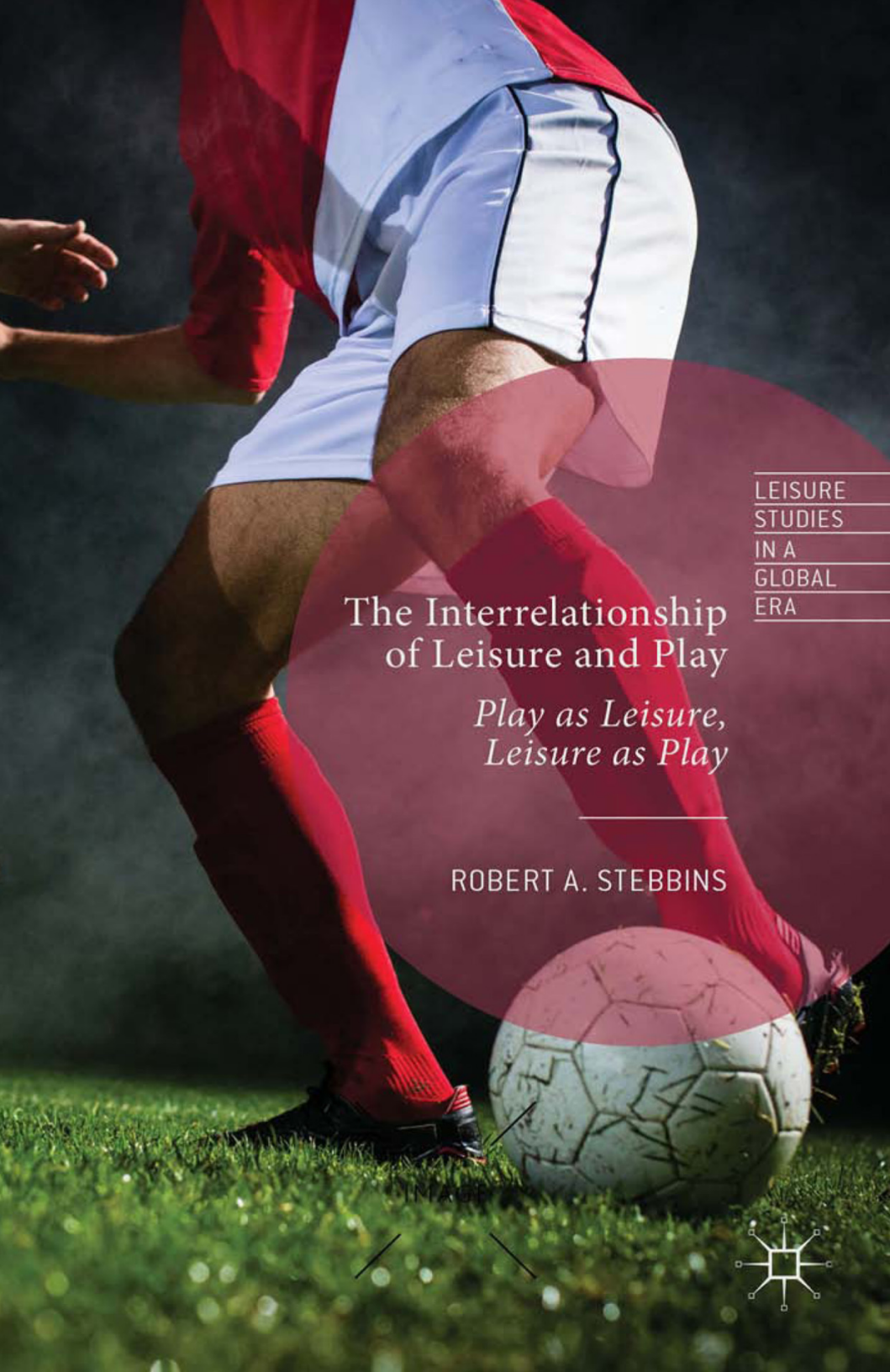

LEISURE STUDIES IN A GLOBAL ERA

The Interrelationship of Leisure and Play

Play as Leisure, Leisure as Play

ROBERT A. STEBBINS

Leisure Studies in a Global Era

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Play as Leisure, Leisure as Play

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Introduction

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

This *recipe for augmentative play* – challenging circumstances → inventive solution → continued activity – is not, however, followed only in such complex pursuits as just mentioned, but also at times in some simpler activities, which are essentially hedonic. This latter set comprises the vast realm of casual leisure. Be the activity simple or complex, these circumstances are challenges that arise while pursuing a leisure activity that calls for an inventive solution. This invention

is born of play. It may not be, given the challenge, the best invention possible, but the participant nonetheless continues in the activity. It is also possible that play never occurs at this point, the participant being more or less completely stymied in face of the challenge. The recipe for augmentative play as just described will guide analysis throughout, in Chapter 3 on casual leisure and in Chapters 4 through 7 on many of the types of serious leisure. Volunteering (casual and career) is omitted from consideration in this book, primarily because its immense diversity and broad scope defy, at this time, making any generalizations about augmentative play there. Project-based leisure is briefly discussed in Chapter 8.

Augmentative play is the playful activity engaged in while following the recipe for it during an actual occasion of leisure (e.g., in a tennis match, a session of quilting, an afternoon of reading stories to children). Whereas a more elaborate definition is set out in Chapter 1, note here that such play is intended to enhance or augment an ongoing leisure activity. That is, augmentative play is *both* an immediate end in itself and a means to the more distant aims of the unfolding leisure activity. Such play appears to be most prevalent in adult and adolescent activities of the serious and project-based varieties. By contrast, augmentative play during casual leisure seems to run the entire age gamut (once young children are mentally old enough to follow a simple recipe for augmentative play).

The recipe for augmentative play fits in nicely with Csikszentmihalyi's (1996, pp. 79–80) wider, five-step "creative process." The first step is preparation, or "becoming immersed, consciously or not, in a set of problematic issues that are interesting and arouse curiosity." Second comes the period of incubation. Here ideas bump against each other, sometimes giving birth to unexpected combinations. Third, if there is to be creativity, then insight occurs – the "ah ha moment" (Baumgartner, 2009). In our scheme this is where the recipe for augmentative play enters the picture. In the fourth step the creative insight is evaluated according to whether it is worthwhile and worth pursuing. This step is alluded to in the preceding paragraph in the observations about the adequacy of the inventive solution. Fifth comes "elaboration," or the integration of the creative product into the larger activity (my term not Csikszentmihalyi's) of which it is a part. The "continued activity" phase of the recipe for augmentative play is part of this elaboration.

Some augmentative play consists of "combinatory play." Victoria Stevens (2014, pp. 99–100) says of the latter:

> Combinatory play describes the conscious and unconscious cognitive playful manipulation of two or more ideas, feelings, sensory experiences, images, sounds, words, or objects. In combinatory play, players experiment with hypotheses, they play with possible outcomes, and they adjust to unexpected results and even "failures." These players compare, contrast, synthesize, and break apart disparate elements or constructs in the service of reenvisioning a larger whole. This kind of mental play uses both unconscious and conscious thinking: scanning various stimuli and information, perceiving patterns and clear or hidden similarities between things or ideas, and playing with their interconnections, relationships, and links.

The pages of this book bear out the proposition that combinatory augmentative play is primarily evident in art (fine and entertainment) and science. The intuitive physical movements made in sport do not seem to have combinatory qualities, although some of its playfully developed strategic aspects might be so described (see Chapter 6).

My goals in this book are most in line with three of Brian Sutton-Smith's (2001, pp. 10–11) seven rhetorics, namely, play as the imaginary, as frivolous, and as bringing attention to the self. The first "is usually applied to playful improvisation of all kinds in literature and elsewhere, idealizes the imagination, flexibility, and creativity of the animal and human play worlds" (p. 11). The second "is usually applied to the activities of the idle or the foolish" (p. 11). The third is "usually applied to solitary activities like hobbies or high-risk phenomena . . . in which play is idealized by attention to the desirable experiences of the players" (p. 11). Nevertheless, play during the recipe for augmentative play fits imperfectly in these three rhetorics, the goodness of that fit depending on the leisure activity in question. Chapters 3 through 7 will provide evidence for this assertion.

What is the nature of this "evidence"? It will, for the most part, consist of identifying the situations and conditions where and under which augmentative play can occur, and noting where accessible some of the critical flashes of insight, intuition, imagination, invention – the appropriate term here depends on the activity fostering

augmentative play – that are the ah ha moments of such play. Ideally, our evidence would include actual instances of such activity, so that we might see what went through the participant's mind while following his or her recipe for augmentative play. But, alas, such data are scarce, whether as autobiographic testimonials or interview-induced statements. Perhaps this lack is to be expected, for such play is often fleeting, seldom analyzed, and seems rarely to leave any traces in memory. In fact, one of the contributions of this book will be to set out a research agenda for gathering data of this kind across the entire serious leisure perspective (SLP) (see Chapter 2).

The aims of this book are consistent with Thomas Henricks's thoughts about the link between play and the self. He argues that

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

The concept of self-fulfillment used in this book is much the same as Henricks's idea of self-realization. One of my contributions here is to flesh out his "particular experiences," doing so along the lines of the many leisure activities comprising SLP.

In all this, readers may well wonder how I define play and leisure, two concepts whose definitions have over the years posed enormous challenges. Definitions of both are presented in the next chapter. For play I cobble together, from several sources, a working definition that seems reasonably conceptualized according today's scientific

understandings. It is then paired with my own definition of leisure (Stebbins, 2012), which, however, must wait until Chapter 2 for a fuller account. The point in all this is to define play in a way that is not only acceptable in play science but also fits logically in the recipe for augmentative play as it is experienced in leisure.

Chapter 2 is also where I will present the serious leisure perspective. The SLP is the organizational and explanatory framework for the leisure side of this discussion. It is the vehicle I will use to carry the socio-cultural implications of the recipe for augmentative play into the wider domain of free time, among them, personal and social identity, leisure careers, social worlds, self-fulfillment, and group and community involvements.

But, first, let us look at the scientific studies of play and leisure and their interface in the recipe for augmentative play.

1
The Scientific Studies of Play and Leisure

The two fields – leisure studies and the study of play – would be, one might think, natural partners in the investigation of free-time activity. For example, both set themselves off from the domain of work, albeit this distinction in both disciplines has sometimes been crudely conceptualized (I return to this point later). Both have had to fight the headwinds of naïve lay public imagery, which sees them as dealing exclusively in the frivolous. Yet, through research, both have generated practical lessons with deep import.

If we may thus conceive of leisure studies and the study of play as riding in the same scientific canoe, it is also true that they are mostly unaware of each other's presence there. The one in the bow (it makes no difference which one) paddles in directions unbeknownst to the one in the stern and vice versa. I suspect that it is because of this preoccupation with paddling their own disciplinary canoe as though no one else were aboard that this mutual ignorance has taken root and thrived. In general, members of the two fields know little about what their counterparts at the other end are doing. As evidence, it is rare in the study of play to see words like "leisure" and "recreation" ("fun" is a common term, though), while in leisure studies "play," though appearing relatively more frequently, is hardly a household term.[1]

The scope of two fields

The goal of any definition is to set out its essential features, thereby distinguishing the definiendum from everything else. Since such efforts are uncommon when it comes to defining play, the definition

of Edward Norbeck is especially welcome. His is a provisional definition – provisional in that future thought and research could prompt changes to it. He holds that play is "behavior resting upon a biologically inherited stimulus or proclivity, that is distinguished by a combination of traits: play is voluntary, somehow pleasurable, distinct temporally from other behavior, and distinct in having a make-believe or transcendental quality" (Norbeck, 2013, p. 1). He goes on to note that many definitions of play include the condition that it is non-utilitarian. Observing that this may not always apply to professionals in art and sport, he prefers to say that "at least among non-professional players, the goals of play are usually not consciously utilitarian" (p. 2). He states further that there is in play "a transcendence of ordinary cognitive states which . . . seems to represent altered neurophysiology in a distinct and distinctive physiological state." Kimberlee Bonura (2009) adds that play is self-initiated, self-ended, and open-ended, thereby falling at the opposite end of a continuum starting with the domain of work. Furthermore, play activities have a beginning and an end. Nonetheless, I will argue later that this definitional stance needs qualifying in certain places.

That play is defined as a kind of behavior is not to imply that the latter is necessarily physical. True, we can physically play or dabble with an object or an organism, including objects and organisms that some other people approach seriously (e.g., a piano, a microscope, or food on a plate). Yet, it appears that most play is mental behavior, as seen most vividly in the creative and innovative manipulation, both conscious and semi-conscious, of certain ideational elements, leading thereby to new constructs of immense variety. These ideas may be expressed, for instance, in daydreams, stories, pretend play, and solutions to problems (including serious ones). Artistic and scientific creativity and strategies for winning games and sporting competitions also exemplify this kind of play. Consonant with this mental behavior thesis is one of the *OED*'s many definitions of play: "3 *fig.* & *gen.* Action, activity, operation, working, esp. with rapid movement or change, or variety. (Now almost always of abstract things, as fancy, thought, etc.)" Thus it should come as no surprise that the study of play revolves substantially around its psychological and neurological roots in humans as well as those recently found in other mammals in whom play behavior has also been observed.

Moreover, the *OED* shows that the word "play" and its derivatives are awash in different meanings and usages. Play occupies nearly two full (dictionary-sized) pages in the *OED*. By contrast, "leisure" gets approximately four inches in one column and "recreation" about half of that (there are three columns per page). So, according to that dictionary, we play idly with an object, play a game of rugby, play on another's sensitivities, play the flute, and make a play for something, to mention a few meanings.

The scope of the study of play is determined substantially by the fact that, while play is also a noun, one of its central concepts is a verb. Moreover, it is several centuries old (the *OED* traces it to Old English). As a result, plenty of time has elapsed during which its users have piled on new meanings, subtle distinctions, pithy sayings, and lively metaphors. Moreover, because play is both a transitive and an intransitive verb, the range of its usage is even further extended and enriched.

This linguistic evolution has resulted in an amorphous, if not ambiguous, assemblage of ideas and, it seems, a veritable challenge to play scholars trying to convincingly adumbrate their field of inquiry and define its central concepts (e.g., Henricks, 2006, pp. 2–4).[2] Brian Sutton-Smith (2001) holds that the very idea of play is "ambiguous." Granted, some play scholars have little interest in a clear definition of the study of play as a field or even of its central concept, maintaining instead that open-endedness here is advantageous. They argue that it facilitates the exploration of frontiers and discovery of new ways of conceiving of play and its consequences.

By contrast, leisure is a noun only. That is, we cannot "leisure," notwithstanding John Neulinger's (1981) attempt to introduce a new verb in his book *To Leisure*.[3] As a word, "leisure" is at least as old as the word "play," yet it cannot come anywhere near matching the proliferation of meanings of the latter. Compared with those who study play, leisure studies scholars, in attempting to determine the essence of their central concept, have had a lot fewer allied meanings, distinctions, sayings, and metaphors to contend with.

Definitions of leisure therefore abound (Kelly, 1990, pp. 16–23). Moreover, they do not always agree. Indeed, I found the defining of leisure to be so involved that my attempt to do the job in sufficient depth resulted in a smallish monograph. There I described leisure (the short definition) as "un-coerced, contextually framed activity

engaged in during free time, which people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually do in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both)" (Stebbins, 2012, p. 2). Yet, definers of play face a much greater challenge in trying to nail down the essential definitional elements in their field's far more complex accumulation of usages.

Play: concentrations of research and theory

Much of theory and research in the social scientific study of play falls into three concentrations: (1) play as disinterested activity; (2) play as interested activity in games, both sport and non-sport; and (3) play as interested activity in art. The full interdisciplinary spectrum of the study of play is, however, much broader than this, for a vast literature exists on, for example, play and the brain and play in non-human fauna (for a partial review see Burghardt, 2010). A full understanding of play must include a grasp of these works, which is not, however, the goal of this book with its focus on the recipe for playfulness. The play of children within these three concentrations has attracted considerable scholarly attention. Meanwhile, scholarly interest in adult play is much less common, even when mounted from a leisure studies angle (but see, for example, Barnett, 2007; Kleiber et al., 2011).[4]

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

Notwithstanding Huizinga's elevated stature in modern play studies, concentrations 2 and 3 juxtaposed with concentration 1 do reveal some logical difficulties, for the first two concentrations show that play activity is neither always disinterested nor wholly open-ended.

Games have rules, which constrain what participants may (playfully) do in them. Likewise, in much of amateur and professional art, creativity is constrained by canon, by a set of aesthetic criteria embraced and promulgated by the art's establishment (in music, painting, theater, dance, craftwork, etc.). Play in games, sport, and art is also interested, goal-oriented activity. Furthermore, in concentrations 2 and 3, though there may be no utility, there is obligation, especially in team-based activity (e.g., obligation to members of the team). The fact that some activities in games, sport, and art are pursued as work further muddies the conceptual waters of the study of play. Here, these workers play just as their amateurs counterparts do, doing so, however, in service of their livelihood.

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

In the study of play, children at play are sometimes described as having "fun," which amounts to a sort of research operationalization of the concept of play. But here too, commonsense usage begets confusion. This is because fun is also sometimes used to describe what people (children, adolescents, adults) experience when carrying out activities not ordinarily considered play (Stebbins, 2004a). Telling a friend that I had fun the other day while skiing or playing Dungeons and Dragons refers to feelings about two leisure activities of far greater complexity than the fun a child experiences in playground activities.

Moreover, play is not always positive for the player, as leisure is not always thus for the participant (Stebbins, 2009). Sutton-Smith (2001) writes that play can be destabilizing, destructive, or disturbing. He observed imaginative expressions of this nature in children's stories. And are not adults also capable of letting their imaginations run wild with negative as well as positive thoughts? The principal difference separating the two is that leisure, even when marred by occasional

negative experiences, is positive activity overall. It is activity that people want to do. On the other hand, play can sometimes be both disagreeable and unavoidable. Is this kind of play even leisure?

Play as leisure/leisure as play

In the SLP – discussed in the next chapter – play is classified as a type of casual leisure (Stebbins, 2007/2015). In this perspective, it is conceived of as concentration 1 and is therefore in harmony with Huizinga's approach. Concentrations 2 and 3, however, are treated rather differently in leisure studies. In the SLP these are discussed as amateur or hobbyist serious leisure and, recently, as devotee work (Stebbins, 2012). Play according to concentration 1, if considered at all in amateurism and hobbyism, is conceptualized as dabbling. That is, some amateurs and hobbyists acquire their initial interest in their serious leisure by disinterestedly playing at it, for example, by hitting a tennis ball, finding notes on a piano, or drawing something (discussed in Stebbins, 2014).

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

A general activity such as alpine skiing, cabinet making, or volunteer fire fighting 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 non-work obligations. 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 downhill, make a cabinet, or rescue someone. The powerful appeal of the core activity for serious leisure participants is epitomized in the words the famous tightrope walker Karl Wallenda: "Being on the tightrope is living; everything else is waiting." Core and general

activity in serious and casual leisure are discussed more thoroughly in Stebbins (2009, pp. 4–7).

By way of a detailed illustration, consider painting as a general leisure activity, the core activity of which is, for some painters, portraying a still life of flowers. Augmentative play in the core activity (there may be several) is evident in the artist's expressing on canvas a personal interpretation of the flowers' color, arrangement, backdrop, and the like. Nevertheless, the core activity is comprised of more than augmentative play, for the artist must also select the best brush for the job, ensure that the ambient lighting is adequate, and assemble all the colors of paint needed for (playfully) mixing the final shades to be placed on the canvas. Augmentative play, specialized as it is, drives and motivates – as it is enormously fulfilling – the spur-of-the-moment maneuvers in sport, interpretations in music, choices of words in creative writing, implications of exploratory data in science, artistic renderings of raw craft material, among many other possibilities in the serious pursuits (i.e., serious leisure and devotee work, Stebbins, 2012).

It is when augmentative play occurs in concentrations 2 and 3 that we see most clearly how the two fields complement each other. Here the psychology, neurophysiology, and ethology of play are central interests, interests that have attracted rather few leisure studies scholars. Leisure studies specialists are primarily concerned with the more encompassing core and general activities, what motivates people to pursue them, the social-cultural-historical context of the activities, the socio-cultural consequences of the activities for participants and society, and so on. As one of a multitude of free-time activities, play in leisure studies has had no special status.

Nevertheless, leisure studies could benefit handsomely from recognizing the importance of play and incorporating it into theory and research. In the study of play, it is seen mainly as a process underlying those parts of the pursuit of a leisure activity where it can find expression, this being especially evident in concentrations 2 and 3. Sutton-Smith (2001, p. 4) provides a nine-fold classification of such activities, a list that has a number of counterparts in the classification of activities in the SLP (see Figure 2.1). Play – consciously or semi-consciously generating, identifying, and weighing ideas and choices – is in this, its essential sense, invariably imaginative and creative. Play can therefore contribute hugely to the rewarding pursuit of those

leisure activities that encourage it, resulting in, for instance, a wonderfully written passage of poetry, a brilliantly executed set of athletic maneuvers in basketball, or an exquisitely flavored sauce in cooking. Scientific interest in leisure's core activities should include these playful moments and their inspiring, fulfilling ramifications. Herein lies the complementarity of the two fields.

Conclusions

Scholars devoted to the study of play have carved out for themselves a crucial interdisciplinary field. Though there is an anthropology and a sociology of play, the roots of this activity are psychological, physiological, and ethological. Therefore researchers in leisure studies should, on the one hand, be turning to the individual side of the study of play when they want to explain the creative/imaginative foundation of the pursuit of free-time activities and the personal fulfillment that follows. On the other hand, the anthropology and sociology of play can profit mightily from a more profound understanding of leisure theory and research and the free-time activities that can be enhanced by play.

So, these two interdisciplines complement each other, albeit in very particular ways. Among the specialties in leisure studies, the psychology and social psychology of leisure have the greatest affinity for research on play. Here play, itself a complex form of behavior, is also at times a vital part of the leisure experience. From another angle, since play must also be understood in the social-cultural-historical context, the anthropology and sociology of play have much to learn from leisure studies; the latter have been systematically amassing data and theory in those two areas for a good 40 years.

2
The Serious Leisure Perspective

The serious leisure perspective (SLP) can be described, in simplest terms, as the theoretic framework that synthesizes three main forms of leisure and shows, at once, their distinctive features, similarities, and interrelationships (the SLP is discussed in detail in Stebbins, 1992, 2001a, 2007/2015). Additionally, the Perspective (to avoid confusion, Perspective is capitalized wherever it appears as shorthand for serious leisure perspective) considers how the three forms – serious pursuits (serious leisure/devotee work), casual leisure, and project-based leisure – are shaped by various psychological, social, cultural, and historical conditions. Each form serves as a conceptual umbrella for a range of types of related activities. That the Perspective takes its name from the first of these should in no way suggest that it be regarded as the most important or superior of the three in some abstract sense. 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 bench mark 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 40 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.seriousleisure.net; for a longer version, see Stebbins, 2007/2015, chap. 6). So far as known at present, all leisure (at least in Western society) can be classified according to one of the three forms

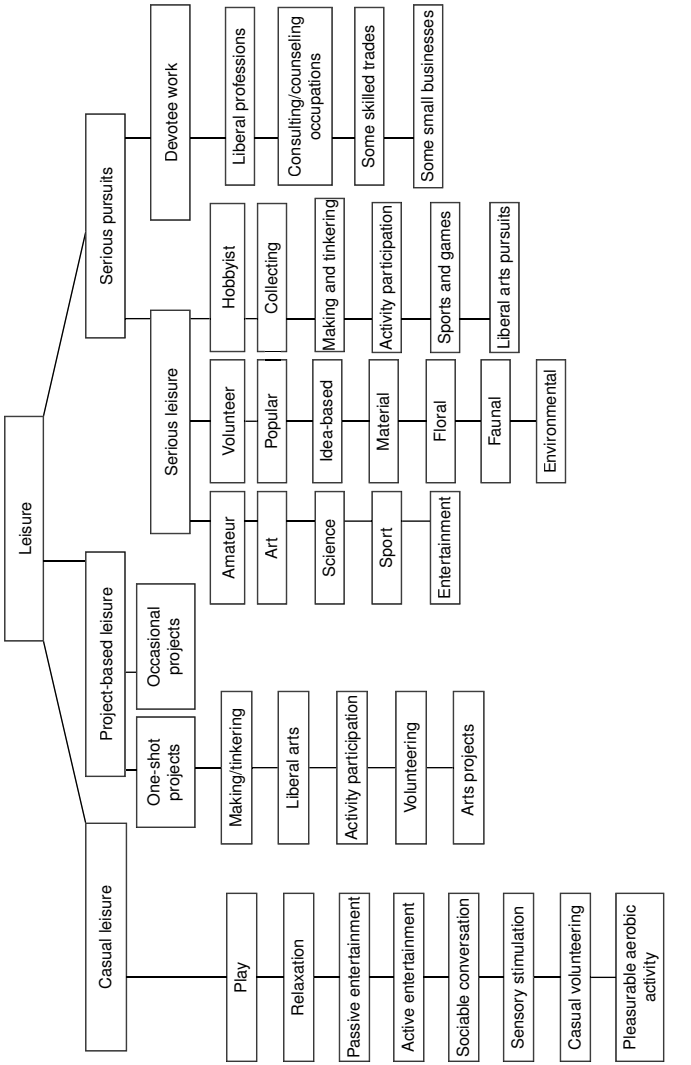


Figure 2.1 The serious leisure perspective
Note: Version February 2013
Diagram formulated by Jenna Hartel

and their several types and subtypes. More precisely, the Perspective offers a classification and explanation of all leisure activities and experiences, as these two are framed in the social psychological, social, cultural, geographical, and historical conditions in which each activity and accompanying experience take place. Figure 2.1 portrays the typological structure of the Perspective.

Serious pursuits

Recently (Stebbins, 2012), serious leisure and devotee work were placed under the heading of the serious pursuits, thereby constituting its two types. This chapter explains this classificatory change from what was, to this point in the history of the SLP, a separation of the two as leisure and work, respectively. The justification for this change is simple: devotee work is essentially leisure. We should therefore call this spade a spade and explore it as part of the Perspective.

Serious leisure

Serious leisure, one of the two types of serious pursuits, is the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that is 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 I 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 and 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 their professional counterparts. The two can be distinguished descriptively in that the

activity in question constitutes a livelihood for professionals, but not for amateurs. Furthermore, most professionals work full-time at the activity, whereas all amateurs pursue it part-time. 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, 2007/2015, pp. 6–8, including Yoder's [1997] addition of the C-PC-AP system). But note here that if enactment of the core activity by professionals in a particular field is to influence amateurs in that field, it must be sufficiently visible to those amateurs. If amateurs, in general, have no idea of the prowess of their professional counterparts, the latter become irrelevant as role models, and the leisure side of the activity remains at a hobbyist level.

Hobbyists lack this professional alter ego, suggesting that, historically, all amateurs were hobbyists before their fields were 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, non-competitive activity participants (e.g., fishing, hiking, orienteering), hobbyist sports and games (e.g., ultimate Frisbee, croquet, gin rummy), and the liberal arts hobbies. The liberal arts hobbyists are enamored of the systematic acquisition of knowledge for its own sake. Many of them accomplish this by reading voraciously in a field of art, sport, cuisine, language, culture, history, science, philosophy, politics, or literature (Stebbins, 1994). But some of them go beyond this to expand their knowledge still further through cultural tourism, documentary videos, television programs, and similar resources.

What have been referred to as "the nature-challenge activities" (Davidson & Stebbins, 2011) fall primarily under the hobbyist heading of non-competitive, rule-based activity participation. True, actual competitions are sometimes held in activities such as snowboarding, kayaking, and mountain biking (e.g., fastest time over a particular course), but in most cases beating nature is thrill enough. Moreover, there are other nature hobbies that are also challenging, but in very

different ways. Some, most notably fishing and hunting, in essence exploit the natural environment. Still others center on appreciation of the outdoors, among them hiking, backpacking, bird watching, and horseback riding.

Volunteering is an un-coerced, intentionally productive, altruistic activity engaged in during free time. Engaged in as leisure, it is thus activity that people want to do (Stebbins, 2012). It is through volunteer work – carried out in either an informal or a formal setting – that these people provide a service or benefit to one or more individuals (who must be outside that person's family). Volunteers usually receive no pay, though people serving in volunteer programs are sometimes compensated for out-of-pocket expenses. Moreover, in the field of non-profit studies, since no volunteer work is involved, giving in the form of donating blood, money, or clothing as an altruistic act is not, strictly speaking, 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 non-profit group success). In other words, volunteering is motivated by two basic attitudes: altruism *and* self-interest.

The conception of volunteering that squares best with our interest in leisure and positiveness 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 enjoyable or fulfilling a (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); in "marginal volunteering" (Stebbins, 2001c) this element may be experienced in degrees, as more or less coercive. The reigning conception of volunteering in non-profit 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 that is so crucial to the second, positive sociological definition, which is a *volitional* conception.

Six qualities

The serious pursuits are 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 practice assiduously to master difficult musical passages, baseball players must throw repeatedly to perfect favorite pitches, and volunteers must search their imaginations for new approaches to help children with reading problems. It is in all three types of serious leisure and in devotee work 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 the serious pursuits is the opportunity to follow a (leisure, or leisure-devotee work) *career* in the endeavor, a career shaped by its own special contingencies, turning points, and stages of achievement and involvement; 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 at times all three. Careers for serious leisure participants unfold along the lines of their efforts to achieve, for instance, a high level of showmanship, athletic prowess, or scientific knowledge, or to accumulate formative experiences in a volunteer role.

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

Fifth, each serious pursuit 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/devotee work 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.

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

> [It] must be seen as a unit of social organization which is diffuse and amorphous in character. Generally larger than groups or organizations, social worlds are not necessarily defined by formal boundaries, membership lists, or spatial territory. . . . A social world must be seen as an internally recognizable constellation of actors, organizations, events, and practices which have coalesced into a perceived sphere of interest and involvement for participants. Characteristically, a social world lacks a powerful centralized authority structure and is delimited by . . . effective communication and not territory nor formal group membership.

The social world is a diffuse, amorphous entity to be sure, but nevertheless one of great importance in the impersonal, segmented life of the modern urban community. Its importance is further amplified by 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, associated with each social world is a set of special norms, values, beliefs, styles, moral principles, performance standards, and similar shared representations.

Every social world contains four types of members: strangers, tourists, regulars, and insiders (Unruh, 1979, 1980). The strangers are intermediaries who normally participate little in the leisure/work

activity itself, but who nonetheless do something important to make it possible; for example, by managing municipal parks (in amateur baseball), minting coins (in hobbyist coin collecting), and organizing the work of teachers' aids (in career volunteering). Tourists are temporary participants in a social world; they have come on the scene momentarily for entertainment, diversion, or profit. Most amateur and hobbyist activities have publics of some kind, which are, at bottom, constituted of tourists. The clients of many volunteers can be similarly classified. The regulars routinely participate in the social world; in serious leisure, they are the amateurs, hobbyists, and volunteers themselves. The insiders are those among them who show exceptional devotion to the social world they share, to maintaining it, to advancing it. In the SLP such people are analyzed according to an involvement scale as either 'core devotees' or 'moderate devotees' and contrasted with 'participants' or regulars (Siegenthaler & O'Dell, 2003; Stebbins, 2014, chap. 2).

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.

Rewards, costs, and motivation

Furthermore, certain rewards and costs come with pursuing a hobbyist, amateur, volunteer, or devotee work activity. Both implicitly and explicitly, much of the SLP rests on the following assumption: to understand the meaning of this kind of work and leisure for those who pursue it is, in good part, to understand their motivation for the pursuit. Moreover, one fruitful approach to understanding the motives that lead to such involvement is to study them through the eyes of the participants who, past studies reveal (e.g., Stebbins, 1992, chap. 6; Arai & 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, with the result that the participants usually find a high level of personal fulfillment in them.

In these studies, the participant's fulfillment has been found to stem from a constellation of particular rewards gained from the activity, be it boxing, ice climbing, or giving dance lessons to the elderly.

Furthermore, the rewards are not only fulfilling in themselves, but also fulfilling as counterweights to the costs encountered in the activity. That is, every serious pursuit contains its own combination of tensions, dislikes, and disappointments, which each participant must confront in some way. For instance, an amateur football player may not always like attending daily practice, 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.

Put more precisely, the drive to find fulfillment in a serious pursuit is the drive to experience the rewards of a given work or 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, 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.

The rewards of a serious pursuit are the more or less routine values that attract and hold its enthusiasts. The careers in such pursuits both frame and are framed by the continuous search for these rewards, a search that takes months, and in some fields years, before the enthusiasts consistently find deep satisfaction in their amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity. Ten rewards have so far emerged in the course of the various exploratory studies of amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers. As the following list shows, the rewards are predominantly personal.

Personal rewards

1. Personal enrichment (cherished experiences)
2. Self-actualization (developing skills, abilities, knowledge)
3. Self-expression (expressing skills, abilities, knowledge already developed)
4. Self-image (known to others as a particular kind of serious leisure participant)
5. Self-gratification (combination of superficial enjoyment and deep fulfillment)

6. Re-creation (regeneration) of oneself through serious leisure after a day's work
7. Financial return (from a serious pursuit)

Social rewards

8. Social attraction (associating with other serious leisure participants or with clients as a volunteer, participating in the social world of the activity)
9. Group accomplishment (group effort in accomplishing a serious leisure/devotee work 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)

This brief discussion shows that some positive psychological states may be founded, to some extent, on particular negative (even infamous) conditions (e.g., tennis elbow, frostbite [cross-country skiing], stage fright, and 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. The broader lesson here is that in order to understand motivation in serious leisure, we must always examine costs and rewards in their relationship to each other.

Serious leisure and work experiences also have a negative side, which must always be assessed. Accordingly, 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, but as the respondents see them, they are invariably and heavily outweighed in importance by the rewards of the activity. In general terms, the costs discovered to date may be classified as disappointments, dislikes, or tensions. Nonetheless, all research on serious leisure considered, its costs are not nearly as commonly examined as its rewards, thus leaving a gap in our understanding that must be filled.

The costs of leisure may also be seen as one type of leisure constraint. Leisure constraints, are "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.

Thrills and 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 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 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 therefore has 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 (Stebbins, 2010). What then is flow?

The intensity with which some participants approach their leisure suggests that they may at times be in psychological flow there. 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 in the serious pursuits of devotee work and serious leisure. Yet it appears

that each serious pursuit 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 the presence of this quality of complex core activity is sufficiently rewarding and, it follows, highly valued to endow it with many of the qualities of serious leisure, thereby rendering the two inseparable in several ways at the motivational level. 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 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, a condition well illustrated in situations faced by the kayaking and snowboarding hobbyists mentioned above, as when the water level suddenly rises on the river or an unpredicted snowstorm results in a whiteout on a mountain snowboard slope.

Viewed from the 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. Also to be considered part of the Perspective as well as part of flow theory are the pre- and post-flow phases of flow, recently examined by Elkington (2010). These were discussed in Chapter 1.

Costs, uncontrollability, and marginality

From the earlier statement about costs and rewards, it is evident why, for some participants, the desire to participate in the core amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity can become significantly *uncontrollable* some of the time. 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. As a professional violinist once counseled his daughter, "Rachel, never marry an amateur violinist! He will want to play quartets all night" (from Bowen, 1935, p. 93). There seems to be an almost universal desire to upgrade: to own a better set of golf clubs, buy a more powerful telescope, take more dance lessons (perhaps from a renowned, and consequently more expensive, professional), and so forth. The same applies to hobbyist and volunteer pursuits.

Chances are therefore good that some serious leisure enthusiasts will be eager to spend more time and money on the core activity than is likely to be countenanced by certain significant others who also make demands on that time and money. The latter may soon come to the interpretation that the enthusiast is more enamored of the core leisure activity than of, say, the partner or spouse. Charges of selfishness may then not be long off. I found in my research on serious leisure that attractive activity and selfishness are natural partners (Stebbins, 2007/2015, pp. 74–75). Whereas some casual leisure and even project-based leisure can also be uncontrollable, the marginality hypothesis (stated below) implies that such a proclivity is generally significantly stronger among serious leisure participants.

Uncontrollable or not, serious leisure activities, given their intense appeal, can also be viewed as behavioral expressions of the participants' *central life interests* in those activities. In his book with the same title, Robert Dubin (1992) defines this interest as "that portion of a person's total life in which energies are invested in both physical/intellectual activities and in positive emotional states." Sociologically,

a central life interest is often associated with a major role in life. And since such interests can only emerge from positive emotional states, obsessive and compulsive activities can never become central life interests.

Finally, I have argued over the years that amateurs, and sometimes even the activities they pursue, are marginal in society, for amateurs are neither dabblers (casual leisure) nor professionals (see Stebbins, 2007/2015, p. 18). Moreover, studies of hobbyists and career volunteers show that they and some of their activities are just as marginal, and for many of the same reasons. Several properties of serious leisure give substance to these observations. One, although seemingly illogical according to common sense, is that serious leisure is characterized empirically by an important degree of positive commitment to a pursuit. This commitment is measured, among other ways, by the sizeable investments of time and energy made by its devotees and participants in the leisure. Two, serious leisure is pursued with noticeable intentness, with such passion that Erving Goffman (1963, pp. 144–145) once branded amateurs and hobbyists as the "quietly disaffiliated." People with such orientations toward their leisure are marginal compared with people who go in for the ever-popular forms of much of casual leisure.

Career

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

Exploratory research on careers in serious leisure has so far proceeded from a broad, rather loose definition: a leisure career is the typical course or passage of a type of amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer

that carries the person into and through a leisure role and possibly into and through a work role. The essence of any career, whether in work, leisure, or elsewhere, lies in the temporal continuity of the activities associated with it. Moreover, we are accustomed to thinking of this continuity as one of accumulating rewards and prestige, as progress along these lines from some starting point, even though continuity may also include career retrogression. In the worlds of sport and entertainment, for instance, athletes and artists may reach performance peaks early on, after which the prestige and rewards diminish as the limelight shifts to younger, sometimes more capable practitioners. A detailed explanation of the leisure/devotee work career and the parallel leisure involvement scale is now available in Stebbins (2014, chap. 2).

Devotee work

The subject of devotee work and occupational devotion was briefly outlined in the Introduction. There it was observed that occupational devotees feel a powerful devotion or strong, positive attachment to a form of self-enhancing work. In such work, the sense of achievement is high and the core activity endowed with such intense appeal that the line between this work and leisure is virtually erased. Further, it is by way of the core activity of their work that devotees realize a unique combination of, what are for them, strongly seated cultural values (Williams, 2000, p. 146): success, achievement, freedom of action, individual personality, and activity (being involved in something). Other categories of workers may also be animated by some, even all, of these values, but fail for various reasons to realize them in 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.

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

1. The valued core activity must be profound; to perform it 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 the interest of 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 all waking hours.
5. The would-be devotee must have both an aptitude and a taste for the work in question. This is, in part, a case of one man's meat being another 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).

6. The devotees must work in a physical and social milieu that encourages them to pursue the core activity often and without significant constraint. This includes avoidance of excessive paperwork, caseloads, class sizes, market demands, and the like.

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

Casual leisure

Casual leisure is an immediately intrinsically rewarding and relatively short-lived pleasurable activity, requiring little or no special training for its enjoyment. It is fundamentally hedonic, pursued for its significant level of pure enjoyment or pleasure. The termed was coined by the author in the first conceptual statement about serious leisure (Stebbins, 1982), which at the time, depicted its casual counterpart as all activity not classifiable as serious (project-based leisure has since been added as a third form, see next section). Casual leisure is considerably less substantial than serious leisure, and offers no career of the sort found in the latter.

Among the eight types (see Figure 2.1) of casual leisure are *play* (including dabbling), *relaxation* (e.g., sitting, napping, strolling), *passive entertainment* (e.g., popular TV, books, recorded music), *active entertainment* (e.g., games of chance, party games), *sociable conversation* (e.g., gossiping, joking, talking about the weather), *sensory stimulation* (e.g., sex, eating, drinking, sight-seeing), and *casual volunteering* (as opposed to serious leisure or career volunteering). Casual volunteering includes handing out leaflets, stuffing envelopes, and collecting money door-to-door. 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 develop sophisticated interpretations of 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. As applied here, the term "aerobic activity" is broad in scope, encompassing all activity that calls for such effort, which includes the routines pursued collectively in (narrowly conceived of) aerobics classes and those pursued individually by way of televised or video-taped aerobics programs (Stebbins, 2004b). Yet, as with its passive and active cousins in entertainment, pleasurable aerobic activity is basically casual leisure. That is, to perform 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), "exergames" for children (a video game played on a dance floor, Gerson, 2010), and such children's pastimes as hide-and-seek.

People seem to 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 non-deviant 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.

This brief review of the types of casual leisure reveals that they share at least one central property: all are hedonic. More precisely, all produce a significant level of pure pleasure or enjoyment for those participating in them. In broad, colloquial language, casual leisure could serve as the scientific term for the practice of doing what comes naturally. Yet, paradoxically, this leisure is by no means wholly frivolous, for we shall see shortly that some clear benefits come from pursuing it. Moreover, unlike the evanescent hedonic property of casual

leisure itself, its benefits are enduring, a property that makes them worthy of extended analysis in their own right.

It follows that terms such as "pleasure" and "enjoyment" are the more appropriate descriptors of the rewards of casual leisure in contrast to terms such as "fulfillment" and "rewardingness," which best describe the rewards gained in serious leisure. At least the serious leisure participants interviewed by the author were inclined to describe their involvements as fulfilling or rewarding rather than pleasurable or enjoyable. Still, overlap exists, for both casual and serious leisure offer the hedonic reward of self-gratification (see reward number 5). The activity is fun to do, even if the fun component is considerably more prominent in casual leisure than in its serious counterpart.

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 earlier intense activity, and development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships (Stebbins, 2007/2015, 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.

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

Benefits of casual leisure

We have so far been able to identify five benefits or outcomes of casual leisure. But since this is a preliminary list – and a first attempt at making one – it is certainly possible that future research and theorizing could add to it.

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. In casual leisure, as elsewhere, 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; most of the time at least, they have little interest in trying to solve problems while engaging in this kind of activity. Usually problems for which solutions must be found emerge at work, while meeting non-work obligations, or during serious leisure.

Another benefit springs from what Chris Daniels labeled *edutainment* in 1975 (*New World Encyclopedia*, 2008), holding that this benefit of casual leisure comes with participating in such mass entertainment as watching films and television programs, listening to popular music, and reading popular books and articles. Theme parks and museums are also considered sources of edutainment. While consuming media or frequenting places of this sort, these participants inadvertently learn something of substance about the social and physical world in which they live. They are, in a word, entertained and educated in the same breath.

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 distinguishes between 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.

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 can also have the same effect when shared, as sometimes happens during sensory stimulation and passive and active entertainment. The interpersonal relationships in question are many and varied, and encompass those that form between friends, spouses, and members of families. Such relationships, Hutchinson and Kleiber (2005) found in a set of studies of some of the benefits of casual leisure, can foster personal psychological growth by promoting new shared interests and, in the course of this process, new positive appraisals of self.

Well-being is still another benefit that can flow from engaging in casual leisure. Speaking only for the realm of leisure, perhaps the greatest sense of well-being is achieved when a person develops an *optimal leisure lifestyle*. 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). 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. The 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.

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, as by buffering stress and sustaining coping efforts. 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.

Project-based leisure

Project-based leisure (Stebbins, 2005a) is the third form of leisure activity and the most recent one added to the Perspective. It is usually a short-term, reasonably complicated, one-off or occasional (though infrequent) creative undertaking carried out in free time or in time free of disagreeable obligations.[1] Such leisure requires considerable planning, effort, and sometimes skill or knowledge, but even then it is not serious leisure or intended to develop into such. The adjective "occasional" describes widely spaced undertakings for such regular occasions as religious festivals, someone's birthday, or a national holiday. Volunteering for a sports event may be seen as an occasional project. The adjective "creative" stresses that the undertaking results in something new or different, by showing imagination and perhaps routine skill or knowledge. Though most projects would appear to be continuously pursued until completed, it is conceivable that some might be interrupted for several weeks, months, even years (e.g., a stone wall in the back garden that gets finished only after its builder recovers from an operation on his strained back). Only a rudimentary social world springs up around the project, which 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).

Moreover, it appears that in some instances project-based leisure springs from a sense of obligation to undertake it. If so, it is nonetheless un-coerced activity in terms of leisure, in the sense that the obligation is in fact "agreeable" – the project creator in executing the project anticipates finding fulfillment, whether obligated to do so or not. And worth exploring in future research, given that some obligations can be pleasant and attractive, is the nature and extent of leisure-like projects carried out within the context of paid employment. Furthermore, this discussion jibes with the additional criterion that to qualify as project-based leisure, the project must be *seen by the project creator* as a fundamentally un-coerced, fulfilling activity. Finally, note that, by definition, project-based leisure cannot refer to projects executed as part of a person's serious leisure, such as mounting a star night as an amateur astronomer or a model train display as a collector.

Though not serious leisure, project-based leisure is enough like it to justify using the Perspective to develop a parallel framework for exploring this neglected class of activities. A main difference is that project-based leisure fails to generate a sense of career; otherwise, there is the need to persevere, some skill or knowledge may be required, and effort is invariably called for. Also present are recognizable benefits, a special identity, and often a social world of sorts, though apparently one usually less complicated than those surrounding many serious leisure activities. And perhaps it happens at times that, even if not intended at the moment as participation in a type of serious leisure, the skilled, artistic, or intellectual aspects of the project prove so attractive that the participant decides, after the fact, to make a leisure career of their pursuit as a hobby or an amateur activity.

Project-based leisure is also capable of generating many of the rewards experienced in serious leisure. And, as in serious leisure, so also in project-based leisure: these rewards constitute part of the motivational basis for pursuing such highly fulfilling activity. Furthermore, motivation to undertake a leisure project may have an organizational base, much as many other forms of leisure do (Stebbins, 2002). My observations suggest that small groups, grassroots associations (volunteer groups with few or no paid staff), and volunteer organizations (paid-staff groups using volunteer help) are the most common types of organizations in which people undertake project-based leisure.

Motivationally speaking, project-based leisure may be attractive, in substantial part, because it does not demand long-term commitment, as serious leisure does. Even occasional projects carry with them the sense that the undertaking in question has a definite end and may even be terminated prematurely. Thus project-based leisure is no central life interest (Dubin, 1992). Rather, it is viewed by participants as a fulfilling (as distinguished from enjoyable or hedonic) activity that can be experienced comparatively quickly, though certainly not as quickly as casual leisure.

Project-based leisure fits into the leisure lifestyle in its own peculiar way as interstitial activity, like some casual leisure but not like most serious leisure. It can therefore help shape a person's optimal leisure lifestyle. For instance, it can usually be pursued at times convenient for the participant. It follows that project-based leisure is nicely suited to people who, out of proclivity or extensive non-leisure obligations or both, reject serious leisure and yet also have no appetite for

a steady diet of casual leisure. Among the candidates for project-based leisure are people with heavy workloads; homemakers, mothers, and fathers with extensive domestic responsibilities; unemployed individuals who, though looking for work, still have time at the moment for (I suspect, mostly one-shot) projects; and avid serious leisure enthusiasts who want a temporary change in their leisure lifestyle. Retired people, who often do have plenty of free time, may find project-based leisure attractive as a way to add variety to their lifestyle. Beyond these special categories of participants, project-based leisure offers a form of substantial leisure to all adults, adolescents, and even children looking for something interesting and exciting to do in their free time that is neither casual nor serious leisure.

Although, at most, only a rudimentary social world springs up around a project, it can in its own particular way bring together friends, neighbors, or relatives (e.g., through a genealogical project), or draw the individual participant into an organizational milieu (e.g., through volunteering for a sports event). This further suggests that project-based leisure often has, in at least two ways, potential for building community. One, it can bring into contact people who otherwise have no reason to meet, or at least meet frequently. Two, by way of event volunteering and other collective altruistic activity, it can contribute to carrying out community events and projects. Project-based leisure is not, however, civil labor, which must be classified as exclusively serious leisure (Rojek, 2002).

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-shot projects and occasional projects. These are presented next using the classificatory framework for amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities developed earlier in this chapter.

One-shot projects

In all such 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. The goal

is to always 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., model boat or airplane, 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 backpacking 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 (this new category replaces Entertainment Theater, see Stebbins, 2011):
  - Entertainment theater: 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, or 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) (Stebbins, 2011).

Occasional projects

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

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, such projects may lose their appeal over the years, 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.

Conclusions

The SLP does have its explanatory limits. Most broadly, it cannot be applied in the domains of life filled with disagreeable obligations, notably, non-devotee work and non-work obligations. Explaining why people engage in activities they dislike falls outside the purview of leisure studies, even while play may sometimes be possible in those activities. Were it routinely possible there – a powerful reward of the activity – then multiple opportunities for play might override the disagreeableness. Most of life outside the domain is, however, not so blessed. Indeed, given the widespread appeal of casual leisure, most people must look for play activities there. The next chapter shows that this is possible, but often improbable.

3
Play as Casual Leisure

The sequence of the next five chapters – from casual leisure to the three types of serious pursuits – will follow the Huizinga/Caillois chain of theoretic development, as set out in Chapter 1. From the leisure side, this sequence reflects the deepening sense of reward that comes with participating in hedonic activities *vis-à-vis* participating in ones that are fulfilling. In examining play as casual leisure in this chapter, we will follow the list of the eight types presented in the preceding chapter. The goal is to look at the hedonic side of play, its benefits, and its ramifications in social life.

Play

John Kelly (1990, p. 28), writing about play through the lens of leisure studies, identified three of its central elements:

1. Play generally refers to the activity of children or to a "childlike" lightness of behavior in adults.
2. Play is expressive and intrinsic in motivation.
3. Play involves a non-serious suspension of consequences, a temporary creation of its own world of meaning which often is a shadow of the "real world."

Play in this purely hedonic sense (concentration 1) encompasses an immense range of leisure activities, including daydreaming, dabbling at an activity, and fiddling with something. Yet only some of these activities leave an opening for augmentative play.

One class of such activities is found in the games that children play, where a participant, in attempting to win, willfully violates the rules. This is deviant augmentative play, more examples of which will be encountered later in this chapter. Thus very young children do not understand the meaning of cheating, and it is too early to make them keep to rules (Women's and Children's Health Network, 2014). In this vein, a youngster playing musical chairs who finds himself or herself with no place to sit when the music suddenly stops might, in an instance of augmentative play, push another participant off a chair that was just occupied and then promptly sit down on it. Or a child might purposefully miscount in an imaginative and subtle way (augmentative play) when moving his or her piece during a board game.

Non-deviant play is evident in the game rock-paper-scissors, where it is actually possible to do much better than a random player (one who randomly decides the next choice) when the contest involves non-random competitors (probably most common among child participants). This is because strong players can consistently beat predictable players, while random players will win about half their matches (RPSContest.com, 2014). Augmentative play is evident in strong players' choices when playing against weaker non-random players.

It is obvious that some adult casual leisure activities can be understood as play. It is less obvious, however, that when they play, adults often dabble in or play around at an activity pursued as serious leisure by others. Examples of such light-heartedness are legion; they include the casual or occasional canoeist, tennis player, piano player, sport fisher, and stamp collector (the last being more accurately viewed as a type of "accumulator," Olmsted, 1991). Some of the differences in casual and serious leisure involvement in tourism and volunteering have also been examined (Stebbins, 1996a, 1996b). In general, in every serious leisure field studied so far by the author, its participants and devotees recognize the existence of dabblers there, oriented by a carefree attitude toward the activity that contrasts sharply with their own serious approach to it.

But where in all this might we observe augmentative play, as opposed to dabbling which is an end in itself (concentration no. 1)? Consider the untutored canoeist paddling bow while a partner paddles stern, both out for a casual spin on a local pond. Suddenly, the one in the bow spots some drift wood just in front of the boat. Believing they should avoid hitting it, the bow paddler innovatively enacts what some seasoned canoeists call a "right rudder," or

thrusting the paddle into the water at an acute forward angle so that the canoe turns to the right (it being propelled from the stern). But these two are not trained in canoe paddling, suggesting that the bow paddler's action was augmentative play.

Taking role distance may hinge on augmentative play. Role distance is one way by which we intentionally and publically reject one or more disagreeable aspects of a role. In pioneering the idea of role distance, Goffman (1961) observed that at times human social behavior is not bound by the dictates of roles. People do not always faithfully embrace all aspects of the roles they play. Role distance, which is part of a person's interpretation of these expectations, reflects a desire to dissociate oneself from them, the reason for this being traceable to their threat to self-conception. However, such behavior should not be conceived of as a refusal to enact those expectations. Rather, it is best seen as an adaptive strategy, whereby the individual can more or less fulfill the role obligations while maintaining self-respect.

Here we sometimes observe augmentative play. For instance, Workman and Freeburg (2010) content-analyzed teacher dress codes, concluding that conventional dress (i.e., appropriate professional dress) expressed role embracement, while casual and immodest dress (i.e., inappropriate and/or unprofessional dress) reflected role distance. Teachers wanting to distance themselves for this reason in this way search their closets and dressers for apparel they believe will accomplish this goal. In this moment there is a flash of insight that the items being selected will do the job. In my days as a professional jazz and dance musician, the pianist with us on one job took distance from the requirement that he play a solo during our performance of a mazurka. In perfect rhythm – though in highly imperfect harmony – he improvised his part with his elbows, signaling to everyone on the bandstand (all were jazzmen) that he in no way identified with this number requested by someone in the audience.

Relaxation

The *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* defines relaxation as a "release from mental or physical tension; especially by recreation or rest." We relax and thereby enjoy this type of casual leisure by sitting, strolling, napping, lying down, and the like. Also to be considered relaxation is the practice of idly driving around town or through the

countryside for the purpose of savoring the passing sights. And, when motivated by the need for repose, boat, aircraft, and equestrian tours can be similarly classified.

Whereas playful dabbling can certainly accompany a session of relaxation, it is difficult to see how it could also be augmentative play. We might playfully kick a stone before us while on a relaxing walk, explore a heretofore unknown part of town while out for a Sunday drive, or throw popcorn to the pigeons while relaxing in a park. These playful activities seem not to fit the recipe for augmentative play, however, since they are not inventive solutions to challenging circumstances leading subsequently to continued activity. Here, too, *à la* Huizinga, play is its own end.

Entertainment

Entertainment may be conceptualized in two types. In *passive entertainment* the diversion or amusement is delivered to its consumers, where the principal action required of them is to arrange for its delivery (e.g., by opening the book, turning on the television set, inserting a compact disk into the player). In truly passively consumed diversion, however – such as a film, live entertainment, television program, video or audio recording, or genre of written material (e.g., book, article, horoscope) – there is, at most, only minimal analysis of or need to concentrate on its contents. People simply take in what they perceive, seeing it as something to be enjoyed for its own sake quite apart from any desire or obligation to study it in some way. When approached from the non-analytic orientation of pure enjoyment, the category of passive entertainment subsumes an enormous variety of activities. But to the extent that a person becomes actively involved with the activity, such as through manipulating or concentrating on something, he or she enters the realm of active entertainment.

In *active entertainment*, as the term implies, participants must act to ensure their own diversion. Relatively simple activities like riddles, puzzles, party games, children's games, surfing the net, and games of chance exemplify this type of casual leisure. But when participation in active entertainment requires a significant level of skill, knowledge, or experience, it ceases to be casual leisure. Depending on the activity in question, it is now better described as a hobby or an amateur activity.

The very passivity of passive entertainment allows little scope for augmentative play, which is an active approach to life's interests and therefore most evident in entertainment's active side. The example presented above in the play type fits here, where a child might purposefully miscount in an imaginatively and subtle way (augmentative play) when moving his or her piece in a board game. Still, in all of casual leisure, in the active entertainment of puzzles, mazes, and brain twisters, we find some of the richest instances of augmentative play, for they beg to be solved and playful imagination is a main route to success in this kind of activity. Another main route here is trial and error, which does require some intuition (explained in Chapter 5) with which a participant can meet the challenge by systematically going through a set of possibilities until finding the one that works. That is, the procedure is to engage in trial and error until this approach leads to a solution to the problem at hand. Trial and error is systematic, engaged in with reference to the problem that has focused inquiry. Once tried and found erroneous – unproductive of a solution – the possibility in question is abandoned and another considered (Abbott, 2004).

Pleasurable reading is active entertainment (Stebbins, 2013c, chap. 4). Yet, what is active in reading for it to be conceived of as active entertainment? Were reading merely a matter of opening a book cover and "watching" the words inside, we could speak of it as passive entertainment. But reading for pleasure requires concentration, active attention to plot, character, storyline, and so on as fashioned by the words. (These aspects of pleasurable reading remain even as many consumers are turning to e-books.) And there may be no visual material to aid this endeavor, as there is, for example, in entertainment television or books containing illustrations. Flights of imagination as augmentative play inspired by particular passages of a story are also active responses to the written material (see Chapter 7).

What about games of pure chance, among them roulette, solitaire, and playing slot machines and their contemporary electronic equivalents? In fact, there seems to be little opportunity for augmentative play in these kinds of active entertainment. Rather, participants simply wait for the next event to unfold, driven by forces entirely beyond their control.

It is different, however, with knowledge and word games. Here, at each turn, participants encounter a recipe for augmentative play,

requiring them to use their imagination to find the right word (Scrabble, crosswords), identify the word or phrase being portrayed (Charades, Pictionary), or answer general knowledge or popular culture questions (Trivial Pursuit). The role-playing games (e.g., Chivalry & Sorcery, Dungeons and Dragons, Empire of the Petal Thorn, Traveller) offer similar extensive opportunities for augmentative play in casual leisure activity. Gary Fine (1983, p. 6) describes the role-playing or fantasy game as "any game which allows a number of players to assume the roles of imaginary characters and operate with some degree of freedom in an imaginary environment." See Chapter 7 for further discussion of these games.

Sociable conversation

According to Simmel (1949), the essence of sociable conversation lies in its playfulness, a quality enjoyed for its intrinsic value. Sociable conversation guarantees the participants' maximization of such values as joy, relief, and vivacity; it is democratic activity in that the pleasure of one person is dependent on that of the other people in the exchange. Because it is a non-instrumental exchange between persons, sociable conversation is destroyed when someone introduces a wholly personal interest or goal and is maintained when all participants exhibit amiability, cordiality, attractiveness, and proper breeding.

Sociable conversations can spring up in a wide variety of settings at any time during a person's waking hours. They often develop in such public conveyances as buses, taxis, and airplanes. Waiting rooms (e.g., emergency rooms, dentists' offices) and waiting areas (e.g., queues, bus stops) may beget sociable conversations among those with no choice but to be there. Still, possibly the most obvious as well as the most common occasion for sociable conversation issues not from adventitious events, such as those just described, but from planned ones like receptions, private parties, and after-hours gatherings. Of course, to the extent that these get-togethers become instrumental, or problem-centered – as they can when work or some other obligation insinuates itself – their leisure character fades in proportion. The discussion below touches on some of the better known conversational situations where augmentative play helps animate the talk.

Witticisms

Bear in mind that much of sociable conversation appears to offer few, if any, recipes for augmentative play. That is, much of it is factual, or purports to be such, and includes gossip; reports of events; and talk about sport, politics, or the weather. Nonetheless, it is different with witticisms. A witticism is a clever, humorous, spontaneous remark. Since it may be argued that sociable conversation numbers among the least formally scripted of all interhuman verbal exchanges, it is therefore also one of the most amenable to augmentative play in the form of witticisms. Indeed, one of its enjoyable features is that participants can, for instance, creatively express themselves using humor, of which "social comic relief" (Stebbins, 1979a) is one type. It is the everyday counterpart of the theatrical variety, or a momentary humorous respite from the seriousness of lengthy concentration on a collective task, a respite that facilitates the completion of that task by refreshing the participants (the parallel of a theater audience). Those involved also feel compelled to stay at the task. That is, they have no socially acceptable means of escape from the setting of concentration such as by quitting before the task is finished, going into reverie, or even taking a short break. In the usual case, the time within which to complete the task is limited.

Some comic relief is not playful, as evident in bloopers, stumbles, and accidents. In his study of amateur theater, the author observed that the only intentional type was a combination of witticisms and antics. Witticisms and antics were combined because they tended to occur together. The first are humorous comments, the second ludicrous gestures or acts. Perhaps as much as 50 percent of the humor observed at theater rehearsals was initiated by the director as he instructed members of the cast. His witticisms usually made humorous sense only in the context of certain lines in the play. Nearly as prevalent as the director's witticisms were those of individual actors. Sometimes these were improvisations on the script, as when one of them who was supposed to say, "I hope you like cats," to a prospective visitor to his home, ad-libbed, "I hope you like cathouses" (p. 99).

Nevertheless, the witticism as the fruit of augmentative play is also found elsewhere in sociable conversation. Wisecracks – clever, pithy remarks – may be seen as a distinctive kind of witticism, which, however, are not always humorous. Thus the snide remark, the wisecrack that it is, may momentarily undermine a pleasant sociable

conversation. Be that as it may, such an utterance can be quite imaginative. Vocabulary.com (2014) states: "*Snide* means insulting or contemptuous in an indirect way. If your friend is wearing too much purple eye shadow and your other friend whispers to you, 'What? Was she in a car wreck?' that's a *snide* comment." Cutting as it is, the remark shows playful imagination, leading the two participants to continue their *sotto voce* sociable, albeit catty, conversation.

Anecdotes/jokes

Sociable conversation sometimes makes a good stage for performing anecdotes, albeit to a captive audience of participants. To the extent that these little stories are presented with spontaneous, creative language and gesture (i.e., a true performance), they meet the criteria of augmentative play. By contrast, unadorned description (e.g., no adjectives, deadpan facial expression, little or no gestural embellishment) shows lack of imagination, even while the anecdote is understood and its point made.

Anecdotes are factual or at least believable, whereas jokes are fictional, which is why the latter are also known as "stories." As with some anecdotes, jokes may be told with little creative flare and with little augmentative play. Alternatively, they may be presented as lively, funny constructions, as mini-theatrical pieces, made that way by the playful talents of the narrator. Ideally, a joke will fit the drift of the sociable conversation as it has evolved to that point, often being launched with a comment like "That reminds me of. . . ."

Banter

Bantering is a good-natured exchange of light-hearted remarks aimed at one or more people in a sociable conversation. In banter (repartee, badinage, joshing) the speaker makes fun of someone else, who often responds with his or her own banter-like thrust. Both thrusts, initial and reactive, can be born in augmentative play. The content of much banter is a kind of good-natured teasing, where the object of such humor is expected to take the comment in stride. Thus insults in the form of, say, sardonic humor cannot be understood as sociable conversation and are certainly not interpretable as banter. But for all that, such derision could be the product of augmentative play.

Augmentative play is missing when the banterer uses stock banter lines, examples of which are displayed on the Art of Charm (2014)

website. Nonetheless, advice from this source and similar ones about how to banter effectively can enhance such play, for it is at bottom about histrionics. Thus, a good actor and a good banterer (joke teller, spinner of anecdotes, etc.) share some theatrical *savoir faire*, which they join with the words they use and any handy props to create an amusing effect during augmentative play.

Sensory stimulation

Turning to sensory stimulation, it is evident that human beings are aroused by a tremendous diversity of things and activities, among them creature pleasures, displays of beauty, satisfying curiosity, thrills of movement, and thrills of deviant activity. People relish their *creature pleasures* by engaging in activities where they have sex, eat, drink, touch, see, smell, hear, or feel, for instance, coolness or warmth. Drug use intended to produce pleasant alterations of mood and perception as centered on such effects as vertigo, hallucinations, and mood elevation is another example of this type of casual leisure.

Augmentative play is probably evident in all of the creature pleasures and also absent in all of them. For instance, one can have sex in the habitual way (as defined by the participants) or imaginatively experiment with a different position, sex toy, approach to foreplay, or physical setting for the activity. Displays of beauty may be natural, as found in water, clouds, mountains, or forests, or human-made, as seen in art, fireworks, architecture, or landscaped terrain. Augmentative play, if possible to effect during these displays, could enhance the experience of any of them. Thus, an enthusiast might try to enhance or vary the display by changing positions, as by finding an upper floor or other elevated surface from which to watch a parade, seeing fireworks from a nearby hill, or viewing the mountains early in the morning.

People satisfy their *curiosity* through casual leisure when they window shop, watch passersby, tour museums, and observe birds and animals (which might also be observed for their natural beauty), among many other ways. Augmentative play in the service of satisfying curiosity is probably richest when trying to observe fauna in the outdoors. For example, how many birdwatchers have tiptoed gingerly around a tree or rock trying to find a more advantageous angle from which to view and maybe photograph a fascinating specimen

of a warbler or thrush? It takes considerable on-the-spot insight to find a route that will minimize disturbing this creature and frightening it away. The same holds for observing wild animals, rodents, fish, and reptiles. As for activities like window shopping, people watching in public places, and museum patronage, the occasions that call for augmentative play appear to be few and far between.

Finally, the *thrills of movement* as casual leisure encompass such breath-taking experiences as raft rides, automobile "joyrides," dizzying (if not nauseating) carnival rides, and bungee jumping, while those of deviant activity are generated through immoral pursuits like streaking, vandalism, and shoplifting (see section on deviant leisure). The first set generally allows little opportunity for improvisation, in that participants, with the exception of those riding rafts, are strapped into place for safety reasons. By contrast, the second set is a terrific incubator for augmentative play.

Thus the exhibitionist imagination runs wild thinking of when, where (usually at sports events), whom to streak before, and how to avoid interception by the authorities. Streaking as a form of protest, though apparently rarer than the purely exhibitionist variety, may be so rigidly planned as to leave little to the imagination, including especially the naked body itself. Meanwhile, some vandalism is at least as generative of augmentative playfulness.

Vandalism

Let us start with graffiti. It is defined as writing or drawings scribbled, scratched, or sprayed illicitly on a wall or other surface in a public place (expanded from the *OED*, 5th ed., 2002). Municipalities usually consider it a genre of vandalism, though some of it is regarded by analysts as artistic. In principle, a graffito may be both artistic and vandalistic. It is, of course, its artistic facet that offers the largest number of recipes for augmentative play. Since the potential for augmentative play in art will be covered in the next chapter, little more will be said here about graffiti's artistic quality. The inartistic part of sprayed graffiti – most of it is created using an aerosol spray can – is evident in the seemingly random and omnipresent defacement of public walls, monuments, and benches, among other targets. In these cases it is difficult to discern any augmentative play that might help inspire such deviance.

Inartistically sprayed graffiti appears motivated much the same as many other vandalistic acts: to damage or deface something purely

for the fun of doing so. Still, vandalism is more complex than this. Stanley Cohen (1973) described six different types of motives for vandalism, of which three present opportunities for augmentative play at various levels:

- Ideological vandalism (carried out to further an explicit ideological cause or deliver a message)
- Vindictive vandalism (for revenge)
- Play vandalism (damage resulting from children's games)

Ideological vandalism commonly requires some imagination, such as how to effectively deface a building, sign, or object that stands for a religious, political, or community idea opposed by the vandal. Graffiti can serve well here. A set of squiggly lines can certainly deface any of these. But a well-placed swastika on a synagogue, a "go home" directive scrawled on the window of an ethnic restaurant, or "Go" obliterating a stop sign much more sharply convey a message of hate and opposition for the target of the graffiti. Deciding how to communicate this way – for example, which color to use, how large to make the graffiti, where on the building or window to put it – is a product of some sort of augmentative play. Vindictive vandalism, though differently motivated, nevertheless engenders a similar list of imaginative possibilities expressed by means of graffiti.

Vandalism for the fun of it can be qualified as "play," though we have extended its application here to casual leisure beyond that of children. As with inartistic graffiti, in vandalism for fun it is difficult to discern any augmentative play in effect during the act. Throwing stones through windows, breaking up a glass bus shelter, tipping over tombstones, slashing automobile tires, and so on call for little ingenuity, save possibly calculating how to avoid detection during and after such thrills of the moment.

Sensory stimulation: thrills of deviance

Since nearly all casual and serious deviant leisure can be described as tolerable (exceptions are discussed below), we must first explain the concept of tolerance (Stebbins, 1996c, pp. 3–4). Tolerance is a relatively passive disposition, falling roughly midway between scorn or disdain toward an activity or thought pattern on the one hand, and embracement or acceptance of it on the other. In contrast to tolerance,

both scorn and embracement are active approaches to the behavior in question. When something is tolerated it is accorded legitimacy, though sometimes only grudgingly. By the same token, because tolerated thought and behavior are nonetheless mildly threatening, people have little interest in actually adopting the tolerated behaviors or thought patterns as their own, or even accepting them as alternatives they might conceivably adopt in the future.

In the final analysis, deviant casual leisure roots in sensory stimulation and, in particular, in the creature pleasures that such activity produces. The majority of people in society tolerate these pleasures even if they would never think, or never even dare to think, of enjoying 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 have been portrayed as the "sneaky thrills" of joyriding and certain incidents of theft, burglary, and shoplifting (Katz, 1988, chap. 2). Serial murder and violence, though unquestionably intolerable, may also be done for "fun" (see articles on this subject listed in www.seriousleisure.net/Bibliography/Deviance).

Sexual deviance/drugs

Tolerable deviance undertaken for pleasure – as casual leisure – encompasses a range of activities (all are examined in greater detail in Stebbins, 1996c, chaps. 3–7, 9), a main category of which is sexual. Tolerable sexual deviance includes cross-dressing, homosexuality (the sexual act), watching sex (e.g., striptease, pornographic films), and swinging and group sex. What was said earlier about sex, sensory stimulation, and augmentative play also applies to homosexuality and to swinging and group sex.

Cross-dressing is not a sex act, even though it is sexually stimulating for the participant. For heterosexual males, cross-dressing is most commonly a casual leisure activity pursued around the home, at private clubs, or in exclusive bars. For them plenty of scope exists for playful imitation of the outward sartorial, gestural, and cosmetic appearances of typical females. As for males dressing like women, there are a multitude of matters to consider. Club Cross Dressing (2013) presents several short statements on clothing, shoes, nails, and hair, as well as a couple of pages on makeup. These statements show the complexity of male cross-dressing and hint at the augmentative

play to be engaged in when searching for the right effect, as in color of lipstick, style of blouse, or kind of hairdo. Further, feminine gestures and postures must be cultivated and this may be achieved through some imaginative flashes.

Tolerable mind- and mood-altering drugs come in two main forms: cannabis and prescription drugs, mainly barbiturates, amphetamines, and tranquilizers. Their use is nearly universal, with all but a few societies throughout recorded history having some sort of contact with them. As a means of enjoyment, they have recently become prominent in the Western world. Alcohol use and the deviant (non-medical) consumption of cannabis and prescription drugs are stigmatized practices that have become tolerable alternatives in the West. It is difficult to discern any significant scope for augmentative play in the consumption of these drugs, even though there is some technique to be learned in smoking marijuana.

Gambling/nudism

Gambling and nudism represent direct and deviant challenges to the institution of leisure. According to this institution, it is still morally improper to wager extensively for pleasure; to try to earn a living by gambling rather than by gainful employment; and to engage in various quasi-public activities in the nude, especially in mixed company. In the last activity, there has been a recent shift in emphasis from the aspect of physical health to that of relaxation and sociability. In North America before 1950 and in contemporary Europe, nudism was frequently justified as an alternative to prevailing health practices, with the curative rays of the sun and exercise in the buff being regarded as highly beneficial.

Casual leisure gambling (e.g., bingo, roulette, lottery, slot or fruit machines) consists of games of chance for which neither skill nor knowledge is required of the players. Augmentative play has little place here, except among those regular participants who develop their own (scientifically questionable) theories about how to win at these kinds of games. For this special group, flashes of insight may support these developing thoughts. These are personal constructions, however, rather than widely shared commonsense beliefs such as the gambler's fallacy. In this fallacy the gambler believes that in repeated independent trials of some random process, a consistent streak of deviations is likely to be evened out in the future by

opposite deviations. A common example is that tails is expected to be especially likely to be tossed after, say, 20 tosses resulting in heads. In fact, each toss of the coin is unrelated to all preceding tosses; assuming an unbiased coin and tossing procedure, heads and tails have an equal chance of appearing with each toss.

Thus individual casual gamblers may imaginatively think of conditions they believe should lead to winning at bingo, roulette, or the "slots." So a hopeful gambler might observe: "I feel lucky today, it's my birthday." Or, "I will do well this afternoon at roulette, because I have a good relationship with the croupier." Or, "The last time Mr. X called bingo at this place I won big time. Here he is again tonight. I will win a lot." These brief flashes of insight seem simple enough, but they may be intensely motivating for the participant, at least until a heavy loss forces a reality check.

What augmentative play is possible in nudist activities? Depending on the nudist resort and its facilities, its patrons may, without clothes, sun tan, swim, fish, boat, converse, play volleyball and tennis, walk on its private land, attend evening parties (dancing may be permitted), among other acceptable activities. There may be saunas and exercise facilities. Displays of sexuality and sexual arousal are officially forbidden, however, thereby largely eliminating augmentative play in this area. Moreover, since in naturism (the European term for nudism), the body is to be respected for what it is, adorning it is discouraged, this being regarded as contrary to the principles of the movement.

All this seems to leave little scope for augmentative play. Still, Douglas et al. (1977, pp. 112–140) report from their study of a California nude beach that voyeurism is viewed by regulars as the most disturbing kind of behavior in that lifestyle. So those who would like to engage in it, to avoid sanctions, have to invent subtle ways to "sneak a peek," accomplished, for instance, by watching a volleyball game, walking on a beach filled with sun tanners, or more surreptitiously, consuming a drink in the shade while watching the activities in the adjacent unshaded area.

Deviant serious leisure

Whereas this chapter is devoted to a discussion of augmentative play in casual leisure, it is also the only place in this book where such play

in deviance is considered. And, as it turns out, some deviant leisure is of the serious kind. In whichever kind of deviant serious leisure people participate, they find it necessary to make a significant effort to acquire its special belief system. They need to learn how to defend it against attack from hostile non-believers.

Deviant serious leisure is pursued in science, religion, and politics. In addition to the sense of fulfillment that comes with embracing a profound system of thought, enthusiasts discover two additional rewards of considerable import. One is a special personal identity. It is grounded, in part, in another: the unique genre of self-enrichment that invariably flows from inhabiting any marginal social world with which the participant identifies.

Political, religious, and scientific institutions in democracies inadvertently encourage their own sets of heretics (see Stebbins, 1996c, pp. 1–2). Thus 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 Truzzi (1972), consists of five types: divination, witchcraft-Satanism, extrasensory perception (ESP), Eastern religious thought, and various residual occult phenomena, among them UFOs, water witching, and lake monsters (for further details on these five, see Stebbins, 1996c, chap. 10). Viewed in terms of the SLP, deviant serious leisure is mainly pursued as a liberal arts hobby, as activity participation, or, in fields like witchcraft and divination, as both.

Any system of belief, deviant or not, owes its existence to a good deal of intellectual augmentative play on the part of its founders. This system is a mental construction based, in substantial part, on insights (in some religions, also on revelation). Furthermore, the construction, if it is to gain adherents, must be both believable and logical, though in the case of deviant science, it is rarely supported by valid empirical data.

The central role of augmentative play in religion is exemplified in the development of Raël's UFO religion, which began in France and later flourished in Quebec. Susan Palmer (2004) describes its orchestration by Raël (born in France as Claude Vorilhon), a charismatic prophet whose special qualities were revealed, in part, from direct contact in France in 1973 with an alien who had just arrived by flying saucer. This alien – an "Eloha" (singular of the

Hebrew *elohim*) – revealed to Vorilhon the latter's true identity as Raël, the last prophet sent by a race of superior scientists from a planet in another galaxy to convey a message to humankind. A popular book (2005) penned by the prophet followed, wherein he explained his entrusted mission to save the human race from nuclear disaster. A second alien contact occurred early in 1976.

How might augmentative play have occurred in this scenario? There appear to be two main recipes. One, Raël alone in the French countryside had either to interpret (imagine) a set of events unfolding before him as an alien arriving by flying saucer to bring him a message or to make up (fabricate) what he wanted to see and hear there. Two, he subsequently had to construct a believable and workable set of religious principles from this experience or fabrication. Those principles are set out in a 389-page book entitled *Intelligent Design: Message from the Designers* (http://www.rael.org/message). These two recipes for augmentative play are probably followed during the emergence of all deviant religions, among them the Church of Scientology and its founder L. Ron Hubbard, the Unification Church founded by Sun Myung Moon, and The Family International (formerly the Children of God), whose originator is David Berg.

Augmentative play in deviant politics manifests itself differently. It often happens when a person dissatisfied with the mainstream political parties of the land crafts a radical position on the left or right intended to assuage the dissatisfaction. These new deviant approaches are commonly hewn from one or more earlier political or philosophical lines of thought and policy and then applied to contemporary circumstances. Thus Karl Marx's ideas have helped shape many a political position on the far left, while those of Edmund Burke have had similar effects on the far right. The playful element here is evident primarily in the process of application to the politician's present-day situation. Nevertheless, I have found it difficult to spot instances at this philosophical level in any kind of politics that offer the detail needed to demonstrate the workings of augmentative play.

The political imagination is far more evident at the grassroots level, in the routines of political action in deviant political parties and political social movement organizations. So, a local gathering of one of these groups might ask those in attendance to think of new ways to interest potential supporters, drum up votes, or publicly present the group's position and its leaders, thereby stimulating some

individual augmentative play. Additionally, members attending such meetings, when invited to help shape policy, might think of a community issue about which a particular policy could be formulated and then assist in writing that statement.

Among the various deviant activities in serious leisure, certain deviant sciences offer some of the most visible arenas in which to contemplate the results of augmentative play. Thus, publicly announcing the sighting of a UFO or a lake monster requires the observer to describe what was seen and what led to the conclusion that it was a UFO or a monster. Juan Castillo (2014) of List25 compiled 25 of the most famous UFO sightings, four of which are listed below along with his annotations. They suggest how augmentative play figured in the observer's interpretations:

> **Warrenton Sighting, South Africa (1994)**
> A farmer claimed to have made repeated observations of a noisy, night-time craft traveling at great speeds, beside what he described as a "mother ship." The craft's noise was compared to the sound of a helicopter or Volkswagen Beetle engine.
>
> **Warden Sighting, South Africa (2000)**
> A police inspector claimed that he observed a UFO while he was traveling on the N3 freeway near Warden in South Africa. He described the UFO as an orange, oval-shaped light that was large enough to cover four lanes of freeway.
>
> **Berwyn Mountains, Wales (1974)**
> Following several ground tremors and the alleged appearance of strange lights in the sky, locals claimed that the cause was UFOs landing. Most scientists, however, point to earthquake lights as the cause.
>
> **Belgium Wave (1989–1990)**
> Sometime between 1989 and 1990, thousands of Belgians claimed to have seen UFOs in the form of large, silent and low-flying black triangles. The government, however, stated that they were military helicopters.

Alison Meier (2013) provides a parallel list of imaginative testimonials bearing on lake monsters in the United States.

Water witching or dowsing is not amenable to augmentative play. Here all the witcher need do is walk over the earth with a dowsing stick until it bends down, turns in one's hand, or reacts in a similar manner. This is sufficient "evidence" of water lying directly below, with no playful solutions or interpretations needed at this time.

The question for us concerning ESP is how do people perceive information about events independently of their five senses and recollections of past experience? In particular, what recipes of augmentative play are in operation at the time of the perception? First, note that ESP has not been scientifically substantiated (Milton & Wiseman, 1999), hence its classification here as deviant science. Second, augmentative play appears not to be undertaken during this kind of perception, since the information gained during this process comes to the individual as fact. We may certainly interpret a dream, premonition, or clairvoyant observation, but the content of these perceptions is given. They have happened or will happen as perceived.

Witchcraft today has for the most part evolved into Wicca, which is a modern pagan (i.e., deviant) religion. As an organized religion, Wicca, as with other organized religions, consists primarily of a system of beliefs and a set of rituals, which amount to little opportunity for augmentative play. Modern witchcraft, when not synonymous with Wicca, is a set of practices (including casting spells and creating amulets) that do not, however, make a religion.

Since casting a spell or creating an amulet has an object (often another person), these processes revolve around some augmentative play during which the creator fits the first to the second. Spells and Amulets (2014) note that "casting a spell or creating an amulet is more art than science, and even the most gifted psychic will not be successful every time." This website, by the way, is a commercial service, offering for a fee spells and amulets in the areas of love, money, revenge, and luck.

Wicca and modern-day residual witchcraft are sometimes confused with Satanism, or the broad group of deviant social movements – some argue it is a religion – inspired by diverse ideological and philosophical beliefs. Their shared features include symbolic association with or admiration for Satan, whom Satanists see as a liberating figure. *The Economist* (2014) says that despite these many differences, certain commonalities link many spiritual and materialist branches of Satanism: "namely a belief that the worship of a supernatural

deity – and the ecclesiastical structure that evolved to support such worship – places needless restrictions on human knowledge and progress; and a belief in science, rationality and learning, without restrictions."

Augmentative play in Satanism is possible, if not actually obligatory, in the use of "magick":

> Magick, sorcery, spells, witchcraft, etc., are all powers of the mind. The success of any working depends upon the strength and power of the operator's mind, aura, mental concentration and his/her ability to sense and direct energy. Understanding energy, discerning between different energies, invoking, evoking, and directing energy is the foundation of all "magick." This comes through POWER MEDITATION. How diligently and consistently one applies one's self to a program of power meditation will determine how powerful one's workings are. People who are new are encouraged to start out with white and grey magick, as black magick requires more knowledge and skill.

Joy of Satan Ministries (2013), from which this quote was taken, lists numerous uses of magick running from the simple to the complex. All require the practitioner to imaginatively apply specialized knowledge – and sometimes technique – to the object of the spell, hypnotism, healing, or other kind of magick or divination.

Other casual leisure

Casual volunteering includes such activities as handing out leaflets, stuffing envelopes, and collecting money door-to-door. The object of this short paragraph is to point out that augmentative play is occasionally possible even in these simple but needed altruistic acts. For example, the committed distributor of leaflets on a busy street corner might have flashes of insight about which passersby to offer the document to and how to do this, as well as insight about whom to ignore. Museum volunteers assisting with setting up an event may have some latitude as to where to place tables, display booths, public refreshment facilities, and so on.

Pleasurable aerobic activity was described in the preceding chapter. It is a kind of casual leisure that occasionally encourages augmentative

play. Thus, while a couple are out for a stroll she suddenly decides to try to walk along the top of the narrow curb bordering the path. Or a stationary bike enthusiast hits on the idea of spicing up his exercise routine with a substantially new pattern of settings of time spent pedaling at certain levels of resistance. Nevertheless, it is difficult to playfully alter canned exercise programs followed on video, live television, or in aerobics classes.

Conclusions

Augmentative play in casual leisure is sporadic, but certainly common enough to support the directive that we must not to ignore such leisure in our study of this special kind of play. Some play activities (as a type of casual leisure) do allow for augmentative play, whereas such play seems to be impossible in the type we discussed as relaxation. The very passivity of passive entertainment allows little scope for augmentative play, which is an active approach to life's interests. Meanwhile, it is quite different with the active subtype; in puzzles, mazes, and brain twisters we find some of the richest examples of augmentative play in all of casual leisure. Also included in this type are the knowledge and word games, role-playing games, and pleasurable reading.

Sociable conversation is another spawning ground for augmentative play, particularly in its banter, witticisms and wisecracks, and jokes and anecdotes. Turning to sensory stimulation, I observed that augmentative play is probably evident in all of the creature pleasures and also absent in all of them. Augmentative play with reference to displays of beauty is intended to enhance this experience. Augmentative play in the service of satisfying curiosity is arguably at its richest when trying to observe fauna in the outdoors. Little of such play is possible in the thrills of movement, though some deviant activity serves as a fine outlet for it, notably streaking, spraying graffiti, and cross-dressing.

Deviant serious leisure also offers opportunities for augmentative play. Any system of belief, deviant or not, owes its existence to considerable augmentative play on the part of its founders. Among the deviant activities in serious leisure, some of the deviant sciences offer the most visible arenas in which to see the results of augmentative play, UFOs and lake monsters being lively interests where such

activity is especially noticeable. The casting of spells and creation of amulets are excellent activities for studying augmentative play in Wicca, modern-day witchcraft, and Satanism. Finally, augmentative play is sometimes possible in casual volunteering and pleasurable aerobic activity.

The sporadic manifestation of augmentative play in casual leisure attests its relative marginality in this area of free time. True, augmentative play does lie at the heart of doing puzzles, word games, role-playing games, pleasurable reading, and the more creative aspects of sociable conversation. Still, the amateur, hobbyist, career volunteer, and devotee work activities are, in general, far more fertile areas of free time for the study of augmentative play. Here it plays a role in the serious leisure experience that is even more vital than in the casual leisure activities just mentioned.

4
Play in Art and Entertainment

This chapter looks into the playful moments and their consequences as experienced in fine arts and entertainment arts. The arts covered here are those of the stage, which are music, drama, and dance and those of the studio, which are painting, literature, and the making and tinkering hobbies. Both types are widely produced the world over, with fine and entertainment arts being the more prevalent. During their creative moments, we find augmentative play in full swing.

Except for the making and tinkering hobbies, these arts are treated as amateur-professional serious pursuits in the SLP. These hobbies have conventionally been considered under the rubric of crafts. This classification, however, tends to ignore their roots in serious leisure, with a career in such activities capable of going as far as a small business enterprise that may be experienced as devotee work. Classification as a craft brings up the possibility that such activity may be primarily practical, either requiring or involving little or no artistry (Becker, 1982, chap. 9). The industrial crafts of, for example, woodwork, sheet metal work, and the leather and textile trades, often evince this quality. Yet, this chapter will show that their counterparts in the hobbyist sphere allow for considerable artistic expression.

We start with a discussion of the relationship of art and play. There follows an extensive examination of the fine and entertainment arts and hobbies, during which we look at some of the possibilities for augmentative play there. The nature of such play varies immensely across the different types.

Art and play

The fine arts appeal to the mind and to our sense of beauty. Some artistic works also convey a powerful social or emotional message such as ethnic injustice, national treason, or personal ruin. By comparison, most entertainment rests on pure humor or, more broadly, on pure amusement. It is easily understood material that is intentionally designed to avoid arousing our intellect or piquing our conscience, as the fine arts sometimes do. Nevertheless, the relationship between these two fields is complex, which is why we are considering them in the same section of this book.

Part of this relationship rests on the twin facts that both fields are arts and both share many techniques. For the most part, these techniques originated in the fine arts and then flowed from there to the entertainment world. Today a properly trained rock trumpeter will have received lessons in classical trumpet, giving this artist a solid base for making music as an entertainer. A person planning a career in Broadway theater learns the same fundamentals as the person planning a career on the Shakespearian stage. Nevertheless, exceptions exist. Such theatrical skills as juggling, ventriloquism, and prestidigitation were born as entertainment techniques, and these techniques have not found broad acceptance in fine art drama, at least so far. In fact, these latter skills are more accurately seen as specialized acquisitions performed by using fundamental acting skills, among them eye contact, voice projection, and vocal enunciation.

The general sharing of basic techniques in the fine arts and entertainment fields indicates that both are skilled pursuits; to perform either well requires considerable practice. Moreover, according to the definition of art set out by Thomas Munro (1957), both are artistic because both incorporate one or more of the following skills:

1. Making or doing something used or intended for use as a stimulus for a satisfactory aesthetic experience. Aspects of this experience may include beauty, pleasantness, interest, and emotion.
2. Expressing and communicating past emotional and other experiences, both individual and social.
3. Designing, composing, and performing through personal interpretation, as distinguished from routine execution or mechanical reproduction.

For example, the artistic part of stand-up comedy is making people laugh and, when this happens, the art meets Munro's three criteria. It takes skill to write comic lines seen by the audience as pleasant, interesting, emotional (i.e., humorous), or as a combination of all three. It takes skill to communicate one's past experiences, emotional or not, through humor. Finally, it takes skill to perform lines that generate laughter. On the other hand, Shakespearian actors do not write their own lines, and they are presenting drama more often than humor.

These examples illustrate the fact that fine art and entertainment have different artistic goals and consequently draw on different combinations of the three skills to produce their distinctive artistry. Note, further, that, although intended by their producers to be beautiful or entertaining, some objects and productions still fall short of this goal. We have all seen or heard poor quality art and entertainment at one time or another; it is poor because it fails to meet at least one of Munro's three criteria.

Since both the entertainment and the fine arts fields evince considerable skill and artistry when done well, the common tendency to hold the second in greater esteem than the first must be kept in perspective. From what has been said here, it is evident that such ranking is tenable only on evaluative grounds: influential segments of modern society accord higher value to the pursuit of beauty and intellectual expression than to the pursuit of humor and amusement. Nonetheless, people from all levels of society enjoy being entertained and many like entertaining others. Thus many interesting leisure/work careers in both the fine arts and the entertainment fields await amateur enthusiasts from every walk of life.

Is art play? Not if by art we mean only a finished artistic product. We hear art in the concert hall, view it in the gallery, and the notes performed in and the paintings created for those spaces are no doubt art (assuming decent quality). Still, play as considered in this book – augmentative play and its recipe of challenging circumstances→ inventive solution→ continued activity – is experienced more or less in the middle of artistic creativity, not at its end. Furthermore, art often has a conscious beginning, including a conception of what the artistic project will turn out to be (e.g., a particular play, painting, musical composition, literary work).[1] In short, art is bigger than play, while play is nevertheless an essential part of art, be it fine or entertainment arts.

The fine and entertainment arts

The following two sections on the fine and entertainment arts and the hobbyist arts have been a central part of the SLP for many years (first presented in Stebbins, 1998). The types and their definitions have been elaborated over this period, with the latest thinking on them being presented in Stebbins (2013d). These two sections of the present book are based on this most recent statement.

The large majority of the fine arts have both amateur and professional wings. They are found in:

Music

- Jazz (vocal, instrumental)
- Choral singing
- Operatic singing
- Chamber music
- Orchestral music

Dance

- Ballet
- Modern

Theater

- Experimental community
- Classical community
- Art pantomime
- Art cinematic production

Art

- Photography (color, black & white) {landscapes
- Painting (oils, watercolors) {still life
- Drawing (pencil, ink, charcoal) {portraits
  {wildlife
- Printing (stenciling, lettering, caligraphy)
- Print making (relief, intaglio, lithography, serigraphy)
- Sculpting and carving (clay, wood, metal, wire, putty)

Literature

- Fiction (novels, short stories)
- Poetry
- Non-fiction (factual, historical, biographical books and articles)

Some of these forms need a brief explanation. Chamber music is played with one instrument or a small group of them. Consequently, it includes such solo instrumentalists as pianists, guitarists, and accordionists. Modern dance is an experimental form; it diverges radically from ballet in its emphasis on the expressiveness of the human body presented in aesthetically pleasing movements. Community theater is the theater of amateurs, enhanced at times by a featured professional principal. Although primarily classical, it does have its experimental side as well.

Entertainment is so diverse as to be nearly impossible to classify. Still, one way to try to bring some order to this chaos is to categorize the entertainment arts along the lines of their fine arts counterparts, a reasonable approach since the two types rest on the same basic techniques. The following list of entertainment arts is incomplete, since it contains only those with professional wings holding great appeal for amateurs. In the next section we cover several fields where professionals have yet to emerge in significant numbers.

Music

- Rock music and other jazz derivatives
- Country music
- Folk music (commercial)

Dance

- Jazz dance
- Choral or show dance
- Ballroom dancing
- Tap dancing
- Country and western
- Line dancing

Theater

- Commercial community (musical, operetta, comedy, drama)
- Entertainment pantomime
- Entertainment magic
- Commercial cinematic production (home film and video) stand-up comedy
- Variety arts (juggling, clowning, ventriloquism, acrobatics)
- Sketch
- Puppetry
- Public speaking

Art

Sculpting and carving (with clay, wood, wire, metal, putty, balloons)
Drawing cartoons, caricatures
Photography (color, black and white)
Painting (oils, water colors)
Sketching

Literature

Fiction (novels, short stories)
Poetry
Non-fiction (factual, historical, biographical books and articles)

Here, too, some of these arts need further explanation. The folk music in this list is of the entertainment variety presented in colorful urban venues rather than the native or backcountry art found in certain isolated areas of North America and societies outside the West (discussed further in a later section). Show dancing is the art of the dance chorus. It has livened up many a Broadway show.

Amateurs abound in the arts and entertainment fields. This imbalance is due in no small part to the difficulty of finding work in them, work sufficiently remunerative to sustain a half decent living. What is more, such a living may only be possible when combined with steady part-time employment in another (sometimes related) occupation. The stereotype of the musician-taxi driver is at least a half-truth (renowned composer Philip Glass made a living this way for a while, Glass, 2015). And then there is the joke about the musicologist:

> Question: "What do you do if a musicologist knocks at your door?"
> Answer: "Pay him and take the pizza."
> [Musicology is the study of the history and forms of music.]

The enormous appeal of performing an entertainment or fine art in an era when the job market is withering away in the arid climate of the Information Age opens wide the gates of these fields to amateur participation (Carrier, 1995).

Hobbyist arts

It was mentioned in Chapter 2 that the hobbies fall into five types, with artistic play being most consistently evident in those classified as making and tinkering and considerably less evident in those classified as non-competitive activity participation. As we will see later, some of these types offer more opportunities for augmentative play through art than do others.

Making and tinkering

Grouped under this heading are such enthusiasts as inventors, seamstresses, automobile repairers, and toy and furniture makers. Excluded from it are the do-it-yourself (DIY) drudges who, to avoid the expense of a full-time tradesperson, for instance, paint the exterior of their houses. Their motives contrast sharply with those of the hobbyist home remodeler. Additionally, because they are both work roles and business roles, the occupations of commercial automobile repair, clothing manufacture, and pottery making are also excluded from consideration in this book, unless, of course, they are seen as devotee work by the participants.

Although it may seem odd, it is entirely consistent with the extended meaning of the "maker" part of this category to include within it those hobbyists who breed or display fish, birds, reptiles, and animals. This same heading also embraces the people who avocationally breed or display such animals as dogs, cats, sheep, horses, ferrets, and, in recent years in the mountainous areas of western North America, llamas. We return to these raisers and breeders later in this section and again subsequently when considering the place of augmentative play in their hobby. Robert Overs's (1984) classification of "Craft Activities" provides the framework for the following discussion of the making and tinkering hobbies, only some of which are conducive to augmentative play.

Cooking, baking, and candy-making

This category covers a wide variety of activities, ranging from making candy and sausages to baking cakes, pies, cookies, and various kinds of breads. Some people find a substantial hobby in cooking ethnic specialties from traditional recipes. Others go in for decorating cakes or producing wine or beer. What is more, hobbyists in this area often

use parties and holidays as special occasions for presenting the fruits of their talents.

Beverage crafts

This is the classificatory home of those who make a hobby of producing their own wine, beer, liqueurs, and similar kinds of drink. Although books exist on these subjects, kits with instructions are also widely available in specialty stores, where one may also buy the necessary equipment and ingredients. Store personnel are usually good sources of advice on making the beverage they represent.

Decorating activities

Overs lists two kinds of activities here, both of which are pursued with sufficient regularity to qualify as hobbies: arranging flowers and decorating small objects. The first is carried out using either fresh or artificial blooms, the latter having by far the greater durability. With some imagination and perseverance, a person can decorate any small object in an aesthetically pleasing way. Overs mentions etching pieces of glass and burning designs in wood. Hobbies have also developed around the embellishment of thimbles, washers, toothpicks, and drinking glasses, to name but a few possibilities. Decoupage (the art of decorating surfaces with cut-outs) and collage (the art of making compositions from ordinary materials such as cloth, paper, and metal) further exemplify decorating activities. Creating mobiles and stencils are two additional decorating activities.

Interlacing, interlocking, and knot-making activities

These activities include wickerwork and basket weaving as well as macramé and the other knot-making crafts. Fly-tying is a rather exclusive example of the latter. Quilting, knitting, weaving, and crocheting also fall under this heading, as do the hobbies of making hooked, braided, and woven rugs. Last but certainly not least are the crafts of lacework, embroidery, and tapestry.

Toy, model, and kit assembly

This category spans an enormous variety of activities, running from making puppets (figures formed with a costumed hand), marionettes (figures manipulated by strings or wires), and dolls and doll furniture

to constructing models of trains, cars, boats, airplanes, rockets, and the like. Some of these hobbyists spend their leisure building model houses or furniture, while others devote themselves to electronic projects made from kits (e.g., stereo tuner, craft store projects). Finally, repairing toys, models, and game and sports equipment may become a hobby for enthusiasts with a reasonably regular supply of projects from, say, their own children or grandchildren or the children in the neighborhood.

Paper crafts

Hobbies in this category appealing to adults include scrapbook projects and papier-mâché constructions (technically a hybrid of sculpture and paper-cutting). Origami, the Oriental art of paper folding, employs a range of skills, some of which are highly evolved. Bookbinding is a supplementary craft used by hobbyists pursuing scrapbook projects and people wanting to bind their personal diaries.

Leather and textile crafts

Felt, cloth, and leather are the principal materials employed in these crafts. The supplementary craft of dyeing serves to embellish items made from these three materials. Hobbyists in this field turn out a great assortment of products using felt, cloth, or leather, either alone or in combination. Their most common fabrications include belts, gloves, purses, costumes, moccasins, and other articles of clothing. All this is accomplished through another hobby: sewing.

Wood and metal working activities

One of the best known activities in this category is woodworking, the craft of utilizing hand and power tools to build everything from bookends and birdhouses to furniture and garden sheds. As rewarding are the metal projects, which draw on the hobbyist's welding and soldering skills, among others. Less common these days, but nonetheless highly satisfying, is the woodworking hobby of whittling. This is basically wood sculpture employing a knife instead of the chisels, gouges, and similar tools of conventional woodworking. Whittlers produce bowls, bookends, figurines, napkin rings, and a multitude of other objects.

Do-it-yourself activities

Earlier I mentioned the DIY drudge. Still, some people find some DIY projects to be quite agreeable, to be project-based leisure as described in Chapter 2. Scattered single DIY projects do not, however, amount to a hobby. But keeping one's own home in good running order, and perhaps the homes of friends, relatives, and neighbors, can turn into a regular and most worthwhile pursuit. Such a pursuit requires an immense range of skills and knowledge applied to appliance repair, plumbing work, electrical work, and interior and exterior house construction and decoration. The last of these requires proficiency with tile, paint, varnish, siding, panels, roofing, drywall, and wallpaper to mention some of the more common materials. Auto and small engine repair is also part of this list, again with the proviso that it be done regularly and primarily for leisure fulfillment. That hobbyists here occasionally save themselves money by avoiding commercial services in no way comprises their more fundamental serious leisure motive of seeking deeply rewarding activity for its own sake.

Raising and breeding

Hobbyists who raise fish, birds, reptiles, and animals (usually cats, dogs, and horses) are makers of a special kind, in that they work with living organisms to perfect them according to certain standards. In addition to breeding a particular organism, these hobbyists may also find considerable reward in training or exhibiting what they have bred. The other main subcategory of raising and breeding is gardening, done either indoors or outdoors or in both places. Depending on the location, this hobby may include raising plants, vines, shrubs, and trees. Some of these enthusiasts specialize in flowers, others in vegetables, and still others in nuts or fruits. Lawn care can be a hobby all its own. Any of these pastimes may be done purely for display, competition, or personal fulfillment, or a combination of the three.

Miscellaneous crafts

Making candles and creating mosaics from such materials as glass, paper, and marble are among the hobbyist activities in this category. Furthermore, many adults and children find great fulfillment both in kite making and then in flying their constructions in a nearby field. Lapidary work – the art of cutting and polishing stones – is another miscellaneous craft. And then there are those who have passion for

making interesting objects with beads, buttons, or plaster. Finally, the hobby of perfume making holds a unique allure for its enthusiasts.

Non-competitive activity participation

In activity participation, the hobbyist steadfastly does a kind of leisure that requires systematic physical movement of some kind, whose strong appeal is a main reason for pursuing the hobby, and which is nonetheless pursued within a set of rules. With these conditions met, the activity commonly poses a distinctive physical challenge, though essentially not as competitive as is found in sport.[2] When carried out continually for these reasons, the activities included in this type are as diverse as fishing, video games, orienteering, and barbershop singing. Folk art, where augmentative play is possible, is one kind of activity participation.

Folk artists have no professional counterpart as amateurs do and so, as a group, have little or no involvement with either professionals or amateurs. Lacking a more suitable term, these enthusiasts have been referred to in serious leisure research as folk artists, for no equivalent appears to exist outside the arts. They should not to be confused with the commercial performers or producers of these arts. These performers and producers, as stated earlier, are entertainers. Meanwhile, non-commercial folk artists perform or produce strictly for their own satisfaction and quite often that of other members of the local community, while making their living some other way. They commonly know little about the professional standards of dance, craft, art, music, or theater, although they may unwittingly meet some of them. Having no significant involvement with an amateur-professional system in his or her art, the typical folk artist contributes little or nothing to that system's functioning or to the groups that make it up.

In applying these criteria, it is clear that barbershop singing is a folk art. Nevertheless, the best choral and quartet singing in this idiom does attain high musical and entertainment standards. But they are not professional standards, for, as I explain elsewhere (Stebbins, 1996d), this art has no professional wing.[3] As in the other folk arts, however, the barbershop public (the audiences) is chiefly local, composed mainly of friends and relatives.

Numerically, folk artists are a relatively rare breed. Indeed, given the isolation of most of the rural folk (e.g., Amerindians, Inuit, hill people, aboriginal Australians), their arts tend to remain hidden from the

general public. Even the folk arts of the various urban ethnic groups seem to be largely inaccessible to the gentiles in the larger community. Still, square dancing, barbershop singing, and morris dancing (a traditional British dance) are not nearly so isolated; depending on the art, they appeal to a certain segment of the general rural or urban public. Be that as it may, most activity participants seem to prefer one of the other two kinds of hobbies in this subtype: nature activities and corporeal activities.

Amateur/professional artistic play

We turn first to the stage arts, where augmentative play occurs on the spot, during the performance (we find this same condition in, among other fields, sport; see Chapter 6). "Experiential knowledge," as Thomasina Borkman referred to it over 35 years ago, is a critical resource here. She defined this kind of knowledge as "truth learned from personal experience with a phenomenon rather than truth acquired by discursive reasoning, observation, or reflection on information provided by others" (Borkman, 1976, p. 446). For her there are two main elements of such knowledge. One is the type of information on which it is based. That type consists of two subtypes: (1) wisdom and (2) know-how gained from personal participation in an *activity*.[4] Neither subtype includes the myriad isolated, unorganized bits of facts and feelings on which a person has not reflected, scattered information that is rampant in the modern world. This wisdom and know-how tend to be concrete, specific, and commonsensical, since they are based on the individual's actual experience, which is unique, limited, yet more or less representative of the experience of others participating in the same activity.

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

to do with understanding or having a complete mental grasp of the nature and significance of something.

Wisdom and know-how in the serious leisure activities are highly specialized for each activity. That is, each serious leisure activity has its own distinctive body of experiential knowledge. The following exemplify this distinctiveness (n.b.: your author does not really have all these talents):

1. As I play the same jazz tune over and over again with different musicians, I learn its conventions, such as when to play two-beat, how to end the tune, and perhaps how to perform the standard riffs (repeated background figures).
2. As I present my stand-up comedy routine, I will, for maximum effect, learn how long I should wait while the audience laughs at the end of the present "joke" before introducing the next one (Stebbins, 1990, p. 52).
3. As I prepare my act in entertainment magic, I must learn how to perform each trick (including accompanying patter), this accomplished by reading how it is done and watching other magicians perform it (Stebbins, 1993, p. 47).
4. As I improvise on a jazz tune, I may at a certain moment want to follow a particular sequence of chords. The notes I play at this time cannot be predicted by me or anyone else: they are a playful product of my knowledge of the jazz idiom, my musical instrument, my familiarity with the other musicians in the ensemble, and the like.
5. As I present my lines in a play onstage, I inflect my voice, make eye contact with the audience, and gesture with my hands, all being ways that spontaneously and playfully link those lines to the people hearing them in a particular space (e.g., little or big theater with poor or excellent acoustics). Props, we are told (Bateman, 2014), can also be imaginatively used during a dramatic scene.
6. As I move my body to the ballet music, I strive to convey emotion, passion, and artistry. I must spontaneously display grace and beauty, hiding any struggle that I may have with the physical intensity and difficulty of the dance step of the moment.

Wisdom is illustrated in numbers 1 through 3, while numbers 4 through 6 seem best qualified as examples of know-how or knack,

including the tricks of the trade. Wisdom is factual, whereas know-how/knack is an acquired, often subtle sense of what to do or of what is appropriate in certain circumstances. There are probably factual elements in 4 through 6 as there are in the other examples. Furthermore, specific, concrete facts generated from experience can be discussed with fellow participants as parts of a shared, activity-related common sense, as parts of that activity's social world.

Not so with know-how, which is generally too subtle to verbalize clearly. This is why it is so difficult to study scientifically. For example, PhotographyTips.com gives this advice about photographing wild animals:

> You must be able to react quickly when photographing most animals in the wild. In order to concentrate on your subject and to anticipate its next move, you should be completely familiar with your camera's operation. Handling your camera should become second-nature to you, and using its controls should be instinctive. (retrieved 6 February 2014)

Although not about the arts, Puddephatt's (2003) discussion of know-how in chess is nevertheless instructive: "thus, as players develop meanings for certain pieces, moves, and overall approaches to the game, these preferences become routinized and influence the way they perceive, judge, and make decisions in play" (p. 268).

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

A large and useful stock of experiential knowledge is a source of pride in the serious pursuits. Put otherwise, it is a main component in the self-fulfillment realized through the pursuit's core activity.

Experienced participants can find immense satisfaction in their core activities, in good part because of their considerable accumulated experiential knowledge and its role in augmentative play.

Other conditions and situations in the stage arts

The conditions influencing augmentative play in the stage arts include the quality of the other performers onstage (including orchestral conductors), the quality of the personnel supporting the show, and the quality of the venue. In the first two conditions, by "quality" I mean the ability and willingness to perform or support, with the latter being provided by the likes of directors, sound and light technicians, masters of ceremonies, and makeup artists. Quality in the third condition refers to such performance-related variables as acoustics, sight lines, ambient noise (e.g., bar activity, ventilators, audience conversation), and house equipment (e.g., pianos, microphones, lighting).

A fount of augmentative play well known among seasoned stage artists is the "onstage predicament" (Stebbins, 1979b, pp. 113–116). It is an unexpected incident that occurs during a performance which, if ineptly handled, will alert the audience to the players' momentary loss of control over the show. It is probably most common in theater, emerging when an actor forgets a line, when a mechanical failure occurs in an important apparatus, or when a problem develops with a costume, and the like.

It seems to be a valid generalization in the stage arts that one does one's best when others in the performance are at least as competent, inspired, and well prepared. Put otherwise, augmentative play is enhanced when the performing artist vibrates along the same aesthetic lines as the others in the ensemble. Equally well known is the positive effect of a receptive audience on a performance. Maestro James Levine once observed: "It's just that, when the orchestra looks at me, I want them to see a completely involved person who reflects what we rehearsed, and whose function is to make it possible for them to do it."

The importance of the quality of the venue is not to be underestimated. The Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City is renowned for its superb acoustics, while Avery Fisher Hall in New York City is tarnished with the opposite reputation. The dreadfully out-of-tune and seriously damaged pianos that routinely defiled jazz clubs have fortunately been mostly replaced with portable electric keyboards and Hammond B3 organs. Still, fairly recently jazz pianist Mal Waldron

told interviewer Pannonica de Koenigswarter (2008, p. 129) that his first wish in life was "that clubs should have better acoustics, and that they should all have good pianos."

The studio arts

These arts are labeled as such in this book because, since they are produced in physical isolation from their ultimate consumers, they allow for some cogitation during augmentative play. The studio arts are pursued by amateurs and professionals and by the artistically inclined making and tinkering hobbyists. In a studio, workshop, study, or similar space, the artist can experiment mentally or physically, if not both, with ideas before completing the final product. That product might be a book, painting, sweater, or chair. In effect, these artists may have several sessions, often back-to-back, of augmentative play, all intended to meet the creative challenge of the moment. This is not, however, the mechanical trial-and-error approach discussed in Chapter 3, but rather genuine augmentative play carried out until the most artistically rewarding solution is found (or the participant gives up in exasperation and settles for an inferior solution).

Let us look first at the amateur/professional studio arts of art and literature and their subtypes set out earlier. In Chapter 1, I presented a detailed illustration of painting as a general leisure activity, the core activity of which is for some painters portraying a still life of, for example, flowers. Augmentative play in the core activity (there may be several) is evident in the artist's expression on canvas of a personal interpretation of the flowers' color, arrangement, backdrop, and similar aesthetic considerations.

In their experiment on creativity in a sample of art students, Getzels and Csikszentmihalyi (1976) found that the students would assemble into an arrangement that encouraged imaginatively depicting in a drawing the set of miscellaneous objects given them by the investigators. This study highlighted the importance of situation in play, in painting, drawing, and photography by the arrangement of the focal objects. More generally, artists in their studios may also, depending on what is being interpreted, experiment with a backdrop that can enhance the work they are creating (e.g., complementary artifact, colored cloth, flowers, or greenery). Special lighting might also be used to produce a certain effect.

Of course, if the studio is in effect a natural setting, as in painting or photographing a streetscape, seascape, or landscape, the artist will

try to find an interesting angle from which to frame the object to be depicted. In Chapter 7 we examine the place of augmentative play in decorating hobbyist gardens, conceived of at this point in their development as a kind of studio. Further, such outdoor involvements bring up the conditions in which play takes place in these arts. The outdoors as studio is fraught with possible adverse climatic problems, ranging from rain and wind to heat and cold. Painting and drawing where onlookers might assemble brings possible admirers who may, however, be chatty enough to break the artist's concentration. Inside conditions are also important, among them the ambient light. In the Northern Hemisphere, northern exposure enabled by adequate windowing is prized for the indirect lighting it provides.

Although it takes us beyond the scope of this book and its focus on augmentative play, it should nevertheless be noted that artistic inspiration may well be born outside the studio. Csikszentmihalyi (1997, p. 45) describes how the creative spirit can be fueled by a visit to relaxing or absorbing natural features such as mountains, rivers, forests, and gardens. Moreover, a holiday away from routine, even artistic routine, can clear the mind and welcome into it some new ideas. Later, in the studio, some of these new ideas may gain artistic expression, presenting the painter or photographer with challenging circumstances that augmentative play can possibly meet.

Writing

Writers can also benefit from these sessions that break their routine, especially since they cannot create in their studies physical settings that they can directly interpret on canvas. That is, ideas for a poem, novel, or essay – and among painters and photographers, ideas for realistic and abstract works – also take root outside the studio and study. In the city and the countryside, there are people, events, flora, and fauna that beg artistic interpretation.

But it is back in the studio or study that it all gets put together as a literary work on, these days, a computer. Compared with the other arts discussed up to this point, the conditions for play are simple: a computer in good working order, a quiet environment, some table space for notes, and certain key literary resources (e.g., dictionary, thesaurus, style book). Here ideas (usually) flow, as the written text unfolds and dictionaries and thesauruses are consulted. Here the meanings of words, phrases, and sentences when playfully juxtaposed spark new meanings. Here new literary metaphors and analogies

spring playfully to mind; they enrich the developing work. Imagine the augmentative play that sparked the headline: "Eggs-asperating attacks: Someone is shelling senior's home, but police can't crack the case."[5] Additionally, essayists typically inform themselves of related literature, which can also spawn new ideas.

Here we find literary augmentative play richly experienced. The playful challenges faced by writers include finding the best words to express their ideas, the best sequence of sentences and paragraphs, and for novelists, the most intriguing plot. Sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959), in his appendix "Intellectual Craftsmanship," urged writers to play with words and phrases by going to an unabridged dictionary, reading the different senses of key words, and then following up related terms to see how they are defined. This procedure brings to the writer a set of lexical choices which, through augmentative play, enables that person to hit on the *mot juste*. Along these same lines, Breslin (2013, p. 369) points out that "computer languages thus provide an expressive medium for programmers. Similar to human languages, they enable technical, poetic, competitive, and aesthetic play with the words, syntax, grammar, and visual arrangement of the language."

Israeli novelist Amos Oz recently commented that writing novels "is like reconstructing the whole of Paris from Lego bricks. It's about three-quarters-of-a-million small decisions" (Cohen, 2015). It is not so much about plot and scenario and the like, but rather about finding the right adjectives and adverbs and getting the punctuation right. "Molecular decisions," he calls them. An unabridged dictionary is invaluable for such activity and, I should add, so is a good thesaurus.

This brings us to the slippery idea of the writer's muse, defined here as that person's source of inspiration. Margaret Fisk (2003) writes:

> Though I doubt that many writers still believe their inspiration is external [as in the nine Muses of Greek mythology], the term "muse" is in common use. I feel the muse is the part of writers that maintains an awareness of our environment beyond the level of most people. Anything can be a source of story ideas, no matter how large or small. It may be a fragment of a conversation, the way the light falls on a tree's leaves, how a wine tastes or the caress of a fabric on your fingers.

A writer's muse, if this source of inspiration is known to him or her by that title, is not only a vast wellspring of ideas, but also an escape route from writer's block.

Play in the hobbyist arts

We start with the artistic play that is possible in the pastimes of cooking, baking, and candy-making. In these three activities, play revolves primarily around choosing ingredients and decorating the finished product. For most serious leisure participants, these activities involve carefully following recipes that set out ingredients, cooking times and temperatures, mixing procedures, and the like. A dinner dish can be cooked, a cake baked, or a batch of fudge made by faithfully following the recipe, an activity that constitutes serious leisure, albeit with little creative play required to reach the outcome. That is, successfully following recipes requires effort, accumulated experience, and perseverance from the beginning of the activity to its end. In this approach there is, however, little that admits of augmentative play.

Such play is initiated when, for instance, the cook/baker wants to enhance a dish, pie, or confection with a spice or other ingredient not in the recipe. The desire for enhancement is the challenging circumstance that stimulates augmentative play resulting in these additions or preparatory procedures, and leading (hopefully) to a better tasting product. In such play, culinary imagination is at work: how would this taste if I added some cumin, substituted skimmed milk, or sweetened with raisins or dates instead of sugar? A survey of the spice rack, pantry shelf, or available cook books could fire the imagination.

The decoration of sweets and the layout or presentation of meals evokes a different art altogether, in effect an edible studio art. Styler and Lazarus (2006) devote a book to the art of "plating," or the aesthetically and appetizing ways of preparing and presenting food in restaurants and home dining settings. Furthermore, Amazon.com offers a multitude of books describing ways to decorate cakes, cupcakes, and cookies. Thus there are recipes to follow in this area, as well. But there is also plenty of scope in it for augmentative play for those who want to be creative.

The art of decorating extends further to the plethora of activities mentioned above. In this area, there are two main arenas for

augmentative play: arranging flowers and decorating small objects. This, too, is essentially studio art, with heavy emphasis on imagination channeled through augmentative play. The challenging circumstance that inaugurates the recipe for augmentative play is how to further beautify the flowers and small objects. The contribution of such play is evident in the discussion of flower arranging found at http://www.wikihow.com/Arrange-Flowers (retrieved 21 December 2014). In this activity, imagination is constrained by, among other conditions, the cost of materials, the availability of necessary equipment and knowing how to use it, and, possibly, the time available for completing the project.

Craft constructions

This rubric subsumes the activities undertaken to construct something, which in many instances is both fulfilling and practical. The following activities are included in this category: interlacing, interlocking, and knot making; toy, model, and kit assembly; paper crafts; metal and leather crafts; wood and metal work; and the miscellaneous crafts. Since toy, model, and kit assembly, though complex serious leisure, is about following the instructions received with the purchased item, little opportunity exists here for augmentative play. Meanwhile, it is different for the others.

The critical orientation in these hobbies is whether to make something practical and fulfilling or something artistic and fulfilling that, nevertheless, could also be practical. Thus I might make a chair with no playful artistic qualities (good workmanship is artistic, but not typically playful) that is most comfortable to sit in. Alternatively, I might make a quilt that keeps its user warm on cold nights and is beautiful as well, or "aesthetically pleasing" as Marybeth Stalp (2007, p. 17) described the quilts made down through history. Augmentative play could enter this process when the quilter is deciding on the design with which to adorn its top. During such play, the chair might beautified by turning a pattern on its legs using a lathe and etching a design in its back with a gouge.

All the crafts in this category share the possibility of a dual purpose of practicality and artistry (even origami has its practical side, Robinson, 2014); they may be plain, but serve a purpose, may be beautiful but impractical, or may be beautiful and also practical. To beautify a craft construction, it is usually necessary to first build,

sew, knit, weave, and so forth the basic structure. Augmentative play occurs when participants then strive to adorn their works using their own artistry in preference to suggestions acquired from books, magazines, the Internet, and friends and relatives.

Non-competitive activity participation

Artistic play in this type of hobby is mainly confined to the folk arts, expressed primarily through dance, craft, art, music, and drama. In contrast to fine art, some folk art is both utilitarian and decorative rather than purely aesthetic. According to the American Folk Art Museum (2014):

> The earliest material that we now term folk art was frequently utilitarian in nature, made to meet the basic demands of daily life. Objects such as furniture and household wares received painted and carved embellishments that sometimes served a function—the protection of wood surfaces, for example. These decorations might reflect the transmission of cultural ideas, prevailing trends, and availability of materials. They also visualized the creative desires of their makers and elevated mundane objects into works of art. The idea of utility is often associated with traditional folk art forms, but twentieth- and twenty-first-century works demonstrate the endurance of utility as an impulse for creative expression.

Folk art in this quotation is, in effect, a kind of studio art. Music, dance, and drama are, by contrast, performing arts and, as such, not usually utilitarian (the Indian rain dance is an exception: http://www.indians.org/articles/rain-dance.html).

It could, however, be argued that music, dance, and drama might be directed more by the traditions of the folk than by the studio folk art just described. These forms of art might therefore be less amenable to augmentative play. Square dancing, morris dancing, barbershop singing, folk song, bluegrass music, gospel singing, among various others, are steeped in tradition. Early on in their evolution, these arts were performed according to their standard renditions in their past. In these circumstances augmentative play would be minimal.

But all have in fact evolved, often because of contact with other kinds of music, dance, and drama that would seem to enhance the form in question or at least make it more interesting to perform.

For example, bluegrass has been influenced by jazz (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2014). And Herb Egender (2003) describes how the waltz changed square dancing:

> It was that most daring of all dances, the waltz, that created quite a stir when it was introduced, for it permitted the gentleman to hold his partner in close embrace as they moved about the floor. That position, which we now call closed dance position, was known for many years as the waltz position.

In these two traditional arts, augmentative play would have been evident as the jazz and waltz patterns were being tried out and adapted to them.

Barbershop singing generally stays close to the traditional songs and their standard renditions (Stebbins, 1996d). Nevertheless, the art of "woodshedding" or improvising (Brandt, 1993) is filled with augmentative play, just as it is in improvisational jazz. Such playfulness is also found in establishing and enacting the choreography that commonly accompanies the staged concerts of barbershop quartets and choruses. That is, some choreographic moves are born in flashes of insight about what to do to visually enhance the lyrics at a particular point in a song.

Folk drama is non-commercial and generally rural, being rooted in folk traditions and local history (*Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, 2004). This form of drama –common the world over – lost popularity in the West (though not in Asia) with the advent of printing, general literacy, and the growing emphasis on the individual contribution of playwrights, directors, and actors to the drama. Yet, the mid-19th century saw a revival of folk drama in the United States and in parts of Western Europe.

Mumming, a colorful genre of folk drama, is also an ancient pagan custom that became part of the party people enjoy during Christmas (Cooper, 2014). The word means "making diversion in disguise." As a tradition, men and women would swap clothes, put on masks, and visit their neighbors, while singing, dancing, or putting on a sketch based on a silly plot. The early settlers from the United Kingdom took the custom of mumming to Canada. There it is referred to as "mummuring," though now banned in most places because some people used it as a pretext for begging. Nonetheless, mumming continues in

parts of the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada. Here, given the improvisational nature of this kind of drama, participants find great scope for augmentative play.

The content of folk drama, based as it is on local history, is also subject to change as that history changes. Hence, as with folk music and dance, the possibility of augmentative play exists when incorporating that which is new. Furthermore, folk drama is a kind of theater, thereby admitting the same opportunities for augmentative play typically found in the latter.

Conclusions

Where artistic expression is possible, so is the activity of augmentative play. The fine and entertainment arts are obvious arenas in which to observe such play, while it is clear that it also animates some of the hobbies. That is, augmentative play is more central and, it appears, more frequent in the amateur/professional arts. In the hobbies – the playful ones – participants must first construct something (e.g., a sweater, cake, table, plant holder, necklace) and then decorate it, if they wish. As decorators, they play when they confront certain challenging circumstances. They typically start, however, by following recipes (in cooking and baking these may be playfully modified on the spot) or, more generally, a set of instructions. This adherence to established procedures is not unlike adhering to the dictates of tradition in the folk arts.

As a rule in the hobbies, artistic embellishment and its playful moments may be said to be non-essential, whereas they are essential in the fine and entertainment arts. The art being pursued is stymied or seriously diluted when augmentative play fails to occur or produces inferior results. This contrast underscores the practical, craft-like nature of the first. The necklace must first hold together and fit someone's neck, the plant holder must first have the strength and shape to do its job, and the cake must first rise and taste good. Playful decoration is carried out on top of (oftentimes literally) these basic creations or constructions. Inessential yes, but such play is nevertheless rewarding if not fulfilling for the hobbyist.

The next chapter shows how augmentative play in science, compared with the fine and entertainment arts, serves a dramatically different purpose in the serious pursuits.

5
Scientific Play

Jerome Kirk and Marc Miller (1986) staked out with precision the intellectual territory of this chapter: "most of the technology of 'confirmatory' non-qualitative research in both the social and natural sciences is aimed at preventing discovery." Confirmatory research is the dominant approach in these sciences, though research aimed at discovering new ideas cuts a larger figure in the first, compared with the second. Thus it is under the heading of "discovery" that the role of play in science stands out in relief.

The terminology in this area can be confusing; it is commonly understood that discovery is an inductive process, whereas confirmation is a deductive exercise. It will be shown in this chapter that this simplistic formula needs nuancing, for play can actually occur in both types. To this end, we will look at play in the inductive methods of discovery and then at play in the deductive methods.

To set the stage, let us examine the nature of deduction and induction as they relate to play.

Deduction and induction

Discovery through inductive reasoning is important in science, in part because deductive logic alone plays a quite limited role in uncovering new ideas and observations. As Urdang Associates (1985, p. 159) put it: "with the growth of natural science philosophers became increasingly aware that a deductive argument . . . can only bring out what is already implicit in its premises, and hence inclined to insist that all new knowledge must come from some form of

induction." In fact I will show that, even though it is most often otherwise, deduction does sometimes lead to discoveries, however limited they usually are.

The limits of deductive argument are effectively illustrated in what I have referred to as *syllogistic reasoning* (Stebbins, 2001). The syllogism is the simplest of all deductive systems, where all A is B, all B is C, and therefore all A is C. In this system it is impossible to learn about propositions D, E, and F through logic alone, since the reasoning connecting propositions A, B, and C amounts to a closed argument. Given that established social science theory is a vast, albeit less logically tight version of the simple syllogism, it, too, is incapable of revealing any information about the social equivalents of D, E, and F. Whether D, E, F, and still other propositions even exist, and, if they exist, whether any of them is important for a detailed and profound understanding of the group, process, activity, or situation in question can only be determined through one or more of the inductive methods of discovery.

Nonetheless, following a syllogism or more complicated deductive argument does lead to something new – a discovery – which is evident in the logical outcome of the argument. That is, "all A is C" is a novelty, whereas A and B were known beforehand. Here scientists proceed according to standard deductive logic. But in this type, they strive to discover something new by deducing one or more corollaries from basic premises or propositions. For example, (A) boredom is a coerced condition, (B) leisure is an un-coerced activity, therefore (C) boredom is not leisure (the validity of this discovery is discussed in Stebbins, 2007/2015, p. 3).

On the other hand, Nick Fox (2008, p. 429) defines inductive reasoning as follows: "Research approaches that generalize from a particularity (typically a set of observations of some sort) to a broad statement, such as a theory or general proposition concerning a topic, apply inductive reasoning." Discovery, whether through inductive or deductive reasoning, rests on augmentative play, but not uniformly so. The following sections provide evidence for this claim.

Most creative/playful advances in science are made by way of either systematic exploration or adventitious serendipity. The former is the more common way by which science advances through play, though the latter may arouse greater surprise. In science, play activity is primarily associated with inductive reasoning. By contrast, in deductive

reasoning (e.g., hypothesis development from established theory), new ideas emerge not through imaginative play but through the force of formal logic.

Finally, it is more accurate to qualify these methods as *primarily* inductive and confirmation as *primarily* deductive. In other words, during inductive discovery, researchers do think deductively at times, though they do so largely within their emerging theoretic framework rather than within established theory and a set of hypotheses deduced from it. Moreover, they engage in confirmation, but what they confirm are their emergent generalizations rather than an ensemble of *a priori* predictions. Confirmatory researchers, for their part, despite constraints of research design, sometimes serendipitously observe regularities leading to generalizations about the group, process, activity, or situation they are investigating. Some of these chance discoveries might have been reached by inductive reasoning, but such induction is rarely systematic in confirmatory work.

Inductive methods

The five inductive methods covered here are serendipity, exploration, experiential discovery, discovery by trial and error, and discovery using ideal types. I will first define each method and then justify it as essentially inductive. A discussion follows about the contribution of play.

Serendipity

Serendipity is the quintessential form of informal experimentation, accidental discovery, and spontaneous invention (Stebbins, 2001). It contrasts sharply with exploration, discussed next, as a broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, and prearranged undertaking. Serendipity is highly democratic – anyone can experience it, at least in principle – whereas exploration is more narrowly select, the province of those creative people who must routinely produce new ideas.

Robert Merton (1957), possibly the only social scientist to discuss the idea in any detail, described the following instance of sociological serendipity:

> In the course of our research into the social organization of Craftown, a suburban housing community of some 700 families,

> largely of working class status, we observed that a large proportion of the residents were affiliated with more civic, political, and other voluntary organizations than had been the case in their previous places of residence. Quite incidentally, we noted further that this increase in group participation had occurred also among the parents of infants and young children. This finding was rather inconsistent with commonsense knowledge. For it is well known that, particularly on the lower economic levels, youngsters usually tie parents down and preclude their taking active part in organized group life outside the home. (p. 105)

Merton went on to note that "we were at once confronted, then, by an anomalous fact which was certainly no part of our original program of observation" (p. 106).

It may be argued that serendipity is, in effect, one-case induction. That is, the researcher hypothetically advances a generalization based on one case (the particularity), which predicts that other such cases exist and will further validate this hypothesis. In Merton's study the hypothesis is that there is an increase in the rate of volunteering among working-class parents of infants and young children.

Barnes (1982, pp. 40–41) has observed that what is discovered is "fully preconstituted and is simply encountered." What is discovered is already there, but must still be recognized as new. This, he says, makes discovery a "psychological event," a cognitive act of recognition, which is, however, intuitive. Bridging process and product is the creative or innovative moment during which the scientist intuitively, imaginatively detects and conceptualizes a novel idea. It is during this leap of understanding that the discoverer gives the new idea its distinctive meaning. The sociological imagination about which C. Wright Mills wrote is founded, in part, on such intuition (Mills, 1959, p. 211 and fn. 4). Thus Merton's team detected the anomalous data and then, in the form of the above hypothesis, conceptualized their significance for sociological research on community organization.

Exploration

Elsewhere, after examining three other meanings of exploration (Stebbins, 2001, pp. 2–4), I offered a definition of social science exploration:

> *Social science exploration* is a broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, prearranged undertaking designed to maximize the discovery of generalizations leading to description and understanding of an area of social or psychological life. Such exploration is, depending on the standpoint taken, a distinctive way of conducting science – a scientific process – a special methodological approach (as contrasted with confirmation), and a pervasive personal orientation of the explorer. The emergent generalizations are many and varied; they include the descriptive facts, folk concepts, cultural artefacts, structural arrangements, social processes, and beliefs and belief systems normally found there. (p. 3)

This definition may be broadened to include all science. We would only need to stipulate that the generalizations discovered pertain to an area of social, psychological, *or* physical life and then follow this up with appropriate examples. And yes, exploration does occur in physical science – for example, in astronomy, mineralogy, and entomology – where it is often conducted by amateurs who, in part, are needed because professionals alone cannot systematically cover all of outer space or the surface of the earth (Stebbins, 1978).

Discovery-oriented social scientists (and some like-minded physical scientists, too) are thus quite uninclined to rely on accidental serendipity; instead they want to try to discover new ideas by systematically exploring social groups, processes, and activities. To accomplish this, however, they must intentionally put themselves in a position to make discoveries, rather than carrying on with their daily research agendas and passively awaiting the moment when they are struck, as it were, with serendipity. Amateur scientists, nearly all of whom conduct exploratory research, know this distinction well (Stebbins, 1978, pp. 240–241). In those areas of social science where discovery should be a regular practice, professional researchers would do well to emulate the methodological approach of their counterparts in serious leisure.

Researchers explore when they have little or no scientific knowledge about the group, process, activity, or situation they want to examine, but nevertheless have reason to believe contains elements worth discovering. To explore a given phenomenon effectively, they must approach it with two special orientations: *flexibility* in looking for data and *open-mindedness* about where to find them. Oriented

thus, the first step, according to Max Weber's model, is to proceed to acquire an intimate and first-hand understanding (*Verstehen*) of the human acts being observed. It follows that the most efficacious approach is to search for this understanding wherever it may be found, using any ethical method that would appear to bear fruit. The outcome of these procedures and the main goal of exploratory research is the production of inductively derived generalizations about the group, process, activity, or situation under study. Next, the researcher weaves these generalizations into a "grounded theory," or a theory that emerges directly from directly collected, first-hand data that also helps explain the object of study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

In other words, exploration, unlike serendipity, normally results in multi-case induction and a set of generalizations. It follows that multiple opportunities exist for augmentative play as the researcher generates new propositions from the first-hand data. By way of example, Patterson (2000) interviewed a sample of adults with intellectual disabilities. He learned that they made at least one new friend through their participation in various serious leisure activities. One resulting inductive generalization was that, for people with intellectual disabilities, involvement in social serious leisure spawns friendships. Throughout the interviews, he heard consistently about the friendships that had developed in their leisure, such that his augmentative play with these responses resulted in the new proposition.

Experiential discovery

To discover knowledge experientially is to develop what Borkman (1976) called "wisdom" (discussed in the preceding chapter). Wisdom and its counterpart "know-how" are gained from personal participation in an activity. Both differ from isolated, unorganized bits of facts and feelings on which a person has not reflected. The key point in this chapter is that scientific discovery in the form of wisdom can also (playfully) emerge from everyday experience. As Borkman observed, wisdom (and know-how, tricks of the trade) tend to be concrete, specific, and commonsensical, since they are based on the individual's actual experience, which is unique, limited, yet more or less representative of the experience of others participating in the same activity.

Discovery of the Doppler Effect by 19th-century Austrian physicist Christian Doppler exemplifies experiential induction. The Doppler

Effect occurs when an object that emits sound or light moves as perceived by an observer. The object, observer, or both can move, causing an apparent change in the frequency of the wavelengths being emitted by the object.

Karen Hill (2012) writes that by the late 1830s, trains capable of speeds in excess of 30 mph were prevalent in the countryside. These trains made the sound phenomenon noticeable for the first time. Never before had humans traveled faster than the slow trot of a horse. For the first time, these trains enabled people to perceive the effect of an object's movement on the sounds that it produced.

> Doppler intently watched trains pass and began to theorize about what caused the sound shifts he observed. By 1843 Doppler had expanded his ideas to include light waves and developed a general theory that claimed that an object's movement either increased or decreased the frequency of sound and light it produced as measured by a stationary observer. Doppler claimed that this shift could explain the red and blue tinge to the light of distant twin stars.

Experiential discovery is an inductive process, albeit not one that is planned as in exploration. Rather, as with serendipity, it is spontaneous, even though it rests on multiple cases as its platform for augmentative play. The playful moment occurs just before the observer suddenly realizes (discovers) the existence of a regularity in that person's everyday environment (i.e., the multiple cases).

Trial and error

It was stated in Chapter 3 that trial and error requires no intuition, since it meets a challenging circumstance by mechanically going through a set of possibilities until finding the one that works. That is, the procedure is to engage in trial and error until this approach leads to a solution of the problem at hand. Trial and error is systematic, engaged in with reference to the challenging circumstance that has focused inquiry. Once tried and found erroneous – unproductive of a solution – the possibility in question is abandoned and another considered (Abbott, 2004).

Why is trial and error, a seemingly non-scientific method of discovery, included in this chapter on play in science? In fact, it is a true route to discovery, even though it is neither inductive nor deductive.

That is, there is no logic to meeting the challenging circumstance. Nevertheless, there is augmentative play in trial and error which, however, is evident chiefly in preparing and applying the set of possibilities to be tried. Pierre Lazlo (2004, p. 398) describes this process in science:

> Piecing together real-life jigsaw puzzles is part of what archaeologists do. They have to reconstitute, for instance, an ancient vase from the set of recovered shards, a task that requires a lot of guessing and testing. Guessing the solution of a scientific problem is typically much more involved. Yet it has many similarities with a jigsaw puzzle. When putting together a solution, the scientist inspects each piece for a possible fit with its neighbors and, bit by bit, constructs a whole argument.

Some insight is needed to identify the possibilities that might meet the challenge. It is likely that the overall set of possible solutions is only evident when the last one tried is found to work. Put otherwise, scientists do not seem to start out with the full set, but rather add to it as they find each solution to be inadequate. Thus the archaeologist picks up a nearby shard that at first blush looks as if it will help complete the ancient vase, but upon closer examination proves to be a false lead. Setting it aside, this person then reaches for another candidate that might fit better. With each selection of a shard that might fit, the archaeologist first "guesses" and then "tests." At this point, intuition (play) is the dominant mental process, accompanied by the hope that this guess might just meet the test.

Interestingly, the recipe for augmentative play seems inapplicable during implementation of the trial, being applicable only during identification of the trials that show signs of being effective upon application. This pattern may be unique in all of scientific play.

The ideal type

The ideal (or pure) type sets a research agenda by offering concepts and propositions – the components of the ideal type – that can guide discovery-oriented inquiry along these lines. The generalizations that emerge from research guided by component concepts and propositions of a particular type are born in inductive reasoning (Kalberg, 1994, p. 86). The ideal type "is one of [Max] Weber's most celebrated

concepts, and it can in all brevity be described as an attempt to capture what is essential about a social phenomenon through an analytic exaggeration of some of its aspects" (Swedberg, 2005, p. 119).

An idea type is not an average type, which is a summary of elements common to a particular phenomenon or a classification of events. Nor is it ideal in the sense of being the optimal expression of some phenomenon (e.g., an ideal type of business or high school).

Rather, the exaggerated aspects comprising the ideal type are directly rooted in the empirical reality of that phenomenon, much as are the generalizations that constitute emergent grounded theory. An ideal type is nonetheless a fully coherent concept, a logically unified construction. Still, as Martindale (1959) has pointed out, ideal types are fundamentally devices for discovery destined to be incorporated into broader theories founded on data, the collection of which the ideal types helped guide. Eventually, if research continues in the area, its early ideal types will gradually fade from view as they get integrated in broader theory.

All this was exemplified in Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy, perhaps his most celebrated conceptualization of this kind. It consisted of six principles (Weber, 1968):

1. There is a hierarchical organization: this is a formal structure, wherein each level is controlled by the one above it.
2. There are delineated lines of authority with fixed areas of activity: those employees with authority exercise it in a specialized area.
3. Action is taken on the basis of written rules: rules exist to guide decision making at each level of the hierarchical organization.
4. Bureaucratic officials have expert training: all employees in a bureaucracy have a formal expertise related to their function.
5. Rules are implemented by neutral officials: there is no bias or favoritism, with employees being judged strictly on their ability to carry out their functions.
6. Career advancement depends on technical qualifications as judged by the organization and not by individuals: here, too, an employee's ability to carry out the functions of a role is the sole criterion for promotion.

Principles 5 and 6 illustrate especially well the "analytic exaggeration" mentioned above by Swedberg. Research has demonstrated that

officials in bureaucracies are not always neutral and technical qualifications not always the sole criteria for promotion. Nevertheless, Weber's ideal type has steered decades of research toward the investigation of these questions, thereby illuminating many of the nuances of the basic principles.

In all this there is considerable room for augmentative play, though primarily for those who construct the ideal types. Constructing one is an inductive undertaking, not unlike engaging in exploratory research: to discover its essential principles, one needs to study the field of inquiry at close range in an open-ended fashion. The same kinds of leaps of imagination occur here when the investigator sees consistent patterns in the data collected and then incorporates them in original generalizations. It is possible for exploration to continue beyond the publication of a new ideal type, even though the tendency has been to treat the constituent principles as hypotheses for confirmatory testing. As indicated earlier, such research is designed to limit, if not prevent, augmentative play.

Deductive methods

Five deductive methods are covered in this section: theoretic discovery, discovery in the dictionary and the thesaurus, discovery using a web of concepts, metaphoric discovery, and dialectic discovery. In general, augmentative play is much less central in this confirmatory side of science where, as mentioned earlier, the goal of research is to prevent new ideas and data from emerging. In other words, the usual approach here is to confirm and further perfect our understanding of what we already know (but want to know better). This is the dominant methodological orientation in modern science, both social and physical.

Theoretic discovery

This is discovery by way of general deductive logic. Such logic plays a rather limited role in uncovering new ideas and observations. The limits of deductive argument are effectively illustrated in what I referred to earlier as syllogistic reasoning (Stebbins, 2001). Nonetheless, following a syllogism or more complicated deductive argument does lead to something new (i.e., a discovery), which is evident in the logical conclusion of the argument. That is, in the syllogism, the

corollary "all A is C" is a novelty, whereas the basic premises A and B were known beforehand.

A study by Chun et al. (2012) provides another example of theoretic discovery, which will round out the example on boredom presented earlier. The psychological and health-related literature has shown that the experience of "positive life events" or "pleasant events" is a significant predictor of stress-related growth (SRG) following negative life events. Yet, leisure scholars have just begun to study the possible roles of leisure in growth-oriented activities following such events. The goal of their study was to examine the contribution to SRG made by leisure participation and leisure satisfaction. Some types of leisure activity, particularly when the activities are personally meaningful, build relationships that may be beneficial for SRG under certain circumstances. Meanwhile, leisure satisfaction may affect growth experience along with specific activities. Thus the authors hypothesized that leisure satisfaction as well as civic activities (i.e., community service and volunteering) significantly contribute to SRG.

In formulating this proposition, Chun and colleagues engaged in some augmentative play as they speculated on the implications of prior research in psychology, health science, and leisure studies. The result was the hypothesis just mentioned which, by the way, was supported by the data they gathered.

Discovery using the dictionary and the thesaurus

The other four methods considered in this section are based on a *focused* deductive logic. Thus in the preceding chapter we considered C. Wright Mills's (1959) Appendix on intellectual craftsmanship, wherein he urged writers to play with words and phrases by going to an unabridged dictionary, reading the different senses of key words, and then following up related terms to see how they are defined. I noted that this procedure generates a set of lexical choices for the writer, which through augmentative play enables that person to hit on the *mot juste*.

In a different vein, I consider in this chapter the use of both a dictionary and a thesaurus, constituting in combination a distinctive deductive method for discovering new scientific ideas as opposed to being an aid to writing a novel or poem. These two resources used in this way can lead the reader (discoverer) to derivations of the words examined, words heretofore unknown to that person. We have

already glimpsed this procedure in Chapter 1 where the etymology of play was briefly examined.

A more manageable (smaller) example is available in my attempt to define "amateur." I wrote the following, spurred on by the need at the time for a scientific definition where none existed (Stebbins, 1979b, pp. 21–22):

> As professionals begin to dominate a field pioneered by amateurs, a transformation in the meaning of "amateur" seems to occur. During this process the old definitions cling tenaciously, combining in common discourse with new ones that have emerged to describe modern amateurism. The result is that, from a research standpoint, the idea of amateur is now used with an annoying imprecision in both everyday life and sociological thought. A brief examination of that entry in *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary* is illuminating. For example, an amateur is said, in one sense of the word, to be a devotee who loves a particular activity while, in another sense, he [or she] is said to be a superficial participant – a dilettante or dabbler. Dilettante, on the other hand, is defined, in the first sense, as a lover of the arts and, in the second, as a person who has discrimination or taste. Or, consider the logical difficulties posed by yet another sense of "amateur." It holds that he is an inexperienced person (i.e., a player) and the patent fact that devotees of an activity quite naturally put in much time at it, thereby achieving remarkable competence in it (i.e., modern amateurs). Use of this term in sociology is beset with these same inconsistencies.
>
> Thus, the object of this chapter is to develop a pair of definitions of amateur, which are at once flexible enough to serve as sensitizing concepts, while being precise enough to enable us to differentiate this idea from neighboring forms. It is an attempt at the development of real definitions, or propositions about the essential nature of a phenomenon. In such an undertaking it is incumbent on the theorist never to lose sight of the central themes of common-sense usage of the notion to be defined. Still, a certain arbitrariness necessarily creeps in since precision is being striven for, which common-sense usage normally lacks when assayed against scientific needs. That is, common-sense usage, as in the case of "amateur," is often con tradictory and ambiguous.

From this passage it is not only evident that the ideas of amateur, dilettante, dabbler, and player are related to one another, but also that the relationship is fuzzy and inconsistent. But scientific definitions of the four must be logically coherent, though at the exploratory stage of research they must also be tentatively framed so as to admit new data bearing on their meaning. Augmentative play entered the picture at this point, as I strove to develop definitions of each that were logically consistent with the others. Obviously, this meant taking some liberties with their commonsense counterparts.

Discovery using a web of concepts

Bernard Phillips (2001) set out a scheme for contextualizing in social and historical terms, and thereby explaining to a certain extent, a particular important concept. This approach is basically deductive, in that such contextualization and explanation are accomplished by framing the discussion in a rich "web of sociological concepts." It is defined for present purposes as the set of interconnected social science ideas directly related to the concept in question. Phillips worked up a generalized conceptual grid that can be used to explore for new ideas and generalizations.

Following Phillips (2001), my goal in Stebbins (2004/2014) was to contextualize in social and historical terms, and thereby explain to a certain extent, the trinity of Protestant ethic, work ethic, and occupational devotion and their interrelationship as related to the distinctive religious orientation of the first. In particular, to provide a socio-historical background for later analyses of the work ethic and occupational devotion, I wanted to search deductively for new ideas and generalizations about the Protestant ethic using as a sensitizing instrument the conceptual grid developed by Phillips (2001, p. 172, figure 5-1).

For instance, while conducting the study of work and leisure, I crossed Phillips's category of "Head" (beliefs and ideas) with that of "Social Structure" (shared and persisting patters) to conjure up the concepts of Protestant ethic, work ethic, leisure, and so forth. It was likewise when I crossed his concept of "Heart" (interests and aspirations) with "Social Structure." This juxtaposition called to mind eternal salvation, work, and leisure. Augmentative play in the Phillips scheme enables fruitful application of the highly abstract horizontal and vertical categories to concrete, logically related instances in daily

life. More precisely, when working with a web of concepts, the creative mind must operate deductively by thinking up lower levels of abstraction (i.e., lower-order concepts) that are logically consistent with the higher-level concepts.

Part/whole analysis

Thomas Scheff's (1997) "part/whole" analysis proceeds along similar deductive lines. It facilitates linking higher- and lower-order concepts where the goal is to gain a deeper understanding of how these two levels relate to one another. Scheff states that his approach equally emphasizes the smallest parts of a social system, such as words and gestures in interaction, and the largest wholes in that system. These wholes are the institutions that exist within and between nations. We can understand human behavior well when we move rapidly between the parts and wholes, interpreting each according to the other.

Scheff recommends starting with a "bottom-up" approach proceeding from a careful analysis of single events (e.g., a marital quarrel, a tennis match, a musical performance). This is joined with a "top-down" approach, which looks at the events through the lens of abstract concepts. Both approaches should be implemented at the same time.

Here, too, augmentative play is at work. Thus the researcher might see in the marital quarrel the effects of institutionalized gender roles (e.g., he thinks she should be a mother and homemaker, she wants to work part-time at a profession). Or the researcher observes in the musical performance of, say, a rock group the prominence of certain visual effects during their acts. A part/whole analysis might reveal that institutionalized modern popular music includes, as a special entertainment feature, plenty of brightly colored lights that flash and move. The reasoning in both examples is deductive, even while that reasoning has given birth to some new ideas about marital disharmony and popular music.

Metaphoric discovery

First, we must be clear about the meaning of the word "metaphor" in this discussion. Is a metaphor a literary device or an analytic concept or is it both? An analytic metaphor is intended to guide inquiry; something is considered representative of something else. As will be further explained below, this representativeness can be a means of

scientific discovery by way of deduction. A literary metaphor, on the other hand, may sharpen meaning in the text, create emotion there, and the like. It is sometimes little more than an analogy of the kind "A is like B."

Metaphors have long been a favorite tool for discovering new features of the social and physical world. Social science got off the ground in the 19th century with the organic model of society, or the analogy cum metaphor that society is like a mammal (and sometimes other creatures); social institutions are like organs that operate together to keep the larger entity alive and functioning. The dramaturgic perspective, a contemporary metaphor, has been an enormously fecund source of new ideas, richly exemplified in some of Erving Goffman's work.

In the social sciences, the metaphor has been used as a method for open-ended discovery. Metaphors are not intended to represent the phenomenon under study in the way that resulting theory does (or at least is supposed to do), but rather their purpose is antecedent, to suggest some fruitful paths to follow in exploring the nature of that phenomenon, leading eventually to discovery of new data, concepts, and propositions. As far as metaphors are concerned, this is accomplished by orienting thought and research using one or more of the concepts comprising the metaphor. In effect this transforms them into sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1969; Van den Hoonaard, 1996), which can then guide open-ended discovery research in its name. In brief, applying metaphors is an important and distinctive way of generating grounded theory (see earlier section on exploration).

The dramaturgic approach is one of today's most fertile metaphors. It is loaded with concepts capable of sensitizing researchers and theorists. Drama and theater, as research metaphors, serve as powerful exploratory guides in themselves. Indeed, for the social sciences, this art, compared with the other arts, is a metaphoric gold mine. Only photography even comes close in this regard. As a summary term, "theater" has metaphoric properties of its own, as seen in Shakespeare's famous line, "All the world's a stage, And all the men and women merely players."

Then there is the rich set of terms associated with the idea of theater that act as additional sensitizing concepts for open-ended data collection. Role is, quite obviously, the most celebrated of them, and the

term and its equivalents have enjoyed currency since the early days of sociology. Still, the early scholars seemed not to have been all that enamored with role as a sensitizing concept for research. Goffman, however, broke with this orientation. He used role metaphorically, often joining everyday roles with theatrical ideas like "front stage," "back stage," and "prop." He also extended the list of sensitizing concepts, adding ones that are not part of theater terminology but nevertheless bear the dramaturgic stamp, among them, role distance, impression management, and presentation of self. Goffman remains to this day at the center of debate and discussion about dramaturgic social science.

Augmentative play comes onstage when we apply a dramatistic concept to daily life, which is at bottom a deductive process. Imbued with the ideas of front and back stage, an ethnographer might analyze the modern Western middle-class home in these terms: the living room, dining room, and entry hall are front stage, whereas the kitchen, bedrooms, and laundry area serve back stage. What occurs or is placed on the front stage is for public consumption. In the back stage, the main functions include preparation, rest, and hiding all manner of things not to be seen by the public.

Nevertheless, metaphors are inevitably limited in scope. A metaphor is like one facet of a prism from which we can view reality only from that angle. In the dramaturgic metaphor, the idea of role forces theorists and researchers into the singular perspective of the latter. What, then, does the dramaturgic metaphor omit that bears on human action and interaction? What are we missing?

What about activity?

One crucial omission is the *activity*, defined as a type of pursuit wherein participants in it mentally or physically (often both) think or do something, motivated by the hope of achieving a desired end (Stebbins, 2009, pp. 4–7). 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, 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, such as commuter, tennis player, and chair of a meeting. In others we may recognize the activity, but not conceive

of it so formally or traditionally as a role, such as someone sleeping, mowing a lawn, or eating lunch (not as a patron in a restaurant), or in Goffman's (1961) essay on role distance, people riding a merry-go-round and those riding a (real) horse.

The concept of activity is an abstraction, and as such, is broader than that of role. That is, roles, institutionalized as they are, 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) and lawn mowing. Sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists tend to see social relations in terms of roles and, as a consequence of metaphoric limitations, overlook activities whether aligned with a role or not. Yet, 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?

The foregoing 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 non-work obligations. 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 it 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). 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.

Can all of life be characterized as an endless unfolding of activities? Probably not. For instance, the definition of activity does not

fit things some people are, through violence, compelled to experience entirely against their will, including rape, torture, interrogation, forced feeding, and judicial execution. It would seem to be likewise for the actions of those driven by a compulsive mental disorder. There are also comparatively more benign situations in which most people still feel compelled to participate, among them, enduring receipt of a roadside traffic citation or a bawling out from the boss. Both fail to qualify as activities. In all these examples, the ends sought are those of other people as they pursue their activities. Meanwhile, the "victims" lack agency, unless they can manage to counterattack with an activity of resistance.

Activity as just defined is, by and large, a foreign idea in psychology, anthropology, and sociology (Stebbins, 2009, pp. 6–7). Sure, scholars there sometimes talk about, for instance, criminal, political, or economic activity, but in doing so they are referring, in general terms, to a broad category of behavior, not a particular set of actions comprising a pursuit. Instead, the concept of activity discussed here knows its greatest currency in the interdisciplinary fields of leisure studies, elementary education, physical education, and more recently, kinesiology. And I suspect that the first adopted the idea from the other three. There has always been, in education and kinesiology, discussion of and research on activities that promote conditioning, exercise, special indoor and outdoor interests, human movement, and the like.

When metaphors reach their applicable limits, the deductive discovery enabled by them is also shut down. The preceding passage on syllogistic reasoning shows how this works. Under these conditions, one must either explore or rely on serendipity or experiential discovery. Now inductive reasoning and accompanying methodology are the modus operandi, and augmentative play enjoys a wide field for expression.

Dialectic discovery

This method of discovery roots in Hegel's three dialectical stages of development, starting first with a *thesis*, which gives rise to a reaction called an *antithesis*. He saw in the dialectic the tendency for an idea to generate its own negation, this being the result of conflict between its inherent contradictory aspects. The antithesis contradicts or negates the thesis. The tension between the two is then resolved by means of a *synthesis*. The Hegelian dialectic bears on the ways

opposing tendencies in society emerge and are eventually resolved. The stages are believed to be inevitable, in that a thesis always provokes an antithesis and the two, in their tension, always generate a synthesis. The synthesis then becomes a new thesis, triggering the process all over again.

What is deductive about this method? Elements in the antithesis are derived from elements in the thesis, on an "it follows that" basis. For example when capitalist managers exploit their workers (element in the thesis), the workers are predicted to resist this exploitation (element in the antithesis). It is further predicted that there will be an adjustment of these opposing forces in an element of the synthesis, such as establishment of a labor organization. The predictions are discoveries based on augmentative play by the analyst as this person assesses the socio-economic conditions of the day. This, of course, was Marx's famous dialectical materialism, which is a variation of the Hegelian kind applied to social and economic processes.

Nevertheless, Marx and Engels saw change as an inherent feature of the *material* world. They therefore held that one could not deduce, as Hegel tried, the actual course of events using his "principles of dialectics." Rather, the principles must be inferred from real events. With this empirical base, dialectical materialism may be considered a genre of scientific discovery, unlike Hegel's principles which were strictly philosophical, albeit certainly logically interrelated.

This scientific dimension of Marx's thought is set out in *The Communist Manifesto*, written with Friedrich Engels (and published in 1848). This little book is possibly both the most celebrated and, at least in the United States, the most controversial of either man's writing. The Marx-Engels propositions rest on the assumption that the most basic of human needs are material (e.g., food, shelter, clothing), and that society is essentially the outcome of struggles between its social classes for satisfaction of these needs. In Marx and Engels's view, contradiction in general, but economic or material contradiction, in particular, is the central dialectical process causing continuous change at the societal level.

This economic conflict was said to occur between two emerging social classes, the capitalists or entrepreneurs and the proletariat or workers. According to Marx and Engels's theory, the capitalists, who are the bourgeoisie, gradually acquire the means of production with which they exploit their proletariat laborers (thesis). This alienates the

workers, engendering a consciousness of their own kind and a unity founded on bitterness toward the capitalists (antithesis). Revolution follows. The prediction is that intellectuals, who are also exploited by the capitalists, will join the proletariat, thereby providing some of the leadership the proletariat needs to succeed. The dialectical synthesis is a radically changed society that rests on communist principles. It seeks to abolish private ownership of the means of production and anticipates the evolution of a classless state.

By viewing such social change from the vantage point of the dialectic, we discover that every pattern of behavior, belief, and social structure tends to generate an opposing reaction. Modem life is teeming with examples: the push for legalized abortion has provoked the anti-abortion movement; the growth of computer crimes has spawned special crime control legislation and policing; the tendency toward more liberal sex attitudes has led to open denunciation of the trend itself; and the feminist movement has excited a moderate male rights backlash. Even institutionalized patterns of thought, behavior, and usage have their opponents.

The thesis-antithesis discords in these examples will eventually resolve themselves, it is predicted, in unique syntheses which, if not too extreme, can eventually become part of the social fabric of society. Compromise, tolerance, assimilation, and accommodation are among the processes by which these syntheses are achieved. And that usually takes many years.

Marx, of course, recognized all this. "Force," he wrote, "is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power" (1956, p. 227). Thus he was hardly interested in compromise, tolerance, and the like. His prediction was that the contrast between the thesis (the "brute force" of capitalism) and the antithesis (the downtrodden proletariat) would be so glaring that the only synthesis possible was revolutionary historical change (i.e., communism and the classless state). Marx never set a timetable for such momentous social change, which so far has yet to take place.

Conclusions

That augmentative play occurs in modern science shakes its stereotype as an undertaking strictly rooted in measurement, controlled experimentation, and confirmed propositions and theory. Albert

Einstein knew this. He said: "I believe in intuition and inspiration. Imagination is more important than knowledge. For knowledge is limited, whereas imagination embraces the entire world, stimulating progress, giving birth to evolution. It is, strictly speaking, a real factor in scientific research."[1]

Considering science as, in significant part, augmentative play, as has been done in this chapter, is probably not a way to debunk the stereotype. Chapter 1 contained a short discussion of the unflattering popular images of play in general (and of leisure, too), which suggests that any links of these concepts with science are unlikely to scotch the popular stereotype. Rather, the correction probably lies in publicizing as widely as possible the instances of scientific discovery, along with some commentary about how augmentative play had a pivotal role in them.

That the concept of augmentative play is new with this book makes this corrective approach no easier in the short run. Articles on the order of Lazlo's (cited above) published in the general science literature offer another possibility. Meanwhile, we must examine another expression of augmentative play as found in the various sports.

6
Play in Sport

This chapter examines the multitude of subtle movements made on the spot by experienced amateur, professional, and hobbyist athletes as they pursue their goals in a game or match and during practice sessions. The on-the-spot results of play in sport are often evident in the clever (sometimes amazing and fantastic) maneuvers observed while participants try to reach those goals in competition against other players. By sport I mean interhuman, competitive, physical activity based on a recognized set of rules (Coakley, 2001, p. 20). It will soon be evident that interhuman competition can also be effected using animals, machines, and the like (e.g., racing with dogs or snowmobiles).

These definitional criteria are critical because, as will become evident in the next chapter on hobbies, the label of "sport" is sometimes applied to activities that fail to meet them. In other words, the SLP and its distinction between the serious pursuits and the hobbies show why competition among people is significantly different from that among people and nature, and why that difference matters. Put in general terms, augmentative play varies considerably between the two types.

Every sport has its own recipe for augmentative play, founded on the unique combination of its rules, physical and mental maneuvering, and goals to be reached (e.g., to shoot a ball into a basket, knock out an opponent, race a horse around a track, row competitively on a river). Given the multitude of modern sports, we only have space in this chapter to examine a sample, albeit a reasonably representative one that is sufficient to show the immense variation in augmentative

play in this sphere of life.[1] Moreover, the experiential knowledge that enhances the performing arts (Chapter 4) also has its counterpart in sport. In both areas, serious participants find a career in their chosen activity in which such knowledge is a mainspring.

Play and career

In the eyes of its spectators, sport is patently an entertainment. And, whereas many players recognize that spectators see sport in these terms, the players define it quite differently. They see it first and foremost as a game guided by rules, where the main goals are to win and find fulfillment in preparing for and playing in matches that pit them against opponents. In the eyes of the amateurs and professionals who go in for them, the sports covered in this chapter amount to much more than mere diversion. For them they are either devotee work or serious leisure.

When not watched as entertainment, sport as diversion is, as noted in Chapter 3, a form of dabbling. Hence, it is a kind of play in its own right. More particularly, it is spontaneous activity engaged in for its own sake, for curiosity and for hedonic sensations. It is "disinterested" activity in the Huizinga sense, in that no long-term goal is envisioned while dabbling; the participant simply wants certain immediate experiences.

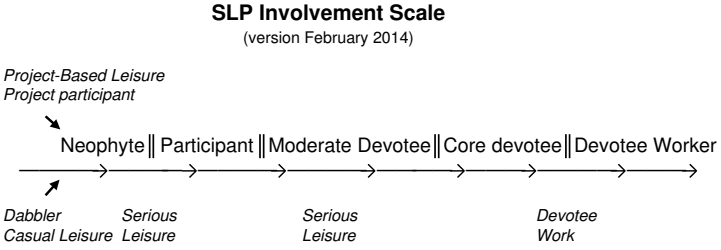
Dabbling, involvement, and the CL-SL continuum

Nonetheless, some people do dabble at an activity, and given sufficient enduring interest in that activity, an as-yet-unknown proportion of this group moves on to pursue it more seriously. They have been conceptualized as "neophytes" (Stebbins, 2014, chap. 2). Yet, dabbling is impossible in certain activities, forcing would-be enthusiasts to start as neophytes. Here, to learn of their affinity for it, they must undertake some careful preparation. Whether people embark on their fulfillment careers indirectly as dabblers or directly as neophytes, they do so at the beginning of a leisure career in a serious pursuit. Scientific discussion of this transition has come to be known as the "CL-SL [casual leisure-serious leisure] continuum." A central question here in leisure studies has revolved around whether casual leisure dabbling is a precursor to becoming a neophyte in a serious pursuit. The preceding observations suggest that this happens

adventitiously: only in certain kinds of activities and only for participants who want to get serious about their leisure.

Thus "fulfillment careers" are launched when the participant becomes a neophyte in the chosen pursuit (see Figure 6.1 for a portrayal of involvement along the CL-SL continuum). To be a neophyte means, among other things, to signal to oneself and often to certain other people that he or she intends to get better at the activity. This is accomplished along the lines of four critical dimensions: effort, skill, knowledge, and experience. Gains along these four areas, as they apply to the activity in question, put the participant on the road to personal development, self-fulfillment, and a career in the activity. Neophytes manifest their intention to get better by engaging in such formative activities as taking lessons, reading extensively, practicing fundamental skills, observing and possibly talking with experienced participants, and the like.

Neophytes are not casual leisure participants. Even the erstwhile dabblers have moved on from their hedonic interest in the activity. Still, the fact that some neophytes have earlier been attracted to the activity purely for its raw enjoyment is not to be ignored. Examples include the child who taps out Chopsticks and other ditties on the piano and later becomes interested in piano lessons; the back garden star gazer using a cheap telescope who decides to get more serious



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.

Figure 6.1 SLP involvement scale
Sources: Stebbins (2014, p. 34); www.seriousleisure.net/SLP Diagrams

by joining the local astronomy club; the joke-telling life of the party who, wanting to become a stand-up comic, mounts an "open-mic" stage, and with that launches a career in the art.

This chapter contains numerous examples of dabbling in a sport, where the acquisition of experiential knowledge and the thrill of sophisticated augmentative play are born. The fulfillment career begins with a neophyte level of interest in the activity, but the *a priori* casual dabbling, as these examples show, can be a crucial precursor. For augmentative play is already beginning to develop at this time. And, if priming the pump is what makes the pump work, then the priming can hardly be dismissed as a minor step in such a career.

We must remember, however, that movement along the CL-SL continuum is by no means inevitable. Thus many a casual leisure activity holds little or no possibility of leading on to a career in serious leisure. Included in this list are relaxation (e.g., napping, strolling in the park), sensory stimulation (e.g., sex, sightseeing, drinking alcohol), and casual volunteering (e.g., handing out leaflets on a street corner, taking tickets for the performance of an amateur play). Furthermore, even with their casual interest in an activity capable of being pursued seriously, some participants never become neophytes. How many people, children included, simply forever dabble at tennis, bird watching, swimming, or playing the piano? Meanwhile, activities exist that are so complex, require so much initial skill and knowledge, that entering them, even to participate minimally, is only possible with significant training and knowledge. Quilters, ski jumpers, sky divers, oboe players, and ballet dancers, for example, have to acquire a rudimentary level of competence before they can begin to carry out their activity, even at its simplest. They enter the CL-SL continuum as neophytes, bypassing altogether the exploratory delights of casual leisure dabbling.

Augmentative play in sport

In general, the augmentative play of athletes improves (i.e., it better meets challenging circumstances) as their fulfillment career unfolds, noting that for many of them, however, their physical capacity to play their sport eventually faces decline. To the extent that such play depends on this capacity, it too declines. The same holds for performing artists, especially those in music and dance.

Still, the sports vary in their degree of physicality. A large majority of them do involve considerable coordinated bodily movement, often mixed with some on-the-spot strategic maneuvering needed to effectively pass a basketball, throw a dart, accomplish a wrestling hold, swing a golf club, complete a triple axel (in figure skating), and so on. On the other hand, a handful of sports are largely strategic in this sense while requiring scant specialized physical movement, most notable among them interhuman competition through racing in cars, yachts, and powerboats, and through racing models (model cars, trains, boats, airplanes, etc.). Augmentative play and experiential knowledge differ substantially between these two types.

Getting started through augmentative play

First, consider the role of dabbling here, which is common in basketball, softball, football, soccer, and volleyball, among many other sports. That social clubs and religious groups, for example, organize softball and volleyball matches for the fun they provide their members attests to the minimal skill needed to play these games at this level. That said, augmentative play is possible here, as when a casual volleyball player must decide into which part of the opponent's court to return the ball over the net or to pass it to a teammate who appears to have a better opportunity to score. In casual field hockey, augmentative play is called for when participants must determine in which direction to hit the ball or determine the way to maneuver the ball around the opposition.

In both examples, serious participants must engage in the same kind of augmentative play, but training and experience enable them to do so more effectively. Indeed, the possibility of improving in this way may well be a principal stimulus for becoming a neophyte and pursuing the fulfillment career that lies ahead. Nonetheless, I have argued (Stebbins, 2014, pp. 36–37) that taste and perceived talent are also critical conditions animating this career. Related to taste is the participant's sheer love for the activity.

Love, taste, and talent

What does this love mean? Amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers are all in the deepest sense of the word *amators* of the core activities that constitute the very essence of their passion.[2] Thus artists love creating their canvases, poker players love playing poker, calligraphers

love writing letters with their pens, and volunteer docents at the zoo love teaching about particular birds or animals. Volleyball players and field hockey enthusiasts are enamored of the sorts of moves they must make to play their games well.

A key question that any examination of fulfillment careers must ask is why do serious participants fall in love with their core activities? Why do they become *amators*? For it may be argued that without this love (or passion), serious pursuit of those activities will fail to develop. Surely, in this regard, finding augmentative play in pursuing the core activities is a key reward. Generally put, what is it about the core activities of a serious pursuit that has magnetic appeal for some people while repelling others or at least failing to ignite any solid interest in them?

Today this area presents a major weakness in our understanding of fulfillment careers. Why? Because research on it is sparse. Sinha (1979) found that the core activity of shaping a pot from a lump of clay turning on a wheel was regarded by her respondents as meditative and soothing. Birders have been shown to be motivated by an exceptional fascination with birds, astronomers by the wonder of the heavens, and archaeologists by an abiding curiosity about a bygone, usually local, civilization (Stebbins, 1979b, p. 170; 1980, p. 43; Kellert, 1985). Still, none of these studies examined in detail the love for the core activity.[3]

Still, we may say at this early stage of conceptual development that love of a serious leisure activity is comprised of at least two conditions: taste and talent. Having a taste or predilection for an activity refers to how attractive the thought of doing it is. Thus some people thrill at the possibility of playing the guitar, cooking gourmet dinners, or volunteering with the local police service. Others find little appeal in such activities, but vibrate instead on raising horses, collecting coins, or serving on ski patrol.

Talent and taste for an activity seem to go together most of the time. Yet this happy combination is not inevitable, since a participant may discover earlier or later that the hoped-for talent is not there at the level needed to generate fulfillment. And is not part of our talent for an activity tied up with our capacity for augmentative play in it? Moreover, talent, in particular, may only become an issue far into a fulfillment career, as the participant discovers at an advanced level of the core activity – commonly in late development – that he

or she lacks the ability to succeed further in it. This dispiriting turning point is exemplified by insufficient finger dexterity on the piano, sense of balance in dance, and capacity to see the big picture required of an effective president of a non-profit board of directors. Such talent includes a capacity for augmentative play, which at advanced levels in sport and art must also be advanced such that self-fulfillment through the activity can continue.

Play in the physical sports

We may consider augmentative play in these sports according to two kinds of physical action: interhuman maneuvering and bodily positioning with reference to a non-human object. In the first, players in either close or direct physical contact try playfully to escape an opponent's control, as is vividly evident in, for example, basketball, football, hockey, boxing, fencing, and speed skating. By contrast, players in the second, while lacking such contact, specialize in positioning one or more parts of their bodies to maximize their advantage in reaching a goal. Here augmentative play leads to positioning and then to using certain parts of the body such that the chances of reaching the goal are increased. Examples include bowling, bobsledding, volleyball, rowing, alpine skiing, weight lifting, and archery.

Nevertheless, sports requiring interhuman maneuvering usually also require some subsequent bodily positioning, such as when shooting at a basket or a hockey net or striking a place on the opponent's body (e.g., in fencing or boxing). Which of the two kinds is more prominent in sports where both are an essential part of the activity must be determined by careful research. They are possibly of equal prominence in some sports, such as basketball. In others, bodily positioning may be the more prominent, as possibly in cycling and speed skating. Note, too, that in sports like baseball and cricket, requirements for the two kinds of physical action may vary according to the position played. Thus a pitcher in baseball is entirely concerned with bodily positioning, whereas a second baseman has some interhuman maneuvering to do when a runner approaches the bag.

In these sports, participants commonly face in a single match scores if not hundreds of challenging circumstances, the surmounting of which requires inventive solutions. Take basketball, for example. Team A has just brought the ball into Team B's zone on the court. The player with the ball spots an opening in B's defense, and this

person's experience suggests that here there is a reasonable opportunity to score. The challenging circumstance is to elude the opponent who could block passage to this opening. With some adroit faking and footwork (playfully) conceived of on the spur of the moment, A's player gets by B's defensive moves to reach an opening to take a shot at the basket. But then, suddenly, a teammate sprints across the court much closer to the basket. Confronted with this new challenging circumstance and the higher probability that team A can score, the player in the opening does some more faking and footwork, with the result that the breaking player receives the pass in time and moves quickly into a position to shoot successfully at the basket.

Consider next pin bowling, where the challenging circumstances are dramatically different. Here participants must assess the configuration of the pins (set up at the start of each frame in patterns of, for instance, 10, 9, or 5), and then determine the most effective style of delivery and release of the ball so as to knock over in one throw as many of them as possible. Experiential knowledge of the wisdom type (see Chapter 4) plays a key role in selecting a style of delivery and release. Meanwhile, augmentative play based substantially on accumulated know-how guides bowlers in the use of their arms, shoulders, hips, and legs, as well as in ways to position their body and move it down the alley during delivery. Interhuman competition is certainly part of the game in bowling, but physically outmaneuvering competitors during a match, as in basketball, is not a requirement.

Squash (and racquetball) differs significantly from the preceding two, even though more generally, stance is critical in all three. In this game, footwork is as important as it is in basketball, soccer, and tennis. This involves coordination of numerous muscles from the waist down, while with the balance thereby achieved, muscles from the waist up work together to strategically bounce the ball off a wall such that the opponent cannot effectively return it. Augmentative play springs up physically as the player striking the ball ponders where to shoot it – which wall, on which part of it, with what amount of force. Deciding where to aim the ball is not only physical but also strategic, for the goal is to bounce it off a certain part of the front wall in such a way that the opponent is forced to concede a point.

Finally, let us look at (target) archery as an example of the various target sports: activities designed to hit a stationary object in nonphysical competition with one or more participants (including darts,

target shooting with firearms, horseshoes, shuffleboard, and curling). The physical component of archery is substantial, as the website Learnarchery.com shows well on its page "Basic Steps to Archery."[4] Complex sets of muscles and their coordination are put to use along with particular breathing techniques in the following sequence: posture and stance, finger and hand placement, hooking the string and bow placement, extending the bow arm, drawing the bow, load transfer to back, aim, release, and follow through.

Augmentative play is evident during the release phase. Robert de Bondt (2008, p. 5) describes the three seconds of release set out (in ideal execution) in his method:

> The string must push the drawing fingers out of the way and the draw fingers must not be consciously opened, as this is not possible to do within the time frame. The draw fingers should basically maintain the hook formed as when drawing the bow, then only the fingers are relaxed on release. The position of the little finger should be kept in the same position as when at anchor and that position must be maintained throughout the release. Any change in position or tension of the little finger will affect the tension in the actual drawing fingers.
>
> In addition the back of the draw hand must remain in the same position/plane throughout the follow through and must not be turned or allowed to drop on the shoulder.
>
> Archers who exhibit straight fingers of the draw hand after release have tried to open their fingers consciously and as such their focus has shifted from their back muscles to their draw fingers, resulting in loss of back tension and control of the shot.

The playful part of this type of archery is seen in my underlined portions of this quotation. The challenging condition for play is precisely when to release the bow in a way that will optimize hitting the bull's eye.

A distinctive class of sports is built on self-propelled forward movement, the common goal of which is to cover a specified distance over ground, water, snow, air, or ice farther or more quickly than the competitors. These sports include: rowing, cross-country skiing, alpine skiing, ski jumping, running, cycling, snowboarding, swimming,

canoe/kayak racing, and speed skating.[5] Augmentative play is evident in, among other sports strategies, controlling speed and conserving energy while in the race. Nevertheless, speed is also controlled and energy conserved by way of the wisdom type of experiential knowledge. Thus cross-country ski racers are told that they must "tuck" when heading downhill (keep a low profile by bending over) to minimize the effects of drag. Cyclists are advised to conserve energy by "drafting" behind others in the race.

What about know-how here, which is key in all augmentative play? Balance while on foot or while sitting is critical in all of these, save of course, swimming. That is, it is critical for both maintaining optimum forward momentum and minimizing imbalance to the side and even backward (in this group, a problem mostly in cross-country skiing). Participants in these activities gain, with experience, a useful sense of balance when negotiating turns, changes in elevation, problematic conditions on the course (e.g., bumps, ice flows, water, debris), and the like. On these occasions they playfully and intuitively meet these challenges so as to lose as little of their momentum as possible.

Another category of the physical sports centers on the opponent's body as a direct target of a certain action, as seen in boxing, rodeo, Greco-Roman wrestling, and the martial arts. For instance, in wrestling where the goal is to "pin" one's opponent to the mat, a diversity of offensive and defensive holds and moves facilitate winning or prevent losing the match. Augmentative play is evident in many of them. Thus during "take-down" (bringing the opponent to the mat, after which attempts to pin this person begin) both participants know not to circle each other by cross-stepping, which is a wisdom type of experiential knowledge. Nevertheless, augmentative play helps one of them to seize the optimum moment – when the opponent is briefly balanced on one leg while circling – to attempt a take-down.

The body as target is also a major feature of rodeo, the body being in this instance a calf, bull, or horse.[6] The action in the case of bull riding (riding horses in rodeo arenas is similar) is to stay atop the bucking and snorting beast for eight seconds, while accumulating points from judges as explained below:

> The ride is scored from 0–100 points. Both the rider and the bull are awarded points. There are usually two judges, each judge scoring

> the bull from 0–50 points, and the rider from 0–50 points. The combined point totals from both judges make up the final score for the ride. Scores of zero are quite common as many riders lose control of the animal almost immediately after the bull leaves the bucking chute. Many experienced professionals are able to earn scores of 75 or more. Scores above 80 are considered excellent, and a score in the 90s exceptional.
>
> Judges award points based on several key aspects of the ride. Judges look for constant control and rhythm in the rider in matching his movements with the bull. Points are usually deducted if a rider is constantly off balance. For points actually to be awarded, the rider must stay mounted for a minimum of 8 seconds, and he is scored only for actions during those 8 seconds. The ability to control the bull well allows riders to gain extra *style* points. These are often gained by spurring the animal. A rider is disqualified for touching the bull, the rope, or himself with his free arm. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bull_riding#Points_and_scoring, retrieved 9 February 2015)

The underlined sentences signal where augmentative play can take place as riders intuitively reposition themselves to accommodate the animal's movements (challenging circumstances).

Play in the strategic sports

Still, a handful of sports are largely strategic, in that they require scant specialized physical movement; most notable among them are interhuman competition through racing in or on cars, yachts, powerboats, horses, and through racing models (model cars, trains, boats, airplanes, etc.). Augmentative play and experiential knowledge vary substantially between the physical and strategic sports.

First, however, note that the distinction being made here between physical and strategic sports is fuzzy. In other words, a number of the physical sports have their strategic side, while some of the strategic sports have an important physical aspect. We start with a look at strategies in the physical sports, which refer here to on-the-spot maneuvers (sometimes called "tactics") rather than broader plans such as the way a game, match, or race will be conducted against a particular team or individual.

Ed Smith (2014) writes about how intelligence, once considered irrelevant in sport, now lies in modern thinking at the center of successful play in association football:

> In the early days of building his team, Löw said he needed, above all, intelligent players. The fast-passing game, which the Dutch brought to Spain and the Germans have now copied, relies on an interchangeable crew of attacking players. Instead of one playmaker or creative midfielder, who can be shut down by organised defending, the fast-passing model requires all the front six to be able to spot opportunities for others. The goal scorer becomes incidental: the chance falls to the best-placed attacker. Everyone's job is essentially the same – to keep the ball moving until the killer opportunity arrives. This requires not only high skill but also the evaluation of risk and superb judgment. Technique alone is not the point; it is technique directed by intelligence.

The words "evaluation" and "judgment" identify the workings of augmentative play, our conception of which seems to close to Smith's idea of intelligence.

Other examples of on-the-spot strategies include attempting to avoid a certain opponent known for defensive prowess, taking advantage of a newly discovered weakness in an opponent, and adapting to a gust of wind (e.g., in cycling, in tennis, or "passing" in American football). Augmentative play undertaken to meet these challenging conditions grows ever more effective with accumulated experiential know-how gained from having encountered them many times in the past. Peyton Manning, quarterback for the Denver Broncos professional football team, has the expertise of maturity even while he has an aging body that refuses to perform as it once did:

> The Manning of the moment is known less well for his power, which is diminished, than for his skills as a tactician, which are some of the fruits of having survived so many different situations and studied so many different scenarios. He can step to the line of scrimmage, quickly diagnose the defense's vulnerabilities and instantly change the play that he was about to call. . . . Ten years ago, even five years ago, he was nowhere near as deft as this. (Bruni, 2014)

The success of these strategies hinges on physical augmentative play; in these instances, play put into effect to deal with an emergent strategic problem.

By contrast, a handful of sports are primarily strategic while requiring scant specialized physical movement, the most notable among them having been mentioned above, namely, interhuman competition through racing in cars, yachts, and powerboats, and through racing models (of cars, trains, boats, airplanes, etc.). These predominantly strategic sports have this quality because they pit contestants against one another in a race. These races invite strategic maneuvering with an eye to getting the best position on the race course, especially one with turns.

> Cornering is vital to the business of racing cars, and Formula One is no exception. On straights the battle tends to be determined by the power of engine and brakes, but come the corners and the driver's skill becomes more immediately apparent. It's the area where an ace pilot can extract the tiny advantage that makes the difference between winning and losing.
>
> The fundamental principle of efficient cornering is the "traction circle." The tyres of a racing car have only a finite amount of grip to deliver. This can be the longitudinal grip of braking and acceleration, the lateral grip of cornering or – most likely in bends – a combination of the two. Racing drivers overlap the different phases of braking, turning and applying power to try and make the tyre work as hard as possible for as long as possible. It's the skilful exploitation of this overlap, releasing the brakes and feeding in the throttle to just the right degree not to overwhelm the available grip, which is making the best use of the "traction circle." The very best are those who can extract the maximum amount from the tyres for as long as possible. (Formula1.com, 2015)

Among seasoned racers this "skillful exploitation" is informed by a great deal of accumulated know-how, which can be playfully applied at a moment's notice to the challenging circumstance at hand.

There is in fact a significant physical component in auto and motorcycle racing, which however, has more to do with stamina than with interhuman maneuvering. Mark Kent (2014) of General Motors

describes the endurance needed for competing in the Petit Le Mans 10-hour sports car race held annually in Atlanta:

> A race like the Petit Le Mans requires a lot of stamina from the drivers. Driving at speeds up to 180 mph for 10 hours is both physically and mentally demanding. While the drivers are pushing themselves physically for an extended period of time, they are also being pushed mentally as they try to maintain awareness of all of the other cars racing around them.

Kent refers to the drivers as talented athletes who undergo rigorous training prior to races like the Petit Le Mans. They must drive at speeds of up to 180 mph for 10 hours, with only occasional breaks for rest, which is both physically and mentally challenging. At the same time, the drivers must remain fully alert for extended periods of time, which includes remaining acutely aware of all the other cars racing around them.

We next look at yacht racing. This category of sport embraces sail boats of all sizes, ranging from dinghies to the largest wind-propelled water craft. Experienced racers use a number of on-the-spot strategies, exemplified below in "roll tacking." Mark Johnson (1995) describes this basic procedure for sailing a dinghy:

> Technique: Roll Tacking
>
> Roll tacking is a method for getting the boat through a tack quickly, without losing much speed or ground. Listed below are three basic advantages to a roll tack, which is used primarily in light air when boat speed out of a tack is important. However, keep in mind this is not the end-all, be-all of dinghy racing. The best roll tacks in the world do not guarantee a win, and sometimes they can blow your concentration if they are used before you have mastered them.

1. **Heel the boat to leeward about 10 degrees.** This initial heel allows the boat to turn itself, cutting down on the rudder usage necessary to initiate the tack. Don't heel the boat too far. The object is to turn the boat slowly enough so you can control the tack. During this step, you should be able to let the tiller extension slip through your hand, with the hull of the boat doing all the work.

2. **As the boat starts to come down on you, rock it hard to windward.** Timing is important in this step. The goal here is to help the boat do what it wants. Wait until the jib luffs and the boat feels as though it wants to come down on top of you. Then rock it hard.

   Rocking the boat to windward may feel funny, as though you're going to capsize. However, it's important to rock it this way. Sometimes the boat will stop the rock on its own, if you don't help. In fact, it may be good to practice this maneuver until you capsize a few times. If you're afraid of capsizing, your tacks will be mediocre. You must get the feel for how far you can go.

   The purpose for this step is to get the sail through the tack as quickly as possible.

My underlined passages in this quotation signal where augmentative play is called for and where know-how increases the effectiveness of such activity in meeting the challenging condition.

Trimming the sails (adjusting them to suit the wind) offers another occasion for augmentative play as an on-the-spot strategy common to this sport:

> Square the main boom as far off as ever it will go and so present the widest possible area square to the wind that is simple. But our difficult question is to decide how far off the sheets should be supposing the wind is abeam or on the quarter. It is not easy, when the yacht is moving, to detect or determine exactly the real direction of the wind. This is especially true if the wind is light.[7]

Here, too, experience is a fine source of know-how, including intuiting precisely when that knowledge is applicable. Patrick Goold (2014, pp. 279–280) offers another example:

> I am running downwind in a fresh breeze. The wind and tide are aligned so the water is fairly flat. I am looking back so that I can feel the wind on my face and determine its direction precisely. The tack has its risks: a dangerous broach if I bring the boat too much onto the wind; an even more dangerous jibe if I bring the stern around too far the other way. But I have sailed the boat a lot, and I understand the virtues of its simple unstayed mast—the most important being that I can depower the sail at any point, even

> on this tack. With the sheet—the line controlling the sail—in my right hand, I negotiate the boat's relationship to the wind. With the tiller in my left hand, I direct the boat through the water. A sailboat is interstitial, part watercraft, part aircraft; it exploits the different viscosities of the two media. I am the fulcrum of this site, positioned at the intersection of water and air, moving sheet and tiller to find that point at which the boat is happy.

Form sports and augmentative play

Some sports involve no direct human contact, but are nonetheless conducted in competition with other people. Many of these activities are judged for their conformity with certain standards of form. These "form" sports include diving, gymnastics, and figure skating, individually and in pairs. All are evaluated by a group of judges who award points for good form, and competitors win by accumulating the greatest number of points. So form dominates in the form sports, but augmentative play has its critical place there as well.

That is, the goal of these athletes is to perfect particular complicated actions to the point of habitual execution. In competition, these actions are judged for their aesthetic qualities.

Thus the judges would, for example, evaluate in individual competition a skater's balance, effortless flow, and power and acceleration of a type of spin; a diver's approach, flight, and entry for a somersault; a gymnast's grace, balance, flexibility, strength, and control of a leap on the balance beam. To win in such competition, a winning participant must exhibit this excellence at a level (of accumulated points) higher than those of all the other competitors.

How much playful inventiveness is needed to achieve excellence in the form sports as practiced by individuals?[8] The judges' assessment points to the zones of augmentative play available to the participants. Those zones are in fact considerable. For instance, in aesthetic group gymnastics in Finland,

> the jury is composed of three judges: technical, artistical, and execution. The technical jury will assess the difficulty of the required parts, balances, jumps, body movements, as well as other required parts. The artistical jury evaluates the structure, diversity and artistic creativity of the program. The jury will judge the formation

> of figures, music, the talent level of the group, and performance in rhythm. The executive jury evaluates the simultaneous and the technique of the performance. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gymnastics#Balance_beam, retrieved 10 February 2015)

In sport diving, the judges focus on the following:

> At least three but not more than 10 judges score each dive, with attention paid to takeoff, bearing of the body in the air, execution of the prescribed movements, and entry into the water. The scores for each dive are totaled and multiplied by the degree of difficulty. The diver with the highest total score for all dives at the end of the contest is the winner. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2013)

Judging in figure skating proceeds in this manner:

> In general, judges reward singles skaters for big, clean jumps, fast spins, coverage of the ice, speed, grace, good stroking and power, impressive choreography, and the ability to perform in harmony with the music. In pairs they want to see similar skills but also unison skating and athleticism in the difficult throw jumps and overhead lifts. In ice dancing they are looking for precision dance steps, speed, timing, and expression. (Hamilton, 2014)

In all these activities, excellence in form is of utmost importance, but the basic techniques by which form is produced can vary according to the quality of their execution.

The quality of this execution, generally stated, depends on the effectiveness of the accompanying augmentative play. Thus the technical jury evaluates a gymnast's jump on the balance beam based, in part, on the excellence of that person's balance. In this regard, the latter will playfully manipulate her body in attempt to foster this impression. In figure skating, a skater will playfully try to produce a remarkable spin as evident, for instance, in its speed and the grace of entry into and exit from it. In sport diving, George Rackham (1975) notes that from takeoff two aspects of the dive cannot be subsequently altered during execution: the trajectory of the dive and the magnitude of its angular momentum. Nevertheless, the speed of rotation – hence the total amount of rotation – can be varied from

moment to moment, accomplished by changing the shape of the body in accordance with the law of conservation of angular momentum.[9] Here we find ample scope for augmentative play. It is limited by the influence of gravity, however, which causes the diver's center of mass to follow a parabolic path in free-fall.

Conclusions

A pair of historically prominent French thinkers have captured the essence of this chapter on augmentative play in sport. In the words of Henri Bergson:

> An absolute can only be given in an intuition, while all the rest has to do with analysis. We call intuition here the sympathy by which one is transported into the interior of an object in order to coincide with what there is unique and consequently inexpressible in it. Analysis, on the contrary, is the operation which reduces the object to elements already known.

Georges Clémenceau, a well-known French statesman who led his nation during the First World War, observed: "A man who waits to believe in action before acting is anything you like, but he's not a man of action. It is as if a tennis player before returning a ball stopped to think about his views of the physical and mental advantages of tennis. You must act as you breathe."[10]

In those sports where it is possible to set out in advance a plan designed to win victory in a match, Bergson's ideas about analysis apply well. Nevertheless, both men strongly emphasized the particular kinds of experiential know-how that fuel augmentative play in an "object" (Bergson) or an "action" (Clémenceau). Their ideas are, of course, broadly applicable across the entire SLP, the physical sports being one of the best arenas for seeing them on display.

7
Hobbyist Play

It was noted in Chapter 2 that hobbies can be classified according to five types: collecting, making and tinkering, participation in noncompetitive activities (e.g., fishing, hiking, orienteering), sports and games (e.g., ultimate Frisbee, croquet, gin rummy), and the liberal arts pursuits. We will look at augmentative play in each type, although given the numerous subtypes, only a sample of them can be examined at this time. Augmentative play is not uniformly experienced in the hobbies. For example, such play seems rare in most collecting, but common in some of the activities comprising the other types just mentioned. Why is collecting, one of the most common serious leisure pastimes, relatively infertile ground for playful expression?

Collecting

The range and diversity of collectibles is enormous, as seen in stamps, paintings, rare books, violins, minerals, and butterflies. With experience, collectors become more knowledgeable about the social, commercial, and physical circumstances in which they acquire their cherished items. They also develop a sophisticated appreciation of these items, consisting, in part, of a broad understanding of their historical and contemporary use, production, and significance.

Compared with commercial dealers, hobbyist collectors turn out to be a different breed. Dealers acquire their stock to make a living from its subsequent sales; their motives are clearly different from those driving the hobbyist collectors. Although the latter may try to make enough money selling a violin or painting to buy one of greater

value, they are usually more interested in gaining a prestigious item for social and personal reasons, or possibly for hedging inflation, than in contributing directly to their livelihood. Additionally, unlike the typical dealer, many collectors hope to acquire an entire series or category of a collectible (e.g., all the posters of the Newport Jazz Festival or all the books in the Nancy Drew series).

The casual collecting of such things as lapel pins, beer bottles, and travel pennants is, at best, marginal hobbyism. With such items, there is nowhere near the equivalent complex of social, commercial, and physical circumstances to learn about; scant substantial aesthetic or technical appreciation to be cultivated; no comparable level of understanding of production and use to be developed. Casual collecting is therefore most accurately classified as casual leisure, as simple diversion, or perhaps as systematic accumulation of memorabilia. Indeed, as Allan Olmsted (1991) once put it, those who collect with little seriousness are best described as "accumulators."

Robert Overs (1984) developed a nine-fold classification of collections. I use his scheme here, though with several modifications and additions needed to bring it in line with the preceding definition of hobbyist activity.

Poster collections

A poster is a large, printed picture designed for display in a public place. Some posters are issued as a series intended to publicize a regular or sporadic event. Examples include those created for recurrent arts festivals, academic conferences, and community fairs. Other posters announce one-shot events such as a photography exhibition, sports tournament, or program of courses. And still others convey an important message of some kind. Serious collectors specialize in certain kinds of posters, on which they gather information about their production and availability as well as about the event, message, or situation they are promoting.

Coin, currency, and medal collections

With the exception of pin collecting, this is the field of numismatics. Overs classifies the coin and currency collections according to ancient, foreign, and domestic and the medals according to religious, military, commemorative, and novelty, which is a residual category. The hobbyist numismatist strives to learn about the social and

political history of the items collected, as well as about their production and composition. The same may be said for the collectors of pins who are covered in a later section.

Stamp collections

Philately is the name of this hobby. The serious philatelist not only collects stamps but also tries to acquire information about the social and economic circumstances underlying the decision to bring out each issue. Many stamps artistically express particular customs or values of a nation. They also greatly interest collectors.

Collections of natural objects

Among the chief natural challenges in nature collecting are learning what good specimens look like, where to find them, how to reach them efficiently, and how to acquire and preserve them. For example, an experienced collector of, say, grasshoppers, fossilized crustaceans, or conch shells will know to look on certain kinds of bushes, in certain types of rock, or along certain stretches of ocean beach, respectively. Hobbyist collectors also make an effort to learn what science has to say about their collectibles. Overs classifies these items as follows:

- Fossils
- Animal trophies and stuffed specimens
- Moths, insects, and butterflies
- Ferns and wild flowers
- Leaves, pine cones, and other arboreal objects
- Rocks, stones, and minerals
- Pearls, seashells, starfish, sponges, and other oceanic objects

Each natural object lends itself to detailed study about its formation, natural history, and ambient environment.

Note that these collectors are not gatherers. Gathering refers to acquiring a resource for subsequent use in making something (Davidson & Stebbins, 2011, p. 136). Thus some people gather driftwood for sculpturing or home decoration. Others gather beach pebbles, sea shells, or beach glass (glass washed up on shore), which, for example, they assemble as mosaics or bottled decorations or for display as individual pieces. Gatherers are hobbyists of the making and tinkering variety, not collectors (or casual leisure accumulators).

Model collections

With so many different kinds of models to consider, collectors in this field have little choice but to specialize. Some collect models of trains, cars, ships, airplanes, or animals. Others go in for toys, kites, or weapons. Even then, some types of models are so diverse that those who collect them are forced by the limits imposed by time and money to concentrate on one or a few subcategories.

Doll collections

Dolls reflect a great deal about the prevailing culture and practices at a particular time in a particular society. Perhaps this explains why collecting dolls appeals to both sexes.[1] Overs says that collectors are more interested in antique and specialty dolls than in modern toy dolls, which they consider the less aesthetically appealing of the two types.

Collections of art objects

Any type of object created with substantial artistry or craftsmanship – for example, paintings, sculptures, and musical instruments – may be seen as worthy of serious collection. Some collectors in this area specialize in a particular kind of china or glass work (e.g., plates, figurines), while others center their attention on recordings or folk-art objects. Although some of these objects are mass produced, they are nevertheless beautiful and therefore regarded as worthy acquisitions.

Antique collections

What is defined as "antique" and hence as collectible varies widely. In general, furniture, equipment, decorations, and other items are considered antique if they were in use several generations ago and now seem quaint and outdated. Their strangeness makes them interesting in modern times, encouraging the collector to learn about their customary use and construction when they were in vogue. Among the most frequently collected antiques are toys, glass, cars, clocks, dishes, bottles, weapons, watches, furniture, photographs, and books and documents.

Contemporary popular culture collections

Contrary to what was said at the beginning of this section, certain kinds of artifacts in modern popular culture *are* sufficiently profound to merit being labeled "collectibles." These include pins, comics,

sports cards, and baseball caps. The collectors of pins search for the thousands of different manufactured emblems and ornamentations that people wear to publicize certain events, attitudes, and organizations. According to About.com, collectors tend to specialize in pins commemorating the Olympic Games; Disney productions; and the horses, people, and events of the equestrian world (see About.com under "pin collecting"). Olympic pin trading, in particular, has been in vogue in North America since the early 1980s. Moreover, since pins, comics, sports cards, and baseball caps may be treated as investments, the purely leisure motive of engaging in the activity is diluted for some collectors, sometimes substantially.

Augmentative play in collecting

In all forms of collecting, there at least two avenues for playful activity. One revolves around finding collectibles, which can require some intuition about where to look for them and how much money to offer for a particular item. The second situation may call for negotiating skills and some imagination about how to use them.

In general, the collectibles considered in this section are, depending on the item, purchased from dealers, at flea markets, through estate sales, at antique shows, during auctions, and the like. Haggling over prices may be possible at any of these. Still, this usually occurs on a limited scale, since the sellers commonly have overhead costs that tend to set a lower monetary limit to any bargaining with customers.

It is during private, non-commercial transactions that negotiation for both parties seems to be the most open-ended, the least constrained by the need to profit from a sale. Here, on-the-spot bargaining ploys may emerge, such as: "I can't pay this much for this [antique] chair since I must also pay for shipping it." Or "This chair will need a lot of expert repair and refinishing, which I cannot afford if I must pay this price." Imaginative negotiating of this sort is probably conducted in every type of collecting discussed in this section, when the collectible has monetary value and the transaction for it is a private rather than a business deal. That is, this holds for every type of collecting, save collecting natural objects. With the latter hobby, the enthusiast need only head for a beach, field, or forest to hunt for shells, insects, or leaves.

Collectors may travel a second avenue for augmentative play when they create a public display of the items collected. Even stamps,

medals, currency, and coins, all of which are commonly stored in albums, can be attractively arranged there for private viewings (e.g., dinner guests, vacationing visitors) or public expositions (e.g., coin and stamp shows). Thus, in these fields of collecting, the augmentative play in effect is essentially that inspiring the studio arts of painting, sculpting, and the crafts (see Chapter 4). Flashes of insight (experiential know-how) help the participant decide which coins, stamps, and so on look best together in the display, where they should be placed *vis-à-vis* the other items there, how many of them are needed for optimal attractiveness, and similar considerations. Standard descriptive information also has a role in these arrangements, as when they are created according to historical period, country of origin, and cultural theme of the items gathered into a single display.

Other making and tinkering hobbies

The augmentative play associated with several of these hobbies was discussed in Chapter 4 under the rubric of craft activities. What remains to be done in this chapter is to explore such play in raising and breeding and in the DIY/handyman activities.

Raising and breeding

Earlier we discussed this hobby as falling into two broad classes: raising and breeding living organisms and engaging in gardening. These hobbyists may also find considerable reward in training or exhibiting what they have bred and, in gardening, selling or exhibiting what they have produced. Some of these areas of activity seem especially likely to generate augmentative play.

For example, Baldwin and Norris (1999) interviewed a sample of "dog people" – owners of dogs – who described how their knowledge, skills, and experience enriched the day-to-day existence with the dogs they currently owned. The authors do not directly examine the matter of augmentative play, though they hint at its existence when they discuss the skills of raising and training dogs. They reported that "one respondent elected to own humane society dogs that had little chance of being adopted because she felt that she had the skills to manage and train the difficult or shy dogs" (p. 10). Here there is accumulated wisdom about managing and training these animals as well as know-how centered on how to apply it on the spot to particular individuals.

No small number of hobbyists raise fish, birds, reptiles, and animals (usually cats, dogs, and horses), because they want to produce healthy specimens as judged by certain standards as well as to enjoy being around them. Thus, although some people raise quail for profit, hobbyists raise them for the pleasure they bring. For instance, Ming Kuo says of her nearly 100 birds that "mostly they're just fun to watch and listen to as they scurry about the cages. During the summer months the females will lay an egg a day or every other day" (http://home.earthlink.net/~mtkuo/quail.html, retrieved 28 February 2015).[2] The fish hobbyist finds a wealth of information on the site http://www.fishchannel.com; it "covers virtually everything related to the freshwater, pondkeeping, saltwater, reefkeeping aquarium" pastime. There is advice on which fish fail to get along with each other, what plant life goes well with which species, what to feed them, and at what temperature to maintain the water. As with the quail, the aquarium and small pond fish are fun to watch, many of them being brightly colored and, it seems, constantly in motion.

Considerable lore exists on raising and managing birds, fish, and other fauna, the acquiring and implementation of which justifies calling these activities hobbies. But do they bring with them opportunities for augmentative play through experiential knowledge? To the outsider that I am to these activities, it is not immediately evident that they do. Whereas, once we note the opportunities for such play in the arts, sciences, and sports, it is possible to see how it can occur and what it consists of. In short, only an open-ended, qualitative study of the routine involvements of participants who keep birds and fish can reveal what opportunities, if any, exist for augmentative play.

The other main subcategory of raising and breeding covered in this chapter is gardening, done either indoors or outdoors or in both environments. Depending on interest and the location, this hobby may include raising plants, vines, shrubs, and trees. Some of these enthusiasts specialize in flowers, others in vegetables, and still others in nuts or fruits. Lawn care can be a hobby all its own, even while some other people see it as a disagreeable obligation. Any of these pastimes as hobbies may be done purely for display and its personal enjoyment or for competition, if not both.

Despite the mountain of canned advice on how to start and manage a garden available from a huge number of books, magazines, and web sites, this subcategory also offers some notable scope for augmentative play based on experiential knowledge. In general, such

play is evident in the imaginative layouts of gardens and the ways in which they are decorated. It is usually up to the gardeners to configure, often with the aid of playful activity, the shapes of their flower beds, the pathways linking them, the floral composition of each, the featured and accompanying shrubbery, and the various decorative items with which to further embellish the entire affair. In effect, the gardener is engaging in a distinctive expression of outdoor studio art (see Chapter 4).

Do-it-yourself as a hobby

As noted earlier, these activities require an immense range of skills and knowledge applied to appliance repair, plumbing work, electrical work, and interior and exterior house construction and decoration. Auto and small engine repair is also part of this list, again with the proviso that it be done regularly and primarily for personal fulfillment. This kind of DIY is anything but non-work obligation (see also Wolf & McQuitty, 2011). At the same time, as discussed in this book, it is a hobby rather than a one-time leisure project.

Hobbyist DIY typically allows for considerable augmentative play, in substantial part because each project comprising this type of activity tends to be unique. Let me start with a personal example. We had just moved into an apartment condo, the laundry room of which had to be restructured to accommodate our washer and dryer. The do-it-yourselfer we hired had to determine the most efficient and effective arrangement of the machines, pipes, and vents, given the available space and location of fixed facilities like the faucets, drain, and electrical outlets. Note that this person was remunerated; that is, he was once a hobbyist whose fulfillment career had led him into devotee work as a "handyman."

Mr. Handyman, a North American enterprise (see http://www.mrhandyman.ca), offers a wide range of commercial services for the home.[3] Some of these allow scant opportunity for augmentative play (e.g., caulking, grouting, installing a showerhead or a programmable thermostat), whereas others are fertile ground for it (e.g., organizing a garage, performing finished carpentry on railings and bookcases, and repairing tiles and faucets). For example, consider repairing cracked floor tiles. The handyman experiences a leap in imagination as he suddenly realizes how to fill the cracks in a tile such that the joints are simultaneously strong and invisible. Meanwhile, a colleague is at work

on another job using his insights to advise a client on how to most efficiently organize storage and accessibility of tools in the latter's garage. The role of augmentative play is evident in Angela Brayham's (2015) observation: "As we [she and her husband] designed and built our bathroom ourselves, we were able to create a space that was not a cookie cutter replica of the standard starter house bathroom and instead reflected our own creative aesthetic and personal needs." Atkinson (2006) holds that DIY enhances the participants' "notion of themselves as an agent of design rather than merely a passive consumer."

Non-competitive activity participation

In activity participation, the hobbyist steadfastly participates in a kind of leisure that requires systematic physical movement, has inherent appeal, and is pursued within a set of rules. Often the activity poses a challenge, though essentially a non-competitive one.[4] When carried out continually for these reasons, the activities included in this type are as diverse as fishing, video games, and barbershop singing. The artistic activities in this category were covered in Chapter 4, whereas the myriad nature activities, which make up another part of the category, are most appropriately covered here.

Nature activities

This extremely diverse set of interests is pursued in the outdoors. Sorted here into the categories of nature appreciation, nature challenge, and nature exploitation, most are usually enjoyed away from towns and cities. Still, within the natural areas in the towns and cities, we may be able to fish, watch birds, cross-country ski, and fly model airplanes, to mention a few possibilities.

Nature appreciation

At the center of the nature appreciation activities lies the awe-inspiring natural environment in which they take place. Seeing, hearing, smelling, and feeling the surroundings – "getting out in nature" – add up to a powerful reason for doing one or more of the following:

- Hiking
- Horse riding
- Backpacking/wilderness camping

- Spelunking (cave exploration)[5]
- Bird watching
- Canoeing/kayaking
- Scuba diving/snorkeling
- Snowshoeing
- Snowmobiling

Another important reason for pursuing these activities is to learn and express the skills and knowledge needed to find fulfillment in them. At this level, they are serious leisure. And at this level, some of them are also competitive – they are a form of sport (e.g., horse racing, canoe racing, snowmobile racing; Davidson & Stebbins, 2011, p. 3).

Occasional augmentative play is possible in nature appreciation. In Chapter 3 we saw how birdwatchers might imaginatively determine an unobtrusive route around a tree or rock in an attempt to find a more advantageous angle from which to view and perhaps photograph an interesting specimen. Many a scuba diver would seem to engage in similar exploratory maneuvering, hoping to better see a certain fish, coral reef, or ship wreck. Elsewhere in Chapter 3 is the example of augmentative play experienced while canoeing (the bow paddler reacts instantaneously to floating debris by employing the "right rudder"). These three examples initially served to show augmentative play in casual leisure. In this chapter they also illustrate serious hobbyists pursuing the same activities, though presumably with greater savoir faire given their extensive experience.

Nature's challenges

A nature challenge activity (NCA) is a leisure pursuit whose core activity or activities center on meeting a test posed by the surrounding natural environment. As pointed out elsewhere, considerable nature appreciation is also possible in these activities, though at times the challenges are so stiff that they concentrate the mind more or less exclusively on trying to meet them (see discussion of flow in Davidson & Stebbins, 2011, pp. 15–16). These activities include:

- Ballooning
- Flying
- Gliding
- Wave surfing
- Alpine skiing

- Snowboarding
- Scuba diving
- Cross-country skiing
- Sailing (with sail/engine)
- Parachuting and skydiving
- Hang gliding
- Mountain climbing
- White water canoeing and kayaking
- Dirt (trail) bike riding (non-competitive)

Thus an accomplished cross-country skier can savor the beauty of the snow-covered trees and partially frozen streams near trails set on moderate terrain. But then, a steep descent with a sharp turn in the middle suddenly diverts all attention to skiing technique, and a sense of flow sets in.

Hang gliding presents its moments of augmentative play. For instance, pilots wanting to fly long distances across country must find raising air currents to keep them aloft. They playfully seek and utilize, for example, "thermals" (air rising in columns) and "ridge lifts" (created by a hill or cliff), and the well-experienced among them then imaginatively manipulate their glider to gain altitude. Altitude gained, they then coast slowly downward and further across country, always with an eye out for the next rising air current.[6]

On the subject of maneuvering a surfboard, Jay DiMartino (2015) gives the following advice:

> **Keep Your Eyes on the Prize**
>
> As you begin your wave, look down the line and try to anticipate where you want to end up. If you are shooting far for the shoulder, then you may have plenty of room for several maneuvers, but if the wave is standing up and closing out then you may need to quickly pump to the falling section to bust out one quick move. You should be thinking about this as you drop in or even as you paddle for a wave.

The underlined passage discusses the few seconds within which to meet the challenge of where to go next. Past experience combined with an assessment of the situation at the beginning of the wave will help the surfer playfully set the most advantageous course. In

addition to these two examples, see the discussion of augmentative play in yacht racing presented in the preceding chapter.

Nature exploitation

In these hobbies, if all goes well, participants come away from their sessions in nature with some of its "yield," as experienced in:

- Fishing
- Hunting
- Trapping
- Mushroom gathering

Furthermore, the fishers, the hunters, and the others do appreciate nature as well, though not when they have a fish on the line or a deer in their sights.

Fishing can be an especially fruitful arena for augmentative play. Challenging circumstances in freshwater fishing include deciding where to cast one's bait, how to play a fish once it is hooked, and how to bring it ashore or into a boat. Thus one might row by a place in a lake that a seasoned fisher recognizes as an exceptionally deep pool (suggested by the sharp decline of the bank and absence of surface vegetation). Fish like such a habitat, and this person realizes in a playful instant that it could be worthwhile casting there or setting out bait suspended from a bobber.

Hunters use many natural cues to tell them about the nature and whereabouts of their query. For instance, they can tell in which direction a deer is headed by its footprints in the snow. The size of the footprints reveals some information about the size of the animal. The direction of movement may suggest that it is going for water in a nearby creek. Augmentative play around these "data" helps the hunter determine whether this animal is worth tracking (it might be too small or may be heading uphill or through a swamp too arduous for the hunter to negotiate).

A number of familiar outdoor activities are excluded from these three lists (e.g., camping in parks, berry picking, beachcombing), primarily because they are casual rather than serious leisure. Furthermore, some of the activities discussed in this book, among them sailing, alpine skiing, and cross-country skiing, are sometimes pursued competitively. In that context they are sports. Mushroom picking, the sole gathering activity in the nature exploitation list, requires knowing

how to identify different species, most crucially the poisonous ones. Unlike berry picking, it is not casual leisure.

Body-centered hobbies

The body-centered hobbies focus the participant's attention directly on his or her body. This contrasts with the nature activities where that person's attention is fixed on an aspect of nature. In the nature activities, the body is a vehicle with which to appreciate or exploit nature or meet one of its many challenges. By comparison, routine exercise is a body-centered hobby, though only to the extent that it involves skill and knowledge and is considered fulfilling. Swimming, body-building, ice skating, roller skating, and the martial arts when used for conditioning number among the exercise activities qualifying as serious leisure.

Gymnastics, tumbling, and acrobatics fall into a separate category of body-centered activity. Although they obviously offer a good deal of exercise, the goal of perfecting a set of difficult bodily maneuvers or "feats" is equally important. The same may be said for another corporeal activity: ballroom dancing. It, too, provides exercise, while inspiring its enthusiasts to master such dances as the waltz, foxtrot, samba, rumba, and tango.[7]

Ice skating and roller skating present opportunities for augmentative play mainly because participants are trying to condition themselves by pushing the limits of their ability in these activities. Ice skaters, in their lengthy sessions of conditioning on a rink, pond, or frozen river or canal, must occasionally slow down, stop, or detour to avoid bad ice or debris or even other skaters. These three constitute challenging circumstances that lead to augmentative play intended to prevent, as much as possible, disruption of the conditioning activity. In effect, the skater asks: "Should I skate over this blemish in the ice or detour around it?" or "Should I slow down while skating past this little conversational gathering of skaters?" and so on. In-line roller skaters, when conditioning outdoors on sidewalks and roads, face similar challenging circumstances followed by augmentative play imaginatively carried out to meet them.

Since augmentative play in gymnastics was exemplified as a sport in the preceding chapter, we will pass over it here to concentrate on such play in ballroom dancing. Each ballroom dance, including those mentioned above, has its unique set of steps, the implementation

of which must be coordinated with the steps and related actions of the dance partner. Thus, from the beginning to the end of the dance tune, both participants are constantly engaged in augmentative play as they carry out this coordination. The challenging circumstance, in general, is to step in a way that both aesthetically conforms to the rhythm of the music and fluidly enhances the partner's efforts to accomplish the same two goals. Augmentative play here is effected through spontaneous movement of various parts of the body, chiefly the arms, legs, and trunk. This is why ballroom dancing is also regarded as an excellent form of exercise.

Games

Although the terms "sport" and "game" are frequently used interchangeably in the common sense, for our purposes it is worth distinguishing the two. A sport is a game based on one or more physical skills, whereas such skills have no place in other games. Further, chance figures heavily in many non-sport games, seen in drawing cards, shaking dice, spinning dials and wheels, and so on. Granted, there are also chance elements in sport games, but they are not an inherent part of the game. In this sense, the non-sport games of chess and checkers resemble sport games.

Since they can never qualify as serious leisure, games based purely on chance (e.g., craps, bingo, roulette) – they are casual leisure – are omitted from the following list. To qualify as serious leisure, an activity must make use of developed skills, knowledge, or experience, or a combination of these three. A game can have chance components and still be a hobby, however, because it also allows conscious decision making and intuitive augmentative play, with both being informed by accumulated knowledge of and experience with that game.

Table and board games

- Dual combat games (e.g., chess, checkers, backgammon)
- Money games (e.g., Rich Uncle, Monopoly)
- Playing piece games (e.g., Sorry, Parcheesi, Chinese checkers)
- Racing games (e.g., Snakes and Ladders)
- (see boardgamegeek.com for a very comprehensive list, retrieved 8 March 2015)

Card and dice games (see http://boardgames.about.com/od/card-games/Card_Games.htm for a list)

- Card games for one or two people (e.g., cribbage, gin rummy, the solitaires)
- Card games for three or more playing as individuals (e.g., hearts, poker, rummy, blackjack, canasta)
- Card games for three or more playing as a team (e.g., bridge, whist, sheep's head, pinochle)[8]
- Craps (dice) (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_dice_games, for a list of games depending largely or entirely on dice, retrieved 8 March 2015)

Knowledge and word games

- Scrabble, charades, Pictionary, Trivial Pursuit, among others
- Quizzes (for a list see http://www.goodreads.com/quizzes, retrieved 8 March 2015)

Electronic games

- Computer games (video-console games now available on computers, see below)
- Video-console games (a huge list is available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Video_game_genres, retrieved 8 March 2015)

Role-playing games

- Chivalry & Sorcery
- Dungeons and Dragons
- Empire of the Petal Throne
- Traveller
  (see http://index.rpg.net, for its current list of 17,117 role-playing games, retrieved 8 March 2015)

Miscellaneous games

- Backgammon
- Dominoes

With the possible exception of the role-playing games, the games listed here need no introduction. The role-playing games were defined in Chapter 3.

The opportunities for augmentative play vary extensively across these different categories of games. Thus the table and board games seem to constitute barren ground for such play, though participants might develop beforehand a strategy for winning. It is different, however, with some card games; to the extent that two or more people are involved, each person's move in the game creates a new scenario for the others to react to. At this point, a bit of augmentative play may occur to help the participant meet the emergent challenging circumstance. That activity often centers on knowing which cards have been played and which are therefore yet to be played, some of the latter being assets for winning the game.

The knowledge and word games evoke continual augmentative play related to the selection and identification of words, images, characters, and the like. Insight reigns supreme here, as when the player's mind suddenly hits on a word that fits in the Scrabble matrix, the character being presented in charades, or the image presented by the other team in Pictionary. Backgammon and dominoes, in contrast, seem largely devoid of opportunities for augmentative play. The moves permitted in each are bound by rules, and they obviate playful improvisation.

Puzzles and mazes

Because they are non-competitive, the puzzles and mazes designed for leisure purposes are not games in the strictest sense of the definition just set out. More accurately, puzzles and mazes are diversions designed to test the ingenuity, knowledge, or insight of the player. Crossword, acrostic, jigsaw, and mechanical puzzles (e.g., Rubik's Cube) are popular, as are the "brain twisters" like hidden pictures, memory tests, and the mathematical and logical puzzles.[9] They make for interesting leisure for people so inclined. The brain twisters, however, have more to do with recognition than with augmentative play.

The puzzles provide fertile soil for augmentative play. The crosswords and acrostics are, in this respect, like Scrabble. It was noted in Chapter 5 that puzzles, the jigsaw variety included, are solved primarily through trial and error, which in itself offers no opportunity for augmentative play. Nonetheless, it was also observed that some insight is needed to identify the possibilities that might meet the challenging circumstance. Thus minute leaps of imagination help

puzzlers choose pieces that might fit the pattern, even if after testing one of them for fit they learn that it fails in this regard. The same holds for mechanical puzzles.

The liberal arts hobbies

The liberal arts hobbies were briefly introduced in Chapter 2, leaving their main discussion for the present chapter. Liberal arts hobbyists were said to be 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 art and entertainment art), sport, cuisine, language, culture, history, science, philosophy, politics, or belletristic fiction and poetry (Stebbins, 1994, 2013c, chap. 4).[10] 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.

Though the matter has yet to be studied in detail, it is theoretically possible to separate buffs from consumers in the liberal arts hobbies of sport, cuisine, and the fine and entertainment arts. Some people – call them *consumers* – more or less uncritically consume restaurant fare, sports events, or displays of art (concerts, shows, exhibitions) as pure entertainment and sensory stimulation (casual leisure), whereas others – they are *buffs* – participate in these same situations as more or less knowledgeable experts (serious leisure). The ever rarer Renaissance man of our day may also be classified here, even though such people avoid specializing in one field of learning. Instead, their goal is to acquire a somewhat more superficial knowledge of a variety of fields. Being broadly well-read is thus a (liberal arts) hobby of its own.

The liberal arts hobbies are set off from the other serious leisure pursuits by two basic characteristics: the search for broad knowledge of an area of human life and the search for this knowledge for its own sake. Broad knowledge can be compared with technical knowledge;

an admittedly fuzzy distinction based on degree rather than on crisp boundaries. Still, we may say that unlike technical or detailed knowledge, the broad kind is humanizing. Through it we can gain a deep understanding and acceptance of a significant sector of human life (art, food, language, history, etc.) and the needs, values, desires, and sentiments found there. Nevertheless, this understanding and acceptance does not necessarily, or even usually, lead to adoption of the sector of life being studied.

Knowledge sought for its own sake implies that its practical application is secondary. Yet liberal arts hobbyists do use the broad knowledge they acquire. For instance, they find considerable satisfaction in expressing this knowledge, and the expression may be an important way for them to maintain and expand it. But this in no way relegates such knowledge to the status of a mere accessory, of being a simple means to a more important end. That is how it often is in the other hobbies and in the amateur and volunteer fields. Here participants need certain kinds of practical information to produce anything of merit.

A third basic characteristic of the liberal arts hobby is the profundity of its broad knowledge; in other words, such knowledge is much more than merely entertaining. This characteristic, which is also found in the more technical bodies of knowledge associated with the other forms of serious leisure, is particularly relevant for the current politics hobbyist. While searching for profound news analyses, this hobbyist must constantly work to avoid or at least bracket what Altheide and Snow (1991, chap. 2) refer to as the primarily entertaining and therefore rarely enlightening broadcasts and analyses of the political news heard on radio and television. Entertaining but uninformative mass media reports and analyses also torment liberal arts hobbyists in the areas of art, sport, and science. Yet, the unfortunate lot of many of these enthusiasts is that they often have little choice but to rely on these media for information.

The liberal arts hobbies offer an exceptionally flexible type of serious leisure. They can be carried out at the convenience of the person, molded around other activities (obligatory or not), and accommodated to the demands of work and family. Scheduled courses, lectures, and radio and television programs sometimes momentarily undermine this flexibility. Still, with reading as the main activity, the hobbyist reader's leisure lifestyle is for these reasons unlikely to become too programmed.

In brief, as a genre of leisure, the liberal arts hobbies appeal to a wide segment of the community. In addition, they offer a special place in the world of serious leisure for people bodily unable or psychologically unwilling to pursue more physically demanding activities. Based on the broad appeal and easy financial access of many of these hobbies, they can be accurately described as one of the most democratic types, if not the most democratic type, of serious leisure.

Augmentative play

This kind of play is found in the liberal arts hobbies primarily during committed reading (as opposed to cursory reading) or reading for literary knowledge (Stebbins, 2013c, p. ix). Reading in these hobbies is, as will become evident below, either utilitarian or fulfilling, or sometimes a combination of the two. It is not purely pleasurable.[11] Francine Prose (2009), in explaining how to be a good writer, emphasizes the *a priori* need to be able to read well. She says:

> I read for pleasure, first, but also most analytically, conscious of style, of diction, of how sentences were formed and information was being conveyed, how the writer was structuring a plot, creating characters, employing detail and dialogue. And as I wrote I discovered that writing, like reading, was done one word at a time, one punctuation mark at a time. (Locations 86–91, Kindle Edition)

Reading in this careful way is accomplished not only word by word, but also sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph, and so on as the reader ponders why the writer has chosen the words used, formed the sentences as they appear on the printed page, paragraphed entire passages, and in general, structured the text (book, article, poem, and similar writing) as this person did. Ms Prose also concentrates on the narration of the story, its various characters, and the dialogue among them. In all this, the committed reader occasionally considers how the text might be improved a bit or at least differently created, as in using alternative words, sentences, paragraphing, narratives, and the like.

There is, to be sure, more to the skill of reading than this dissecting of text, which by the way does not involve augmentative play. Nevertheless, in novels and short stories, there are plots to be analyzed and, if appreciably imaginative, to be admired for their originality. Good writing makes liberal use of alliteration, metaphor,

hyperbole, simile, and other figures of speech intended to vividly and imaginatively communicate meaning. Careful readers will also notice these creations, marvel if warranted at their effectiveness and imaginativeness, and possibly as a playful aside, even take a turn at supplying some of their own.

It is when readers supply their own creations that augmentative play enters the picture. The challenging circumstance is how to enhance the reading experience with one's own embellishments, these being found in on-the-spot creative thought. With one or more embellishments thus created, the reader is now inclined to move on through the text, perhaps with an eye out for another such playful opportunity.

Much of what has just been said also applies to skillfully reading essays, other non-fiction, utilitarian writing, and even some scientific tracts. Here, too, choice of words, structure of sentences, paragraphing, and layout of the overall work are of utmost importance. There are no plots, but absorbing use of the figures of speech is always welcome.

The essays and utilitarian texts differ in required reading skills from fictional reading, in that they must meet scholarly standards if they are to be considered worthwhile. In other words, there must be adequate evidence for all claims put forth, the logic of the argument must be easily apparent, the work must be grounded in the literature of the relevant fields bearing on the subject of the text, and so on. Skilled readers of such material, using these criteria, will know how to evaluate it.

It is during this process of evaluation that augmentative play may be experienced. Play in this aspect of liberal arts reading is the same kind as that found in deductive science (see Chapter 5), mostly syllogistic, like that of theoretic discovery. For instance, let us say that the argument in a scientific paper appears to be illogical or that the evidence claimed to support a hypothesis fits illogically with it. An analytically inclined reader, given such challenging circumstances, will through (deductive) augmentative play try to determine the exact nature of these lapses in reasoning and then proceed further with the evaluation.

In sum, the skills of reading fall into two major categories: artistic and analytic. Choice of words, structure of paragraphs, imaginativeness of plot, figures of speech, and so on comprise the artistic side of reading (and writing), whereas readers become analytic when they

weigh evidence, consider the logic of an argument, and assess how well the work relates to the literature, and similar interests. Utilitarian and fulfilling reading draw on one or both of these sets of skills, while reading for pleasure may be, and indeed often is, done without significant presence of either set. This point about pleasurable reading – the hedonic undertaking that it is – brings casual leisure (as active entertainment) to the fore.

Be aware that committed readers of utilitarian and fulfilling literature are not necessarily, possibly even not usually, competent writers of it. Becoming a competent writer in these two areas rests on, among other conditions, years of experience and practice at the craft. Such people have developed and can now apply the requisite artistic and analytic skills, including augmentative play. Given these accomplishments, they also know how to read well; they make good readers. This division of expertise is analogous to being, for instance, a competent amateur musician and a knowledgeable hobbyist reader of music history and music theory.

Conclusions

Augmentative play is most likely to go unnoticed when, compared with other areas of the SLP, it is enacted in the vast realm of the hobbies. True, it is hugely evident and widespread in some of the nature challenge activities (e.g., alpine skiing, snowboarding, white water canoeing and kayaking), some of the games (e.g., knowledge, word, role-playing), and all of ballroom dancing. But, for the large majority of the hobbies covered in this chapter, augmentative play occurs either sporadically or regularly, but only in special situations. Thus antique collectors sometimes negotiate prices, but only during those relatively infrequent occasions when they are buying an antique. The handyman/do-it-yourselfer often works on projects that inspire little or no augmentative play. Hiking and snowshoeing only rarely present challenging circumstances that call for this kind of play.

This checkered pattern of augmentative play in the hobbies gives weight to the overall goal of this book, namely, to show the importance of such play in leisure and precisely where it occurs in that field. It will not do to simply, and we can now say inaccurately, proclaim that leisure always has a play component of the augmentative variety. We must be more discerning than that.

8
Whither the Interdisciplinary Study of Play and Leisure?

Scholars devoted to the study of play have carved out for themselves a crucial interdisciplinary field of positive social science. This interdiscipline is composed of an anthropology and a sociology of play resting on a conceptual core rooted primarily in philosophy, psychology, physiology, and ethology. Therefore, on the one hand, researchers in leisure studies should be turning to the individual side of the study of play when they want to explain the creative/imaginative foundation of the pursuit of free-time activities and the personal fulfillment that follows. On the other hand, the anthropology and sociology of play, and hence play studies in general, can profit mightily from a more profound understanding of leisure theory and research and those many free-time activities that can be enormously enhanced by play.

Leisure studies is itself deficient when it comes to studying the links between creativity, self-expression, and leisure practices. For example, Whiting and Hannam (2015, p. 372) observe that "despite research that documents the centrality of leisure as a worked-at process of self-actualisation and self-identity, the practice of leisure is still predominately viewed as one of consumption rather than production and of passivity rather than creativity." Their paper, supported by evidence from qualitative research into the lives of users of the leisure spaces in the "provincial bohemia" of the Ouseburn Valley, Newcastle upon Tyne, shows the strong component of creativity in this group's leisure activity.

Whiting and Hannam's thoughts about the (missing) link in leisure studies between creativity and leisure practices bring us to the

role of agency in augmentative play. This process is discussed in the first section of this chapter. Next is a further consideration of the great unknown in the creation of playful ideas, treated there as the "ah ha" moment. This leads to a methodological section on how to study augmentative play. Two sections follow: one on self-development as it relates to augmentative play and the other on the possibility of becoming addicted to such play. Finally, we look at where in the wide world of leisure one is to go for the greatest immersion in this distinctive kind of creativity.

Efficacy, agency, and play

Psychologist Albert Bandura pioneered the concept of *self-efficacy*, defining it as "people's beliefs in their capabilities to produce desired effects by their own actions" (Bandura, 1997, p. vii). He argued that people develop "efficacy expectations" bearing on particular goals they hope to realize and on what they must do to achieve this. These expectations are based on the capabilities individuals believe they have to accomplish the goals they are pursuing in a particular setting. Bandura says that efficacy expectations constitute the cognitive state immediately preceding goal-directed actions. Additionally, efficacy is enhanced to the extent that people's *locus of control* is high; in other words, they sense that the results of their activities are caused by themselves rather than by such impersonal forces as fate, luck, and chance (Rotter, 1990).

If you think this description of self-efficacy reads much like a discussion of the confident self, you are right. The principal difference lies in the situational nature of the first compared with the trans-situational nature of the second. A person who feels confident about life as routinely led has, at least in part, built this view of self from numerous experiences of being efficacious in particular situations. In the language of positive sociology, confidence bubbles up from demonstrated self-efficacy in the core activities of a person's serious leisure and devotee work.

The main belief here is in one's own self-efficacy to pursue in a fulfilling way particular activities in serious leisure or devotee work. This belief in oneself is born of the numerous routine successes that accumulate with enduring, systematic pursuit of an activity and of the encouragement from positive others who also partake of it or who

are otherwise close associates of the participant. Augmentative play, where possible, helps buttress belief in an individual's self-efficacy.

Agency

Both efficacy and locus of control may be seen as constituents of human agency as it operates during the pursuit of positive goals. Martin Hewson (2010, p. 13) says of agency that "it is the condition of activity rather than passivity. It refers to the experience of acting, doing things, making things happen, exerting power, being a subject of events, or controlling things. This is one aspect of human experience." The idea has been conceptualized in sociology as part of its long-standing debate on the freedom of human behavior as agency *vis-à-vis* the limits imposed on it by social structure (e.g., Giddens, 1986). Hewson's definition is general, designed to fit into this ferment. Here agency is a condition of activity as opposed to passivity.

Agency conceived of in leisure studies revolves around a different theoretic interest, namely, explaining how people pursue, or fail to pursue, particular free-time activities (Stebbins, 2009, pp. 4–6).[1] The definition of activity used throughout this book therefore diverges from Hewson's as he relates it to passivity, where the latter is forced on a society's members by its social structure. Chris Rojek (2010, pp. 6–9), by the way, explores this relationship under the heading of "intentionality," doing so from the unconventional angle of leisure studies. Intentionality is basically the same as agency, and taking leisure is a main expression of it, albeit within certain structural confines.

In leisure studies, agency is both a social arrangement for enabling and a personal capacity for putting into effect what an individual intends to do.[2] The individual thus enabled (not constrained) by society can become his own agent in producing the intended outcome. Here agency refers to seizing the initiative to reach a goal, short- or long-term. It includes planning how to reach the goal, which includes organizing to this end oneself and such relevant other entities as individuals, organizations, groups, and social networks. Thus a concert violinist can only perform her concerto when accompanied by an orchestra guided by its conductor, a quarterback in American football cannot express his agency as a passer unless there is a teammate downfield trying to catch the ball he is passing. Agency is also at work when a participant arranges for necessary resources.

It is through particular activities that people, propelled by their own agency, find positive things in life, which they blend and balance with the negative or disagreeably obligatory things they must also deal with. Un-coerced, people in leisure believe they are doing something they are not pushed to do, something they are not disagreeably obliged to do. In this definition, emphasis is *ipso facto* on the acting individual and self-direction through his personal agency.

Still, this in no way denies that there may be things people want to do but cannot do because of any number of constraints on their choice. That is, there are limiting socio-cultural (structural) and personal conditions such as aptitude, ability, socialized leisure tastes, knowledge of available activities, and accessibility of those activities. In other words, when using the definition of leisure set out earlier, the central ingredient of which is lack of coercion, we must be sure to understand leisure activities in relation to their larger personal, structural, cultural, and historical background. Hence leisure is not actually freely chosen, as some observers have claimed in the past (e.g., Parker, 1983, pp. 8–9; Kelly, 1990, p. 7), since choice of activity is significantly shaped by this background.

But we must close this section by noting that structure also facilitates agency. According to Raymore, "facilitators" to leisure are "factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and to encourage or enhance participation" (Raymore, 2002, p. 39). Thus having parents with sufficient money and interest in their child's passion for ballet or yachting facilitates the child's early career in that field. The dominance of football (soccer) culture in Brazil or ice hockey culture in Canada facilitates youthful participation in those sports in the two countries.

Play

Where does augmentative play fit in all this? In a nutshell, it is the quintessential product of agency in two ways. One, depending on the activity being pursued, participants' agency brings them to challenging circumstances calling for augmentative play. Agency is thus a facilitating background condition, which would be impossible to the extent that structure really controlled everything we do. Two, augmentative play, itself an activity, is agential. Participants, when faced with challenging circumstances, do not know in detail how

they will play in trying meet them, but play they will, guided in general by their own knowledge and talents. Even here culture and structure may figure in the solution that augmentative play brings, as when a painter comes up with forms and colors that conform to the artistic canon of the day or a novelist finds words and expressions that are nevertheless part of contemporary usage in the surrounding community.

Elie Cohen-Gewerc (Cohen-Gewerc & Stebbins, 2013, p. 74) discusses playing as a way to explore the world:

> To play means to try different ways of using elements, energies, surroundings. Let us remember the great impact, even until now, of the simple but audacious play when Marcel Duchamp put, in 1917, a vulgar fountain in a museum hall. What a scandal! But what a mind shaker! To be able to see the same thing with another view is a consistent step towards freedom, for freedom is the freedom of mind. To play, exploring new views and new linkages, means to experience freedom, freedom which emancipates us from preconceptions and trains us to enlarge our horizons, that is, to search out new ones.

In the language of this book, to use one's agency to meet challenging circumstances is to find in augmentative play freedom, however momentary.

The great unknown in the generation of playful ideas

I mentioned in the Introduction that the "ah ha" moment (Baumgartner, 2009) is a central part of the third step in Csikszentmihalyi's (1996, pp. 79–80) wider five-step "creative process." Yet, as noted from time to time in the present book, this moment is the great unknown of creativity in general and augmentative play in particular. Additionally, the expression "ah ha" fails to describe all that participants can feel about such play. In fact, it seems to be an accurate descriptor only for the more cerebral activities like those centered on finding the meaning of data in science, the right likeness in portraiture, and the best artistic notes in a musical composition. Elsewhere, augmentative play occurring in a few seconds does not allow enough time for an "ah ha." The basketball player does not think or say "ah ha" either

during or after a successful maneuver against one or more opponents. The jazz musician is similarly inarticulate while improvising during a performance, though in both examples, the participants might reflect later, well after the fact, on what they did.

In all this, *augmentative play* is play with a purpose. Challenging circumstances met while pursuing an activity inspire the participant to try to deal with them in the most effective way possible. Moreover, as this book has shown in many ways in the preceding chapters, we now know when this kind of play occurs. We know in any episode of augmentative play when it starts and when it ends. Yet, as Erich Fromm puts it, the "conditions for creativity are to be puzzled; to concentrate; to accept conflict and tension; to be born everyday; to feel a sense of self." Or, in Arthur Koestler's words, "true creativity often starts where language ends."[3]

How then are we to conduct research on augmentative play, this crucial process linking the fields of play and leisure?

The study of augmentative play

If true creativity only starts where language ends, it is pointless to ask participants to describe what they did during any one episode of augmentative play. I have already noted that it is often difficult to remember precisely what actually happened there, let alone trying to put it all into words. Given the tentativeness of the empirical study of augmentative play and our sparse knowledge about this process, an open-ended exploratory approach is what is initially called for.

The nature of social scientific exploration was set out in Chapter 5 and distinguished there from serendipity and trial and error, two other inductive methodologies. In exploring augmentative play, it is helpful to divide it into two types: cerebral and physical. The cerebral type rests on unobservable mental processes, as when writers chose words, artists mix colors, and scientists analyze data. Play in most games, all the collecting activities, and the liberal arts hobbies is cerebral. In other words, the cerebral type abounds in the studio arts and in certain hobbies (e.g., orienteering, chess, liberal arts activities). In contrast, the physical type is observable. We see it primarily in the sports and the physical hobbies. It is also evident in the stage arts (in music we mostly hear augmentative play rather than see it).

In the cerebral type of play, open-ended interviewing accompanied by direct observation offers one avenue along which to explore augmentative play episode by episode. At its most effective – to strike while memory is at its best – such research should be carried out immediately after the end of the episode under consideration. Thus in observing someone decorate a cake, the observer might stop this person and ask: "Why did you just create this design or figure and place it in a certain way in a certain part of the confection?" Using interviewing probes of this kind, such discussion could bring to light some of the operations and thinking leading to spontaneous creations using colors, words, fabrics, materials, objects, and what have you.

Since augmentative play is more or less continual in some activities, it might be good to identify a recent work and encourage the interviewee to select, say, 10 episodes that could be discussed along these lines. Another option would be to observe the participant as this person actually pursues an activity inspired by cerebral play. In this setting, observer and participant could momentarily stop the flow of creativity to ponder its mental components.

Another inductive method of potential value here is the diary, a variant of experiential discovery (see Chapter 5). The participant is asked to record, either in a voice recorder or on a pad of paper, the kinds of information discussed above for the interview. Nonetheless, the interview is preferred over this method, in that it enables the interviewer to probe for additional information suggested by the interviewee's responses. Moreover, the interview can be a powerful interpersonal experience, during which both participants are involved in an intense, positive interest. By comparison, the diary method offers much less face-to-face contact, much less on-the-spot sharing.

The physical type admits a somewhat wider range of methods with which to explore augmentative play. Face-to-face interviews and diaries can also be used here, to which we may add video-taping and direct observation by the researcher. Video-taped instances of augmentative play simultaneously played back to the participant-research subject and researcher can enormously facilitate discussion between the two on what happened there. Direct observation of the episode by the researcher, while better than nothing, is clearly inferior as a methodological tool when compared with the video-tape. In any case, some version of the replay enables analysis of the episode

outside the excitement and intensity of the action itself, where doing so would be impossible.

All this is highly microscopic and seemingly idiographic work, thus raising the question of whether nomothetic science is possible in this area. The answer is affirmative. In inductive fashion, a researcher can develop generalizations about an individual's augmentative play and then further generalizations across individuals participating in the same hobby or amateur activity. A grounded theory of augmentative play is surely possible in, for example, the stage arts or the cerebral amateur and hobbyist activities. Such a vision rests on a good measure of concatenated exploration conducted over a period of many years. The expression *concatenated exploration* refers at once to a longitudinal research process and the resulting set of field studies that are linked together in a chain, as it were, leading to cumulative, often formal, grounded theory (Stebbins, 2006a).

Self-development through augmentative play

Thomas Henricks (2014, pp. 205–207) pondered the various ways that play might contribute to self-development. He preferred to describe such development as personal "realization," even though the first is the commonly used term.

> As I have implied, I do not believe that play moves people only ahead; it moves people in many directions. If reaching adulthood was the ambition of players, older people would not play. I also reject the terms self-discovery and self-invention. Discovery implies that one has found something that already exists (but that heretofore has been unknown to the seeker). Play may well cause us to call up resources we didn't know we had in us; but play is also about the manufacturing of knowledge, skills, and life experiences which we have not possessed to this point.

Henricks goes on to note that play of any kind is not merely self-invention, wherein we create ourselves according to our desired image. Rather, who we become as well as what we make of the world depends in part on the materials with which we have to work. He lists some of these materials, including our own latent physical and psychological capacities, the wishes and capabilities of other people, the resources

of the material environment, and even available relevant cultural elements. "In this sense, playful interaction is a dialogue between self and these forms of otherness. As a parallel (if more general) process, self-realization is the process by which people put into action their visions of who they are and what they can do. Play's special interest is the personal consequences of these schemes" (pp. 206–207).

Henricks's observations apply to augmentative play, even though he did not specifically weigh in on this type. Elie Cohen-Gewerc (Cohen-Gewerc & Stebbins, 2013, p. 77) adds to Henricks's conceptualization of self-development and play by stressing the role of the latter in generating individuality. Cohen-Gewerc observes that "in this serious [leisure] play, you are no longer directed by external circumstances; on the contrary, you are constantly experiencing your own individuality." Augmentative play is a main route to this special personal state, this special way of developing one's self.

> Playing, then, becomes the vital re-creation for one's self, a free space full of opportunities for us as individuals to learn, train, and improve our uniqueness, our authentic individuality. Conscious of our essential selves we come back to our daily stage, less dependent on conventional patterns, and better able to contribute and to be present in the human social network. As good actors, we can each bring our inner being into our performances of life. (Cohen-Gewerc & Stebbins, 2013, p. 77)

A person's authentic individuality grows especially well in the soil and climate of augmentative play as experienced in the serious pursuits.

Addiction to augmentative play

I have argued elsewhere (Stebbins, 2010) that addiction to serious leisure activities is by and large impossible. The definition of addiction used was that of psychiatrist Aviel Goodman (1990). He believed it 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 the activity wear off; satisfaction and well-being are noticeably absent (e.g., pathological gambling; irresistible flow-based activities).

Searching for flow

Considering the constraints to participation in serious leisure (see Stebbins, 2010, p. 21 for a list), it is difficult to see how, for the typical participant, it can be qualified as addiction. And that is so 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, there are exceptions; some people defy these constraints, thereby suggesting 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.

In harmony with Goodman's definition, addiction results from searching for pleasure as a remedy for internal discomfort. The concept of addiction suggests that this combined interest in finding pleasure while alleviating discomfort is frequent and recurring. Thus, once rested, addicted skiers and bicycle racers would be irresistibly and recurrently drawn to the slopes and roads, free of the constraints referred to 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 relatively uncommon. Those who exist are probably driven excessively by the augmentative play they frequently find in their passion. It is so absorbing that virtually nothing can discourage them from seeking more of it. This, however, is most accurately described as *positive* addiction, a conceptualization that seems to somewhat stretch Goodman's definition.

Searching for success

The drive for success in any field of work or leisure can be heavily time-consuming, suggesting to some people that (negative) addiction is the cause of activity this intense. Where success is achieved through strongly felt flow experiences and the constraints of participation are ignored, as can happen in playing jazz or engaging in alpine skiing, for example, positive addiction, as just argued, could conceivably be an outcome. But, when success is reached in activities offering only weak flow or none at all, the label of addict seems

far-fetched, implausible. Meanwhile, more empirically valid and profound explanations for such behavior exist. They include the list of rewards and the qualities of serious leisure and devotee work presented in Chapter 2. 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 and personal competence, 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. By 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.

Augmentative play in the domain of leisure

No one sets out to become addicted, in the negative sense of the word, to anything. Nevertheless, some serious pursuits offer this possibility in a positive sense, doing so more effectively than others, as a kind of benign Circe luring participants into a life of irresistible augmentative play. Where may we go to find the richest array of opportunities for this kind of creative activity?

The preceding chapters suggest that the answer to this question is to go in for the stage and studio arts, the collective and individual sports, and the hobbies found in sport and activity participation. A number of games also have this high level of creative appeal; in the main, they are the knowledge, word, electronic, and role-playing games. Puzzles and mazes also fit here. They all have in common a capacity to keep their participants continually engaged in augmentative play. In the area of non-competitive activity participation, regular augmentative play is most evident in the body-centered activities. Within this type, ballroom dancing stands out for its unbroken string of opportunities for imaginative play. Not far behind in terms

of the frequency of such opportunities are the various nature challenge activities.

At the other end of the spectrum there exists a set of miscellaneous activities in which augmentative play is rare or sporadic. The collection hobbies offer some of the best examples of this pattern, as do some of the jobs that do-it-yourselfers and handymen undertake. In the raising and breeding hobbies, only gardening, done either indoors or outdoors or in both environments, offers a notable opportunity for augmentative play, and there too chiefly in the imaginative layouts of gardens and the ways these are decorated. In effect, this kind of gardener is engaging in a distinctive expression of outdoor studio art.

Casual and project-based leisure

Most casual leisure offers little opportunity for augmentative play. Exceptions do exist, however, as seen in the active entertainment provided by puzzles, mazes, and brain twisters. Compared with all of casual leisure, we find here some of the richest instances of augmentative play. Sociable conversation, especially that teeming with witticisms, banter, and anecdotes and jokes, is a veritable spawning ground for augmentative play. In the realm of deviant casual leisure, artistic vandalism and cross-dressing offer a nearly non-stop set of opportunities for imaginative expressions.

We have so far had little to do with project-based leisure, which was defined in Chapter 2 and presented there as the third form of leisure comprising the SLP. Of the two types set out, in this chapter we will concentrate only on the one-shot projects. They will be discussed using the classificatory framework for the amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities considered early in Chapter 2.

The hobbyist-like projects mentioned in that chapter include several types of making and tinkering, most of which, however, present few opportunities for augmentative play. Some DIY activities, notably building a rock wall and planting a special garden, do allow for such play throughout the project or at a particular point during it. Constructing a genealogy can also have its moments of augmentative play as the participant uses his or her imagination to find creditable sources of information and piece together personal histories.

As might be expected, the arts-like projects across the entire field of project-based leisure provide the most fertile ground for augmentative play. Many of them are one-shot instances of stage art, presented

as entertainment theater (e.g., a skit, community pageant, home video) or an occasion of public speaking. Furthermore, some studio art lends itself to leisure projects. An imaginatively assembled set of photos is one common example. Written memoires of particular significant events, or of a portion or the entire life of the writer, constitute another. Memoires can also be video-taped, thus raising the question of whether it is studio or stage art and for whom, whether for the videographer or the person being filmed. The former is a studio artist, whereas if there is any significant theatricality in the latter's recounting of experiences and feelings, that person is acting as a stage artist.

Conclusions

The future of the social scientific studies of play and leisure (as opposed to that of physiology and ethology) rests substantially on their successful integration with positive psychology and positive sociology. Play, as this book makes clear, manifests itself in certain leisure activities, they being clusters of positive behavior and recognizable as such in the positive wings of psychology and sociology. Both wings are relative newcomers to their parent disciplines, however, which have historically revolved around the problematic, generally negative side of mental and social life.

Martin Seligman observed in 1998 in his presidential address to the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association that a new field known as "positive psychology" had emerged within the discipline of psychology. Its mission: to underscore and study the positive side of emotion and other personal states. Its link with leisure is clear in several places in the following passage:

> I proposed changing the focus of the science [psychology] and the organization of scientists in the world. I proposed changing the focus of the science and the profession from repairing the worst things in life to understanding and building the qualities that make life worth living. . . . I call this new orientation "Positive Psychology." At the subjective level, the field is about positive experience: well-being, optimism, flow, and the like. At the individual level it is about the character strengths – love, vocation, courage, aesthetic sensibility, leadership, perseverance,

> forgiveness, originality, future-mindedness, and genius. At the community level it is about the civic virtues and the institutions that move individuals toward better citizenship, responsibility, parenting, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance, and work ethic. (from http://www.ppc.sas.upenn.edu/ppgrant.htm, p. 3, retrieved 28 March 2015)

Seligman added that this new field is meant to develop into a "positive social science." This is to counteract the fact that many other social science disciplines also emphasize the negative rather than the positive side of human life. Today, positive psychology is a major success story, marked by several textbooks, encyclopedias, associations, and journals, even while problem-centered psychology continues to thrive alongside. The study of happiness, though not exclusively a psychological interest, is now a vibrant specialty in this new field.

I introduced the link between leisure and positive psychology (Stebbins, 2006b), and later proposed that leisure should be the basis for a positive sociology (Stebbins, 2009):

> "Positive sociology" is my label for the new scholarly field described in this book. It looks into how, why, and when people pursue those things in life that they desire, the things they do to make their existence attractive, worth living. Positive sociology is the study of what people do to organize their lives such that those lives become, in combination, substantially rewarding, satisfying, and fulfilling. (p. xi)
>
> . . .
>
> Compared with the mainstream this new field must, of necessity, start from some different premises. In general explaining positiveness rests on a nonproblematic model. That is, the principal wellspring of positive sociology is, in large part, the sociology of leisure, a field I . . . portrayed as the "happy science" because of its central focus on the attractive side of life (Stebbins, 2007). Among the basic concepts in the sociology of leisure, and hence in positive sociology, are activity and human agency. An *activity* is a type of pursuit, wherein participants mentally or physically (often both) think or do something, motivated by the hope of achieving a desired end. Though not all our activities are positive (e.g., going

> through airport security, paying income taxes), it appears most are. The centrality of positive activity in this new field is one of its hallmarks and one of the premises separating it from other sociological specialties. The concept of *agency* – personal action taken to reach a goal – is also key to positive sociology, which unlike activity however, is also a crucial idea in some other areas of the social sciences. (pp. xi–xii)

But, alas, positive sociology has not quite enjoyed the favorable reception from its parent discipline that positive psychology has received from its parent. It is possible that leisure studies with its substantial sociological base has filled the need for a positive slant in the former, though leisure studies as an interdiscipline remains relatively unknown there.

As observed earlier, both the studies of play and of leisure have had to fight the headwinds of naïve lay public imagery, which sees them as dealing exclusively in the frivolous (Stebbins, 2012, p. 100). Indeed, as the problem-centered orientation in mainstream sociology has grown stronger over roughly the past 50 years, the discipline's interest in leisure has waned in parallel.[4] What is more, it seems that during this span of time some of today's sociologists fired by this orientation have even adopted the lay public's imagery of leisure.

In conclusion, the study of augmentative play, introduced in this book for the first time, appears to be in for a rough ride as a scholarly specialty. It is methodologically challenging, as was noted earlier. The subjects of play and leisure have their academic following, but they lack decent visibility in the mainstreams of psychology and sociology. Nonetheless, joining play and leisure theoretically, as has been done in this book, should give both fields broader scope than they had heretofore. If nothing else, such an expansion should arouse further interest from some of the scholars studying the positive side of life.

Notes

1 The Scientific Studies of Play and Leisure

1 Most textbooks on leisure studies say little or nothing about play. The encyclopedias and handbooks present a similar pattern (but see Moore, 2003). The richest discussion of play within the field of leisure studies is found in its social psychology, most notably that of Kleiber et al. (2011).
2 Norbeck (2013) observes that "scholars interested in [defining play] have been troubled in answering the question 'What is play?'"
3 Leisure studies have not embraced Neulinger's suggestion, however helpful it might have been (Stebbins, 2013a).
4 Barnett's ingenious study centers on personality and playfulness in young adults, and is therefore beyond the purview of the present examination of augmentative play in leisure activities.

2 The Serious Leisure Perspective

1 A minority of projects are long-term. Thus after 11 years at his project, an owner building his own dream house is still not finished with it (Markusoff, 2015).

4 Play in Art and Entertainment

1 Art in jazz improvisation seems not to have a beginning in this sense. True, the spontaneous "licks" of the performer are occasionally influenced by some of the immediately preceding musical ideas of that person and possibly by others in the ensemble. Yet, those licks are not normally planned in advance. The same may be said for improvisational theater and dance.
2 The principal challenge in fishing is to locate and catch fish, even while the people in the outing might also, as a secondary goal, compete with each other for the most fish caught.
3 Barbershop is in other ways atypical of the folk arts. For example, it has a complex organizational structure serving tens of thousands of members across the world.
4 Borkman discusses knowledge of a "phenomenon," whereas the preferred concept in this book is "activity," a central idea in the SLP.
5 The senior's home is in Euclid, Ohio (Associated Press story printed in the *Calgary Herald*, Saturday, 7 March 2015, p. A15).

5 Scientific Play

1 Today in Science History (2015). http://todayinsci.com/E/Einstein_Albert/EinsteinAlbert-Experiment-Quotations.htm, retrieved 12 February 2015.

6 Play in Sport

1 For a reasonably full list of team and individual sports as framed and described within the SLP, see Stebbins (2013d, pp. 44–45).
2 *Amator* is the Latin base for "amateur," or lover of something. In this broad sense of "lover," all people in the serious pursuits are *amators* of their core activities.
3 The psychology of positive interest takes us in this direction, which however, revolves around interest as a general emotion rather than interest in a particular leisure activity (see Fredrickson, 1998; Stebbins, 2015).
4 Available at: http://www.learnarchery.com/basicarcheryinstruction9steps.html, retrieved 8 February 2015.
5 Ski jumping is also a form (style) sport. Judges may award up to 20 points each for style manifested, such as keeping the skis steady during flight, showing good balance, having good body position, and landing well. Nonetheless, the principal source of points is the distance travelled during the jump.
6 The horsemanship needed here differs dramatically from that needed for show jumping and that needed for horse racing.
7 *Source*: http://yacht-racing.net/steering-fixed-course.html, retrieved 7 February 2015.
8 There is inevitably some augmentative play occurring when a form sport is pursued with one or more other participants. If nothing else, all involved in the event must coordinate their actions with those of the others in their attempt to realize excellence in group form.
9 The concept of angular momentum is explained in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Introduction_to_angular_momentum, retrieved 12 February 2015.
10 Both of these quotations were taken from http://www.quoteland.com, retrieved on 15 February 2015.

7 Hobbyist Play

1 According to About.com, most doll collectors are female, but some males do take an interest in this hobby. *About.com*, 2012, http://collectdolls.about.com/od/beginnerscollectingguide/tp/dollmyths.htm (retrieved 8 March 2015).
2 She keeps her quail in four outdoor cages.

3 In this sphere of hobbyism and in its counterpart as devotee work there is an obvious sexism against females. Female "handymen" do exist, as do female do-it-yourselfers (Bix, 2009).
4 These activities may become competitive, as when two fishers vie with each other to see who can catch the most fish or a group of mountain scramblers honors the first among them to reach the summit. Such an orientation is not, however, an essential part of either activity.
5 To the extent that spelunkers engage in speleology, the scientific exploration and study of caves and other underground features, they are amateur scientists rather than hobbyist activity participants.
6 *Source*: http://www.hgfa.asn.au/learning/learning_hangglider.htm, retrieved 3 March 2015.
7 There is also no small number of body-centered activities of the casual leisure variety. They include, when defined as primarily enjoyable, walking, popular dance, and jogging.
8 Since some people make money playing bridge, it is in order to ask whether bridge should be classified as an amateur activity. But according to Janicemarie Holtz (1975), the title "professional bridge player" is a misnomer. She argues that the people who play bridge for money do so as secretly paid partners in a leisure activity officially held to be strictly amateur.
9 There are many varieties of crosswords. See Puzzle Baron's Acrostics at www.acrostic.org for one popular variation.
10 The intellectually oriented followers of politics who are committed to a certain political party or doctrine still spend a significant amount of time (and possibly money) informing themselves widely in this area. To be a hobbyist here, a person must pursue a broad knowledge and understanding; he or she must do more than merely proclaim, however fervently, such and such a political stripe.
11 These three types of reading are examined at length in Stebbins (2013c).

8 Whither the Interdisciplinary Study of Play and Leisure?

1 The field of leisure studies does enter the agency-structure debate, albeit on its own terms. Those terms include the lively discussion in that field on constraints to leisure and the real-life limitations on free choice of leisure activities.
2 Structuralists might well prefer the term "allowing" to that of "enabling."
3 Both of these quotations are taken from www.quoteland.com.
4 I know of no formally gathered data that could support this claim. Nevertheless, I have lived through these years as a professional sociologist (MA, 1962; PhD, 1964) and so have a participant observer sense of this trend.

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