120–4, 161

obligation, 95, 147, 148, 152, 161
occupational devotion, 112–15
O'Dell, I., 19
Oppermann, S., 105
organization of consumptive leisure, 134–59
  agency in, 135
  in consumer-related social movements, 149–58
  definition of, 134–6
  in grassroots associations, 140–1
  in leisure service organizations, 142–3
  sharing knowledge/information through, 137, 138–9, 139–40, 141, 142, 144, 161
  in small groups, 136–9, 161
  social appeal of, 137
  in social movements, 147–58
  in social networks, 139–40
  in social worlds, 143–5, 146
  and solitary leisure, 135
  in tribes, 51–2, 145–7
  in voluntary organizations, 141–2, 158, 161
Oswald, A.J., 129

Parker, S., 10
Pearce, J.L., 142
Pedlar, A.M., 19
Plog, S.C., 47
Ponting, J., 2–3
positiveness, *see* consumption; positive sociology
positive sociology, 9–10
  definition of, 9–10
  and happiness, 129
  and volunteering, 16
Powdthavee, N., 129
project-based leisure, 24–6
  as bridging initiatory/facilitative consumption, 118
  definition of, 24
  facilitative consumption in, 117–18
  initiatory consumption in, 110
  shopping as, 95–6
  and simple living, 53
  see also organization of consumptive leisure
prosumers, 98–9
Prus, R., 4, 87–8
Putnam, R.D., 100
Pynn, L., 8

reciprocity, 37–8
Rifkin, J., 76–7, 160
Ritzer, G., 69–71, 72
Roberts, K., 2, 51, 118

PROOF

Robinson, J.P., 76, 88–9
Robinson, T., 79
Rochberg-Halton, E., 43
Rocher, G., 134–5
Rogers, W., 151, 162
Rojek, C., 23, 27, 52–3, 71
Rosenberg, B., 6

Samuel, N., 76
Scammel, M., 101
Schickel, R., 73
Schor, J., 75–6
Seligman, M.E.P., 129
Selwood, J., 105
serious leisure, 14–22
  amateurs and, 15, 115, 124
  conspicuous consumption, and, 43, 47
  definition of, 14–15
  as deviant, 26–7
  devotees/participants in, 19, 139–40
  facilitative consumption in, 115–17, 143
  as fanatical, 128
  flow and, 21–2
  frequency of, 162
  hobbyists and, 15, 99, 116–17, 120–4, 157–8, 161
  initiatory consumption in, 110
  Lefevbre on, 60
  as marginal, 128
  motivation in, 19–22
  nonconsumptive, 120–4
  qualities of, 17–19
  rewards of, 19–21
  and selfishness, 127–8
  and simple living, 152, 153
  as tourism, 47
  in tribes, 50–1, 146
  as uncontrollable, 127–8
  volunteers and, 15–17, 120, 142, 148, 161
  and waste, 53–4
  as work, 112–15
  see also organization of consumptive leisure
serious leisure perspective, 13–26, 111, 160
  and agency, 67
  casual leisure component of, 22–4
  contextual component of, 28–9, 56–81
  definition of, 13
  project-based leisure component of, 24–6
  serious leisure component of, 14–22
Shaya, G., 91–2
Sherman, B., 160
Shields, R., 50
shopping, 83–96, 99–103, 159
  as activity, 87
  agency in, 83–4
  and citizen-consumers, 101–3
  and community, 99–103
  context of, 94–6, 105
  distance, 93–4, 104–5
  and gender, 89–91, 100, 161
  history of, 84–6
  knowledge and, 89, 93, 102–3, 104
  as leisure, 87–9, 90, 91–6
  nature of, 83–4
  as obligation, 86–9, 90, 92, 94, 95
  organizational influence on, 138
  and serious leisure, 92–3
  shopaholics and, 96
  and social capital, 100–1, 105–6
  through direct selling, 99–100, 105–6
  types of, 87–9
  window, 91–2, 93
  see also tourism, shopping and
Siegenthaler, K.L., 19
Silverberg, S., 130–1
Simmel, G., 58–9
Simmons, J.L., 44
simple living, 53–4, 55, 150–3
  definition of, 150–1
  history of, 150–1, 152–3
  leisure and, 152, 153, 160
Smith, D.H., 15, 140–1
Snyder, C.R., 130
social class, *see* conspicuous consumption; leisure
Spaargaren, G., 154

Stebbins, R.A., 2, 4, 8, 10–26, 27–8, 43, 47, 51, 91, 92–3, 95, 103, 112–26, 133, 134, 136, 143, 146, 149, 153, 154, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162
Stone, G.P., 48–9, 87
Storr, M., 100
Stuever, H., 40
sustainable consumption, 153–8, 159
  definition of, 153–4
  leisure and, 155–8, 162
  and simple living, 154, 155
  social practices model of, 154
Swartzberg, J., 161

Tanner, J., 45
Taylor, C., 130
Taylor-Gooby, P., 102–3
Thoreau, H.D., 152
Toffler, A., 98
tourism, 46–8
  shopping and, 86, 92, 105
  and sustainable consumption, 157
Trebay, G., 49
tribes (global postmodern), 49–52, 145–7
Truzzi, M., 28
Turner, R.H., 148
two-phase model of consumption, 4, 82–107, 108–33

Unruh, D., 18–19, 143–4
Urry, J., 46–7

VandeSchoot, L., 8
Veblen, T., 30–55, 62–3, 67, 132
voluntary simplicity, *see* simple living
volunteers, *see* serious leisure, volunteers

Warde, A., 61
waste, *see* conspicuous waste
Wearing, S.L., 2–3, 120
Weber, M., 69, 70
White, D.M., 6
Wilensky, R., 96
Williams, R.M., Jr, 112
Winter, M., 155
Wolff, J., 161
Woodhouse, A., 105
work, 76–7
  facilitative consumption at, 111–12, 112–15
  and leisure, 78–9
  occupational devotion as, 112–15
  reduction of, 76–7
Wortley, S., 45

Yankelovich, D., 76

Zink, R., 47–8
Zukin, S., 1–2, 71
Zuzanek, J., 76