

Chapter 5

MOTIVATIONAL BASIS OF LEISURE

Talk about motivation for leisure, I am full of it. But nevertheless, here I sit at the keyboard of my ancient Smith-Corona, my aching back wondering why it has been condemned to this uncomfortable orange swivel chair. The answer is simple. My need hierarchy has condemned me to postpone my recreation in lieu of communicating my understanding of leisure motivation to countless, faceless, nameless students who might benefit from this manuscript. And, so in my best work ethic manner, I will now return to the task at hand, mindful that tomorrow I will play.

THEORIES OF LEISURE MOTIVATION

In Western Culture, the first attempts to explain why people engage in leisure related behavior (play, games, or recreation) can be traced back to the 19th Century to the efforts of German writer and philosopher, Frederick Von Schiller. Since Schiller's "Surplus Energy Theory," there has arisen a multitude of theoretical explanations of why human beings engage in the activities of leisure.

A theory, as described earlier, is a collection of information verified through research to the point that reliable predictions can be made regarding the phenomenon in question. Theories differ from philosophy by the degree to which the assumptions fundamental to the theory have been empirically evaluated.

The quality of theory can be tested by evaluating its fundamental assumptions and by examining the theory's ability to predict the relationships suggested by the theory. In the following section, you will be presented with several theories which have been advanced over the years. This historical perspective will provide you with insight into the evolution of leisure theory. It will also provide you with an exercise in critical thinking, for as you review each theory, pay particular attention to its ability to explain and predict. One of the problems associated with reviewing theories of leisure is found in the lack of universal agreement as to the definition of leisure. Consequently, in describing each theory, the presentation begins with a definition of leisure. You will notice that each theory views leisure in a slightly different way; however, as pointed out earlier, theories will usually fall into two broad categories: those which view leisure in qualitative forms and those viewing leisure in quantitative forms.

Theories selected for inclusion in this unit are summarized in the following chart (adapted from Ellis, 1973). Some of them have already been discussed earlier, some will be discussed in this chapter, others are not discussed beyond this summary

<u>AUTHOR/DATE/NAME</u>	<u>DEFINITION</u>	<u>THEORY</u>	<u>CRITICISM</u>
Schiller/1800/ Surplus Energy I	Free Time Activity	Leisure activity/play is the result of surplus energy	Stored energy does not correlate with activity
Spencer/1896/ Surplus Energy II	Free time activity determined by response deprivation	All bodily systems required expression when response is deprived need to respond is increased	What about "use it or lose it?"
McDougal/1823/ Instinct	Free time activity is a function of instinct, i.e., an unlearned response	Genetic encoding presupposes one to certain behavior	Much leisure activity is learned behavior

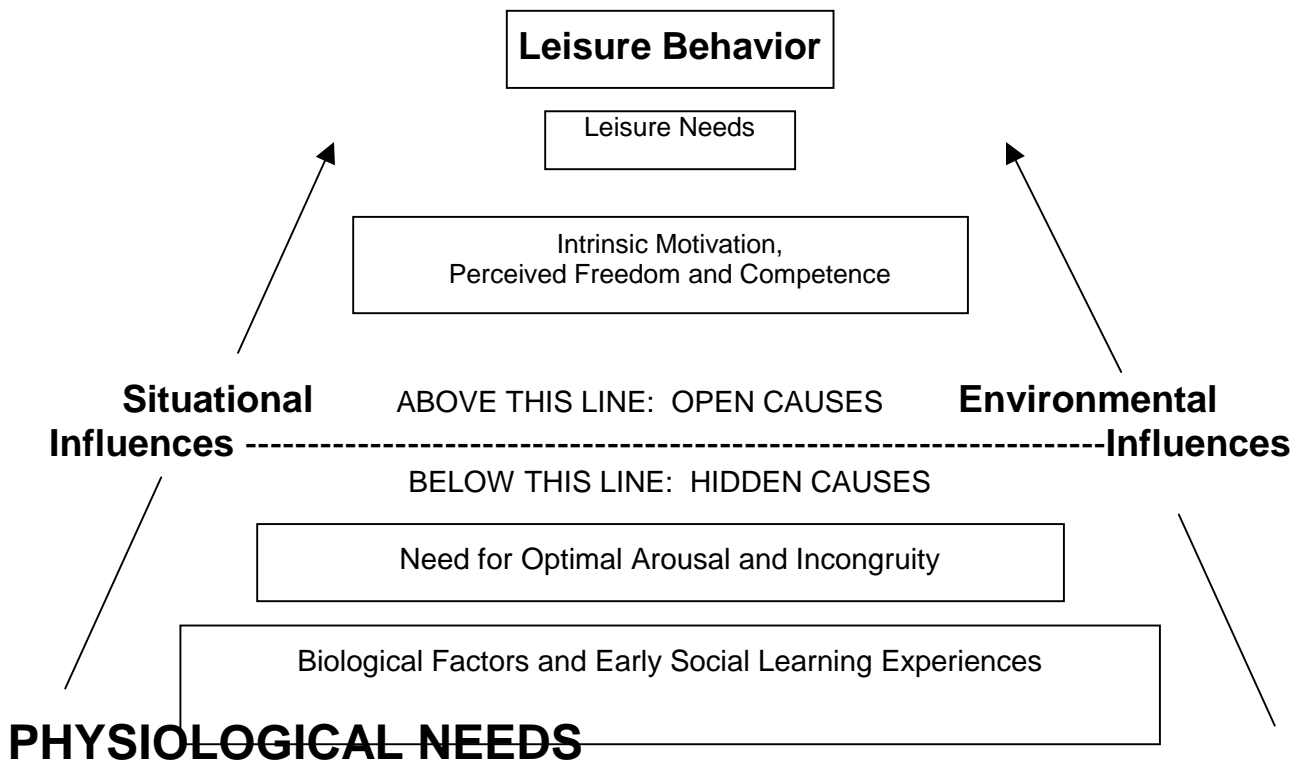
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Groos/1898/ Preparation	Free time	Play behavior is the result of one's need to prepare for a new activity	Explains leisure play in utilitarian terms; whereas all leisure is not utilitarian
Gulick/1902/ Recapitulation	Free time	Leisure behavior is a function of developmental re-enactment of the history of the species	Leisure behavior does not follow evolutionary sequences
Patrick/1916/ Relaxation-Recreation	Free time	Leisure occurs in response to the body's need to recover from work	Not everyone works
Mitchell/Mason/ 1934/Self-expression and Sapora and Mitchell 1961	Free time	People seek to express themselves according to physical and psychological limitations. Such self-expression produces intrinsic rewards and hence is self-motivating	Doesn't explain why people seek activities that go beyond their limitations
Escatona/1943/ Compensation	Free time	Leisure activities compensate for psychological needs not met during work	Doesn't account for nonwork related behavior
Breer/Locke/1945/ Generalization	Free time	Leisure activities are a carryover from satisfying work experience	Doesn't account for nonwork related behavior
Berkowitz/1964/ Catharsis	State of mind	Harmful emotions drive one to express them through socially acceptable activity	Not all leisure activity is motivated by harmful emotions
Walder/1933/ Erickson/1950/ Psychoanalytic	State of mind	Leisure activity is in response to the need to reduce negative past or future experiences through playful stimulation	Not all leisure activity is motivated by negative emotion
Erickson/1950/ Piaget/1962	State of mind	Leisure activity is a function of intellectual and physical development	Activity decreases even though intellectual growth may continue
White/1959 Competence-Effectance	State of mind	Leisure activity is a function of a person's need to demonstrate competence and thereby achieve a feeling of effectance	Fails to explain the underlying motivation for competence and effectance
Ellis/1973 Arousal	State of mind (biological)	Leisure is a function of an organism's inherent need to structure behavior so as to produce optimal physiological arousal	Fails to explain the underlying motivation for competence and effectance
Csikszentmihalyi/1975/ Flow	State of mind	Intrinsically motivated behavior which produces flow or total involvement, peak experience	Similar to Ellis

An understanding of these theories provide insight into our understanding of leisure motivations. Nevertheless, no on theory adequately explains the value people place on leisure or the reasons underlying their leisure choices. There are numerous factors that influence our leisure choices, and in order to understand what motivates people to leisure, these different factors must be examined. It is to that end this chapter is directed.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Sepho Iso-Ahola, renowned leisure social psychologist, developed a model to help explain what accounts for our leisure choices (228). This model makes it clear that there are a number of factors that influence leisure behavior. Some of these influences are “hidden” to our awareness while others are “open” to our perception. In addition, there are situational influences that result from the specific situation in which the leisure behavior occurs, and broader social/cultural influences that reflect societal norms and expectations. Furthermore, he identifies four different “causal factors” which must be considered in considering the motivational basis of leisure activity. Hidden factors include: biological factors and early socialization, as well as one’s need for optimal arousal. Open factors include: intrinsic motivation, perceived freedom, and competence, and of course, one’s leisure needs (and values). This model provides a useful conceptual framework from which to view the information presented in this chapter. In this chapter, we will address the factors presented in this model, as well as other related ideas. My interpretation of Iso-Ahola’s model is as follows:



Much of human behavior is a function of physiological needs. These are characterized by such behaviors as eating, drinking, sex, self-protection, and the like. Psychologists refer to the physiological conditions responsible for such behaviors as physiological drives. Such drives are seen as a function of the organism's need to reduce the deprivation which gives rise to them (Munn 141). It is believed the physiological drives are activated when the organism experiences disequilibrium, and that the organism is motivated to behavior which contributes to physiological balance, a condition called homeostasis (Munn 142).

These physiological drives explain, in biological terms, why people "need" to eat, drink, and mate, but fail to explain why there is such great variability in the form of such behaviors. This is important in examining the motivation of leisure, because as we have illustrated, perceived freedom is at the heart of leisure and is the element in leisure which permits such great variability in behavior. The drive to reduce hunger may take one person to McDonald's, another to a picnic, and yet another to a five-star restaurant. What motivates one person to dine while another snacks cannot be explained fully by the notion that behavior is directed by a need to reduce some form of internal biological imbalance.

STIMULATION SEEKING

In 1954, Bexton, Heron and Scott conducted a unique and often cited study of sensory deprivation. In this study, subjects were required to live in a situation devoid of as much external stimulation as possible. The subjects suffered from hallucinations and trance-like conditions. J.C. Lily took stimulus deprivation a step further by immersing naked subjects in tepid water, depriving them of light and minimizing sound. Subjects reported that normally, within an hour or two in the tank, they experienced an intense desire for stimulation. This usually produced a variety of methods of self-stimulation. Continued participation in the experiment often led to hallucinations (Lily, 1956).

These early studies demonstrated something most people know intuitively. We often engage in activities because they arouse us. Deprived of stimulation, we, much like Lily's subjects, attempt to increase stimulation in whatever ways seem appropriate and available. This need for stimulation is referred to by anthropologist Desmond Morris as the **stimulus struggle**. Morris suggests that the "object of the struggle is to obtain the optimum amount of stimulation from the environment" (Morris 147).

This notion is supported by research surveyed by Ellis in his book *Why People Play* (1973). Citing D.D. Schultz, Ellis refers to the process directing an organism's need for optimal arousal as "sensoristasis" (93). This concept is analogous to homeostasis. Schultz describes sensoristasis as follows:

Sensoristasis can be defined as a drive state of cortical arousal which impels the organism (in waking state) to strive to maintain an optimal level of sensory variation. There is in other words, a drive to maintain a constant range of varied sensory input in order to maintain a cortical arousal at optimum level (in Ellis 93).

Ellis goes on to point out that in order for a stimulus to provide an individual with adequate cortical arousal the stimulus must be perceived as unique, novel, complex, or possess information which leads to uncertainty. On the other hand, when a stimulus presents information which leads to supra-arousal, the individual seeks stimuli which reduce uncertainty and returns cortical arousal to optimal levels (94).

It is important in a discussion of sensoristasis to remember that there is a considerable difference between **optimal** and **maximal** -- maximal referring to the greatest quantity of something that is possible. Optimal refers to the most satisfactory or most desirable. Too much arousal for a given circumstance is referred to as **supraarousal**. Too little arousal, aside from being referred to as boredom, is referred to as **suboptimal arousal**. Supraoptimal arousal is usually attended by feelings of anxiety, rapid pulse rate, gastrointestinal disturbances, and other physiological distress signals. Suboptimal arousal, is also stress producing. In either event, the effects are detrimental. When one achieves optimal arousal, one normally experiences feelings of satisfaction, physical well-being, and is relatively free from the disturbing effects of anxiety. So consequently, when one is over aroused, the tendency is to reduce arousal. When one is under aroused, the tendency is to increase arousal. Morris has identified six strategies that people employ in an effort to maximize the probability of achieving optimal arousal.

1. If stimulation is too weak, you may increase your behavior output by creating unnecessary problems which you can then solve.

2. If stimulation is too weak, you may increase your behavior output by over-reacting to normal stimulus.
3. If stimulation is too weak, you may increase your behavior output by inventing novel activities.
4. If stimulation is too weak, you may increase your behavior output by performing normal responses to sub-normal stimuli.
5. If stimulation is too weak, you may increase your behavior output by artificially magnifying selected stimuli.
6. If stimulation is too strong, you may reduce your behavior output by limiting responsiveness to incoming sensations (Morris, 1976).

Support for the idea that neophilic animals have an inherent need for optimal stimulation finds further support in the work done by Marvin Zuckerman on risk taking.

SENSATION SEEKING AND RISK TAKING

Why are some people motivated to seek recreation in activities that are clearly dangerous while others carefully avoid such activities? This phenomenon has been the subject of several research studies (see Zuckerman, 1979 and 1983) the findings from which provide us with some important insight into understanding why we choose the recreational activities that we do.

Marvin Zuckerman, perhaps the foremost authority on risk-taking behavior, began his research in the 1960's. Initially he was concerned with understanding why human beings and other neophilic animals seek change rather than adapting to it. He was interested in understanding why human beings show such a great interest in playful nonessential behaviors. As he puts it:

Why do we risk upsetting our stable, comfortable, and predictable social arrangements to make personal and collective revolutions? Why do we ski and race our cars at excessive speeds, fully aware of the risks in these unnecessary activities? Why do we disturb the healthy homeostatic balances in our bodies with the drinking of alcohol, ingestion of drugs, jogging and other potentially addictive and physically stressful activities? Why can't subjects be content and happy lying for a few hours or days in a comfortable, dark, soundproof room...? Why do some persons engage in these activities whereas others behave like 'normal' tension reducing fear-avoidant persons should? Is there a generalized trait that can subsume various kinds of risk taking, sensation seeking and intolerance of constancy? (Zuckerman 2)

Zuckerman's research on risk taking in humans has centered around "sensation seeking" as the presumed general trait underlying play and novelty seeking. Zuckerman hypothesized that the principal motive for seeking new and sometimes risky experiences was a need for sensory stimulation. To test his hypothesis he developed an instrument referred to as the **Sensation Seeking Scale**. This instrument was designed to measure the extent to which an individual values and seeks external stimulation. During the course of his research he discovered four subfactors of sensation seeking which became the basis for a more reliable and valid instrument (Form V). These four subfactors are as follows:

1. Thrill Adventure Seeking (TAS): Items on this scale reflect a desire to engage in physical activities involving elements of speed, danger, novelty and defiance of gravity (parachuting, hang gliding, etc.).

2. Experience Seeking (ES): Items here reflect the seeking of novel experiences through travel, music, art, and spontaneous, nonconforming lifestyles with similarly inclined persons (membership in special interest organization and groups).
3. Disinhibition (DIS): Items here describe the need to seek release in uninhibited social activities with or without the aid of alcohol.
4. Boredom Susceptibility (BS): Items reflecting an aversion to repetitive experience, routine work, or predictable people with a reaction of restless discontent when unavoidably exposed to such experience (42).

Zuckerman's research has demonstrated that high sensation seekers tend to engage in behavior that most persons appraise as moderately risky where low sensation seekers tend to avoid such situations. Sensation seekers in college are inclined to volunteer for research studies involving hypnosis or sensory deprivation and to participate in encounter groups and other similar novel activities. In regards to sports recreation, high sensation seekers tend to prefer sports that are generally viewed as dangerous. These include sky diving, scuba diving and skiing. Sensation seekers are drawn to gambling and tend to prefer higher odds than low sensation seekers. Sensation seekers are more inclined to travel, even to exotic and dangerous locales than low sensation seekers (217).

Sensation seekers have been shown to have an attraction toward mental activities that produce vivid images, daydreams or fantasies. Consequently high sensations seekers may be more inclined toward the recreational use of drugs or alcohol. Similarly sensation seekers may find greater recreational value in adventure films, "X-rated" movies and fictional writing (250). Low sensation seekers tend to favor musicals, comedy and drama (Schierman and Rowland, 1985). The tendency for high sensation seekers to find value in stimulating reading and other external forms of stimulation may prove counterproductive in the classroom. In educational situations where little opportunity for creative or imaginative work is allowed, high sensations seekers may perform below their potential (Zuckerman 249). This may be particularly true of students who score high on the Boredom Susceptibility or Disinhibition Scales.

In the area of attitudes, Zuckerman reports that there is a strong correlation between liberal philosophy and sensation seeking. He further points out that the "traits and cognitive styles of the authoritarian personality seem to be characteristic of the low-sensation seeker (267)." These findings are consistent with his findings regarding sexual attitudes. Sensations seekers of both sexes are more inclined to permissive attitudes regarding sexual behavior (ibid).

It is not surprising to learn that the high sensations seekers view risky situations as less dangerous than low sensation seekers (217). What might be optimally stimulating to a high sensation seeker could produce supraoptimal arousal in a low sensation seeker. Consequently, activities which may be viewed with disinterest by high sensation seekers may hold optimal arousal potential for a low sensation seeker. Conversely recreational activities that may be avoided by low-sensation seekers because of their high arousal potential may yield optimal arousal to the high-sensation seeker. Clearly, leisure can only occur when congruity between one's arousal need and the arousal potential of an activity occurs. When faced with supraoptimal arousal one seeks to be free from excessive stimulation; when stimulation is too little one seeks escape from boredom. Furthermore, either situation is relatively devoid of intrinsic motivation. Hence, it can be argued that leisure occurs only when an individual is at his/her optimal arousal level. When someone is supra or sub-optimally aroused, then leisure cannot occur.

It is important that students of leisure be clear on the relationship of sensation seeking to leisure. An incomplete understanding of this relationship can produce unfortunate misconceptions. This was illustrated to me recently when one of my students told me that she had taken the "Zuckerman Sensation Seeking Scale: Short Form" and scored very low. She was devastated. Her score fell within the low-sensation seeker range. She said, "I just couldn't believe it. I wanted to be a high-sensation seeker, after all, doesn't everyone?" Her concern reminded me that in our media-conscious society, there is a great deal of emphasis placed upon taking risks, being adventuresome and challenging the odds. This however, does not mean that sensation seekers are

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inherently better than those who prefer a quieter mode. It tells us more about what it takes to sell newspapers and television programs than it does about the values associated with sensation seeking. What is important is not what Hollywood or Madison Avenue tells us to value, but rather finding out what works for us. If activities generally viewed as having a low risk element produce a pleasurable response, then by all means do them, and enjoy them. To try to force yourself to adapt to high-risk leisure, when your preference is toward safer activities will only yield frustration and dissatisfaction.

PLEASURE SEEKING

Dr.'s Ornstein and Sobel view pleasure seeking as the motivational basis for much of human behavior. They argue that human beings possess "...an effective internal health maintenance system, one guided by pleasure" (25). They have drawn this conclusion from a number of sources, perhaps the most remarkable of which is the work of psychologist James Olds. While exploring the relationship of different parts of an animal's brain to alertness, Olds made an interesting discovery. He found that when electrical stimulation was applied to different parts of the limbic system, the animal seemed to experience pleasure.

In a now famous series of experiments, electrodes were implanted in the limbic region of laboratory rats. The limbic system is composed of several structures generally believed to be associated with primitive urges such as eating, fighting, and sex. The cages in which the rats were kept were each equipped with a small lever that the rat could push to trigger a burst of electrical stimulation. Once the rat discovered the correlation between pushing the lever and the pleasurable sensations the electrical stimulation produced, the rat would push the lever repeatedly. Rats would self-stimulate as many as 5,000 times in one-hour. Deprivation of other needs such as food or water didn't seem to affect their desire for self-stimulation (Vander, Sherman, Luciano 698).

Although, the early work of Olds seemed to suggest that the brain contained a clearly defined pleasure center, subsequent research suggests a different conclusion. It appears that there are several areas of the brain which can produce pleasurable responses. This led to the belief that pleasure is not necessarily found in fixed structures of the brain, but rather found in various electrochemical pathways. One pathway in the brain which may be part of what Olds calls "the river of rewards" is the *medial forebrain bundle*. This is a large tract of ascending and descending axons passing from one end of the brain to the other, and which have particularly powerful affect on the hypothalamus (Vander, Sherman, Luciano 698). The idea that there may be pleasure pathways in the brain is supported by research on neurotransmitters. Vander, Sherman and Luciano present evidence that "...norepinephrine and dopamine (both of which belong to the family of catecholamines) are transmitters in the pathways which underlie the brain reward systems and motivation" (699).

Ornstein and Sobel tells us that in addition to electrical implants, there are other less artificial means of stimulating pleasure pathways. They refer to these natural means of stimulating pleasure response as *pleasure channels* (31). Common pleasure channels include good tastes, sounds, smells, and sights. These are the *sensory channels*. In addition there is the *mental channel*. It is possible to stimulate a pleasure response by thinking pleasurable thoughts. Similarly, it is possible to produce a negative response by entertaining negative thoughts.

It is easy to understand how people are motivated to seek pleasure through food, smells and sights. It is more difficult to understand why people aren't more motivated to think positive thoughts, particularly if negative thinking produces negative emotional responses. Part of the answer is found in the simple, direct link between sensory stimulation and pleasure. The taste of a cookie has an immediate impact on the pleasure pathways. Whereas, the mental channel is far more complicated. The mental channel resonates with values and expectations, and as such introduces a judgment component into any attempt to entertain pleasurable thoughts. Unreasonable fears or low self-image make mediate against positive thinking. Furthermore, thoughts can be fleeting and transitory, shifting from positive to negative.

THE AUTONOMIC NERVOUS SYSTEM AND LEISURE

Healthy organisms have an amazing capacity to keep their internal environments in balance. Fluctuations in fluid pressure, balance, and chemical composition vary between rather narrow limits. The control of this internal balance is largely a function of the autonomic nervous system (ANS). The ANS, as its name implies is basically automatic, and largely beyond conscious or voluntary control. For example, you have very little direct control over the functioning of your heart, or over the secretions of your endocrine system. Fortunately, our brains are smart enough to keep conscious meddling out of homeostatic functions.

The ANS is viewed as being composed of two sub-systems: the parasympathetic nervous system and the sympathetic nervous system. The parasympathetic nervous system conserves bodily energy, attends to such matters as digestion, salivation, intestinal functions and permits sexual activity. On the other hand, the sympathetic nervous system does largely just the opposite--it activates the body for emergency situations, inhibits sexual activity, digestion and bowel functions. It prepares the body for maximum conversion of energy. As you can see these two systems are opposite sides of the same biological coin. Both of these systems are primarily controlled by comma inside quotation marks a portion of the brain referred to as the hypothalamus and to a lesser extent by the so-called "master gland," the pituitary.

The arousal of the body is generally a function of the sympathetic nervous system. This occurs when the hypothalamus is stimulated by either impulses originating from the cortex or from some external source. When presented with something frightening, the body responds immediately, but a mere memory or imaginative thought can have a similar effect. Merely thinking about an impending examination or long-awaited date can activate the sympathetic nervous system. The hypothalamus is bordered and anatomically related to what is referred to as the limbic system, which is believed to be primarily associated with emotional reactions to situations that call for fight, defense, or flight. The following chart describes the functions of the parasympathetic and sympathetic systems.

Table: FUNCTIONS OF THE AUTONOMIC NERVOUS SYSTEM*

ORGAN	SYMPATHETIC STIMULATION	PARASYMPATHETIC
EYES	Accommodates for distance vision Dilates pupil Lens flattens	Accommodates near vision Constricts pupils Lens bulges
LACRIMAL GLANDS	Not innervated by this system	Secretion of tears
SWEAT GLANDS	Copious sweating	Also stimulates sweating
HEART	Increases rate and force of contraction	Decreases rate and force of contraction
LUNG	Bronchi dilates producing increased ventilation	Bronchi constricts
STOMACH	Sphincter contracts Glandular secretion inhibited	Sphincter dilates Glandular secretion permitted

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INTESTINE Wall	Inhibition	Increases tone of muscles Decreases muscle tone
Anal sphincter	Contraction	
PANCREAS	Diminishes enzyme secretion Stimulates glycogen secretion which leads to increase in glucose	Stimulates secretion of pancreatic enzymes (aids in digestion)
KIDNEY	Decreases output	Not known
URINARY BLADDER	Relaxation	Contraction
PENIS	Ejaculation due to sympathetic stimulation of prostate	Erection through vascular dilation
ARTERIOLES IN SKIN	Constriction	Not innervated by this system
SKELETAL MUSCLE	Vasodilatation	Not innervated by this system
ARRECTOR MUSCLES OF HAIR FOLLICLE	Constriction causing hair to stand erect	Not innervated by this system

**It should be noted that the sympathetic nervous system is activated not only in recreational situations where some real or perceived threat exists, but also in any form of physical exercise. For example, during an aerobic workout the sympathetic nervous system will have greater involvement than the parasympathetic nervous system. Furthermore, it should be noted that in most recreational situations both systems will be activated to some extent; however, one will always have more involvement than the other, depending upon the body's immediate needs. For example, it is through the parasympathetic nervous system that penile and clitoral erection occurs, but it is through sympathetic stimulation that orgasm occurs.*

Just as the hypothalamus and limbic system stimulate bodily responses to situations and thoughts, the reticular arousal system (RAS) serves to arouse the cerebral cortex. Located within the brain stem and connected to other regions of the brain by small processes, this system is responsible for alerting the cerebral cortex to any form of neural stimulation. For the most part, much of this comes from external sources and is dependent upon sensory receptors. However, the RAS doesn't interpret the nature of the stimulation, only alerts the cortex to its presence in order that the cerebral cortex can then respond in whatever manner is appropriate. Once alerted, the cortex can deal directly with the input from the appropriate sensory pathways (Ellis 89-91).

Interestingly enough, the cortex can be a source for stimulation, which activates the RAS, which in turn stimulates the cerebral cortex. This cycle of cortex, RAS, cortex stimulation may help explain why sometimes at night, when trying to get to sleep you just can't seem to shut your thoughts off. You experience something similar to this in classes where there is very little external stimulation. The instructor who speaks in monotonous tones and who presents his material in difficult ways to understand, sets the stage for RAS-cortex cycle, which is often manifest in daydreaming.

Just as the parasympathetic nervous system tends to be an antagonist system to the sympathetic nervous system, there appears to be neural function in the brain stem which serves as an antagonist to the RAS (Glietman 67). Thus, during situations of under stimulation, the antagonistic portion of the brain stem may be activated which leads to drowsiness or sleep. Similarly, sleep may occur under less than ideal situations, if the subject has been deprived of sleep for any great length of time. Once, during my younger years, while on a personal adventure hopping freight trains, I fell exhausted onto the hard metal floor of a slow moving box car. The clatter of metal wheels and the uneven movement of the train was soon forgotten as my need for sleep diminished the activity of the RAS. Twelve hours later, I awakened, along with my partner, to find that our car had been detached from the train and was sitting alone on a siding. We had slept through the entire event.

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Students have been known to do the same thing through an entire class, again demonstrating the RAS inhibiting effect of other portions of the brain stem. This inhibiting effect is probably related in some way to the cerebral cortex. Ellis argues that the cortex "acts back on the RAS to inhibit arousal if the stimulus input is repetitious, expected, innocuous, irrelevant, redundant, etc." (91). Such may be the case; however, Glietman argues for an RAS antagonist, which is activated under those circumstances or follow sleep deprivation (67).

Within recent years, attention has been paid to the relationship of a family of neurotransmitters called catecholamines⁴ to arousal (67). Chief among these are norepinephrine, epinephrine, and dopamine. Zuckerman suggests that individuals with a high need for arousal may be manifesting unusually high amounts of these neurotransmitters. Evidence for this notion is found in the behavior of individuals who have been given chemicals to inhibit monoamine oxidase (MAO), a chemical that is believed to regulate the supply of neurotransmitters. People given MAO inhibitors demonstrate dramatic elevations in mood, thus suggesting the relationship of catecholamines to arousal. His hypothesis is that high sensation seekers have low MAO levels and low sensations seekers have high MAO levels (Zuckerman 96).

That there exists a relationship between certain subsystems within the brain and arousal, and that basically a person attempts to direct his or her behavior in a way that enhances the probability of optimal levels of arousal is clearly apparent. But, what of the variation among individuals? Research on the dual nature of the brain may give us some insight.

THE DUAL BRAIN AND LEISURE

For well over a century medical science has known that the brain was divided into two hemispheres. There was even some thought that each hemisphere was a duplicate of the other; sort of an ultimate redundancy. A. L. Wiggan, a 19th century physician performed autopsies on people with only half a brain, but who had lived normal lives. He reasoned that if one hemisphere "were capable of all the emotions, sentiments and faculties, which we call the aggregate mind -- then it necessarily follows that Man must have two minds with two brains" (Fincher 32). Nearly a century later, in the 1930's surgeons found that by cutting the tissue that connects the hemispheres of the brain, patients suffering from epileptic seizures showed astonishing improvement. Furthermore, just as Wiggins had theorized, the patients showed no apparent negative effects (Fincher 32).

The principal tissue connecting the two hemispheres is called the **corpus collosum**. Prior to the surgeries in which the corpus collosum was severed, it was believed that the purpose of the corpus collosum was to permit communication between hemispheres. Indeed, because of its location and its size it was assumed to possess important neural functions. However, the surgeries in which the corpus collosum was severed revealed no significant clues as to its purpose. Since patients who had undergone the surgery showed no adverse effects, it seemed to have no purpose at all (Fincher 33).

In the 1960's psychobiologist Robert Sperry, set forth on a series of experiments designed to unravel the mystery of the "split brain." These experiments, which ultimately led to Sperry and his associates winning a Nobel Prize, revealed that each hemisphere has subtle and important differences. Sight and touch experiments revealed that the left hemisphere is designed to deal with analytical and verbal skills, while the right is more oriented to spacial skills and pattern perception. Sperry's research suggested that the left hemisphere is better at logical, linear thinking; taking fragments and processing solutions. As Fincher puts it, the "left hemisphere sorts out the parts (32). The right hemisphere on the other hand tends to see things as a whole." It is equipped to generate mental images of sight, sound, taste, touch and smell." The right hemisphere is important in creativity and intuition. Restak summarizes the difference between hemispheres by referring to the left hemisphere as the **symbolic-conceptual** hemisphere, and the right as the **nonsymbolic directly perceived** (252).

⁴ These are biologically active amines which have a marked effect on the nervous and cardiovascular systems. An amine is any of a class of compounds derived from ammonia by replacement of one or more hydrogen atoms with organize groups.

At first glance, it would appear that the right hemisphere is more associated with leisure than the left hemisphere. It is the left hemisphere that we use on the job, in the classroom and solving important quantitative problems. Whereas it is the right hemisphere that we use in our creative endeavors, our play, and sensual pleasures. But, as Restak (73) points out, "The human brain doesn't break down into neat categories." The brain must be thought of as a functional whole. Although different parts of the brain have special functions, these functional areas are in contact with and interact with other functional units. For example, it is the left hemisphere that enables a person to understand a joke, but it is the right hemisphere that enables him/her to get it. It is the left hemisphere that enables a person to understand the concept of leisure, but it is the right hemisphere that is equipped to facilitate the leisure experience. It is the right hemisphere that enables one to engage in flights of fancy, but it is the left hemisphere that enables one to appreciate happiness. And, oddly enough, it is the right hemisphere that allows one to feel the emotions of sorrow and empathy (Carlson 518). To achieve a leisure lifestyle it is important that a person develop his or her ability to use both hemispheres. Unfortunately, it is not always easy to access the right hemisphere in world structured along left hemispheric lines.

We grow up in a world that emphasizes left-hemisphere thinking. Our schools place great emphasis on language and quantitative reasoning. As a consequence, as we mature, the shift from symbolic thinking to nonsymbolic may become more difficult. Consequently, by young adulthood many of us have difficulty with tasks that require creativity, spatial awareness, artistic expression and other skills often associated with recreation and leisure. Unable to access our right hemisphere potentials, we are limited in our choice of recreational activities. Rather than composing our own music, we listen to the compositions of others; unable to appreciate graphic art, we overlook it as a source of leisure; unable to tap our potential for fantasy, we turn to television and movies; with limited right brain access, we find our ability to be playful and humorous lacking.

Learning to access the right hemisphere is a skill that can lead to important leisure outcomes. By becoming more right brain oriented, we can begin to appreciate the novelty and beauty in our surroundings; we can learn to be more creative in our daily activities; we can learn to look for the novel and incongruous in otherwise normal affairs; we can bring more play and humor into our lives; we can bring more joy into our lives through the appreciation of art and music; and, we can enjoy the pleasure of increased self-expression.

In considering the relationship of the brain to leisure, it is probably best to think of the hemispheres as two sides of a balanced scale. The left hemisphere enables us to do many things that are essential to leisure. For example reading a novel or solving a brain twister. Even though the right hemisphere is associated with deep emotion, it is the left hemisphere that is associated with deep thought. As Restak states:

There is little doubt, however, that we need both sides of our brain. In fact, one can state with equal validity that we are not just the right and left sides of our brain, but simply we are our brain, and wouldn't want to lose any part of it if we had a choice (265).

It is quite clear from the foregoing discussion that leisure behavior is at least in part a function of the interaction and interrelationship between subsystems within the brain; a relationship that seems to be directed toward allowing the brain to achieve an optimal level of stimulation. Recreation to one may be unattractive to another, but the motivational basis for leisure is not limited to the unique demands of one's neurophysiology. Indeed as will be seen in the next section there is evidence that one's biological response to astral and temporal rhythms may also play a role in shaping leisure behavior.

CIRCADIAN RHYTHMS AND LEISURE BEHAVIOR

That heavenly bodies influence human behavior is not a new idea. Astrology, which traces its beginnings back to the ancient Assyrians and Chaldeans, is based precisely on this belief. Astrologers believe that the configuration of the stars and planets at the time of one's birth predestines one to certain fortunes, liabilities and temperaments. Horoscopes, heavenly maps showing the position of celestial bodies at the time of one's birth, appear regularly in modern newspapers, along with brief explanations of their meaning. Unfortunately, astrology appears to have little more than entertainment value. The notion that a person's life is influenced by stars one-

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hundred trillion miles away is, as Carl Sagan says, "demonstrably erroneous (Sagan 247)." But, on the other hand, there is evidence to support the idea that human behavior is influenced, to some degree, by certain astral relationships much closer to home.

The movement of the moon about the earth in conjunction with the movement of the earth around the sun has a strong influence on human and animal behavior. This is not astrology! Here we are talking about the gravitational influence of our nearest astral neighbor, the moon, and the relationship of the earth to the only star close enough to influence life on earth, the sun.

The influence that the sun and moon exert on earth life is far different from that taught by astrology. The greatest effect seems to be associated more with the temporal rhythms produced by the earth's revolution about the sun, producing seasons and the rotation of the earth on its own axis giving rise to the daily shift from light to dark and back to light. This cycle of alternating light and dark has a powerful affect on human, animal and plant behavior. These rhythms seem to govern such natural phenomena as the opening and closing of flower petals, and in animals and humans, changes in body temperature, blood pressure, urine production, and metabolic rates. Even mood appears synchronized with circadian rhythms.

Some animals tend to be activated by daylight (such as roosters), whereas other animals are activated by night (such as bats). Animals that are active during the daytime are referred to as diurnal; night animals are called nocturnal. That the consequences of circadian rhythms can be far reaching is suggested by one of the theories developed to explain the disappearance of the great dinosaurs. This theory is based on the fact that dinosaurs, being reptiles were, out of necessity, diurnal. This was due to their cold-blooded biology which rendered them essentially immobile by night-time temperatures. To avoid falling prey to these diurnal reptiles, mammals found it essential to remain concealed during daylight hours, and hence, this became their resting time. At night, they became the hunters, and their favorite prey -- the eggs of sleeping giants. Controlled by circadian rhythms that rendered them helpless at night, the great reptiles of the past fell victim to their much smaller nocturnal cousins (Sagan 142).

Another, more popular explanation for the demise of the dinosaurs also illustrates the powerful role of circadian rhythms. In this theory, the extinction of the dinosaurs is viewed as the result of the earth colliding with a great comet or meteorite. The collision resulted in the release of vast amounts of steam and smoke into the atmosphere creating a primitive "nuclear winter." Light, the principal cue for circadian rhythms was blocked by dense clouds, thus disrupting the normal rhythm of all living things. The net result was the extinction of all but the most adaptable life forms on the planet.

If circadian rhythms had such a profound effect on the history of life on earth, just imagine how your life is influenced by these same rhythms. When we arise in the morning and when we go to bed at night is largely a function of our personal circadian rhythms regarding sleep. Restak reports that early risers tend to manifest more introverted behavior than late risers; that they tend to increase their body temperatures and alertness much earlier than late risers, and they tend to decrease in alertness as evening approaches (Restak 112). Night persons take longer to warm up, but they can function effectively much later into the night than their early-rising counterparts. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that sleeping patterns can have a powerful affect on mood. Depressed people, for example, often show an elevation in mood when their sleeping patterns are altered to make adjustment for unusual circadian rhythms (Restak 114). Work efficiency and effectiveness also appear to be influenced by circadian rhythms. For example, most people tend to show a decrease in alertness around 1:00 p.m. regardless of whether they have had lunch or not. It is for this reason that I never get a haircut in the early afternoon. It has also been demonstrated that most people, regardless of their sleeping patterns don't function very effectively in the early morning hours (Restak 112). A tragic example is the Three Mile Island accident. The events that led to the near meltdown of this nuclear power reactor began with a series of mistakes that started around 4:00 a.m.

Researchers believe that deep within the brain, located in the hypothalamus, is an organ responsible for tracking time and reminding the automatic nervous system of certain biological functions, and the cerebral cortex of certain temporal behaviors. Referred to as the suprachiasmatic nucleus (SCN), this tiny mass of neurons may be the long sought after biological clock (Restak 215). It is theorized that the SCN may modulate not only circadian, but also ultradian (more frequently occurring than every 24 hours) behaviors. These rhythms may

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account for behaviors that tend to follow cycles ranging from 20 minutes (the amount of time I can study without a break) to cycles of up to several hours. These ultradian cycles are often biological in nature, but may also be related to mood and alertness.

In addition to circadian and ultradian rhythms are monthly and circa-annual rhythms. Men show a rhythmic monthly weight gain and loss, women experience a monthly menstrual cycle often characterized by dramatic shifts in mood. On a circa-annual basis, it has been demonstrated that people tend to the changes in the amount of available daylight. During late fall, winter and early spring, people experience more depression than during seasons marked by more daylight (Restack 216).

When a circadian or ultradian rhythm is disrupted, it usually produces stress. Given enough time, however, the body's internal rhythm can adjust to new conditions, but usually during the interim--mood, alertness and physical health suffer. Jet lag is a good example of this as is the effect that shift work has on workers.

Although not the ultimate "force" in the universe, it is one that you will definitely feel. The rhythms of nature have a powerful influence on our behavior and the quality of our lives. By understanding our own circadian and ultradian rhythms, we can better organize our activities to conform to our unique rhythmic needs. This implies an important condition for optimal functioning -- synchronicity of behavior and natural rhythms. For want of a better word, call it circadian congruity. To depart from one's optimal circadian pattern is to invite stress and a reduction of perceived freedom and intrinsic satisfaction. In our pursuit of the leisure lifestyle we would be wise to follow the admonition of the Hopi medicine man who, one winter evening, over a dinner consisting of beans and pike bread, gently reminded me of the Hopi's secret for successful living -- "Walk with nature."

As we have demonstrated leisure behavior, indeed all behavior, has a physiological basis. But the form that leisure activities take, vary so greatly from person to person, it is readily apparent that more must be at work than physiological responses to external and internal stimuli. What produces optimal arousal for one, may bore someone else. How can this be explained?

CULTURAL VALUES

When something is important to us, when it is viewed as worthwhile, desirable, or consequential, such thing is said to have **value**. Values permeate society and influence all aspects of social life. They can be viewed from a **societal, group or individual perspective**. Values have a profound influence on what we view as leisure, and the types of leisure activities in which we choose to participate.

In American society there are some values that all citizens hold in common. For example, Americans generally value freedom of expression, self-direction, independence, and participatory government. These values trickle down through all layers of the society. But as you get more specific and away from the general population, you find that different subgroups in the society, although sharing some of the more common cultural values, have some very specific values that are quite different from those held by most people. For example, people who share a certain religious belief will share certain religious values in common (Mormons don't drink or smoke, but at one time practiced polygamy). People in the same political party will have similar political values (some people take Ross Perot seriously). People of the same generation will hold some values in common (few of my age group have pierced tongues). People from different racial groups will have some common values (few White people hip-hop). Yet, in spite of differences, trickling down throughout all of these groups will be values common to all members of the society.

You can see the "trickle down" phenomenon when you travel. Traveling allows you look at visitors against the social background of a different cultural value system. In so doing, it helps you see the differences in values and how some seem to be held in common. Not long ago, I was in China. While shopping in a public market in Shanghai, I heard a clearly American voice proclaiming the superiority of American fruit. The loud American was a member of a tour group from Arizona. I learned that they were ending their first week of a two week tour which had

taken them from Hong Kong to Shanghai and would end in Beijing. The loud American took delight in pointing out that American fruit was bigger. "Why the grapefruit we raise in Arizona makes these grapefruit look like lemons." He said nothing about the color, the texture, the display, the fragrance--only the size. His statement suggested that in America, "bigger is better."

It is easy to see how one's culture influences leisure choices. Since we make our leisure choices within a social context, the dominant values of the society will determine to a large extent what activity choices are available. A year ago I visited The Netherlands, while still in the airport terminal, I was surprised to smell marijuana smoke. I soon found that marijuana was viewed as socially acceptable in The Netherlands. You could even buy marijuana confections at coffee shops, and while I was there I learned that a conference for marijuana growers was in session. This contrasts with the United States where the federal government is currently waging a war against any type of marijuana use, including medical applications. A similar contrast can be drawn between the United States and The Netherlands on the value of gun ownership. Private ownership of guns is prohibited in Holland, in the United States gun ownership is a cherished right.

Social values evolve and in the process new values emerge. What was viewed important to society a few years ago may now seem outdated and possessing little value. This is clearly demonstrated in our leisure choices. At one time, Sundays were reserved for religion not recreation, sex was reserved for the bedroom not the television screen, and leisure was viewed merely as a reward for work. Obviously these values have changed, and just as they have changed so will are our contemporary values. For example, Kelly suggests that in the next few decades cultural values will change to influence American leisure in the following ways:

1. The value of religion in the United States is diminishing. Consequently, religious values such as sacrifice, worship, and adherence to the Puritan Work Ethic, are also lessening. There are those who are concerned that decline of religion will mark a decline in moral values, and that society will engage in leisure that will be characterized by excess and degradation. Kelly doesn't see it this way. Rather he views a decline in religious values as having important implications for leisure. A reduction in the importance of religion may lead to an increase the value of the leisure ethic. The value of intrinsic motivation (satisfaction), freedom, and personal expression in leisure may increase (179).
2. Decisions regarding the environment may be influenced by an increasing appreciation for the role that leisure has in enhancing the quality of life. Today such decisions are based on economics. In the near future, Kelly believes that decision regarding outdoor recourses will be based more and more on their leisure value.
3. Kelly believes that in the future, there will be a general value shift from extrinsic motivations to the intrinsic. In today's value orientation, we often have to legitimize our leisure behavior in terms of social benefits, economic gain, or personal development. Kelly believes that our value-orientation is moving toward greater emphasis on intrinsic values. He believes that we will come to a time when a leisure activity "...need not be good for the community, family, employment status, or social prestige if it yields a full measure of personal satisfaction" (179).

The society in which we live influences the kinds of leisure activities we value. Cultural values create common threads among a society, and although they evolve and change, they persist as a powerful force in determining the kinds of recreation and leisure people choose. But, among the members of any society there will be variation in leisure choices. That difference is reflective of the variation one finds in personal values.

PERSONAL VALUES

Personal values, and this is true of cultural values as well, can be thought of as being of two types: **instrumental** and **terminal**. Terminal values are those that reflect a person's belief about ends to be achieved,

and instrumental values reflect beliefs about how one might achieve desired ends. In other words, Instrumental values are the means to achieving terminal values.

1. Terminal values include such abstract goals as a comfortable life, sense of accomplishment, family security, self-respect, peace, freedom, and harmony.
2. Instrumental values include good health, ambition, knowledge, creativity, independence and wealth.

You may have seen the bumper “snicker” that said, “He who dies with the most toys—wins!” Implicit in this aphorism is the idea that material possessions (toys) are instrumental to the terminal value of winning (happiness or sense of accomplishment). This is illustrative of how personal values influence our leisure choices. It also introduces the concept of **beliefs**.

Beliefs are related to values in that beliefs refer to what we know about the world, and values relate more to what we find desirable in the world. Beliefs play an important role in determining leisure choices. We only select activities that we believe will produce positive outcomes. What is considered a positive outcome is determined by our values. If there is a low congruence between what one believes about a recreational activity and what one values, the probability is low that such an activity will be included in one’s recreation. Conversely, where there is high congruence between values and the degree to which we believe an activity produces valued outcomes, the probability of participation is increased.

That values are an important influence on leisure motivation can be seen through the work of psychographic researchers. This is a relatively new field which attempts to use psychology to identify market segments. By identifying the predominant values in the buying public, businesses can better design marketing strategies to reach those market segments in which they have an interest.

Typical of type of work done by psychographic research is the work of Yankelovich Clancy Shulman. The *Yankelovic Monitor* tracks trends in population among two major value- groups, or as they are called in marketing, **value segments**:

Old-values segments

1. Traditionalist—middle aged who have accepted the traditional values of hard work and material success.
2. Retreaters—older, poorer people who have given upon achieving success.

New-values segments:

1. New Conformists—younger people who have largely substituted self-fulfillment for traditional work oriented values.
2. Forerunners—young, upscale people who place a high value on intellectual and creative achievement.
3. Autonomous—upscale consumers who have achieved success and turned their attention to self-improvement and personal fulfillment (In Pope, 246-249).

Personal values can be further categorized into aesthetic values, social values, political values, religious and moral values, and economic values. When values relate specifically to leisure or leisure activities,

they can be referred to as **leisure values**. As you can imagine, all of these clusters or groups of values overlap.

LEISURE VALUES AND NEEDS

Triandis (1972) views values as “relationships among abstract categories with strong affective components, implying a preference for a certain kind of action or a state of affairs”(16). Rokeach (1980) points out that there is a close relationship of values to attitudes. He states: “...humans have thousands of attitudes, but only dozens of values, that attitudes are biases and values are metabiases....” (272) Jeffres and Dobos (1993, 205) define leisure values as personal “assessments of the worth or utility” of leisure. When considering leisure values, we are considering those abstract categories associated with leisure for which we have strong feelings. In selecting leisure activities, some people place value on feelings of excitement, some place value on perceptual freedom, some value self-expression, others place value on personal growth and so on. These in turn are a reflection of attitudes that support these values. Since values are a reflection of an array of attitudes, a person will always have fewer leisure values than leisure attitudes.

An example of the kinds of values that people hold for leisure is suggested by the pioneering work in leisure motivation by Beard and Ragheb (1980). In developing a scale to measure leisure motivations, Beard and Ragheb identified six categories of leisure motivations(26). :

1. Psychological: sense of freedom, enjoyment, intellectual challenge.
2. Educational: Intellectual stimulation
3. Social: rewarding relationships with other people.
4. Relaxation: relief from stress.
5. Physiological: staying fit, healthy, weight-control.
6. Aesthetic: appreciation of beauty

In a subsequent study these six categories were reduced to four:

1. Intellectual: expand interests, satisfy curiosity, expand knowledge.
2. Social: be with others, interact with others, belonging.
3. Competence Mastery: challenge, achievement, competition.
4. Stimulus Avoidance: relax physically, relax mentally, relieve stress, escape.

There are other values that can be associated with leisure. For many people, one of the principal values of leisure is the opportunity to experience freedom, to be in control of one’s choices. This is sometimes referred to as *self-determination*. Another important value associated with leisure is the opportunity for *intrinsic satisfaction*. Underlying many of the values of leisure is a desire for intrinsic reward. In fact, it is fair to say that one’s need for intrinsic satisfaction explains many of the values that we associate with leisure. A person chooses a trip to a scenic area for aesthetic and relaxation values, but underlying these two values is the intrinsic satisfaction one derives from such an experience. An individual chooses to play racquetball for physical exercise, but again, underlying the physical value is an intrinsic reward.

Although, not the only precursor to a leisure choice, it is fair to say that our leisure values play a role in deciding how we view leisure and the types of activities in which we choose to participate. How values influence our leisure choice can be illustrated in the following thought-experiment:

You have an opportunity to participate in one of three leisure activities.

1. *One-hour of basketball with good friends.*
2. *Two-hour of socializing at your local bar.*
3. *A quiet evening at home by yourself.*

Which activity did you choose?

Which one "feels" the most attractive to you? Why?

The why might involve a number of factors, but ultimately you will conclude that there was some element in the activity that you chose that had significant value to you.

In doing this exercise, you no doubt found yourself asking several questions: What is the context of the activity? What is my situation prior to making the decision? Are there other competing activities from which to choose? Change the context of the activity, and see if it affects your decision. For example, if you had worked all day moving heavy boxes at your work, would you be as interested in a vigorous racquetball game as you would be had you spent the day working on your computer? If you have been fasting and are hungry how would this affect your decision? If you have pressing demands at your work or school would you be similarly affected? Your answers to these questions illustrate a point: although leisure values are important, **other factors influence our leisure choices as well.** In making any decision, there will be fundamental needs at work which will call for attention. These needs will be modulated by the social and physical context in which they occur, and naturally depending upon the situation, some of these may not support a decision to engage in a leisure activity.

Needs and *values* are obviously closely related. For example, we place great value on those items that we need to survive. Go without sleep for 24 hours and see how much value you place on sleep! Deprived of water for any length of time, and you become preoccupied with obtaining water. Relating more to leisure, Iso-Ahola cites several studies which indicate that most human beings have a strong need for affiliation with other people (Iso-Ahola 242). When a person's circumstances isolate her from others, it is likely that leisure activities that meet the need for social interaction will take dominance over other needs.

That some needs are more essential than others is suggested by Maslow's theory of human motivation. In this theory, needs are organized by priority or importance to survival. Only when lower order needs are met can one attend to the higher order needs. In fact, it is only when lower order needs are met that higher order needs emerge and press for attention. The needs in order of survival importance are:

1. physiological needs: hunger and thirst
2. safety needs: protection from the elements and other dangers
3. social needs: love and belonging
4. ego needs: approval and recognition
5. self-actualization: acquisition of knowledge and appreciation of beauty

Although Maslow's hierarchy of needs has been criticized as being too facile or simplistic, it does suggest that people tend to identify a personal hierarchy of needs and to some extent base their personal goals on this hierarchy. As Iso-Ahola states, "Apart from homeostatically motivated behavior, human actions are motivated by subjectively defined goals and rewards" (Iso-Ahola 230).

Philosophers and social scientists are not completely in agreement as to what constitutes leisure needs. Different authors offer different opinions. For example, Driver, Tinsley, and Manfredro (1991) identify nineteen specific needs that could be met by leisure experiences. These are summarized as follows:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Enjoy nature. | 11. Achievement/ stimulation. |
| 2. Physical fitness | 12. Physical rest. |
| 3. Reduce tension. | 13. Teaching/leading. |
| 4. Escape stress. | 14. Risk-taking. |
| 5. Outdoor learning. | 15. Meet new people. |
| 6. Sharing similar values with friends. | 16. Risk reduction. |
| 7. Independence, autonomy. | 17. Creativity. |
| 8. Family relations. | 18. Nostalgia. |
| 9. Introspection, spiritual reflection. | 19. Agreeable temperatures. |

10. Be considerate with people.

When specific needs, such as those listed above are organized into related groups, smaller and more general needs are identified. For example, it is reasonable to say that leisure activities can meet a person's need for personal freedom, or self-expression, or intrinsic motivation. Following is a list of some of the the general needs that people try to meet through leisure involvement.

1. self-determination: the need to make choices.
2. optimal arousal: the need to experience the most appropriate level of physiological stimulation.
3. perceived freedom: the need for being free to make choices.
4. competence-affectance: the need to demonstrate a skill.
5. affiliation/social interaction: the need to interact with other people.
6. stimulus avoidance: the need to relax, to be away from stress or stimulation.
7. intrinsic satisfaction: the need to experience the intrinsic reward that comes from doing an activity.

This is not a complete list, nor is it rank ordered in any way. The potency or importance of a leisure need is unique to the individual and it is subject to various influences. It is related to other needs, and consequently it is affected by other pressing needs. It is also affected by the individual's situation, and the context in which the activity occurs.

LEISURE ATTITUDES

A leisure attitude can be described as "the expressed amount of affect toward a given leisure-related object" (Sephso-Isahola, 251). More simply put, a leisure attitude is a positive or negative feeling one has about some aspect of leisure—a program, an event, a block of time, a policy, outcome or an activity. Leisure attitudes have an impact on our leisure choices, but attitudes alone don't predict behavior very well. Because of the weak causal relationship between leisure behavior and leisure attitudes, current research has emphasized the role of situations and context on leisure choices. Rokeach points out that psychologists and researchers tend to concur that:

1. Behavior is determined by more than single attitudes.
2. Selected social situational factors must be included (i.e. perceived social influence, normative beliefs, peer pressures) as influences.
3. Attitudes tend to be embedded in more general values.

Further, a person's intent to participate should be considered. **Intention is viewed as more important in predicting leisure involvement than attitude.** As Iso-Ahola states, "If the purpose...is to predict participation in a specific leisure activity, the prediction should be made from intentions to engage in it rather than from an attitude toward that leisure activity"(252). Clearly intentions are the product of needs and values. When one feels the need to experience a certain leisure value, an intent is formed. The closer in time to the activity and the formation of the intent, the greater the probability that participation will occur. Of course intention to participate is modulated by other important factors such as the value one holds for competing opportunities, the intensity of the intention, and the presence of interfering constraints.

INTRINSIC MOTIVATION vs. EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION

Goals and rewards can be either intrinsic or extrinsic. Extrinsic goals are those that yield some reward which is separate and apart from an activity. You rake a lawn, not because you like raking lawns, but someone has offered you \$10.00. You like the offer well enough to rake the lawn. The reward comes not in the doing, but from the doing. All of us are familiar with the power to motivate that external rewards possess. We all know of people who have made tremendous sacrifices in order to achieve wealth, status, notoriety, or power. I have a friend who is heavily extrinsically motivated. He worked very hard to acquire as much wealth as he could. He placed very little value on intrinsic motivation, he placed very little value on leisure. The stress and strain of working so hard to acquire wealth and status took a terrible toll. He died of a heart attack at age 42. The tragedy of this man's life was that he never took time to enjoy the fruits of his labors. Had he actually enjoyed his work, it could be said that he obtained some leisure value on the job. But, the fact was that he really didn't like what he was doing, but he was highly motivated to become wealthy. This is not to say that all extrinsically motivated activity is without leisure value. Indeed, there are some careers that provide both intrinsic satisfaction and extrinsic rewards. Unfortunately in my friend's situation, this was not the case.

When no apparent external value is found in an activity, it is said to be intrinsically rewarded. You like raking lawns, it gives you a feeling of satisfaction. It is so pleasant you wouldn't think of taking money for it. The reward comes in the doing not from it. We talk a great deal about intrinsic satisfaction in leisure studies. I suppose this is because, underlying most leisure values is this important construct. I interact with others because it gives me an internal feeling of satisfaction. I play sports because the feelings that are generated from physical activity are intrinsically satisfying. I enjoy self-expression through art because the artistic process causes me to feel pleasantly rewarded. *Perhaps no other construct explains our desire to engage in leisure pursuits better than the human desire to experience intrinsic satisfaction.*

PERCEIVED FREEDOM and LOCUS OF CONTROL

As we have pointed out in previous discussions, intrinsic motivation is one of the criteria used to define leisure. The other major criterion is perceived freedom. These two elements are closely related and help explain the variance among leisure choices within a given population. When a person feels free to select leisure activities, these activities normally reflect his/her intrinsic desires. When such freedom is lacking, conformity results as a function of reduction in the number of alternatives. Unfortunately, freedom of choice, is not limited to one's perception. It appears that freedom to choose is also hampered by a number of social, situational and personality variables. On a daily basis behavioral expectations are communicated to us. These messages began with our births and will continue to our deaths. It always seems that someone is either directly or indirectly influencing us to behave in a certain manner. For some people, it is easy to acquiesce and give up a certain measure of self-control to these external influences. To others, these forces seem to have little influence. The extent to which one feels free to pursue leisure is, in part, a function of the extent to which one is in control of his/her behavior.

Externally directed people are individuals who fundamentally feel that most important things in their lives are controlled by forces outside of themselves. On the other hand, **internally directed** people feel that most important things in their lives are under their personal control. Naturally, this construct is appropriately viewed on a continuum with extreme cases of locus of control falling on either end. Most people fall somewhere in the middle. Those who tend toward the external side are people who frequently feel helpless and tend to conform to the expectations of others, regardless of personal values. Internals on the other hand tend to be happier and more positive, and are likely to find greater expression in their personal leisure. Consequently it appears that locus of control is an important factor in explaining leisure behavior.

Another factor, related to locus of control, which helps explain leisure motivation is **perceived competence**. People tend to participate in activities in which they perceive themselves as competent and tend to avoid activities in which they perform poorly. When people feel that they are in control of their leisure choices, they choose activities that enable them to demonstrate their skills and abilities. Well learned responses tend to be facilitated by social settings. In other words, people like to be in the presence of others when they feel that they are reasonably skilled. And, generally, the presence of others facilitates their performance (*social facilitation*), thus, increasing their satisfaction with the activity. Conversely, when a person is poorly skilled and attempts the skill in the presence of others an inhibiting effect occurs (*social inhibition*). This leads to a poorer performance of the skill and a reduction in satisfaction. You see this occasionally illustrated at country dance venues. Experienced dancers thrive in the presence of other dancers, whereas the novice after trying one line-dance often resorts in discouragement to the bar

Self-Concept and Leisure. How a person perceives him or herself will have considerable bearing on how he or she relates to leisure experiences. Psychologists tend to agree that "one's self-picture" tends to correlate with behavior. People who see themselves as athletic usually participate in athletic activities; whereas, individuals who view themselves as unathletic tend to seek alternative diversions. In psychology, this tendency to conform to one's self-expectations is referred to as the "self-fulfilling prophecy." The power of the self-fulfilling prophecy is illustrated by the behavior of a West African tribe, the Ashanti. These people believe that the day of the week on which a child is born will influence the behavior of the child in adult life. Children born on Monday are expected to grow up to be peaceful and quiet. Wednesday's children are expected to become troublesome. Police records tend to support this belief system. Monday's children have an unusually low crime rate; whereas those born on Wednesday tend to have an unusually high rate (Glietman 544). Clearly, how one views himself is going to influence leisure choices.

FLOW AS AN EXPLANATION FOR LEISURE BEHAVIOR

That people gravitate to activities that seem to possess neither utility nor material rewards has been long recognized. Workers congregate around the water cooler, students doodle, housewives watch the soaps, children play tag, and executives daydream. On a deeper level, there are those who pursue the arts, create inventions, restore cars, climb mountains and explore the seas. Although diverse in form, each of these behaviors has one commonality--they are all **autotelic** in nature. That is, they are activities (1) possessing an intrinsic reward potential, and (2) requiring a certain degree of self-directed concentration. These are to be compared with those activities (**exotelic**) which are characterized primarily by extrinsic potential and external locus of control or externally directed concentration. The former class of activities are generally associated with leisure, whereas the latter are related to work. Similarly we frequently view autotelic activities as yielding enjoyment whereas the motivation for exotelic activities is materialistic. We play for fun, we work for substance.

Recognizing that autotelic activities are universal and as such may possess hidden utilities, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi undertook a series of studies to examine the dynamics of enjoyment and the nature of activities that "appear to contain rewards within themselves, that do not rely on scarce material incentives..." (5). In his studies he looked at people who were deeply involved in activities which required time, effort and skill, yet

produced little or no financial reward, social status or other recognizable forms of extrinsic reward. In general his findings indicated that the fundamental motivation for involvement in such activities was the enjoyment inherent in doing the activity. Furthermore his research suggested that enjoyment is a state of being characterized by a "feeling of discovery, a challenge overcome, a difficulty resolved..." (181), and that such a condition occurs when an individual experiences a matching of personal skills with "physical or symbolic opportunities for action that represent meaningful challenges" (181). He referred to this state of being as **flow**.

Flow activities are described by Csikszentmihalyi as activities providing opportunities for action which match a person's abilities with clearly defined **goals**, which possess sufficient arousal potential to captivate a person's **interest**, and which provides the individual with regular and relevant **feedback**. These activities tend to be associated with, but not limited to autotelic activities. For example, it was demonstrated that for some individuals their employment provided them with substantial flow experiences. Furthermore, a distinction was made between relatively simple and superficial autotelic activities producing relatively small amounts of flow, which he referred to as microflow, and more complex and substantive activities yielding what he coined **deep flow**. Regardless of intensity, flow activities tend to be viewed as enjoyable and produce a state of being as characterized by varying degrees of the following features: (1) concentration on a limited stimulus field, (2) loss of awareness of personal problems (3) a loss of time awareness, (4) a sense of harmony and union with the immediate surroundings and (5) a feeling of competence.

That flow is a desirable condition was demonstrated through a series of experiments where individuals were asked to eliminate microflow from their behaviors for a 48-hour period. The activities prohibited were such seemingly incidental activities as chewing gum, passing time in idle conversation, playing simple games, telling jokes, watching television, etc. The results of this experiment suggest that when people eliminate seemingly nonessential autotelic behavior they feel more tired, less healthy, and less relaxed. They report more headaches and backaches, they feel less creative, and more inclined to irrational behavior. Normal tasks become a source of irritation, they report feeling depressed and incapable of effective concentration (Csikszentmihalyi 177). Although not directly examined in this study, these findings suggest a relationship between autotelic activities and optimal functioning. Csikszentmihalyi suggests this relationship in the following statement.

By reversing these symptoms, one may infer that the function of microflow experiences is to keep a person alert, relaxed, with a positive feeling about himself, a feeling of being spontaneously creative... To be able to do things that may not appear necessary to one's survival gives one a feeling of effectance.... (177)

According to flow theory, when a person believes that his action opportunities are too demanding for his capabilities, the result is anxiety. When the ratio of capabilities is higher, but the challenges are still too demanding for his abilities, the net result is worry. In situations where the individual's skills outweigh his opportunities for action, boredom results; anxiety again results when a significant disparity exists between perceived opportunity and skill (Csikszentmihalyi 49). Flow can only occur when the opportunities or challenges are in balance with the individual's abilities. Hence, activities are only enjoyable to the extent to which an individual's capacity to influence a given situation are in balance with the challenges presented by such a situation.

Maria Allison and Margaret Duncan (1987) undertook a study to determine the role of flow in the lives of working women. They also looked at factors that contributed to what they referred to as **antiflow**. Essentially their study revealed, as flow theory would suggest, antiflow tended to be associated with repetitive household tasks, repetitive tasks at work, unchallenging tasks, and meaningless tasks.

In examining the nature of enjoyment, Csikszentmihalyi did not limit his research to autotelic activities, rather he also looked at jobs which were viewed by the workers as enjoyable. In so doing, he found significant similarities between play and satisfying work experiences. So great was this similarity that he drew the following conclusion:

The concept of flow makes it possible to see work and cultural definitions of lifestyle in general, as much more flexible than they are usually thought to be. It allows us to question the necessity of drudgery and anxiety, and it suggests ways in which everyday life can be made more free. There is no reason to believe any longer that

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only irrelevant play can be enjoyed, while the serious business of life must be borne as a burdensome cross. Once we realize that the boundaries between work and play are artificial, we can take matters in hand and begin the difficult task of making life more livable (191).

Csikszentmihalyi argues that there is no logical justification for the idea that work must be devoid of pleasure. Rather, he points out that were the rule of logic to be the guide, employers would attempt to structure work situations so that employees would be matched with tasks appropriate to their skills, provided with timely feedback and meaningful challenges, and that by so doing otherwise extrinsic tasks would develop intrinsic justification.

Closing Note...

Motivation essentially means "to move," and in this chapter we have looked at what moves people to engage in leisure activity. Early in the chapter, we looked at some of the physiological aspects of motivation. It was pointed out that many of our basic behaviors are a function of biological needs. Eating, drinking, sleeping, and eliminating are all behaviors that are governed by biology. One theory (Ellis) argues that people engage in play, recreation, and other leisure behaviors because of a fundamental need to achieve optimal arousal. In this theory much arousal, an individual engages in behaviors designed to dampen arousal; when faced with boredom, an individual engages in behaviors designed to elevate arousal.

One of the fundamental lessons of this chapter is that when you are faced with boredom, engage in an activity which is novel or complex, arousal will be elevated. When anxious, reduce complexity or novelty.

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