

Leisure Matters

THE STATE AND FUTURE
OF LEISURE STUDIES



EDITED BY
Gordon J. Walker,
David Scott, and
Monika Stodolska

Leisure Matters:

The State and Future of Leisure Studies

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DEDICATION



This book is dedicated to our spouses, Janet, Susan, and Matthew.

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FOREWORD

ASSESSING LEISURE STUDIES

Thomas L. (Tim) Burton (Professor Emeritus, University of Alberta)



While there is no standard model by which to chart the advancement of leisure studies in Canada¹, there are markers that permit the historian (and the merely curious) to examine how the field has unfolded. They fall into two categories which, though interconnected, may be reviewed separately: instruction and research.

Important markers in the *instruction* category include: the introduction of baccalaureate degree programs in the 1960s²; the development of Master's degree programs in the latter half of the 1970s; and the introduction of Doctoral programs in the mid-1990s.

Notable markers on the *research* side include: stand-alone research initiatives published in journals from other fields; formal gatherings of leisure researchers³; and the establishment of leisure research journals⁴. But perhaps one of the most significant markers is the periodic examination of the state-of-the-art in the field. This has been done in two forms: in theme editions of journals, and in edited texts that have surveyed the field. The remainder of my remarks here will focus on three edited texts.

In 1989, Ed Jackson and I edited a book entitled *Understanding Leisure and Recreation: Mapping the Past, Charting the Future*. Since knowledge is enhanced not only by original research but also by consolidation and critical assessment of

what has already been learned, we set out to assess the then state of leisure studies by reference to both what had been achieved and the judgments of scholars about its condition. We found a "widespread belief . . . that the quality of research has not kept pace with its quantity" (Jackson & Burton, 1989, p. 2).

A decade later we edited a second text, *Leisure Studies: Prospects for the Twenty-First Century* (1999) that examined how the field had developed and changed in the decade since the first publication. We concluded that while there was cause for concern and self-criticism about particular activities, topics and methods, there was "a strong foundation on which to build as we in leisure studies enter the third millennium" (Jackson & Burton, 1999, p. 521).

And so I come to the current volume. Sixteen years after the publication of our second text, the time is ripe for another look at the state-of-the-art in leisure studies. The purpose of the editors is twofold: "to provide an overview of the state of leisure studies . . . in terms of our understanding of approximately 40 different leisure concepts, topics and areas" and "to be daring and speculate imaginatively about the future of leisure studies" (Walker, Stodolska, & Scott, 2015). I look forward eagerly to seeing where scholars believe we currently stand in a field that is now a half-century old.

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- Walker, G. J., Stodolska, M., & Scott, D. (2015). Introduction. *Leisure matters: The state and future of leisure studies* (pp. xix–xx). State College, PA: Venture Publishing, Inc.

¹ I am unfamiliar with details in the U.S., so have restricted myself primarily to events in Canada.

² The earliest Bachelor's degree programs went by various names: recreation administration, parks and recreation resources, recreation and leisure studies, and more. I have used the generic term *leisure studies*.

³ The first *Canadian Congress on Leisure Research* was convened in 1975. It has since continued as a triennial gathering and successfully held its 14th edition in 2014.

⁴ The *Journal of Leisure Research* was founded in 1969, followed by *Leisure Sciences* in 1977.

FOREWORD

LEISURE STUDIES: CELEBRATING THE PAST, LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Edgar L. Jackson (Professor Emeritus, University of Alberta)



You may be surprised to learn that the story of *Leisure Matters* began on a beautifully warm and sunny day on the patio of the Faculty Club at the University of Alberta in the summer of 1984. I was teaching a class in geography that summer, and I had a lunch date with my friend and colleague from the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, Tim Burton.

What Tim and I had most in common was the notion that everything had to be placed in context—one always has to keep in mind the “big picture,” even when researching relatively small and focused issues. We also subsequently discovered that we were highly compatible as writers, so much so that the pieces we wrote together became seamless; to this day I can still read our own chapters in our first book (Jackson & Burton, 1989), and not be able to tell who wrote which part.

Although my undergraduate and graduate research had been in entirely different areas, I was asked in 1977 to teach a graduate course called “Outdoor Recreation Geography.” I quickly became intrigued with what at that time I thought of as *Recreation Research* and then came to realize was part of the broader, vibrant, yet still relatively young field of *Leisure Studies*. I knew I’d found my niche and, while I kept up peripheral interests in the research areas from my student years, I began what was to become the rest of my career in leisure studies.

I soon came to realize three things. First, my ignorance about leisure studies was expanding exponentially faster than my knowledge. Second, although much literature about recreation and leisure was already available, few attempts had been made to integrate leisure studies into a cohesive whole—the “big picture” was missing. Third, there were frequently if not immediately obvious connections between seemingly disparate concepts and issues. For example, after spending a few years on the idea of the negotiation of leisure

constraints, I suddenly realized that the perfect conceptual framework for the next step lay in a single table published in an influential 1960s paper on human adjustment to flood hazard (White, 1961).

All of this sets the scene for what Tim and I set out to do, so perhaps it is now appropriate to say something about how we tackled the first of the two predecessors to this book (Jackson & Burton, 1989). That first day we set up a three-column handwritten spreadsheet. In column one we listed topics we thought ought to be covered—the economics of recreation and leisure, the philosophical foundations of the concepts of leisure and of leisure research, and the idea of satisfaction, to name but a few. Then, in column two, we listed authors who we believed would best be able to write about those issues. Last, we made a list of people who we thought should be represented in the book because they had established reputations in important areas of recreation and leisure research and whose contributions would lend weight to what we hoped might become a milestone in the integration of what was then known about leisure. And there we had it: an embryo outline of what eventually became *Understanding Leisure*.

Despite our initial enthusiasm, it wasn’t until 1986 that we became serious, revisited the lists, and made changes. Then we sent invitation letters to everyone on our combined list. I recall that, somewhat to our surprise, every single one accepted. Next, we held a short meeting of those authors who were present at the 1987 Canadian Congress on Leisure Research, partly to introduce ourselves, partly to give them more detail about what we had in mind, and partly to convince Geof Godbey that Venture Publishing, Inc. would be the best publisher for the book.

After that the chapters began to arrive and both Tim and I meticulously reviewed each one and put together a package of suggested revisions in much the same way a

journal article is handled. Then, in August 1988, we convened a three-day meeting at the University of Alberta to which we invited some 20 of the authors from Canada, the USA, and the United Kingdom. Each had an assigned responsibility to present his or her chapter, as well as act as lead critic on another chapter. After each chapter was presented and criticized the floor was thrown open to a lively discussion which contributed substantially to the quality of the chapters. The editing process was completed within a year and we submitted the manuscript to Venture.

Several years after that, beginning in 1997, we repeated the process, deleting some of the previous chapters, asking for updates in other cases, and commissioning entirely new chapters on emerging topics from new contributors. This resulted in the publication of *Leisure Studies: Prospects for the Twenty-First Century* (Jackson & Burton, 1999).

Neither Tim nor I had any overt plans for a 2009 follow-up, and indeed we both retired before the time would have arrived to begin a repeat of the whole process. Thus, I was particularly pleased when Gordon Walker told me that he, Monika Stodolska, and David Scott were planning a new version of the book. I knew immediately that the project was in good hands.

This book was destined to be good from the outset, and I've been struck by the vision of the editors and the scope of the issues that they have included. Topics are covered that Tim and I never even imagined 29 and 17 years ago, and new scholars have emerged to help outline what is known and to set the scene for the future. One key element that was missing from the earlier books was coverage of leisure issues in various cultures, and I think it's been a fine strategy to commission chapters on leisure in most regions of the world and to broaden the geographic locations of the contributors¹. The one thing that has struck me about the chapters I've read—apart from their outstanding quality—is how each manages to explore a topic in depth but still succinctly and with reference to key literature from both within *and* outside the conventional leisure research publications, while at the same time providing an important sense of context.

So here we are, full circle, emphasizing depth of knowledge, linkages, integration, context, debate, and vision. Leisure *does* matter, and from where I sit, the future of leisure studies looks good. *Leisure Matters* is testimony to that.

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¹ This provides a much-needed cross-cultural view of leisure studies and counters a criticism rightly leveled at the Jackson & Burton books: their North American/Western-centrism.

INTRODUCTION

Gordon J. Walker (University of Alberta), Monika Stodolska (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign),
and David Scott (Texas A&M University)



Given *Leisure Matters: The State and Future of Leisure Studies* is a successor to (and, we can only hope, will be as successful as) *Mapping the Past, Charting the Future* (1989) and *Leisure Studies: Prospects for the Twenty-First Century* (1999), it is not surprising that we asked Thomas L. Burton and Edgar L. Jackson to write our Forewords¹. But readers may not be aware that our ties date back nearly two decades; with David having co-authored with Ed (e.g., Jackson & Scott, 1999), Monika having been Ed's doctoral student, and Gordon having been hired by Ed and Tim as an Assistant Professor. Thus, in some ways it was almost inevitable that the three of us would initiate and edit this updated and expanded volume.

As we informed potential authors, the purpose of *Leisure Matters: The State and Future of Leisure Studies* was twofold; with:

- approximately 80% of each chapter being focused on providing an overview of the state of leisure studies, specifically in terms of our current understanding of approximately 40 different leisure concepts, topics, and areas.
- approximately 20% of each chapter being daring and speculating imaginatively (Crawford & Jackson, 2005, p. 165) about the future of leisure studies, specifically in terms of these same concepts, topics, and areas.

We further stipulated that each chapter not only be accessible to senior undergraduate and new graduate students but that it also be limited to approximately 6,000 words, including references. The latter proviso brings to

mind French philosopher Blaise Pascal's (1656) oft-cited apology that "I have only made this letter longer because I have not had the time to make it shorter"—a constraint more than a few of our authors also apparently faced but that, when pressed, were able to negotiate.

The three editions of this book—from 1989's *Mapping the Past, Charting the Future*, through 1999's *Leisure Studies: Prospects for the Twenty-First Century*, to 2016's *Leisure Matters: The State and Future of Leisure Studies*—have undergone certain changes in terms of their structure, the chapters included, and the authors who were asked to contribute their expertise. These changes were driven by the new developments in the discipline, by the new and upcoming experts in the specific areas and the retirement of others, and by the pragmatic aspects of the publishing process.

In particular, the current edition features new sections on *Disciplinary Perspectives* (including chapters on anthropology, history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, biology, and economics of leisure), *Cognate Area Perspectives* (including chapters on leisure, health, and physical activity; leisure and religion/spirituality; sport as leisure; and tourism), and *International Perspectives*. Inclusion of these new sections reflects increased attention to issues of health and physical activity in our discipline, and our desire to highlight linkages between the allied fields of sport and tourism. Moreover, it is a testimony to the growing popularity of leisure research in other areas of the world including Africa, Asia, Australia/New Zealand, and Latin America.

Inclusion of these new sections necessitated leaving out some chapters that were included in previous versions, such as those on the benefits of leisure, leisure and conflict, crowding and carrying capacity in outdoor recreation, and recreation and conservation. This is not an indication that research in these areas has diminished or lost importance, but rather that the editors had to make some hard choices to keep the book within a manageable length.

¹ It should be noted here that, in our initial correspondence, we misspelled "foreword" as "forward"—an error Ed was quick to point out. We prefer to think this slip-up was because we wanted our authors be "forward-thinking", rather than an indication of our editorial ability.

At the same time, we also decided to retain some major sections of Jackson and Burton's (1999) book, including Experiencing Leisure, Delivering Leisure, and Debating Leisure. A number of other chapters have been retained, but moved to new sections of the book. For example, new sections on Place and Community, Time and Technology, and Diverse Populations have been created.

In conclusion, we believe *Leisure Matters: The State and Future of Leisure Studies* maintains the spirit and rigor of Tim and Ed's earlier books while also reflecting the growth and maturity that has subsequently occurred in our field. We also hope that the gap between *Leisure Matters* and the next book in this "series" is much shorter than the gap between our work and that of the volume that preceded it.

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND LEISURE

Garry Chick (The Pennsylvania State University)



Anthropology has traditionally consisted of four separate, but related, subfields. These include *cultural anthropology*, which addresses issues such as how people make their livings, raise their families, and create meaning in their lives; *archeology*, which examines similar issues in historic and prehistoric societies through the analysis of their artifacts and material remnants; *biological anthropology*, which addresses the evolution of humans and our close biological relatives as well as modern human variation; and *anthropological linguistics*, which is devoted to the historical development, structure, and comparison of human languages. All of these, with the exception of biological anthropology, deal with culture in one form or another although it could be argued that biological anthropology addresses the mental capacity for culture. Each has its own relevance to the study of leisure and recreation.

Biological anthropologists might ask, for example, “Do nonhuman primates, such as apes or monkeys, or other animals experience leisure?” While this may first appear to be a peculiar question, we know that animals, mammals in particular, engage in play, especially as juveniles. And play is commonly a part of human leisure experiences. What does animal play and the fact that many animals have plenty of what we could call “free time” mean for the definition of leisure, for example? Archeologists sometimes address the reconstruction of leisure and recreational behavior of past societies, particularly common folk as opposed to just the elites and ruling classes. Linguistic anthropologists might examine whether the English word “leisure” has equivalents in other languages and whether having or not having an equivalent influences thinking and behavior with regard to leisure. Most anthropological research on leisure, however, is based in cultural anthropology.

In keeping with their name, cultural anthropologists study “culture.” But, like many concepts in both the social and natural sciences, anthropologists have failed to reach an agreed-upon definition of the term. This, in turn, renders its measurement even more problematic. While there are tens, if not hundreds, of definitions of culture, they do seem to converge on whether or not they are completely cognitive in

nature; that is, they involve things like knowledge, beliefs, and values—things in the heads of members of particular cultural groups—or whether they also include characteristic behaviors and/or artifacts (Chick, 1997).

Culturally specific behaviors include taboos, or prescriptions on doing certain things, such as eating red meat on Fridays among Catholics or wearing revealing clothing among traditional Muslim women. They also include prescriptive behaviors, such as holding festivals in honor of particular saints in traditional Latin American communities. Artifacts associated with particular cultures might include the igloo among the Inuit and the boomerang among Australian Aborigines. A problem with definitions that include behavior and/or artifacts, however, is that culture cannot then be used to explain the existence of particular behaviors or artifacts since those behaviors and artifacts are part of the definition of culture (D’Andrade, 1995).

To solve this problem, many anthropologists have adopted a cognitive view of culture wherein culture is considered to be knowledge, beliefs, values, or, more generally, information, that is learned and shared and that influences behavior, including the manufacture of artifacts. For example, in 1957, the anthropologist Ward Goodenough defined culture as what a person needs to know in order to function adequately in a particular social group. This knowledge is learned and shared among members of those social groups and is encoded in the form of cultural models. So, if you go to a restaurant, you have a cultural model of how to order dinner, pay for it, and otherwise behave appropriately. If your cultural model is different from the one that is standard in the local culture, you might leave a tip when none is expected or, possibly worse, not leave one when it is expected.

Four topical areas, each commonly studied by anthropologists in other contexts, provide a basis for the anthropological study of leisure. These are: (a) the ethnography, or intensive description in the local cultural context, of leisure; (b) an examination of whether leisure is a useful adaptive response to the physical and social environment; (c) how leisure, in the context of culture, evolves over time; and (d) whether leisure is a valid concept across different languages

and cultures (Chick, 1998). Each of these has been addressed, to greater or lesser extents, in recent years, and will be discussed below.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF LEISURE

Anthropology, as a formal discipline, dates to the second half of the nineteenth century with ethnography as its hallmark. Ethnography has traditionally involved holistic description—that is, the description of a total cultural setting. Conventionally, an ethnography requires a long stay in the setting of interest, typically at least a year, in order to experience the entire annual cycle. In recent years, “microethnography,” or the description of smaller parts or systems within total cultures, has become popular. These have focused on things such as the organization of a classroom (Smith, 2006), the workings of a business (Hay, 1990), the social dynamics in a gay bar (Johnson & Samdahl, 2005), or the analysis of problem behavior in a campground (Clark, Hendee, & Campbell, 2009) and may require a much shorter time period and less than total immersion in the local culture (Bernard, 2011).

Ethnographic approaches to leisure or leisure activities in non-Western settings have been undertaken only sporadically throughout the history of the discipline but include studies such as Blanchard’s (1981) detailed description of leisure among the Mississippi Choctaws, or Chick’s (1991) examination of how religious festivals in traditional communities in highland Mexico provide community-wide recreational opportunities. More frequently, ethnographers or compilers of ethnographies have addressed particular instances of leisure, such as Geertz’s (1973) classic study of the social organization of cockfighting in Bali, or kinds of leisure, such as games (e.g., Culin’s [1907] *Games of the North American Indians* and Stern’s [1948] *The Rubber Ball Games of the Americas*), music (e.g., Kaemmer’s [1993] *Music in Human Life*), or dance (e.g., Royce’s [1977] *The Anthropology of Dance*).

Ethnographic research on leisure itself, or with leisure as one variable among others, has accelerated somewhat in recent years, however. Dressler and his colleagues used free listing, where individuals are asked to list as many items in a particular category as they can think of, to create inventories of leisure activities in a Brazilian city and in a small, largely African American community in the southern United States (Dressler et al., 1998; Dressler & Bindon, 2000). They used these lists in later research and found that informants held some leisure activities to be more important than others for having a good lifestyle. Dressler and his colleagues referred to the ability of individuals to participate in activities that were agreed upon as more important than others as “cultural consonance.” Individuals who exhibited high cultural consonance—that is, who had the means to engage in

activities culturally agreed upon as important—also had more positive measures of physical (e.g., blood pressure, body mass index) and mental (e.g., stress, depression) health (Dressler et al., 2012). Similar research, relating the importance of leisure constraints and cultural consonance in the importance of leisure activities to self-rated health among informants from six cities in China, has equivalent findings (Chick, Dong, & Iarmolenko, 2014).

Dong and Chick (2012) examined correlates of 37 leisure constraints—that is, things such as lack of time, lack of money, or need to care for elders that either impede or prevent leisure participation—in five Chinese cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Qingdao, and Chengdu). To obtain the list, samples of approximately 30 individuals in each city were asked to name as many leisure constraints as they could think of in about two minutes. Thus, the lists of leisure constraints were based on local informant knowledge, not predetermined and imposed on them by the researchers. Lack of time and lack of money were the most common factors that constrained leisure among informants across the cities studied. Ethnographic field research, including methods such as free listing, allows researchers to develop locally relevant inventories of leisure activities or leisure constraints in specific cultural settings as part of an overall ethnography of leisure in a given cultural setting.

Ethnographic research relevant to the study of leisure in technologically simple societies often involves the examination of how people allocate their time. Sometimes such studies involve only one cultural group but comparisons between two or more are also possible. For example, Johnson (1978) found that, among the Machiguenga, a small-scale horticultural, food collecting, and hunting society of the upper Amazon basin of Southeastern Peru, men averaged 14.8 hours of free time per day (which included nocturnal sleep) while their counterparts in France averaged only 9.6. Machiguenga females had 14.7 hours of free time per day, on average, while French women averaged 9.4, if married, and 9.8, if unmarried (again including nocturnal sleep). In a more recent study, Gurven and Kaplan (2006) used time allocation to show that adult married men among the Machiguenga and the Piro, also of the upper Amazon basin, had more time for leisure, which they operationalized as idleness, socializing, playing games, and other non-productive activities, than in productive work (388.8 and 408.6 minutes per day, respectively versus 203.5 and 347.9 minutes per day). While adult married Machiguenga women spent more time in leisure than in work (347.4 versus 244.8 minutes per day), adult married Piro women spent more time working (442.9 minutes per day) than in leisure (386.0 minutes per day). These studies suggest that the availability of free time varies substantially cross-culturally, particularly when societies at different levels of cultural complexity are

compared, and that time constraints on leisure may be considerably more important in some societies than others.

Secondary ethnographic data is also useful for the examination of leisure. Cross-cultural comparative researchers have used data from sources such as the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF), in order to examine the relationship of leisure to other aspects of culture. The HRAF is a large database of ethnographic materials on approximately 400 societies, both historical and present and ranging from the technologically simple to the complex, from around the world. It is now available in electronic format for a randomly chosen sample of 280 societies (the eHRAF). Unfortunately, only a handful of HRAF-based studies have addressed leisure. Broude and Greene (1983), for example, found that in cultures where husbands and wives spend leisure together, they also do other activities, such as eating and sleeping, together. But, where they do not engage in leisure together, they also remain separate for most other common activities. Chick (1995) hypothesized that the amount of time devoted to leisure cross-culturally would follow an inverted parabola (a U shape) when compared to measures of cultural complexity. In other words, members of technologically simple and technologically complex cultures should have more leisure available to them than members of simple agricultural societies. This hypothesis was not supported, based on data from sample of 43 societies selected from the HRAF. This may be because people attempt to devote approximately the same amount of time to work and to leisure cross-culturally but then adjust other things, such as their activity levels in leisure, to compensate for variation in caloric intake. Indeed, that is exactly what Rubin, Flowers, and Gross (1986), discussed below, found. Chick (1995) did determine that children in societies of midrange complexity began productive work at a younger age than those in either simple or complex societies, probably because simple agricultural and food preparation tasks are more easily learned than the complex knowledge needed for hunting and food collection among technologically simple groups and the extensive education required in modern, complex societies. He also found that the number of children born to women in societies of midrange cultural complexity was higher than for either simple or complex societies. Again, this may be due to the fact that children can contribute productive labor in societies of moderate complexity, thus freeing adults for about the same amount of leisure experienced by adults in simpler or more complex societies. A later study (Chick & Shen, 2011), using time allocation data from 12 small-scale societies, supported Chick's (1995) earlier finding that the amount of leisure time available to adults is highly variable among cultures but does not differ systematically across the range of complexity.

The Internet has become both a rich source of ethnographic material on leisure as well as a tool for conducting

ethnographic research on leisure. Snodgrass and his colleagues (2011a, 2011b, 2012), for example, examined the experiences of online gamers, specifically *World of Warcraft* (WoW) players. They were particularly interested in situations wherein players confound identification of their everyday lives with their in-game selves. They found that such experiences, for some individuals, lead to improved mental well-being while others may suffer harmful outcomes, including addiction to the games. According to Snodgrass et al. (2011a), "Failure to balance *WoW* and actual-world participation has reached urban legend status. Colorful stories include those of desiccated bodies found in front of computers, leading many games to suggest changing *WoW*'s name to *World of Warcrack*" (p. 50). In a related study, Snodgrass et al. (2011b) found that *WoW* gamers who played with real-life friends are better able to manage their real-world lives and maintain distance from the game, thus avoiding addictive-like behaviors.

Using the Internet to do ethnographic research is also becoming more common. "Netnography" can be described as a method for doing ethnographic research of online leisure-based cultures (Kozinets, 2010). Stebbins (2010) describes it as a useful means for Internet data collection of qualitative data on leisure but it can also be very easily used for other ethnographic techniques such as free listing, interviews, surveys, blogs, newsgroups, chatrooms, or document analysis (Stebbins 2010). Kozinets (1997), for example, conducted a netnography of X-Philes, a group dedicated to the TV series, *The X-Files*. He determined that *The X-Files* fans are united by the themes of "The truth is out there," "I want to believe," and "Trust no one" (Kozinets, 1997, p. 472). Mkono (2012) used netnography to examine tourist experiences that would otherwise be inaccessible to traditional methods such as interviews and surveys. Williams (2007) examined online identities, created via avatars, in order to determine how participants represent themselves using visual stimuli compared to online text-based discourse. He found, for example, that "physical appearance within Cyberworlds is regarded with more importance than within text-only environments" (Williams, 2007, p. 13). This may be because the visual status of avatars permits observers to make judgments about others more rapidly than is possible with textual communication.

Anthropological research on leisure use of the Internet typically involves traditional anthropological methods such as participant-observation, interviews, surveys, and quasi-experiments (Chick, 2013) but, unfortunately, these carry traditional drawbacks. Studies tend to be based on samples that are small, nonrandom, often self-selected and localized, and generally in North America. As the studies are neither experimental nor longitudinal, the determination of causality is not possible. On the other hand, like traditional

ethnographic and cross-cultural research, netnographies can foster the development of research themes and questions for future exploration. Areas such as online gaming and social media are examples of the evolution of leisure as a part of culture. As such, they provide new opportunities for anthropologically oriented researchers with interests in leisure and recreation.

LEISURE AS ADAPTATION

Adaptation refers to the process by which organisms come to function well in their environments, primarily in terms of survival and reproduction (Barash, 1979). Probably the best anthropological study of the adaptive value of leisure was conducted in the Amazon rainforest and published by Rubin, Flowers, and Gross in 1986. They examined patterns of time allocation among individuals in four culturally similar groups living in the Amazon basin. Residents of Kanela, Bororo, Xavante, and Mekranoti communities lived by slash-and-burn agriculture augmented by hunting, fishing, and selling handicrafts. The habitats of all four groups were similar but those of the Kanela and Bororo had poorer soil and lower forest biomass. The Mekranoti and Xavante had the most favorable diets but, despite these differences, adults in all four groups devoted about the same amount of time to productive activities. The Kanela and Bororo spent significantly less of their leisure time in high-energy activities (25.3% and 33.4% respectively), however, when compared to the Xavante and Mekranoti (47.4% and 48.6% respectively). The differences among children under age 15 were even more striking. Kanela children spent twice as much time sleeping or resting during daylight hours than they did in active play while Bororo children spent more time in inactive than active play. In contrast, Xavante and Mekranoti children spent the majority of their free time in active play. Rubin et al. (1986) interpreted these findings as indicating that individuals in these communities adjusted their free time energy use based on the amount of energy required to obtain adequate nutrition. That is, they managed their leisure to help them adapt to their habitat.

In more recent research, Reyes-García and her colleagues (2009) investigated how social versus solitary leisure affected happiness and well-being among the Tsimané' of the Bolivian Amazon. Over a year, the researchers observed and interviewed Tsimané' informants to measure their happiness while they gauged the amount of time they spent in both solitary and social leisure. They found that "social, not solitary, leisure has a positive and statistically significant association with subjective well-being" (Reyes-García et al., 2009, p. 432). In another study, Godoy et al. (2009, p. 564) found that "sharing leisure time with kin and friends" was one of the top ten reasons for being happy among the Tsimané'." The

studies described above show that leisure can be a critical factor in adaptation to both the physical and the social environments of individuals and groups in certain circumstances. Leisure could also be thought of as an adaptive response to stress and stress-related lifestyle diseases such as high blood pressure, heart disease, obesity, and depression (Ho, 1996; Iwasaki & Bartlett, 2006; Iwasaki, Mactavish, & MacKay, 2005; Iwasaki, Zuzanek, & Mannell, 2001). However, too little research has been conducted to date where leisure has been conceptualized as an adaptive response to individual, social, or environmental conditions to permit any firm conclusions or generalizations.

LEISURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

Bronislaw Malinowski, a Polish anthropologist famous for his studies in the Trobriand Islands, located off the eastern coast of New Guinea, referred to leisure and recreation as creative elements in culture and suggested that "the vanguard of progress is often found in works of leisure" (Malinowski, 1931, p. 643). Alfred L. Kroeber (1948), one of the most famous American anthropologists of the twentieth century, claimed that inventions such as the bicycle, the bow and arrow, and the automobile were developed in recreational contexts with their utilitarian values recognized later. Finally, Felix Keesing, an Australian anthropologist, recognized the need for a systemic analysis of leisure and recreation as an element in culture change and evolution. He focused his interest on relaxation, leisure, play, and entertainment because he felt that evidence in the ethnographic record suggested that these areas are "notably open to innovation and cross-cultural transfer (Keesing, 1960, p. 130). Unfortunately, these observations and recommendations went largely unheeded as anthropologists have shown little interest in, and devoted little attention to, the place of leisure and recreation in culture change until very recently.

Human culture history is characterized by several technological revolutions. The first of these is termed either the Neolithic Revolution or the Agricultural Revolution and denotes the change from subsistence based on food collection to one based on food production. This began about 12,000 years ago in several areas around the world but the *fertile crescent*, which includes the upper Nile River basin and ancient Mesopotamia, the region between and surrounding the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, mostly in modern day Iraq, is generally thought to be the most important (Diamond, 1997). The Agricultural Revolution was accompanied by urbanization as humans began to live in settled communities in close proximity to their crops rather than moving through relatively large territories in search of edible plants and animals. The Industrial Revolution, beginning primarily in England around 1760, brought fundamental changes to transportation, agriculture, and manufacturing, largely by the augmentation,

and eventual replacement, of human and animal power by mechanical power, such as the steam engine. Many historians, economists, and other social scientists feel that we are now in the middle of a third major culture change, variously called the Information, Computer, or Digital Revolution. The Digital Revolution is characterized by the transition from analog to digital technology and its beginning could be pinpointed by the invention of the transistor in 1947. The transistor led to the development of the ubiquitous electronic devices that have transformed many, perhaps nearly all, aspects of human life in modern and modernizing areas of the world, including recreation and leisure. Hilbert (2012) claims the digital age started in 2002, the year that humans first stored more information in digital than analog form.

Digital technology has had major impacts on leisure and recreation. Mannell, Zuzanek, and Aronson (2005) showed, based on data from time use surveys, that a sample of Canadian adolescents ($n = 219$) between the ages of 12 and 19 years spent 28.6% of their free time, which made up about 40% of their overall waking time, watching TV or videos, 6.2% playing video games, 5.2% surfing the Internet, 5.5% reading, 21.3% in social activities, and 15.6% in physically active leisure. The authors' conclusion was that TV, computer/video games, and Internet use was displacing other forms of leisure, particularly physically active recreation.

Computers, tablets, cell phones and similar devices are becoming ever more important for leisure via social media, such as Facebook, chatrooms, online games (including gambling), online shopping, participation in virtual communities, newsgroups, pornography, and other uses. Arora (2011), in a comparison of the development of parks to online social networking sites, claimed that early parks served as locations for meeting people and socializing but that the Internet has now become the medium of choice for such activities. While the use of tablet computers, smartphones, and portable media players is often associated primarily with younger people, Nimrod (2011) studied the postings of jokes, stories, and social games to online communities by senior citizens over the course of a year. She found that seniors with a basic understanding of computers and the Internet can develop online networks as their offline social circles shrink. Online games may also help seniors maintain cognitive health.

Culture change resulting from the Digital Revolution is accelerating with no end in sight. In 2010, Google CEO Eric Schmidt claimed, "Between the birth of the world and 2003, there were five exabytes of information created. We [now] create five exabytes every two days" (quoted in Wu, 2011, p. 531) (five exabytes is 10^{18} bytes). As of 2012, we were producing information at least twice as fast as in 2010 (Hilbert, 2012). While there is little hope for individuals to keep abreast of even a tiny percentage of this information, much of which is relevant to leisure and recreation (see Nimrod, Chapter

30), methods such as netnography are more promising than traditional ethnographic approaches.

LEISURE AND LANGUAGE

Few languages have terms that translate more or less directly into English as "leisure" (Chick, 1998). In Mandarin Chinese, for example, *xiu xian* (pronounced in English, phonetically, something like "shee-oo shee-an") has a meaning very similar to the English word *leisure*. However, it is composed of not one but two characters (休 閒 in traditional Chinese) and may be a relatively recent addition to the lexicon even though the concepts involved are ancient (Liu et al., 2008; see also Chapter 14). Moreover, the historical roots of *xiu xian* are very different from those of leisure. Circumlocutions, such as "free time" (e.g., *Freizeit* in German, *tempo libero* in Italian) are used in many languages while some appear to lack even the concept of leisure completely (Chick, 1998). However, other than the study by Liu et al., (2008), and a recent Canadian-Japanese comparative study (Ito & Walker, 2014), anthropologists, linguists, and others have not examined how leisure is either conceptualized or communicated in non-European languages. Hence, this remains a fertile area for research.

NEW APPROACHES IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Dressler and his colleagues (1998, 2000, 2012) have shown that individuals' ability to participate in agreed-upon models of preferred lifestyles relates to important markers of both mental and physical health. This is a major step forward in medical anthropology and, because the models of preferred lifestyles include leisure activities, the research represents a new frontier in relating cultural aspects of leisure to individual health. Similarly, Iwasaki and Bartlett (2006) have shown that culturally appropriate forms of leisure, including native arts and crafts, dance, music, and spiritual activities, are important stress-coping mechanisms for urban Aboriginal Canadians suffering from diabetes. Yeh et al. (2010) found that greater perceived importance of leisure constraints accompanies lower levels of leisure satisfaction and self-rated health. Additional work in this area is ongoing (e.g., Chick et al., 2014). These studies reflect a biocultural approach, a relatively new perspective in anthropology wherein humans are regarded as the product of both biological and cultural evolution and live in, and interact with, particular social and physical environments (Dressler et al., 2012).

A related perspective is that of sustainability, the idea that human and natural well-being, both present and future, depend on our wise use and preservation of Earth's resources. Anthropologists have been active in promoting environmentally conscious tourism as a means to simultaneously

meet human needs and desires while protecting the natural environment (Stronza, 2007; Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010). Stronza and Gordillo (2008) found that while ecotourism provides an incentive for the residents of areas visited to conserve the environment, in three Amazonian communities in this case, the economic development that results can have both positive and negative outcomes. Positive changes included better quality of life for residents through improved employment opportunities, increased self-esteem, and greater community organization but negative consequences, such as new time restrictions, reductions in reciprocity, and increased social conflict also emerged. Therefore, the degree of, and manner in which, tourism influences sustainability is uncertain and points out the need for both additional research and attention to management practices.

CONCLUSION

Understanding of phenomena always begins with description and, according to some (e.g., Achen, 1982), analysis in social science may be little more than thorough description. Unfortunately, ethnographic description has not been common in leisure and recreation research while the study of leisure and recreation has held relatively little interest for ethnographers (Chick, 1999). This may be changing with the recent research by Dressler and his colleagues on lifestyles and their relationship to health. Similarly, the research by Snodgrass and his colleagues on video game play and its effects on gamers represents a change from anthropology's traditional emphasis on the study of technologically simple cultures to aspects of those of the very highest complexity. Importantly, the work by Snodgrass and his colleagues emphasizes an important recreational pursuit for millions of people around the world.

Biocultural approaches and concern with sustainability offer new opportunities for anthropologists to use their toolkit of concepts, particularly the concept of culture, and methods, such as participant-observation, to address leisure and recreation, including tourism. Moreover, because these approaches include how such activities relate to human health, well-being, and happiness as well as the preservation of the natural environment, they are more problem-oriented than was the case with past anthropological research directed largely at dispassionate ethnographic description. This is important as anthropology, along with other social sciences such as sociology (see Blackshaw, Chapter 7), has been in an era of reformulation in recent years, one version of which is elimination. For anthropology to remain relevant, new perspectives, such as the biocultural approach and those afforded by the concept of sustainability, seem to be needed along with new subject matter, such as the Internet and video game cultures and leisure and recreation, more generally.

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