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LEISURE AND THE MOTIVE TO VOLUNTEER

Theories of Serious, Casual, and Project-Based Leisure

Robert A. Stebbins

Leisure and the Motive to Volunteer

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Robert A. Stebbins
Professor Emeritus, University of Calgary, Canada

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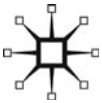

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Acknowledgments

I have been aware for many years of the need for a full statement setting out a leisure-based definition of volunteers and volunteering. The short article I wrote in 2013 about the economic and volitional definitions of the two pressed for a more comprehensive treatment, one served up in something akin to a small book. I thank David Horton Smith for suggesting the vehicle of the literature review as a way of achieving this goal. And the Palgrave Macmillan Pivot collection fit the bill perfectly. That collection propels manuscripts quickly through the publication process. Vidhya Jayaprakash and the editorial team at Newgen Knowledge Works lived up to this promise with utmost effectiveness.

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1
Introduction

Abstract: *Volunteering and the nonprofit organizations that frequently organize it have commonly been analyzed in economic terms. The definition of volunteering based on this conception has been referred to as "unpaid work (labor)." This economic definition has been around far longer than that of volunteering based on the idea that it is leisure, which is discussed under the heading of the "volitional definition." Using the tool of the literature review, the theoretical and empirical accomplishments of the serious leisure perspective are set out, an approach that began more than 40 years ago.*

Keywords: leisure; leisure motivation; serious leisure perspective; volunteering; volunteering as unpaid work

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Volunteering and the nonprofit organizations that frequently organize it have commonly been analyzed in economic terms. The definition of volunteering revolving around this conception has been variously referred to as "unpaid work (labor)" or "unpaid productive work (labor)." This economic definition has been around far longer than that of volunteering based on the idea that it is leisure, which will be discussed in this book under the heading of the "volitional definition." I go much more deeply into this area in the section entitled "definitions of volunteering."

In this book I attempt to set the record straight, using the tool of the literature review, wherein I will set out the theoretical and empirical accomplishments of the leisure approach that began more than 40 years ago. The economic and volitional studies of volunteers and volunteering have for the most part rubbed along without noticing each other. To the extent that the first is inspired by economists; its singular approach is perhaps understandable. For it seems that Nobel Prize winner in Economics Gary Becker (1965:504) set the modern tone 50 years ago for his discipline: "although the social philosopher might have to define precisely the concept of leisure, the economist can reach all his traditional results, as well as many more, without introducing it at all!"

So it is in traditional economics and the mainstream economics of today that the idea of leisure is typically residual. Accordingly, the few definitions of leisure that appear in the dictionaries of economics are superficial, largely portraying leisure as time leftover after work. For example, Weiss (2009:3) asks the question: how we may distinguish leisure from work? He quotes W.S. Jevons (2006:168) who defines labor as "any painful exertion of mind or body undergone partly or wholly with a view to future good." Weiss goes on to observe that:

> applying the (newly discovered) principle of diminishing marginal utility (and increasing marginal disutility), Jevons shifted attention from work or leisure as such to the marginal units of each activity. A person stops working only when the marginal disutility of work exceeds the marginal utility of the consumption derived from additional work, which is presumed positive when the wage is positive.

Given this understanding of leisure it is easy to see how it could fail to play a central role in economic thought.[1]

Nevertheless, that understanding raises a key motivational question: why do people engage in unpaid productive work, laborious or not? Since in this conception payment in cash or in kind is not an incentive

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to perform such work, what encourages people to do it, to volunteer? Or, for that matter, what encourages them to do other kinds of unpaid productive labor, as found in the serious leisure of many of the amateurs and hobbyists? This question, which mainstream economics is unable to answer satisfactorily, has given birth to a range of theory and research within the field of leisure studies. The goal of this book is to review this body of literature, to show how rich it has become over the past 40 years, and to indicate where its principal gaps lie. The serious leisure perspective (SLP) is the lens through which I will conduct this review. As for the gaps, they will be discussed throughout, *in situ* as it were, with a main summary on this concern being saved for the conclusions.

The SLP is the broadest theoretical framework in leisure studies, pulling into its orbit the leisure foci of social psychology, sociology, anthropology, geography, philosophy, and history. There is also, of course, an economic component here: in the main the highly descriptive though complex assessment of leisure services and attractions. Yet, this perspective is not a mere pastiche created from these fields, for it emerged inductively as a grounded theory rooted in the soil of the everyday lives of diverse leisure participants. Links to the aforementioned disciplines and to a variety of fields of practice have been forged subsequently. A short history of the SLP is available at www.seriousleisure.net/History and a longer one in Stebbins (2007/2015:Chapter 6).

Now, it may seem that I have unfairly singled out economics for vilification based on its failure to recognize the importance of leisure in human life. My justification for this critique is that the present book is about volunteers and volunteering, a field in which some economists have taken considerable interest. But it should be known that other basic disciplines in the social sciences (geography is an exception) are nowadays scarcely more attuned to the study of leisure than economics. The sociology of leisure, though a vibrant field, has for the most part been developed outside institutional sociology (e.g., university departments of sociology, mainstream annual conferences in sociology, dictionaries of sociology) in the field of leisure studies (Stebbins, in press).

Additionally, leisure has not been, historically, a concept in mainstream psychology. Psychology's dictionaries contain no direct reference to leisure, even though psychologists do occasionally conduct research on leisure (positive psychology contains some exceptions to this general neglect, e.g., Freire 2013; Stebbins 2015). To be precise,

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what is known about leisure from the standpoint of psychology has been described as a "social psychology of leisure" and "a child of leisure studies" (Mannell, Kleiber, and Staempfli 2006:119). These authors hold that "leisure has all but been ignored by social psychologists in the field of psychology during the past 100 years" (pp. 112–13). So, by and large, the contributions to the psychological understanding of leisure motivation, experience, attitude, emotion, and personality have come from scholars such as Seppo Iso-Ahola, Roger C. Mannell, Douglas A. Kleiber, and John Haworth, appointed in leisure studies departments or allied units.

Political science appears not to include in its core conceptual framework the concept of leisure, whether its own or one imported from leisure studies. Leisure appears in none of its dictionaries. Still the concept has occasionally entered into contemporary analyses in political science. Thus, Davies and Niemann (2002:572–73), upon examining the relationship of leisure and international relations, found that it is during free time in everyday life when the vast majority of people can take an interest in world affairs. They do this by reading the newspaper, watching television, reading novels, or going to the cinema, doing activities that may be classified as casual leisure for most participants. It is through such uncoerced activities that the general, not-professionally trained public has access to what is happening in international relations. Possibly the best known link between leisure and political science is found in the voluminous literature on political participation, a central focus of nonprofit and volunteer research.

These academic dismissals of leisure as being in some significant way unimportant mirrors public opinion on such activity (Stebbins 2012:100). That is, leisure is sometimes seen today as frivolous, as simply having a good time, or in the language of the SLP, as casual leisure and the quest for hedonism. The image of frivolity fades off into that of leisure as a waste of time, because frivolousness is believed by some people to lead to nothing substantial (even while several benefits of casual leisure have been identified, Stebbins 2001c; Kleiber 2000; Hutchinson and Kleiber 2005). A related image is that leisure is unimportant, in the sense that there is little need to plan for it, that what we do in free time can be determined on the spot.

These are the principal headwinds that the followers of the volitional conception of volunteers and volunteering must fight when trying to theorize and do research in this area. A less inhospitable intellectual

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climate might well have generated a larger body of work for us to review. That said, the results over the 40-year period are still noteworthy, not in the least because they do tell us a great deal about the unpaid motivation of volunteers as well as the social and historical organization of their contributions to self and community.

Note

1 Economics may be changing in this area. For example, Bruno Frey (2008), among others, has written about the economics of happiness, calling this new interest a "revolution" in his discipline. This is anything but the "dismal science" of economics, about which Thomas Carlyle wrote in the 19th century.

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2
Volunteering: What Is It?

Abstract: *The volitional and economic conceptions of volunteering are reviewed. The serious leisure perspective is then discussed, including its three forms: casual leisure, project-based leisure, and the serious pursuits (its two subforms being serious leisure and devotee work). A diagram of the serious leisure perspective is presented, as are the six distinguishing qualities of the serious pursuits. Despite the reigning economic conception of volunteering, making a case for it as leisure is logically simple. If the word "volunteering" is to remain consistent with its French and Latin roots, it can only be seen, as all leisure is, as un-coerced activity. Moreover, as with all leisure, leisure volunteering can only be understood as a basically satisfying or rewarding experience, for otherwise we are forced to posit that so-called volunteers of this kind are somehow pushed into performing their roles by circumstances they would prefer to avoid – a stark contradiction of terms.*

Keywords: casual leisure; devotee work; project-based leisure; serious leisure; serious leisure perspective; volunteering

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The author was the first to point out and discuss volunteering as serious leisure, thereby linking theoretically all of volunteering research to the more encompassing research field of leisure studies. Nonetheless, volunteering as leisure of any kind has in the past occupied a minority position in the study of this process and its volunteer participants, with the majority position being an economic one where volunteering is defined as unpaid labor. Labeled here the "volitional" and "economic" conceptions, these two will be considered in detail later. Meanwhile, note that this imbalance is changing, fueled by the string of publications to be discussed in a later section. Moreover, volunteering as leisure is not only about the serious kind – which is the main focus of this book – but also about volunteering as casual and project-based leisure. Given the relative lack of research on these latter two types, they will, however, be given much less coverage.

Despite the reigning economic conception of volunteering, making a case for it as leisure poses minimal logical difficulty. If the word "volunteering" is to remain consistent with its French and Latin roots, then it can only be seen, as all leisure is, as chosen, or un-coerced, activity. Moreover, as with all leisure, leisure volunteering can only be seen as either a basically satisfying or a basically rewarding experience, for otherwise we are forced to posit that so-called volunteers of this kind are somehow pushed into performing their roles by circumstances they would prefer to avoid – a stark contradiction of terms. The adjectives "satisfying" and "rewarding" are preferred here to such conventional leisure studies terms as "pleasurable" and "enjoyable" as descriptors for the overall experience of volunteering where, notwithstanding certain disagreeable features of the volunteer role, the volunteer finds the activity profoundly attractive on balance. (I return later to this matter of balance as it bears on volunteering and serious leisure. At that point, I present a list of rewards in which pleasure in serious leisure in general and career volunteering in particular is shown to be but one reward of many and, in most serious leisure activities, a minor reward at that.) It is considerations such as those covered in this paragraph that justify qualifying serious leisure volunteering as volitional.

Although it is true that in rare instances volunteers are paid, even beyond the expenses they incur (e.g., 3% of the sample was paid in a study conducted by Blacksell and Phillips 1994:13), these emoluments are much too small to constitute a livelihood or in themselves obligate the person in some way. Finally, it is also a fact that volunteering normally

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includes the clear requirement of being in a particular place, at a specified time, to carry out an assigned function. But, as Max Kaplan (1960:22–25) noted years ago, true leisure (both serious and casual) can be obligated to some extent, although certainly not to the extent typical of work.

The foregoing description of the leisure face of volunteering squares well with Jon Van Til's (1988:6) general definition:

> *Volunteering* may be identified as a helping action of an individual that is valued by him or her, and yet is not aimed directly at material gain or mandated or coerced by others. Thus, in the broadest sense, *volunteering* is an uncoerced helping activity that is engaged in not primarily for financial gain and not by coercion or mandate. It is thereby different in definition from work, slavery, or conscription.

This definition alludes to the two principal motives of volunteering. One is helping others – volunteering as altruism; the other is helping oneself – volunteering as self-interest. Examples of the latter include working for a strongly felt cause or, as we shall see later, working to experience, as serious leisure enthusiasts do everywhere, the variety of social and personal rewards available in volunteering and the leisure career in which they are framed.

Despite the theoretic compatibility of leisure and volunteering, it has been relatively rare both in leisure studies and in the study of voluntarism and citizen participation to find the two discussed together. In the first field, possibly because volunteering is seen "as somewhat more lofty than ... the fun and frivolity often associated with leisure" (Henderson 1984:58), volunteers at the time had for the most part been ignored as subjects of research. The handful of exceptions to this indictment is considered shortly. Researchers in the second field typically look on volunteers as helpers, as people filling a distinct, contributory role in modern society, and more particularly, in certain kinds of organizations. Whether this role is work or leisure or something else had seldom stirred much interest.

We look first at volunteering as a leisure activity. Next the serious leisure perspective (SLP) is set out. The central part of this review is devoted to the various theoretic advances to the study of volunteering as leisure and to the research done in this area. We conclude with a discussion of the national and international institutional locations (including scholarly organizations) of researchers focused on this topic, as well as an assessment of the patterns throughout the world of serious leisure

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papers being presented at conferences and serious leisure workshops being held on volunteering.

Volunteering as leisure activity

Whether it is leisure studies specialists looking at volunteering or voluntary action specialists looking at leisure, the result has been much the same: Neither field has been inclined to view its own subject matter through the eyes of the other. Still, significant exceptions exist, some of which will be reviewed here to show how the theoretical link between leisure and volunteering has evolved in recent decades.

Some of the earliest theoretical stirrings in this area came from Philip Bosserman and Richard Gagan (1972:115) and from David Horton Smith (1975:148) all of whom argued that, at the level of the individual, all leisure activity is voluntary action. More precise statements were made then and somewhat later by Max Kaplan (1975:394) and John Neulinger (1981:19), two leisure studies specialists, who observed in passing how leisure can serve either oneself or other people, if not both. It is presumed that they had volunteerism in mind, even though some amateur and hobbyist activities also have this dual function (e.g., community music and theater and sports such as curling and ice and powerboat racing). From the side of voluntary action research, Kenneth Boulding (1973:31) theorized that voluntary service borders on leisure, frequently even overlapping it. Alex Dickson (1974:xiii) observed that leisure is seen in commonsense as part of voluntary action, and does in fact "carry this spare-time connotation."

Karla Henderson (1981; 1984) examined the leisure component of volunteering both empirically and theoretically. She noted that in the 1980s social scientists ordinarily regarded volunteering in the same way as they regarded paid work, as having an external, or extrinsic, orientation – the volunteer has a job to complete for the benefit of the community. This contrasts with the (volitional) view they hold of leisure as oriented by internal, or intrinsic, interests – the participant enjoys the activity for itself and for the self-expression, self-enrichment, and self-fulfillment it may engender. Henderson found that her sample of 4-H workers in the United States defined their volunteering as leisure; for them volunteering was part of their leisure world.

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A few years later Stanley Parker (1987) reported findings from research on a group of peace workers. He discovered that, whereas they worked as volunteers for the cause of peace, they considered this activity part of their leisure. Parker also completed a second study around this time centered on the serious leisure activities of two samples of volunteers, one drawn in Britain, the other drawn in Australia (reported in Parker 1992). Here he found that one person in five engaged in some form of activity classifiable as volunteering. Almost invariably, the people sampled described their volunteering as leisure, as primarily rewarding activity and as secondarily helping activity. Their leisure was nonetheless most substantial; in reality it was serious leisure. Robert Stebbins' (1998) study of francophone career volunteers in Calgary and Edmonton in Canada revealed an even distribution among those who saw this kind of activity as leisure, work, or as a separate category distinct from these two (reported in Stebbins 2000b).

While Parker was studying peace workers, Susan Chambré (1987) was examining elderly volunteers. She reached similar conclusions: her respondents also defined their volunteering as leisure activity. As with Henderson, she wrestled with the extrinsic-intrinsic and the altruistic-self-interested dimensions, both of which pervade leisure volunteering. Volunteering is a work-like activity wherein a person accomplishes a task without remuneration. At the same time, the activity, which is freely chosen, provides many a satisfying experience. Chambré (1987:118) found, however, that the motives given by the elderly for taking up a volunteer role differ from those given for continuing in it. Although their sense of altruism often led them to volunteer in the first place, they were highly motivated by the intrinsic satisfaction they found there to continue in this role.

Working from Chambré's conclusion that volunteering is leisure, Lucy Fischer and Kay Schaffer (1993:51, 106–08), set out to explore the patterns of costs and rewards the elderly experience when they participate in this kind of activity. Following a comprehensive review of the current research and case study literature, the authors concluded that certain costs (e.g., time, hazards, inconveniences) are typically offset by numerous special rewards. The rewards include the following: feeling competent to do the volunteer work, sensing ideological congruence with the organization, and being satisfied with the job done (i.e., work is interesting, professional growth is possible, personal skills are used). Self-actualization, self-enrichment, and opportunities for social interaction were also

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found to be highly appealing (Fischer and Schaffer 1993:chapter 10). Moreover, it appears that the elderly are not alone in their feelings that volunteering is a highly rewarding form of leisure. Alexander Thompson and Barbara Bono (1993) found similar sentiments in their sample of volunteer firefighters whose activities fostered self-actualization, group accomplishment, and a special self-image.

Thomas Rotolo and John Wilson (2007) touch more obliquely on the question of volunteering when they observe that sex segregation in the workplace – the tendency for men and women to work in different occupations and jobs – remains widespread. Domestic chores are also sex-typed, but the extent to which sex segregation is found in other forms of non-waged work, such as volunteering, is unknown. The authors used maximum likelihood probit models with selection to estimate the incidence of sex segregation among volunteers in a nationally representative sample of adult Americans (N = 91,807). To explain this finding they note one line of argument which contends that any gender differentiation found in other work environments spills over into volunteer work. A competing argument, which is based on the SLP, contends that, in effect, this spillover theory overlooks an important characteristic of volunteer work: compared with work performed for pay or domestic chores, volunteering is an "agreeable obligation." Volunteering is what we do in our "free time" where, presumably, we have free choice. According to this argument, neither men nor women need conform to the pattern of sex segregation found in other work spheres. Thus, women can either ignore the constraints placed on them at work and at home or look for ways to overturn them. Indeed, citing Arlene Daniels, they write that volunteerism can be an alternative career for women, a source of empowerment and freedom. Nevertheless, their study suggests that sports and recreational activities are highly gendered. That we are not compelled by need or social obligation to engage in or watch these activities seems not to abate the force of gender ideologies on our ideas about what kinds of activities are appropriate for men and women.

The serious leisure perspective (SLP)

The SLP provides the theoretical and empirical foundation for the most widely accepted classification of leisure activities presently available (Stebbins 2007/2015; Elkington and Stebbins 2014). In the spirit of the

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extensive exploration that underlies this perspective, its three forms (serious, casual, and project-based leisure) considered together there are not conceived of, however, as necessarily encompassing all possible leisure activities. For one or more new forms could be discovered or existing forms substantially changed. More than forty years of research and theoretic work on leisure in the name of the perspective have led to development of a typological map of the world of leisure, the most recent version of which is available on the following website: www.seriousleisure.net/SLP diagrams. A full discussion of this map as well as the three forms (including the six distinguishing qualities of serious leisure) is available in the two books cited above.

Within the perspective leisure is defined as un-coerced, contextually framed activity engaged in during free time, which people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually do in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both) (the most recent version of this definition, comes from Stebbins 2012:4). The serious form comes in two varieties: serious leisure and devotee work. Because of their similarity I will when appropriate refer to them together as the serious pursuits. *Serious leisure* (as opposed to casual leisure and project-based leisure) is the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that participants find so interesting and fulfilling that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a (leisure) career centered on acquiring and expressing its special skills, knowledge, and experience (Stebbins 1992:3).

Devotee work is activity in which participants feel a powerful devotion, or strong, positive attachment, to an occupation that they are proud to be in (devotee work was first discussed in Stebbins 2004/2014:73–75 and is now elaborated in Stebbins, 2014). In such work the sense of career and achievement is high, and the core activity endowed with such intense appeal that the line between this work and leisure is virtually erased. Thus one way of understanding this level of appeal is to view devotee work as serious leisure from which a full or partial livelihood is possible. For evidence supporting this proposition, see Walker and Fenton's (2013) study of productive leisure researchers.

The term *career* is used broadly in these definitions, based on Erving Goffman's (1961:127–28) elaboration of the idea of "moral career." Such careers are available in all substantial, complicated roles, including especially those in work, leisure, politics, religion, volunteering, and interpersonal relationships (see also Hewett 1991:246; Lindesmith,

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Strauss, and Denzin 1991:277). George Floro (1978) discerned more than thirty-five years ago the fact of careers in volunteer work. The adjective "serious" (a word Stebbins' research respondents often used) embodies such qualities as earnestness, sincerity, importance, and carefulness. This adjective signals the importance of these three forms of activity in the everyday lives of participants, especially in that pursuing the three eventually engenders deep self-fulfillment.

Casual leisure is immediately intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it (Stebbins 1997). It is fundamentally hedonic, engaged in for the significant level of pure enjoyment, or pleasure, found there. It is also the classificatory home of much of the deviant leisure as discussed by Stebbins (1996d) and Rojek (1997:392–93). Casual leisure is further distinguished from serious leisure by six characteristics of the latter (presented shortly).

Project-based leisure is a short-term, moderately complicated, either one-shot or occasional, though infrequent, creative undertaking carried out in free time (Stebbins 2005). It requires considerable planning, effort, and sometimes skill or knowledge, but for all that is neither serious leisure nor activity intended to develop into such. Nor is it casual leisure. The adjective "occasional" describes widely spaced, undertakings for such regular occasions as arts festivals, sports events, religious holidays, individual birthdays, or national holidays. The adjective "creative" indicates that the undertaking results in something new or different, showing imagination, and possibly routine skill or knowledge. Though most projects would appear to be continuously pursued until completed, it is conceivable that some might be interrupted for several weeks, months, or even years. As will be noted later volunteering may also be of the casual or project-based variety.

Serious leisure is further defined and thereby separated from casual and project-based leisure by six distinguishing qualities (Stebbins 2007/2015). One is the occasional need to *persevere*. It is clear that some positive feelings about the activity come from sticking with it through thick and thin, conquering adversity. A second quality is finding a leisure (non-work) *career* in the serious leisure role. Careers in serious leisure commonly rest on a third quality: significant personal *effort* based on specially acquired knowledge, training, experience, and/or skill. Fourth, several *durable benefits*, or broad outcomes, of serious leisure have been identified so far, mostly through research on amateurs. They

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are self-development, self-enrichment, self-expression, regeneration or renewal of self, feelings of accomplishment, enhancement of self-image, social interaction and belongingness, and lasting physical products of the activity (e.g., a painting, scientific paper, a piece of furniture). Self-gratification, the combination of superficial enjoyment and deep fulfillment, is a further benefit and also one of the main benefits of casual leisure, where however, one experiences enjoyment only. Of these benefits, self-fulfillment – realizing or having realized to the fullest one's gifts and character, one's potential – is for many participants the most powerful of all.

A fifth quality of serious leisure is the *unique ethos* that develops. That is, a broad subculture eventually emerges around each activity; it consists of special beliefs, norms, events, traditions, moral principles, and where appropriate, performance standards. The structure holding these diverse elements together is a parallel social world, wherein participants can pursue their free-time interests. Unruh (1980) developed the following definition:

> A *social world* must be seen as a unit of social organization which is diffuse and amorphous in character. Generally larger than groups or organizations, social worlds are not necessarily defined by formal boundaries, membership lists, or spatial territory. ... A social world must be seen as an internally recognizable constellation of actors, organizations, events, and practices which have coalesced into a perceived sphere of interest and involvement for participants. Characteristically, a social world lacks a powerful centralized authority structure and is delimited by ... effective communication and not territory nor formal group membership. (p. 277)

The sixth quality revolves around the preceding five: serious leisure participants tend to *identify* strongly with their chosen pursuits. In contrast, casual leisure is too fleeting, mundane, and commonplace for most people to find a distinctive identity there.

In the field of leisure studies these three types and their subtypes are considered together under the heading of the serious leisure perspective. Figure 2.1 offers a diagrammatic view of their interrelationship. It shows well how volunteering as career, casual, and project-based activities fit in the larger world of leisure opportunities. It shows as well that people have many activities to choose from (within their limits of time, money, capability, availability, etc.), which indicates that volunteering often has to compete with other attractive free-time possibilities.

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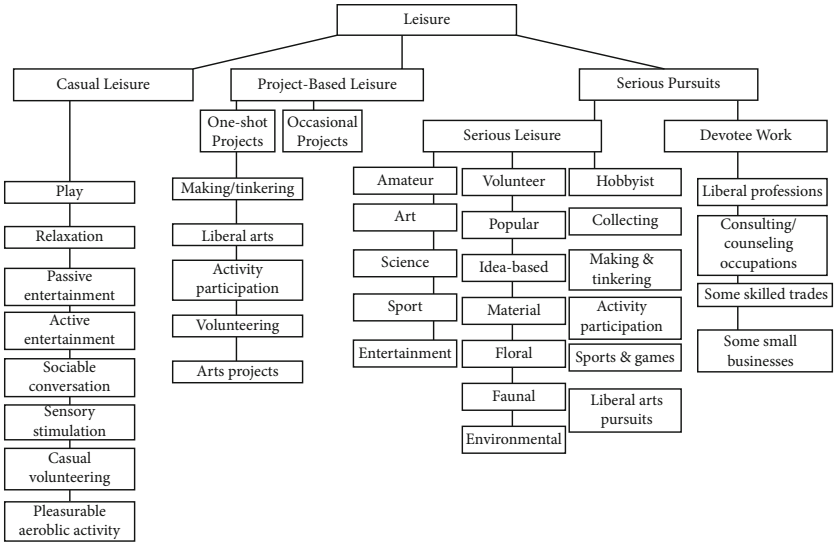

FIGURE 2.1 *The serious leisure perspective*

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3
Definitions of Volunteering

Abstract: *The challenge of defining volunteering is taken up. To this end four canons of definition are reviewed, after which the economic and volitional definitions of volunteering are examined in detail with attention given to the weaknesses and strengths of each. Terms such as activity obligation and intentional productivity are introduced as ways of clarifying the economic and volitional definitions. A definition of the work–leisure axis of volunteering is then presented followed by a discussion of stipended volunteering.*

Keywords: activity; canons of definition; intentional productivity; obligation; stipended volunteering; volunteering

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Jon Van Til's definition of volunteering numbers among the most frequently cited. He endeavored to define the whole of volunteering, while also framing it as an activity ("action"). He did not directly refer to it as work or as leisure activity, except to say that volunteering is "un-coerced." Smith, Stebbins, and Dover's (2006:245–46) definition of volunteering follows Van Til's as presented earlier in this book, except they add that volunteer work is "done outside one's family." This condition raises the question of when caring is volunteering, for a significant amount of caring is given to family members undertaken as non-work obligation (see later in this section).

The definition of volunteering revolving around the idea variously known as "unpaid work (labor)" or "unpaid productive work (labor)" – the economic definition – has been around far longer than that of volunteering incorporating the idea that it is leisure – our volitional definition. The former, which is the more widely used of the two, seems at first blush to be incompatible on several accounts with the latter. And, indeed, there are some incompatibilities, which however, can be reconciled in an overarching definition incorporating both. For, among its other defining features, volunteering can be shown to be both unpaid work and attractive leisure. More about this after the following short disquisition into the nature of definitions:

Four canons of definition

Before going more deeply into this conundrum of definitions, we must review some of the thought on what a definition is. The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (5th ed.) defines "definition" (2nd sense) as: "a precise statement of the nature, properties, scope or essential qualities of a thing; an explanation of a concept, etc.; a statement or formal explanation of the meaning or a word or phrase." We may add to this Ralph Borsodi's (1967:32–33) the following four canons of definition: (1) A definition must be *adequate*; that is, the referent word stands out from all other referent words. (2) A definition must allow *differentiation*. It must provide "enough specific and significant attributes and properties peculiar to the word's referent" to obviate confusion with anything else. (3) Proper definitions have *impartiality*; they are written such that they do not favor particular attributes and properties over others that also conform to the first two canons. (4) Finally definitions must have sufficient *completeness*.

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They should be complete enough to enable their audience to recognize the referent word.

The present discussion strives to meet these canons. But remember that definitions of concepts, like the theories of which they are a part, are subject to revision as new data and ideas challenge their validity (Kaplan 1964). So the present definitional undertaking is necessarily hypothetical, although as hypothesis, it squares with present data and thought.

The economic and volitional definitions

Let us start with the general idea of work, which Herbert Applebaum (1992:x) says has no satisfactory definition, since the idea relates to all human activities. That caveat aside, he sees work, among other ways, as performance of useful activity (making things, performing services) done as all or part of sustaining life, as a livelihood. Some people are remunerated for their work, whereas others get paid in kind or they directly maintain body and soul with the fruits of their labor (e.g., subsistence farming, hunting, fishing). Volunteering as unpaid (productive) work, sometimes known as the economic conception of such activity, is commonly defined as an absence of payment that would go toward making a livelihood, be that payment in money or in kind. But since it contributes little or nothing to the volunteer's livelihood, it is not work as Applebaum defines it. Despite the illogical relationship of these two ideas, the economic conception dominates in nonprofit sector studies, where it is often used to describe volunteering in formal organizations. The origins of this concept seem to stretch far back into the history of economics as a discipline, and as Musick and Wilson (2008:12) observe, the concept has appeal as an easy measure carried out with empirical indicators.

Today, many definitions of volunteering include the element of unpaid work or unpaid productive work as one of several constituting a more complete definition. In other words the champions of these broader statements are arguing, à la Borsodi, that the economic definition is in itself incomplete and, some scholars would argue, also partial (i.e., biased). Musick and Wilson (2008) state in their assessment of this definition that it "tells nothing about the diverse meaning of volunteer work, nor does it explain why productive work is, in this case, unpaid. We need to remain open to the possibility that volunteerism is defined, in part, by its motivation" (p. 12).

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When speaking of motivation, another problem emerges, one rooted in the use of "productive" in the economic definition. For volunteering is not always productive, in the sense that it inevitably adds value to the target of benefits, be it an individual, group, flora, or fauna. That is, volunteering does not always result in the effect intended by the volunteers or their managers and, indeed, may even have a negative impact (Grotz 2011). Moreover, volunteers themselves are sometimes disappointed with the results of their efforts, suggesting that those efforts may have been partially, even totally, ineffective. In short and in line with Borsodi's principle of differentiation, productiveness fails as an element in the definition of volunteering that can be used to distinguish volunteering from the activities in work where productivity is also absent at times (e.g., where workers loaf, are poorly directed, lack necessary tools).

What is unique, however, is the attitude or motive that volunteers *intend* to be productive. For this reason I doctor the economic definition in the following way: *volunteering is intentionally productive unpaid work*. From the standpoint of this definition it matters little whether the volunteering is actually productive, only that volunteers engage in the activity with the intention or, at minimum, the hope – by the way, both are volitional – that it will turn out to be productive. Further, to escape the illogicality of volunteer "work," I replace it with volunteer "activity."

The motivational foundation and socio-cultural context of volunteering vary substantially according to the activity and form of leisure being pursued. Serious leisure volunteering is exemplified by serving on a board of directors, administering emergency medical services, and acting as a hospital volunteer. Other people volunteer routinely, as part of their casual leisure, by addressing and stuffing envelopes for a charity, distributing food at a food bank, picking up furniture and clothing for Goodwill Industries and the like. Leisure projects include one-off volunteering at an arts festival or sports tournament and running an electoral campaign.

Thus Stebbins (2013) argues that by observing that the first is, in part, descriptive; it portrays volunteering as, at bottom, intentionally productive unpaid work. But the problem with this blanket qualification is that by no means all such work is voluntary, as the domain of non-work obligation so clearly shows (activities in this domain are by definition disagreeable, the agreeable ones being essentially leisure – see the next two paragraphs). Moreover, some other kinds of unpaid work hardly resemble paid work, since they are essentially leisure. Is it not true, then, that a principal attraction of this economic conception is its capacity to

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steer attention to an important sphere of life situated beyond employment, beyond livelihood?

What is the domain of non-work obligation? On the *activity* level, the great proportion of everyday life can be conceptualized as being experienced in one of three domains: work, leisure, and non-work obligation (Stebbins 2009a:Chapter 1; 2012:Chapter 3). Obligation outside that experienced while pursuing a livelihood is terribly understudied (much of it falls under the heading of family and/or domestic life, while obligatory communal involvements are also possible) and sometimes seriously misunderstood (as in coerced "volunteering"). To speak of obligation, is to speak not about how people are prevented from entering certain leisure activities – the object of much of research on leisure constraints – but about how people fail to define a given activity as leisure or redefine it as other than leisure, as an unpleasant obligation. Obligation is both a state of mind, an attitude – a person feels obligated – and a form of behavior – he must carry out a particular course of action, engage in a particular activity. But even while obligation is substantially mental and behavioral, it roots, too, in the social and cultural world of the obligated actor.

Obligation fits with leisure in at least two ways: leisure may include certain agreeable obligations and the third domain of life – non-work obligation – consists of disagreeable requirements capable of shrinking the leisure space. Agreeable obligation is very much a part of some leisure, evident when such obligation accompanies positive commitment to an activity that evokes pleasant memories and expectations (these two are essential features of leisure, Kaplan 1960:22–25). On the other hand, disagreeable obligation has no place in leisure, because among other reasons, it fails to leave the participant with a pleasant memory or expectation of the activity. Rather it is the stuff of the third domain: non-work obligation. This domain is the classificatory home of all we must do that we would rather avoid that is not related to work (including moonlighting). So far I have been able to identify three types: unpaid labor, unpleasant tasks, and odious self-care (e.g., see Stebbins 2012:53–54).

Another key quality of the economic definition is that the unpaid activity in question is sometimes described in the intellectual circles oriented by this definition as *intentionally* productive. In volunteering, volunteers intend to generate something of value for both self and other (non-family) individuals, including group or community, if not a combination of these three. The various examples offered two paragraphs ago attest to both this intention and, in these instances, its productive outcome.

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Now, the concept of intentionally-productive unpaid work occupies some common ground with the serious leisure perspective. The latter, particularly in its serious leisure and project-based forms, includes following Stebbins (1996a; 2007/2015:13–17) a set of ten personal and social rewards that participants may realize through participation in the activities the forms subsume (the rewards are presented later). In other words, unpaid volunteer work, when productive, leads to these benefits for self (i.e., intrinsic "psychic benefits" and possibly extrinsic instrumental pay-offs) as well as for other individuals, groups, or the community as a whole.

It is this second quality of the idea of unpaid work as intended productivity that carries it beyond description into explanation. Such work is supposed to produce results, thereby showing the utility of volunteering. Furthermore, now on the explanatory level, the definitional ball gets passed to leisure studies.

Thus in Stebbins (2013) I proposed the following definition of the work–leisure axis of volunteering, on which we find the economic-volitional puzzle. Volunteering is *un-coerced, intentionally-productive, altruistic, helping activity framed in a distinctive context and engaged in during free time. It is also altruistic-helping activity that people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually do in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both)*.

If people are compensated then the payment in cash or in kind is significantly less-than-market-value. "Activity" (and core activity) is substituted for "work" in this definition, because the first is the more precise term for what people do in and get from their leisure and volunteering. The adjective "intentionally-productive" is added to distinguish the beneficial social consequences of volunteering, which are absent in some other kinds of leisure (e.g., walking in a park, reading for pleasure or self-improvement, watching people from a sidewalk cafe). And the adjective "altruistic" includes the generally accepted proposition that all such activity is also motivated by self-interested considerations (Stebbins 1996a). The locution "less-than-market-valued," which now replaces "unpaid," admits quasi-volunteering to the definition. When performing it, people help reach a public service goal, are recognized socially as a type of volunteer, and receive an in-cash or in-kind compensation significantly less than the market value of the labor provided (e.g., a stipend for Peace Corps volunteers, an honorarium for a president of a nonprofit board of directors) (Smith, 2000:25, 47).

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In this regard, Rochester, Paine, and Howlett (2010:13–16) frame in a unique way serious leisure volunteering and its related perspectives. They integrate it with activism and unpaid work or service diagramed on page 15 as three overlapping sets, or circles. To understand volunteering fully one must consider this broader picture. That is, volunteering may be seen as a combination of unpaid work and activism, a combination of activism and serious leisure, a combination of serious leisure and unpaid work, and as a combination of all three perspectives. This conceptualization is consistent with the economic-volitional definition just presented.

How does the stipended volunteer fit this definition? This type raises a singular question: can people, at a level significantly less than market value, make money or be paid in kind and still be logically regarded as engaged in volunteering? Yes, they can, but only to the extent that they are not coerced, find the activity attractive, and experience it as either satisfying or fulfilling or both. In fact, if the volunteering becomes devotee work that is remunerated at a level where the worker is dependent on that money, the serious leisure character of that activity is preserved.

But, if the volunteering loses some of its appeal and to maintain its attractiveness the volunteers get a stipend, they become economically or psychologically dependent on it. Here they increasingly marginalize themselves in the world of volunteering, because they are ever more influenced by this dependency (Thompson 1997b; Stebbins 2001a; 2009b).

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Career (Serious Leisure) Volunteering

Abstract: *Career volunteering is motivated by altruism and self-interest as well as by a sense of career in the activity and a set of special rewards gained from pursuing it. First, the theoretic advances that have been made beyond the two basic statements made in 1982 and 1996 are summarized. Next, a theoretic typology of volunteers and volunteering is presented. It is a two-dimensional scheme created from cross-tabulating six types of volunteering interests and the three forms of the serious leisure perspective.*

Keywords: altruism; career volunteering; rewards of volunteering; self-interest; serious leisure perspective; typology of volunteers

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Treating of volunteering as one principal type of serious leisure leads us to three aspects of the former that many specialists in voluntary action and citizen participation usually acknowledge but seldom examine. First, as observed previously, volunteers are inspired by two main motives, altruism and self-interest. Self-interest is a cardinal feature of all serious leisure which, when expressed in volunteering, enters into an intricate, but as yet poorly understood, relationship with altruism (Stebbins 1992:16). Most specialists in voluntary action research would acknowledge that "the volunteer gets something personal out of it too" (e.g., Smith 1981; Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1992).

Second, as already mentioned, serious leisure volunteering is career volunteering. And it is likely that the motive of personal interest often drives the pursuit of such a career more than the motive of altruism, even where a person's altruism prompted him or her to enter the field in the first place (c.f., Chambré 1987). Of the two, self-interest seems to be the stronger motivator encouraging a volunteer to continue in a serious leisure career in voluntary action. This is true in good part because volunteering requires certain skills, knowledge, or training and, at times, two or three of these. As we shall see, their acquisition is most rewarding. Moreover, these rewards as they relate to the values associated with the volunteer activity (favorably) commit the volunteer to a career of finding fulfillment there.

Third, careers and self-interest in volunteering are inspired in good part by a person's experiences with the special rewards found in all types of serious leisure. To date, these have been most thoroughly examined in volunteer studies by Fischer and Schaffer (1993), albeit only for the elderly. In comparison with their findings, however, my own research on various amateur activities (summarized in Stebbins 1992:Chapter 6) and on the hobbyist activity of barbershop singing (Stebbins 1996c) turned up a substantially longer list of rewards, rewards offered by serious leisure in general to those who participate in it. Then work on volunteers in the francophone sub-community of the English-Canadian city of Calgary (Stebbins 1994) indicated that volunteers in the sub-community experience these same benefits, albeit in ways unique to their type of leisure.

The ten rewards are presented here in terms related to voluntarism and citizen participation. They are also found in the amateur and hobbyist activities.

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Personal rewards

1. Personal enrichment (cherished experiences, including exceptional rapport with clients, senses of helping others, being altruistic)
2. Self-actualization (developing skills, abilities, knowledge)
3. Self-expression (expressing skills, abilities, knowledge already acquired)
4. Self-image (known to others as a particular kind of volunteer)
5. Self-gratification (senses of play, hedonic pleasure)
6. Re-creation (regeneration) of oneself through volunteer activity after a day's work
7. Financial return (from volunteering)

Social rewards

8. Social attraction (associating with clients and other volunteers, participating in the social world of the activity)
9. Group accomplishment (group effort in accomplishing a volunteer project)
10. Contribution to the maintenance and development of the group (including senses of helping, being needed, being altruistic in making the contribution)

The rewards of a serious leisure pursuit are the more or less routine values that attract and hold its enthusiasts. They constitute the objects of self-interest; they are what someone motivated by self-interest hopes to achieve through volunteer work. A given serious leisure career both frames and is framed by this enduring search for rewards, for it takes months, even years, to consistently find deep satisfaction in an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer role. Note, too, that in this scheme being altruistic is conceived of as a reward, as a particular expression of self-enrichment. This suggests that career volunteers can be distinguished from other types of serious leisure participants by the exceptional number of enriching experiences they gain by way of altruistic action.

Returning to the question of the sense of satisfaction in serious leisure and career volunteering, note that in particular terms this satisfaction is aroused by experiencing these rewards. Furthermore, these rewards are not only satisfying in themselves, but also satisfying as a counterweight to the costs experienced in the activity. For example, a volunteer board member might not always feel like attending board meetings,

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occasionally have his or her ideas rejected when there, be asked to perform some disagreeable tasks, and still generally regard this activity as satisfying – as leisure – owing to certain powerful rewards that it offers. To sum up, when we speak of self-interest in serious leisure and career volunteering, we speak more specifically about gaining satisfaction and experiencing rewards as these substantially offset costs.

As of July 2015, the SLP website – www.seriousleisure.net – had listed in its Bibliography under the heading of "Volunteers" 102 entries, almost all of which bear on volunteering as serious leisure. Guided by this bibliography, the present book will examine and evaluate the main areas of life where volunteering has been studied under the rubric of the serious leisure perspective (SLP). This review will also identify research weaknesses and neglected areas of study. Articles, chapters, and books on this subject written in the Asian languages and chapters appearing in anthologies, to the extent that they are inaccessible to the author, are not included in this list. Graduate theses, where these are known and available, are listed here, while conference papers are not. In all these publications analysis centers either substantially or wholly on the SLP or on one or two of its three forms.

Thus the 102 entries must not be understood as a complete list of all works published on career volunteering. Nevertheless, the time span for the empirical works contained in this list can be calculated: it is slightly less than thirty years. We look first at the theoretic advances that have been made beyond the two basic statements (Stebbins 1982; 1996a).

Other theoretic advances

Stanley Parker (1987) published the first study, wherein the idea of serious leisure served as the main framework for his examination of peace volunteers. Later he (Parker 1992) interviewed samples in Britain and Australia about their leisure interests, from which he learned that one in five engaged in volunteering, and that this activity could be considered serious leisure. Earlier research undertaken by Karla Henderson (1981; 1984) – she studied 4-H workers in the United States – helped support the proposition that volunteering is leisure activity, without however, directly referring to either serious or casual leisure (project-based leisure was not conceptualized until 2005). Still, much of what she said squared well with the contents of earlier and later theoretic statements by Stebbins and Parker.

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Following Stebbins' (1982) initial statement on career volunteering, both he and Parker (1997) continued to conceptually elaborate the idea. Parker observed that there are four types of volunteering: *altruistic* volunteering as in giving of time and effort to help others; *market volunteering* as in giving but expecting something in return; *cause-serving* volunteering seen in promoting a cause in which one believes; and *leisure* volunteering as in seeking a leisure experience. Parker saw the first three as being too instrumental to lead to a true leisure experience.

Stebbins, for his part, fleshed out in several subsequent publications the rudiments of career volunteering presented in 1982. In Stebbins (1996a) he explained more fully the concept of career volunteering and the relationship of self-interest and altruism. He also discussed casual leisure volunteering and marginal volunteering, though the most detailed examination of the second came later (Stebbins 2001b). Marginal volunteering occurs when the volunteer feels significant moral coercion to agree to do it. Depending on the activity, a certain range of choice of activity is available to the volunteer, but choice that is nonetheless guided substantially by extrinsic interests or pressures, by influential forces lying outside the volunteer activity itself. Stebbins discussed six types of unpaid, productive activity where choice is limited, coercion is felt, and obligation is seen to be unpleasant: (1) extracurricular activities in the workplace, (2) time money schemes (e.g., one hour of volunteering equals one hour of [non-monetary] time credit), (3) exploratory activity in search of a work career, (4) assigned activity in training and corrections programs, (5) help for friends and relatives, and (6) busy work as job replacement for retired people and the unemployed.

Arai (1997) was the first to extend serious leisure to the concepts of citizen participation and empowerment, showing thereby the social and motivational foundation of both processes. She also made some contributions to the theoretic development of the SLP. Based on data from a study of volunteers in a community planning initiative, she (Arai 2000) developed a tripartite typology of volunteers labeled "citizen," "techno," and "labor." The first contributes to the community, develops skills and knowledge about it, and is rewarded in relationships with such expressive benefits as spiritual reinforcement and feelings of being uplifted. The second contributes to the system or to an organization accomplished by developing skills and knowledge about networks (e.g., they form around issues, fundraising, and computer concerns). Relationships here have to do with access to these networks. The third type contributes to

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an organization and to practical areas within it such as promotions and marketing. Relationships for the labor volunteer consist of developing acquaintances. This typology refines our understanding of the link between individual career volunteering and collective action, citizenship, and social capital.

Turning to another theoretic advance it is evident in what has been so far that obligation, agreeable or not, is also relational, or social. We are not only obliged to undertake certain activities but we are also obliged to the individuals who have an interest in them (e.g., those involved in a family picnic, playing a board game with the children, or going out to eat with one's partner). These examples presuppose the presence of one or more other people who depend on the obligated person to honor his or her commitment to the activity. There is thus a personal tie, a relationship of some duration, between what Cuskelly and Harrington (1997), in their study of volunteer sports administrators in Brisbane, called "obligees" (e.g., feel they must participate in the picnic, game playing, or eating out) and "role dependees" (e.g., young members of a family participating in an activity, for which, to ensure its survival, a parent, an obligee, must volunteer). The obligees and dependees tended to be marginal volunteers, whereas the career volunteers, tended to be motivated by altruism and self-interest. More broadly, for a complete explanation of volunteering we must inquire into the structural and cultural arrangements underlying the obligations found in this kind of leisure.

Lockstone-Binney and colleagues (2010) point out that leisure has been widely examined within the context of social science theory. They adopt a broad approach, covering a range of social science disciplines and applying them to specific phenomena located within the leisure field, namely, volunteers and volunteering in leisure settings. In a disciplinary sense, the sociological view focuses upon the conceptualization of volunteering as leisure, the psychological view seeks to understand motivations driving volunteering, while the perspective of economics supplements these approaches as to why people volunteer and further examines the value of volunteer contributions. Comparative analysis of the perspectives developed within these key disciplines provides a fuller picture than heretofore possible of the status of research relating to leisure volunteers and volunteering.

This analysis enables the authors identify gaps in current knowledge. For example, they note the observation made earlier based on Stebbins (2000a; 2000b) that career volunteers often define their activity as much

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as a form of work as a form of leisure. Service learning raises the question of whether volunteering is always a free and unconstrained activity. There are many similar examples where volunteerism involves some element of obligation or even coercion. Third, there is a gap in knowledge around whether volunteers' sense of obligation to their roles and host organizations can change over time. Indeed, it may be that, as the years pass, an initially agreeable volunteering activity becomes onerous.

About this same time in a study of francophone volunteers in Calgary and Edmonton in Canada, Stebbins (1998:4) pioneered the concept of "key volunteer." Such a person in a nonprofit group numbers among its most skilled, knowledgeable, and hard-working members in helping the group reach its goals. Main volunteers are usually officers, though they could also be, for example, chair of a major committee or organizer of a major event. Stebbins notes that these individuals are commonly greatly valued such that it may be difficult for them to quit their roles. Burnout was found to be a possibility in these circumstances.

Later, in a chapter on career volunteering and quality of life, Stebbins (2004) pointed out that, whereas the first generally enhances the second, many tensions potentially exist in the first that can dilute the second. From his study of francophone key volunteers (see above), he identified four types of tensions. One – the *temporal tension* – centers on the need for constant planning and scheduling, the two principal ways of making the most efficient use of scarce time. Furthermore, *relational tensions* can occur, as in the friction that sometimes emerges between spouse and volunteer or children and volunteer when the latter privileges a volunteer engagement over demands of one or both of the former. Respondents who experienced this tension uniformly qualified it as a main cost of volunteering. There was, for some, an *obligative tension*, or the stress arising from an inability to meet various domestic requirements when faced with volunteer commitments of higher priority. Some respondents experienced a *leisure tension*, which unlike the preceding tensions, is mainly positive. That is, committed to certain volunteer roles, they then discovered how little time they had for other leisure activities they were also fond of.

Karla Henderson and Jacquelyn Presley (2003) argued that cultural globalization may be a way to foster the values of volunteering as a leisure experience. Volunteerism may offer an important avenue for bringing people together to address the problems of local communities as well as the global village. The authors said that defining volunteering

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is complicated, because it is a cultural activity conditioned by a multitude of factors, among them ethnic traditions, religious beliefs, and legal regulations. Nonetheless, in countries around the world people in governmental as well as nonprofit organizations are realizing the economic and social benefits of volunteering. Globalization may offer numerous opportunities to share information about volunteering and about how volunteers use their energy to supplement human capital as well as social services. Henderson and Presley discussed three related but distinct dimensions regarding volunteerism and how it relates to leisure and recreation. The dimensions are the individual, organizational, and community aspects of these two. In a globalized world where it is easy to become disillusioned with feelings of powerlessness, volunteerism might be a leisure activity that offers ways to express individual interests as well as foster community and global commitments.

The SLP has also found its way, both in theory and in application, to the world of the social entrepreneur (Stebbins 2010; Durieux and Stebbins 2010). Social entrepreneurs create innovative solutions to what they define as social problems, be they local, national, or international. In social entrepreneurship people use the principles of enterprise to foster social change, which they do by establishing and managing a venture. Some of them set up small, medium, or large non-profit groups designed to ameliorate a difficult situation threatening certain people, flora, or fauna or a certain aspect of the environment, if not a combination of these. Others are profit-seekers. They work to establish a money-making enterprise that also improves such a situation in one of these four areas.

We must look beyond the profit motive for a more profound explanation of social entrepreneurship. The SLP offers a two-pronged explanation that meets this requirement. The crux of the argument set out in Stebbins (2010) is that pursuit of non-profit entrepreneurship may be seen at bottom as a serious leisure undertaking of the career volunteer kind (casual and project-based leisure volunteers are also usually involved), whereas pursuit of for-profit entrepreneurship may be seen as a kind of devotee work. By analyzing social entrepreneurship within the framework of the SLP (which includes occupational devotion), we gain the additional sense of how the search for personal and social rewards, experience of the core activity, and the contexts of society, culture, and history can enrich our understanding of this special variety of altruism.

Sam Elkington (2011) studied a sample of volunteer sports coaches in the United Kingdom and their experiences of flow in this activity. He

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was the first to directly study flow and serious leisure (he also sampled amateur actors and hobbyist table tennis players). His research revealed that each activity is capable of generating flow. It does so in terms unique to itself, showing the affinity of serious leisure activity for the flow experience and showing that both serious leisure and flow are not disparate frameworks. Rather, they are structurally and experientially mutually reinforcing, producing strong evidence that being in flow while executing a core activity is what makes this kind of leisure highly rewarding and experienced as optimal.

A theoretic typology of volunteers and volunteering

Somewhat earlier, Stebbins (2007) had developed an SLP-driven, two-dimensional, theoretic typology of volunteers and volunteering. His informal observations made over the years suggested that volunteer activities are motivated, in part, by one of six types of interest: interest in activities focused on people, ideas, things, flora, fauna, or the natural environment. Each type offers its volunteers an opportunity to pursue, through an altruistic activity, a particular kind of interest. But volunteers and volunteering cannot be explained by interest alone; other theoretic elements are needed. They come from the SLP, the three forms of which make up the second dimension of our typology. This perspective sets out the motivational and contextual (socio-cultural, historical) foundation of the three.

Popular volunteering

Examples of career, or serious leisure, volunteering with people include ski patrol, search and rescue, emergency medical worker, trained/experienced hospital volunteer, and tutor of second-language learners. The world-wide volunteer organization The Guardian Angels, which safeguards against crime and violence in neighborhoods and schools, and now, cyberspace, further exemplifies this type. Casual volunteering with people is seen in, among other activities, ushering, handing out leaflets, collecting donations (including fund-raising), giving directions, and serving in community welcoming clubs. Popular volunteering in leisure projects is evident in the various people-oriented roles volunteers fill at conferences, arts festivals, children's festivals, and sporting tournaments.

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Idea-based volunteering

Volunteering centered on ideas often gets expressed in a service of some sort. Serious leisure examples are legion: pro-bono legal service, volunteer consulting, volunteer retired business people advising on business, and political party volunteers working on strategy or policy. Not conceivable as a service, however, is advocacy volunteering (including protest activity), which nonetheless requires manipulating ideas, in this instance, to persuade a target group. Moreover, for those wanting only a limited volunteer experience, any of these could also be carried out as leisure projects. Finally I could think of no instances of casual volunteering using ideas, and perhaps for good reason. Casual leisure is fundamentally hedonic and, as such, not idea-based volunteer activity as conceived of here.

Material volunteering

It is possible that volunteer work with human-made things is the arena for the largest amount of project-based volunteering. Some material volunteers organize their work for Habitat for Humanity as a project, as do those who donate their trade skills to fix a plumbing or electrical problem at their church, prepare food for the needy on Thanksgiving Day, or help construct the set for a high school play. Examples of material volunteering as serious leisure include: regular volunteers who repair and restore furniture and clothing donated to the Salvation Army, prepare meals for the indigent, and perform secretarial or book keeping services for a nonprofit group. Volunteers providing water filters and electrical lighting to Third World countries are engaging in serious leisure material volunteering, as are volunteer firefighters (when not rescuing people). Casual material volunteering refers to such activities as regularly stuffing envelops for a nonprofit group mailing, picking up trash along beaches or roadsides (could also be classified as environmental volunteering), and keeping the score at adolescent sporting matches.

Floral volunteering

Career volunteering here occurs as, for example, gardening (flowers, shrubs), say, for a church, town square, friend or neighbor. Vegetable gardening for the needy also falls into this category, as does planting each season trees and shrubs to beautify a park or community organization.

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As with idea-based volunteering any of these might also be pursued as leisure projects. The casual floral volunteer performs for church, community, charitable organization, and the like such altruistic activities as raking leaves, watering lawns and plants, and weeding gardens. To constitute leisure volunteering, these must, however, be seen by the volunteer as agreeable, not as an unpleasant obligation.

Faunal volunteering

Faunal volunteers work with animals, including birds, fish, and reptiles. Career volunteers in this type serve, among places, at the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in animal rescue units, at the local zoo, and in animal rehabilitation services. Knowledgeable people who care for someone's pet (outside the volunteer's family) on a regular basis (serious leisure) or as a one-off service (project-based leisure) are also part of this type. Volunteering only to feed a holidaying friend's bird or cat or walk that person's dog, assuming this experience is enjoyable, are instances of casual leisure in the area of faunal volunteering.

Environmental volunteering

Environmental volunteering entails either monitoring or changing a particular set of external conditions affecting the people, flora, or fauna living in them. The change striven for is not always defined as favorable by everyone it may affect (e.g., mountain hikers might oppose a campaign by dirt-bikers' for new trails in areas where the former have enjoyed exclusive use). Career volunteering here includes maintaining hiking trails and trout streams as well as creating, organizing, and conducting environmentally related publicity campaigns (e.g., anti-smoking, clean air, clean water, anti-logging or mining, access to natural recreational resources such as lakes, forests, ocean frontage). Any of these could also be pursued as leisure projects. The casual volunteer also finds opportunities in these examples, seen in door-to-door distribution of leaflets promoting a clean air campaign and picking up litter in a park or along a highway.

Cross-classifying the two dimensions resulted in the following eighteen-fold table. Not surprisingly, perhaps, some volunteers pursue two even three interests during the same activity. We examine this rather more complex level of altruistic involvement later in this section, after considering the eighteen types.

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TABLE 4.1 *A leisure-based theoretic typology of volunteers and volunteering*

	Type of volunteer		
Leisure interest	**Serious leisure (SL)**	**Casual leisure (CL)**	**Project-based leisure (PBL)**
Popular	SL Popular	CL Popular	PBL Popular
Idea-Based	SL Idea-Based	CL Idea-Based	PBL Idea-Based
Material	SL Material	CL Material	PBL Material
Floral	SL Floral	CL Floral	PBL Floral
Faunal	SL Faunal	CL Faunal	PBL Faunal
Environmental	SL Environmental	CL Environmental	PBL Environmental

The following chapter "A Review of Research" is organized along the lines of this typology.

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5
A Review of Research

Abstract: *The main part of this chapter consists of a lengthy review of the empirical literature supporting the different types of volunteers and volunteering set out in Chapter 4. These types are volunteering for people, material volunteering, idea and faunal volunteering, and environmental volunteering. The serious leisure perspective has so far failed to generate an equally strong interest research on all these types.*

Keywords: interests in volunteering; serious leisure perspective; volunteering; volunteering research

Stebbins, Robert A. *Leisure and the Motive to Volunteer: Theories of Serious, Casual, and Project-Based Leisure*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
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Within the serious leisure perspective (SLP) by far the greatest amount of research has been conducted on the SL popular (people) type of volunteer and volunteering. Serious leisure material volunteering is a distant second-level focus, with the SL environmental type coming in third (two articles). Only one article exists on SL faunal volunteering and one on SL idea volunteering. Meanwhile, the other thirteen types remain to be explored through formal research. In the conclusion I speculate about the reasons for this skewed pattern of research and suggest a program of research to correct it.

Volunteering for people (and community)

Bear in mind as we examine the multitude of studies reported in this section that the volunteers being considered have an intense interest in certain kinds of people who can benefit from their services. These people may be children, youth, athletes, hospital patients, artistic performers, or the elderly (e.g., coach, player in a card game, conversational companion). Popular volunteers like working face-to-face with one or more of these categories or they like serving indirectly their interests (e.g., cook at a children's camp, lighting expert for an amateur theatre), if not both. This matter of interest is a particular expression of the wider principle of leisure taste: people go in for activities they like to do with people, objects, animals, and so on who are especially attractive (Stebbins 2014:36)

A large number of articles, chapters, and books report data on volunteers serving one or more community interests. Prominent here is the research carried out by Susan Arai, sometimes in collaboration with Alison Pedlar (Arai 1997; 2000; Arai and Pedlar 1997). We have already mentioned Arai's (2000) study of volunteers in community planning initiatives, from which she developed the tripartite typology of volunteers identified as "citizen," "techno," and "labor." She also gathered data through interviews with board members of the three Canadian organizations she studied and with their service volunteers (e.g., those involved in fund-raising, administration, delivery of programs or events). In the interviews Arai examined the experiences of these career volunteers, including the benefits they realized: opportunity to make a contribution, develop knowledge and skills, and form relationships. She also found that they faced several frustrations.

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Arai and Pedlar (1997) found that citizen participation in community health planning leads to benefits associated with serious leisure and community building in general. Five themes, termed "benefits," emerged from their interviews with citizens who volunteered in such initiatives. They were (1) learning and developing new skills, (2) becoming more vocal, (3) finding balance and renewal, (4) participating in group accomplishment and helping effect change, and (5) contributing to development of their community. Participants involved in the visioning process felt greater overall benefit from their participation than those who had not been part of the original visioning exercise.

Also fairly common are studies of community contributions made by way of volunteering for youth organizations and events, where the youth themselves are a main category of participant. We have already briefly reviewed Henderson's (1981; 1984) study of 4-H workers.

Later, Nigel Jarvis and Lindsay King (1997) examined the Guide and Scout Associations in Sheffield, England. Volunteers provide a vast human resource for these organizations. There appears to be general disillusionment among the participants, however, especially the key volunteers. In this regard the loyalty of these leaders is an asset for the associations, and the degree to which the leaders are seriously committed appears to be higher than in other voluntary organizations. Still, the fact that a few people do everything has implications for the recruitment and retention of volunteers. Leaders in the Jarvis and King study complained that there were not enough people to volunteer.

Geoff Nichols and Lindsay King (1999) demonstrate the value of the concept of recruitment niche for understanding the difficulties the Guide Association in the United Kingdom had in recruiting volunteers. Seeing Guiding as career volunteering shows how the distinctive ethos (distinctive quality number 5) shared by the existing volunteers contributes to the social construction of the recruitment niche. The defining boundaries of the niche restrict finding new volunteers. The authors present an example of how a recruitment niche for a voluntary organization can be defined, by using the socially constructed ethos of volunteers involved in career volunteering rather than by characteristics such as level of educational attainment. They also demonstrate the implications of this approach for voluntary organizations wishing to enhance their recruitment.

Linda Oakleaf (2006) interviewed a sample of twelve women in the United States about their long-term volunteer roles in the Girl Scouts. The following three questions guided her research: (1) why women

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engage in volunteering, (2) whether they consider it leisure, and (3) how they negotiate constraints to volunteering. Phenomenology provided the theoretic anchor for the analysis. All participants had daughters in their troops, and linked their volunteering to the responsibility to care for their daughter. Participants benefited from volunteering, which motivated them to continue. Moreover, most participants adopted the role identity of Girl Scout volunteers. Participants experienced volunteering as serious leisure, with all the advantages and disadvantages inherent in commitment to complex pursuits.

Steven Howlett (2014) noted that the trend in managing volunteers, compared with the past, is toward a more formal approach. Yet, given the diversity of volunteer activities, formality in this area is not always the most fruitful managerial strategy. For there are times when volunteers clearly enjoy what they do, meaning that it is leisure rather some disagreeable non-work task (see the earlier section in this chapter about volunteering as leisure). The formal approach tends to miss this essential aspect of true, voluntary volunteering. Howlett concludes that "there is a clear role here for well-informed organisation and management that encourages participation without taking the fun out of everything" (p. 152).

McCormack et al. (2008) noted that the baby boomers are a generation with the potential to challenge traditional ideas about ageing, retirement, and leisure. However, little is known about the lived experience of leisure in the lives of these people as they approach and move into retirement. This team of researchers used in-depth interviews to explore the leisure experiences of fifty-five female baby boomers living in the Yass Valley local Government area of rural New South Wales, Australia. Three key themes emerged: leisure is a personally meaningful interaction; retirement is not a time of leisure change; and retirement is not a time for "doing nothing." These findings raise questions about the appropriateness of designated "seniors" leisure activities targeted at women, as well as the desirability of narrowly focused leisure marketing campaigns aimed at a stereotypical image of what it means to be an older woman. In fact, the interviewees' leisure volunteering had clear benefits for their community as well as for themselves. Importantly for the future of this rural community, female baby boomers expected that leisure volunteering experienced through commitment, connection, and contribution to community was something (i.e., career volunteering) that they would continue to do as they aged.

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We turn next to mentoring. A mentor is one who, with regard to a particular area of life, is trusted and respected by a protégé, based on a significant level of experience and knowledge that the latter believes the former to have (Stebbins 2006). The terms "mentor" and "mentoring" are vaguely defined, even though there has been, over the years, a fair amount of scholarly thought and research reported on both the role and the process. The author aims to clarify the meanings of these two ideas and to explore the relationship of both to leisure. Mentors are seen as serious leisure volunteers, albeit ones whose altruism is expressed on a small scale. That is, they usually target only one person – the protégé – to benefit from their advice. These ideas were supported by interviews with a small sample of mentors serving in the Alberta Mentor Foundation for Youth.

Warner, Callaghan, and de Vreede (2013) mounted an action research project to investigate a community-based, participatory learning approach to promoting sustainable food choices and food citizenship by way of a project-based leisure experience. The study's theoretic background consisted of radical adult education, community-based social marketing, practice theory, and the SLP. Volunteers hosted friends for a sustainable meal in their homes. The meal included guided activities, critical reflection on food system issues, values-based dialogue, and written commitments to shift habits. A combination of participant observation, surveys, and follow-up qualitative interviews indicated that the meal program had an influence on those who participated, shifting their habits and increasing their choices of sustainable foods. The changes seemed to root in increases in motivation springing from reflection on personal values rather than in a reduction in external barriers. A synthesis of the empirical findings and literature suggests five key characteristics of an adult education approach to project-based leisure that can facilitate food citizenship: personal social context, engaged experiences, social norms, social networks, and community-based resources.

Gallant, Arai, and Smale (2013) adopted a communitarian framework to explore relationships between individuals and community. To this end, they surveyed 300 current volunteers at 10 voluntary organizations in Canada with the goal of examining the relationships among volunteers' personal value orientations of individualism and collectivism, their experiences of volunteering as serious leisure, and their perceptions of their sense of community and social cohesion. Based on the responses to the questionnaires, the authors were able to link collectivism and

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individualism to serious leisure, which in turn was strongly associated with a sense of community and social cohesion. In these empirical findings, serious leisure emerged as a pathway for nurturing community.

Using a sample of Canadian university students, Galant, Smale, and Arai (2010) also explored students' attitudes of social responsibility and participation in volunteering. In particular, the authors were interested in learning how these attitudes are related to prior experiences of mandatory community service in high school. Students' perceptions of the quality of their mandatory community service experience were found to be powerful predictors of their attitudes toward social responsibility. Meanwhile, ongoing volunteering was found to be affected more significantly by school and community influences, most notably prior volunteer involvement. Galant and her colleagues concluded that community service experiences, when perceived as being of high quality, may engender ongoing civic engagement. They suggest that aligning mandated community service with serious leisure might increase quality of experience, and provide an avenue for experiencing the rewards and benefits associated with civic participation.

Alexandra Coghlan (2005) examined volunteering tourism. She concluded in her doctoral thesis that researchers describe the volunteer tourism experience as a form of serious leisure, with a focus on learning and contributing to a worthwhile cause. Other motives that have been associated with volunteering and tourism include escape, relaxation, relationship enhancement, self-development, building a personal power base, advancing a personal agenda, developing a career that leads to status or other rewards, interest in the subject matter, and an interest in helping the researcher. Still, how ubiquitous these motives are and how they shape the volunteer tourism experience is not yet known.

Coghlan investigated the volunteer tourists' expectations and experiences with the goal of enhancing volunteer tourism's potential as a conservation tool. She sought to identify key variables and factors which shape this sector and to prepare the way for subsequent large scale empirical studies. Her research aims were (Study One) to identify differences between organizational images that might lead to different volunteer tourist experiences, (Study Two) to determine the socio-demographic and motivational profiles of volunteer tourists, (Study Three) to examine volunteer tourists' experiences and to identify patterns of experience and the elements that lead to a satisfying experience, and finally (Study Four) to understand the experience from point of view of the expedition staff.

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The results of Study Two indicated that, whereas most of the volunteer tourists' motivations and expectations were fulfilled, their moods, satisfaction levels, and overall assessment of the expedition were dependent on the presence of four elements: the opportunity for skill/knowledge development, having fun, experiencing new things, and contributing to a worthwhile project. The need for fun and new and different experiences contradict previous notions of volunteer tourism as a form of serious leisure involving altruistic motivations.

Contributions in the arts

Josephine Burden (2000) conducted an action research project centered on a community theater in Australia. She learned through interviews that the women who volunteered their time to helping run this organization gained considerably from the series of skills-development and planning workshops that were conducted as part of the action research project. Her study demonstrated that research can be carried out such that its participants are empowered by this process. In conducting research involving volunteers, we need to seek out methods which facilitate both individual and community self-direction in volunteering.

In another action research project on the same theater group, Burden (2001) found that the women became able to formulate and express a number of strategies leading to increased effectiveness in organizational processes. One, they learned to designate particular volunteer roles within the group (e.g., convener, artistic director, secretary). Two, with respect to the overall aims and future plans of their theater, they learned to hold more discussion than they used to. Three, they learned to develop guidelines for new members and how to mentor them.

According to Anne Campbell (2009) the National Folk Festival (NFF) is a premier annual tourist event in Canberra, Australia. The NFF management team of six paid and six volunteer workers relies on more than 1,400 volunteers to provide the services required at this festival. Many of these are regular volunteers. Using an interpretive research perspective and a process of narrative inquiry, Campbell explored motives of a group of solo female "grey nomads" who were regular volunteers at the NFF as well as members of the solo grey nomads group. Her data suggested a number of key themes related to the motivation of this group of volunteers, themes that apply both to their membership in the solo grey nomads group and to volunteering at the NFF. These were the social benefits provided by the camaraderie and security that come with being part of a larger, supportive

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group; the self-esteem provided by being a valued participant in activities of the group; "insider enjoyment"; and pride in achievement.

In a subsequent study Campbell (2010) examined the Stock Camp, which is a regular attraction at the NFF. For ongoing popularity the Stock Camp relies heavily on the "authenticity" of its Australian food, bush entertainment, and "authentically Australian" volunteers. Using an auto-ethnographic approach Campbell explored the extent to which new Stock Camp volunteers are prepared to accept the social positioning imposed on them by the established Stock Camp volunteers. Findings from this study suggest that the social positioning of new Stock Camp volunteers imposes a strictly prescribed "authentic" Australian collective social identity, a gendered division of roles, and hierarchical power structures, all of which makes it difficult for new volunteers to accept the social positions enforced by their established colleagues. Inflexible positioning may be a barrier to further commitments to volunteer there.

Contributions in sport

Tom Baum and Leonie Lockstone (2007) surveyed existing work on volunteering in the context of mega sporting events such as the Olympic Games and the Football World Cup. They argued that there is a lack of holistic research that takes into account the wide range of themes and issues that pertain to volunteering in the sports events context. The prime focus of existing work to date has been on the volunteers themselves, their motivation, and their sources of satisfaction. The authors identify the evident gaps that exist in understanding areas such as what volunteers do at mega sporting events; who they are; what motivates them; how volunteering influences their lives; what associated activities they do surrounding the event in the host city; and the extent to which volunteering is recidivistic. In their conclusion they present a tentative research framework for guiding future study of this important area.

Harrington, Cuskelly, and Auld (2000) applied the Yoder (1997) modification of Stebbins' (1992:38–46) P-A-P system to volunteer activity in Australian motorsport. Stebbins argued that professionals and amateurs in the same activity are linked to a public who shares an interest in what the first do.[1] Yoder (1997) modified this system by substituting "commodity agents," hybrid forms of "professional/commodity agents," and "amateur/publics" in Stebbins' model. Stebbins (2007/2015:7) labeled this the P-CP-AP system and its discussed strengths and weaknesses.

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Harrington and colleagues considered the relevance of Yoder's work for their study of volunteers/amateurs at the Queensland 500 V8 SuperCar Race. They were surveyed about the nature of their volunteer activity within motorsport and their involvement in motorsport as amateurs. The authors found that these volunteers were career volunteers with a unique ethos setting them apart from both marginal volunteers and motorsport fans. They were also engaged in amateur motorsport related activity and participated in motorsport organizations, showing degrees of involvement in the social world of motorsport. These findings support the proposition that the volunteers represented a hybrid "career volunteer/amateur" within this form of commodified leisure, constituting thus a further variant on Stebbins' original model. The research also considered the possibility of conflict between career volunteers/amateurs and the agents of commodified leisure.

Cuskelly, Harrington, and Stebbins (2002/2003) studied the changes in commitment of a sample of volunteer administrators of community sports organizations. For many of the sample the reasons they gave for volunteering initially differed from those given for continuing to volunteer. Levels of organizational commitment also changed over time declining for both marginal and career volunteers, though their study did suggest that the second are still more highly committed than the first.

A Canadian study of francophone volunteers (Gravelle and Larocque 2005) sought to identify the variables that explain volunteer involvement and to measure their importance as determinants of this involvement. The 2001 Francophone Games event was used as a basis to identify explanatory variables and to test the concept of serious leisure. A sample of 122 volunteers, mainly employees of the University of Ottawa, was recruited for this research. Data were collected using a questionnaire developed according to the serious leisure model. The research confirmed the relationship between serious leisure and volunteer work. This research also demonstrated that volunteer work is often perceived as a basis for "gain."

Christine Green and Laurence Chalip (2004) studied commitment and general volunteering (i.e., type unspecified) at the 2000 Summer Olympic Games in Sydney. They confirmed six hypotheses derived from the literature on volunteering. These included:

1 Volunteers' sense of commitment to the event at the end of the event is a function of their satisfaction with the event experience.

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2 Sense of community at the event enhances volunteers' satisfaction and commitment.
3 Initial commitment to the event is a function of volunteers' sense of efficacy at the beginning of the event and benefits (prestige, learning, excitement, helping, social benefits, and professional benefits) that the volunteer expects to obtain.

The findings suggest that volunteer managers need to consider closely the nature of the volunteer experience, rather than only the nature of the rewards that their volunteers receive.

Doherty, Hamm-Kerwin, and Misener (2010) interviewed a sample of older adult volunteers serving in Canadian community sport organizations the goal being to understand their experiences in this form of leisure. An interdisciplinary framework of serious leisure, older adult volunteering, and older adult leisure was used to interpret the findings. Volunteering in this context was found to be consistent with the distinctive characteristics serious leisure such as substantial involvement, strong identification with the activity, and the need to persevere. Older adults viewed their experience as extremely positive, enabling them to make a meaningful contribution and to receive several benefits from their participation. The most frequently noted negative experience was interpersonal relations, though overall, this was not enough to drive participants away from this activity.

The aim of a recent study by Öğüt, Yenel, and Kocamaz (2013) was to determine the reasons for volunteering in Turkey's sport federations. Data were collected using semi-structured interviews with twenty-two career volunteers working on various managerial levels of the sport federations. The authors found five reasons for participating as volunteers: (1) to develop a career, (2) to express their love of sport, (3) to express their need to be helpful, (4) to fill their leisure time, and (5) to carry out their social responsibility. The benefits of the volunteers were examined along three dimensions. The study also explored the individual and social benefits of organizational volunteering. "Consequently, the findings supported the Serious Leisure Theory and indicated that there are favorable relations between the participation reasons and the benefits of volunteering in sport federations" (Öğüt, Yenel, and Kocamaz 2013:48).

Contributions in tourism

Holmes and colleagues (2010) note that volunteers within tourism settings are of growing interest. The research to date has been fragmented,

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focusing either on individuals volunteering in their community (i.e., hosts) or on tourists volunteering at a destination (i.e., guests). The authors synthesize the tourism and leisure literature on volunteering, and then critique the host and guest streams of volunteering doing so along four defining dimensions: setting, time commitment, level of obligation, and remuneration. These dimensions are refined based on interview data, leading to a model of tourism volunteering where host and guest volunteering are related rather than treated of as distinct. The simple host-guest dichotomy misses the shared and distinct complexities of tourism volunteering.

Volunteer travel, say Andrew Bailey and Keith Russell (2010), has become a substantial market segment in the tourism industry. Case studies have documented the effects of volunteer travel on participants and host communities. The purpose of this quantitative study was to determine the impact of volunteer travel experiences on the openness, civic attitudes, and wisdom of college participants and to elucidate predictors of positive growth in these intended outcomes. A multivariate latent growth model was tested to determine the nature of growth trajectories. Results indicate that the program had positive immediate effects on all dependent variables. In a follow-up assessment evidence of continued growth was found one month after the experience. Participants involved in leadership roles and those engaged in regular personal reflection demonstrated stronger long-term growth. This is consonant with the tenets of career volunteering.

Xinyi Lisa Qian and Careen Yarnal (2010a) investigated the benefits experienced by university students who in their leisure time volunteer as campus tour guides. Past research on the benefits of volunteering has mainly been oriented by the serious leisure framework. Although most studies support the framework, others have extended or refined it, suggesting that improvement is possible. Volunteering can be a beneficial leisure activity for university students, but few leisure researchers have studied the benefits of volunteering experienced by university students and fewer still have studied volunteer campus tour guides. Using participant observation and in-depth interviews with sixteen volunteer tour guides at a large public university in the Northeast United States, four types of benefits emerged from the data: psychological, social, instrumental, and communal. The results refine and extend the serious leisure framework in terms of benefits of volunteering. It also provides insight into the benefits gained by university student volunteers.

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In a second article based on the same project, Qian and Yarnal (2010b) studied the dynamics of university students' motives for volunteering as campus tour guides during their leisure time. Understanding the dynamics of motivations is crucial, since it aids recruitment and retention of these guides, who contribute to both the application and the admission processes. In this part of the study the sixteen campus tour guides were asked their motives for starting and continuing to volunteer. Five types of motives were identified in the data: altruistic, psychological, behavioral, social, and instrumental. The authors found that respondents' motivations are dynamic. This is evident in helping university applicants, enjoying giving tours, and making friends, all of which became more prevalent during the volunteering process. The motives of contributing to the university and helping one's future disappeared after the volunteering started, whereas personal satisfaction grew helping thereby to retain volunteers. The university administration was encouraged when recruiting volunteers to pique student interest in contributing to the institution, making friends, benefiting their own future, and having fun.

Kostas Tomazos and Richard Butler (2012) examined volunteering at a children's refuge in Mexico. They explored the relationship between volunteers, their volunteering experiences, and the behavior that resulted. The authors' findings revealed that the volunteers were provided with the opportunity to make a positive contribution to the everyday lives of the children at the children's home. Nevertheless, the findings also demonstrated that the volunteering experience consisted of much more than the work duties carried out there, for the volunteers also engaged in tourist activities. Living in shared accommodations within walking distance to the busy tourist resort of Puerto Vallarta, the volunteers were faced with the difficult requirement of balancing commitment to their work duties at the children's home (serious leisure) with the lure of more hedonic, casual leisure pursuits. This balancing act raises questions about the management of volunteer tourists.

Stephen Wearing (2001; 2004) has been at the vanguard of research and theory on volunteer tourism. Arguing that such activity is best conceived of as "alternative tourism," he has observed in turn that this kind of tourism is best conceptualized as a special type of serious leisure (see especially Stebbins 1996b). In particular, he sees the benefits and rewards of serious leisure as "a fundamental motivating element for the participant [in that person's] desire to assist communities in developing countries" (Wearing 2004:215). This is in contrast to mass tourism,

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which is at bottom of a search for casual leisure. Placing volunteer tourism under the heading of serious leisure also changes the definition of best practices in tourism. Under this conception best practice centers on what the (volunteer) tourist brings to the host community and how that community integrates this into its lifestyle.

Rosemary Leonard and Jennifer Onyx (2009) note, following Wearing, that volunteer tourism is increasingly being recognized as a distinct phenomenon, which needs to draw on an understanding of both tourism and volunteer motivations. The Leonard and Onyx study identifies the volunteering needs and interests of one particular demographic or interest group, the grey nomads of Australia. Grey nomads are defined as people aged more than fifty years who go in for an extended period of travel within Australia. They are important because of their potential to assist struggling rural communities. The results showed that grey nomads have a diverse range of skills and are willing to volunteer for community projects. Efforts to attract grey nomad volunteers will need to consider their diversity of education, the health limitations of those aged more than seventy, and the grey nomads' desire to meet the townspeople and to learn more about the local area and its history. These results suggest that it is feasible for towns using tourism as a means to development to ponder the possibility of grey nomad volunteer programs.

Linda Cassie and Elizabeth Halpenny (2003) noted that understanding volunteer motivations for participating as tourists in nature conservation programs is an important element in the design and provision of such programs. For these programs are intended to harness the increasingly important talents and labor that volunteers bring to them. The authors' goal was to highlight the motivations of participants in Volunteer for Nature, a Canada-based nature conservation program. The study was framed in a social psychological perspective and qualitative methods were used. The participants were female and male volunteers ranging in age from seventeen to sixty-three years old. The key motives for participating in the volunteer conservation vacation program included the following: (1) pleasure seeking, (2) program "perks," (3) "place" and nature-based context, (4) leaving a legacy, and (5) altruism. The study reinforced much of the theoretic literature already existing on volunteers, including that on volunteering as a leisure activity and that on the motives associated with volunteering. In addition, two unique subjects were explored: (1) the distinctive nature-based volunteering context and (2) the "value-added" nature of volunteering vacations. Links with

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concepts such as serious leisure were also discussed. An increased understanding of volunteer tourists who participate in nature conservation programs is the greatest contribution of this study.

Material volunteering

Here volunteers work with a special target of benefits, namely, artificial things and processes that may, however, demand attention flowing from natural causes (e.g., flood, lightning strike, earth quake). True, these people are usually also serving the community as they volunteer, but their efforts are generally not directed toward people, ideas, environmental concerns, and the like. It is possible that volunteer work with human-made things is the arena for the largest amount of project-based volunteering. Some material volunteers offer their skills on a one-off basis such as by working for Habitat for Humanity or, as a project, by donating their expertise to fix a plumbing or electrical problem at their church, prepare food for the needy on Thanksgiving Day, or help construct the set for a high school play. Examples of material volunteering as serious leisure include the following: regular volunteers who repair and restore furniture and clothing donated to the Salvation Army, prepare meals for the indigent, and do the book keeping for a nonprofit group. Volunteers providing water filters and electrical lighting in developing countries are engaging in career material volunteering, as are volunteer firefighters (when not rescuing people).

John Benoit and Kenneth Perkins (1997) exemplify research on this type in their studies of volunteer firefighters in North America. These two authors conducted a research project wherein they collected data over a fifteen-year period by means of interviews, self-administered surveys, and various observer roles (from full participant in a volunteer department to complete observer). The occasion for the greatest expression of serious leisure for a volunteer firefighter is the "working fire." This occurs when a house or other valuable structure is ablaze, necessitating the mobilization of a large number of volunteers to actually extinguish the fire. Serious ground-cover fires (also called "brush fires") can also be considered working fires, especially when they threaten homes or businesses.

In a subsequent communication the authors (Perkins and Benoit 2004) examine the paradoxical motivation of volunteer firefighters to engage

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for many years in an activity that can be monotonous and disagreeable and only infrequently exciting. The disagreeable aspects, their research revealed, include fund-raising (their departments are commonly poorly funded) and dealing with local politicians (most departments are rural). Yet, their research revealed that firefighter satisfaction is a long-term, protean state. That is, these participants pursue a serious leisure career. Thus once initial training leads to satisfaction with firefighting, many of them strive to learn and practice sector and incident command. Once the challenge of command is frustrated by the low incidence of fire, other managerial challenges arouse their interest, including teaching, purchasing major equipment, and working with politicians (need to develop political skills for this). Thus a career in volunteer firefighting typically starts with a material focus, but may expand later to working with people.

Mary Thompson (1997a) found much the same pattern in the six volunteer departments she studied in Western Canada. In addition, she found at the individual level of analysis that official records mask the amount of time volunteers contribute to principal operational activities. This renders invisible the hundreds of additional hours they may contribute to core support activities, philanthropic activities, and volunteering for related organizations. Though society in general tends to cast firefighters in the role of "hero," the volunteers themselves are uncomfortable with this label, preferring to characterize themselves as helpers. Because of their specialized training, knowledge, and trusted co-volunteers, volunteer firefighters do not view the risky part of their work in the same way non-firefighters do. In the wider community the adjectives "career" and "professional" firefighter are reserved for people for whom firefighting is an occupation. The idea that volunteering is serious leisure is incommensurate with this commonsense view.

Clearly, volunteer firefighters not only have material interests, but also contribute to their community. Here, too, they are both popular and material volunteers. Along these lines Yarnal and Dowler (2002/2003), through their research on such volunteers in Pennsylvania, learned about their value as social capital in the local community. Yet, the nature of this community contribution is "hazy," owing to public confusion about who these people really are and what they do.

In fact, many volunteer involvements bridge two or more of the six types of interest (Stebbins 2007). One is pro bono legal service, wherein a lawyer works with both ideas and people. Volunteer consultants also

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work with these two, as do zoo and museum guides and volunteer teachers and instructors. Missionary work invariably centers on both ideas and people, but may also involve things (e.g., building a school, setting up a hospital). Furthermore, some missionary work could extend across at least three types such as when its goals include working with local people to establish a safe water site, which requires cleaning up the surrounding environment.

The possibility of mixed interest types also holds for volunteers serving in heritage sites and art and science museums. In these places some of them work strictly with things (e.g., in conservation, exhibitions, documentation, and research), whereas others serve visitors to these establishments (e.g., as attendants or guides). A few of them do both. Graham (2004) in her analysis of heritage volunteering learned that most volunteers here engage in artifact acquisition, research, and interpretation centered on "ad hoc" projects (project-based leisure). Only a minority were used routinely as attendants or guides, as career volunteers. Edwards (2005:23–24) found that females tended to prefer guiding, front of the house, and administrative activities, whereas males were more interested in research (on things).

Noreen Orr (2003) examined the fit of the idea of serious leisure with the practice of heritage and museum volunteering in Britain. She found the concept of social world especially valuable in that it includes the possibility of participants producing and consuming their own leisure. "However," she notes, "this does not capture the complexity of the museum social world. For example, the sub-world of volunteers can be segmented further according to frequency of participation, skill levels and depth of knowledge about, and commitment to, the activity" (p. 133). It is also unclear from her reading of Stebbins' statement of social world how the sub-world of volunteers intersects with the sub-world of Friends. The latter are often formally organized, some do find-raising, and some are volunteers. The idea of social world, especially Unruh's conception of it, fails to consider power and conflict, which is evident in heritage and museum volunteering. Nonetheless, Stebbins (2001b:8–9) does expand Unruh's conception by observing that every social world has a parallel subculture consisting of norms, values, beliefs, moral principles, and the like that help account for "social stratification" within the social world.

In another study Orr (2005) surveyed 490 volunteers serving in 6 museums in England. Her goal was to examine the rewards of museum volunteering from the perspective of serious leisure. The most important

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rewards, as expressed by percentage of the sample, were "enjoyment" (97%), "satisfaction of seeing results" (87%), "sense of personal achievement" (85%), "learning about a subject which interests you" (84%), "meeting people" (83%), and "using your skills" (73%). Consistent with findings in other kinds of serious leisure, Orr found that, in the terminology of the SLP, self-gratification, self-actualization, and self-expression were the most important, whereas self-enrichment was least so.

Later, Orr (2006) observed that volunteers are the "ultimate frequent visitors" in the heritage sector. Furthermore, as the day visitor market for museums and heritage attractions declines, it is necessary to re-conceptualize the idea of "heritage visiting" from day visits to longer term connections with particular heritage attractions as seen in volunteering. She says that the concept of serious leisure is a way of reading museum volunteering as a leisure practice. More particularly, museum volunteering is a way of practicing heritage as leisure that is "self-generated," wherein volunteers here actively construct their own identities. In addition, she describes how museum volunteers become part of the social world inhabited by those who know about heritage and history. Finally, Orr uses Stebbins' Professional-Amateur-Public system of relationships (explained above) to analyze the power relations between museum professionals and volunteers. In these circumstances the boundaries of expertise and responsibility are sometimes vague and contentious.

A study by Stamer, Lerdall, and Guo (2008) took up the issue of the paucity of research on volunteer management in art museums and heritage attractions. Accordingly, one of the team visited eleven art museum volunteer programs worldwide, conducted surveys with their volunteers, and interviewed managers. Four main areas of volunteer programs were investigated: (1) volunteer recruitment, (2) retention, (3) development, and (4) general management. The results of the surveys and interviews with volunteers and managers showed three sets of promising practices that appear to increase the performance of volunteer programs. One is to build a community of volunteers. The second is to enhance volunteers' learning experiences, whereas the third is to foster the self-management of volunteers. "Taken together, these practices offer evidence for the value of the 'serious leisure' concept in the theory and practice of volunteer management" (p. 203).

Deborah Edwards (2005) observes that general museums and art museums make a significant contribution to the tourism and leisure industries. In Australia they contribute to the economic, social, and

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environmental sustainability of the communities and regions in which they are located. Still, museums are facing challenges, ones leading them to rethink their products and services, improve their economic position, and remain competitive in the marketplace. In this climate of change, the role of the volunteer is growing increasingly important to the operation of these museums. Be that as it may, why people choose to volunteer for these attractions is poorly understood. Edwards reports some initial findings from a wider study of volunteers in museums and art museums that was designed to explore volunteer motivation, expectations, values, and commitment. Factor analysis of the results revealed eight underlying dimensions to volunteer motivation for individuals in this field. She had three objectives: first, to determine the sustainable context in which museums and art museums operate; second, to present the initial findings of volunteer motivation; and third, to discuss the implications they have for sustainable volunteer management.

Holmes and Slater (2012) note that previous studies of membership associations reveal differences between passive and active participation, while arguing that both socio-demographic and motivational factors influence this pattern. Extant research, however, has relied on cross-sectional survey data, which fail to capture the full picture of an individual's memberships. The authors reported on a mixed-methods study of patterns of participation of voluntary associations' members in the UK heritage sector. They found motivation to be the main influence on participation, and they identified as hobbyists a new group of members based on their motivation. These enthusiasts were primarily interested in the subject or site supported by their association. Hobbyists include respondents who have a life-long interest in the subject represented by the association. Some hobbyists describe themselves as "loners," even while they join associations because they facilitate pursuit of their interests.

Holmes (2006) addressed herself to a couple of the types of volunteer presented earlier in this book. Based on her interviews with volunteers and museum-sector managers, she concluded that it is common practice in museums across the world to volunteer and thereby gain experience hopefully leading to paid work. The motives of such volunteers clearly place them in Parker's (1997) market volunteering category (see earlier). Nevertheless, the length of time spent volunteering and the range of different roles filled by volunteers at various museums could also be understood as career volunteering. The complexity of motives in this area becomes evident, says Holmes, when market volunteering may, once paid

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work has been secured, also lead to leisure volunteering, especially the career variety. We can add, now, that this kind of market volunteering may lead to devotee work (Stebbins 2004/2014) in the same activity.

Jennifer Hagan (2009), in a semi-structured interview study, examined the motives, perceptions, values, and experiences of a convenience sample of museum management, staff, and volunteers in the United Kingdom. She found that her respondents were fired by several motives: instrumental (to gain skills and experience for paid employment), purposive (to help others), social (to build networks, belong to a group, strengthen friendships), enhancement (to develop self), and avoidance (to escape issues at home, work, or in personal health). The museum studied by Hagan appeared to take no particular responsibility for fulfilling the social motive, even though it was the most prevalent among the volunteers.

Idea and faunal volunteering

Denise Rall (2006) explored the evolution of the computing team from an early vantage point, namely, the mathematical group that finished the calculations leading to the atomic bomb. The team, without computer hardware, worked on the world's largest mathematical problem of its day. Instead, Feynman and Frankel's team at Los Alamos in the United States first relied on scientists' wives, who volunteered for the project with pencil and paper, then on adding machines powered by the Women's Army Corps professional female computer operators, and finally, on more advanced calculators run by Special Engineering Detachment specialists (high school graduates with an aptitude for maths) assigned by the US Army. In a few short months the team's composition and the necessary computational logic were polished and refined to solve the necessary calculations. Rall based her article on Richard Feynman's eyewitness account, which recounted the growth of a computing team that faced and solved its problems with ad hoc volunteers, while contending with a general lack of resources and equipment failure.

To Chevalier, Le Manq, and Simonet (2011) goes the credit of mounting in France the only SLP-related study anywhere of volunteers who work with horses and sometimes with related equipment and accommodations. These volunteers may engage in grooming horses or caring for ones that are injured. Sometimes they walk them. Though not faunal

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volunteering in the pure sense, these volunteers may also do ground work or help out in the barn and tack room. Furthermore, they become popular volunteers when they serve as assistant instructors or endeavor to raise money for the establishment. The authors learned that volunteering with horses can lead to a remunerated career in devotee work as a veterinarian, riding instructor, or equine message therapist.

Environmental volunteering

Stephen Wearing and John Neil (2001) link ecotourism, volunteering, and serious leisure. They observe that, historically, intellectual interests centered on the individual tourist and the part that holidays play in establishing an identity and sense of self. In such an analysis tourism becomes a mass phenomenon. The authors take a different tack, however, doing so by positing a conjunction of interrelated elements that often contribute to alternative tourism experiences – ecotourism, volunteering, and serious leisure. These elements provide a wider explanation of the tourist experience than the older models. This recognizes the interdependence of culture, ecology, and the tourist experience. The SLP places importance on accessing the information networks and groups of people forming around particular issues. Such circumstances facilitate interaction and exchange centered on common interests and experiences.

Andrew Lepp's (2009) study of obligation and volunteering as experienced by participants at Kenya's Taiga Discovery Centre illustrates well environmental volunteering. His sample of volunteer tourists from Canada, France, Denmark, Belgium, and Japan, who participated in either its wildlife conservation program or its community development program (popular volunteering), said they felt a strong obligation to serve others through their programs. Notwithstanding their strong altruistic feelings, however, they defined their experiences at the Centre as leisure. The leisure they were involved in was clearly of the serious variety.

Mixed types

The preceding sections presented numerous research projects reporting data on mixed types. These projects exemplify how particular volunteer activities bridge two or more of the aforementioned types. Other

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examples include pro bono legal service, wherein a lawyer works with both ideas and people. Volunteer consultants also work with these two, as do zoo and museum guides and volunteer teachers and instructors. Missionary work invariably centers on both ideas and people and may also involve things (e.g., building a school, setting up a hospital). Furthermore missionary work could extend across four types such as when its goals include working with local people to establish a safe water site, which requires cleaning up the surrounding environment. And membership in certain nonprofit groups brings with it volunteering in several types of activities, as in the Sea Cadets where youth in, for example, leadership, knot tying, and use of weapons (Raisborough 1999).

Bendle and Patterson (2008) studied career volunteers who served community interests through their work in local amateur and hobbyist artist groups in Australia. They explored the costs and rewards these participants experienced as they developed and coordinated resources, provided continuing calendars of activities, and organized events for the benefit of their members and the public. The authors learned that each artist group relies heavily on a small number of volunteer members who, in addition to active participation in their group's creative activities, also undertake leadership duties and responsibilities to manage their group's activities and events. These members were combining their creative amateur or hobbyist pursuits with a career volunteer role within their group.

Elspeth Frew (2013), herself an experienced stand-up comic, used an auto-ethnographic approach to examine her motivation and experiences as a volunteer fundraiser during the creation and management of six small scale charity arts events (all offering comedic fare) staged from 2007 to 2011 in Melbourne. Her conclusions from this study included the following: (1) Advising volunteer management that it should encourage individuals to volunteer and then pay attention to their needs and wants. In the arts sector this may involve providing privileged access to the performers the volunteers admire. (2) She also suggested that, for younger individuals, volunteering may provide the opportunity to establish contacts and networks in the industry and add valuable work experience to their resumes. (3) Volunteering in the arts can provide useful stage time for new performers since some arts volunteers are also performers.

Overall, the typology of volunteers and volunteering not only sets out eighteen basic types but also enables its users to explore for mixed types

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pursued as part of the same volunteer activity. Moreover, it enables these users to trace the mixed and single types of volunteering that people engage in during their careers in serious leisure.

Note

1 Amateurs and professionals are locked in and therefore defined, in part, by a system of relations linking them and their publics – the "professional-amateur-public (P-A-P) system" (discussed in more detail in Stebbins, 1979; 1992:Chapter 3; 2007/2015:6–8). Yoder's study (1997) of tournament bass fishing in the United States engendered an important modification of the original P-A-P model. He found, first, that fishers here are amateurs, not hobbyists, and second, that commodity producers serving both amateur and professional tournament fishers play a role significant enough to warrant changing the original triangular professional-amateur-public (P-A-P) system of relationships. It consists of a system of relationships linking commodity agents, professionals/commodity agents, and amateurs/publics (C-PC-AP).

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6
Two Notable Research Gaps

Abstract: *Two notable gaps in research are covered: philanthropic donating and caring-giving as guided by the serious leisure perspective. Both have been anchored theoretically within the perspective, but have so far failed to attract any empirical scrutiny. Philanthropic donating – it is considered a distinctive kind of volunteering – is evident across all six types of volunteering. Social caring is motivated, in substantial part, by compassion, or the sympathy generated by feeling another person's suffering, which leads to an inclination to show mercy for or give aid to – care for – that person. Three caring roles are described in this chapter.*

Keywords: caring; philanthropy; serious leisure perspective; volunteering

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I have been pointing out gaps in the perspective's approach to volunteering as we have gone along, with a few more to be noted in the Conclusions. Research on philanthropic donating and care-giving guided by the serious leisure perspective (SLP) is also extremely rare, two untoward gaps to be sure. Still, both have been anchored theoretically within the SLP.

Philanthropic donating

Philanthropic donating – it is considered a distinctive kind of volunteering (Davis Smith 2000) – is evident across all six types of volunteering. It may occur as a leisure project, exemplified in a one-off gift of money or investments in support of, for example, a building, educational program, or piece of equipment. Philanthropy becomes serious leisure when it is serial, when a person or family makes in un-coerced fashion a number of gifts over time to the same type of cause or a set of different causes (Stebbins, 2014:112).[1]

In serious leisure philanthropy there is significant effort and perseverance, evident in for example researching the would-be beneficiary, establishing the legal basis of the gift, and arranging for the gift to be received (e.g., ceremony, publicity). The donor's social world includes the beneficiary, the relevant branch of the legal profession, supportive sources of money (e.g., banks, investment firms), and clients of the beneficiary (e.g., students, patrons, fans). The identity flowing from such largesse is manifested in some sort of public recognition of the donor (e.g., plaque, name on a building, written acknowledgement in a document).

Caring as popular volunteering

Caring has been defined as the process of assuming personal responsibility for others' welfare, accomplished by acknowledging their needs and acting responsively toward them (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:34). Although, in this chapter, discussion will center exclusively on social caring, the caring of other people, note that Oliner and Oliner (1995) broadly define the process to include both people and the natural environment. They hold further that caring is a social process; it includes both "attaching" processes (bonding, empathizing, learning caring

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norms, assuming personal responsibility) and "including" processes (diversifying one's interaction to include those unlike oneself, networking, resolving conflict and linking the local with the global). According to Wuthnow (1991) caring is motivated, in substantial part, by compassion, or the sympathy generated by feeling another person's suffering, which leads to an inclination to show mercy for or give aid to – care for – that person.

Earlier (Stebbins 2008) I examined the relationship of caring and compassion as expressed during free time in leisure activities. This, to my knowledge, had never been done, with the result that many contextual and motivational properties unique to leisure had been overlooked, and consequently, were unavailable to both the theoretical and the practical sides of the sociology and psychology of compassion. That article attempted to demonstrate that such oversight has denied this field some useful conceptual tools.

Three caring roles

Assuming a person is compassionate about someone else's situation in life and therefore wants to care for that individual, what roles are open to the first? So far I have identified three roles. One is *occupational*; some workers who are compassionate about other people make a living, at least in significant part, by caring for them, often done as a professional calling (e.g., clergy, physicians, social workers). Another role, which is available outside work, is caring for other people as a *personal obligation*. Here the caring individual, fired by compassion, feels a moral duty to care for another person or class of people. Personal caring, as I explain more fully in the next paragraph, is predominantly disagreeable (a non-work obligation); it cannot be considered leisure. Rather it is the lot of those who, though they would rather be doing something else, find themselves caring, as an example, for an ailing relative or close friend or feel morally pressured to aid the needy at home or abroad.

Leisure caring, our third role and the one most central to this book, refers to people engaged in un-coerced compassionate activity during free time, activity they want to do and, in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both), use their abilities and resources to succeed at doing (the general definition of leisure inherent in this statement is considered more fully in Stebbins 2012). Leisure caring is distinguished from its occupational and

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personal counterparts by, among other qualities, the fact that it alone is executed in free time. Still leisure caring is certainly capable of generating obligations. Be that as it may serious leisure research has demonstrated through several studies (Stebbins 2000a) that, because obligations here are agreeable, they are *defined* by committed participants as minor, as "minimal." Such obligations are real, nonetheless, even while the powerful rewards of the activity significantly outweigh them and the participant has the option to quit the activity at a convenient point in the near future. More precisely serious leisure has often been found to contain some *flexible* obligation, or a relative freedom to honor commitments. This condition is generally missing in occupational caring and personal obligation.

Caring as a leisure activity

The compassionate person caring for someone as a leisure activity is, to be more precise, engaged in one of the three types of volunteering: *career*, *casual*, or *project-based*. The above-mentioned motivational and contextual background which explains the three leisure forms, in general, also explains these three types of volunteer activities, in particular. This background varies for all three types, however, a condition that underscores the importance of viewing care-giving through the broad lens of the entire SLP. Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:239–40) define *volunteer* as someone who performs, even for a short period of time, volunteer work in either an informal or a formal setting. Moreover, consistent with the definition of volunteering, caring as volunteer activity is carried out beyond the volunteer's family. This condition suggests that care within the family circle must be conceived of in terms other than volunteering, even if it may be held by the carer to be leisure. Treating of it as family leisure – that is, when not felt as personal (non-work) obligation – would be one way of doing this.

The care-giving career volunteer meets the six qualifying characteristics of serious leisure in general. Examples of such volunteers include people who (1) work with homeless youth to facilitate their integration in main stream society; (2) first establish and then help run a local immigrant welcoming organization; and (3) spend several hours each week reading stories to people suffering severe loss of hearing or vision. These volunteers routinely express their compassion over a period of time long enough to experience a sense of career in this role.

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By contrast casual volunteers engage in much less complex caring activities, which they regard as "fun" or "enjoyable," but which are, like those of the career volunteer, routine and done over a period of time. People who serve meals to the needy, say, once or twice a week throughout the year fall into this category, as do those who, an afternoon a week, solicit donations to charitable, care-giving organizations by way of telephones or manned desks in shopping malls. Some casual hospital volunteers express their compassion as they feed patients who are unable to feed themselves. And people engaged by the Salvation Army to go about the city in trucks picking up used clothing and furniture to give to the poor might well define this activity as (casual) leisure.

Care-based leisure projects also abound. Examples include a one-time period of service with Habitat for Humanity or an international volunteer tourism developmental project organized by Youth Challenge International or World Wide Fund for Nature (some volunteers here return to participate in two or more projects, in which case their leisure begins to evolve into the serious variety, Wearing 2001). Some disaster volunteers are, in effect, seeking project-based leisure, when they are moved by compassion to help the people suffering from, for instance, the effects of a flood or tornado. Nevertheless, disaster volunteers affiliated with a disaster relief-oriented nonprofit group, such as the Red Cross, who are trained in this specialty and who, on a moment's notice, are ready to travel to disaster sites, are best viewed as career volunteers (see Britton 1991).

All this constitutes another gap in the research on the SLP and volunteering. Seemingly because of the stipulation that the target of volunteering cannot be the volunteer's family – here would-be volunteers have no choice, find this non-work activity disagreeable – the possibility that care-giving can be a volunteer leisure activity has been overlooked. The foregoing paragraphs show how short-sighted this view can be. I have even hinted that some family care-giving can be fun and therefore leisure, even while it is obligatory. Most of the time such activity appears best classified as project-based or casual leisure. But the possibility remains in the absence of adequate professional care that some fulfilling, skilled, and knowledgeable care of a family member by a relative is unavoidable (e.g., informed monitoring of medical symptoms or effects of treatment), amounting thus to a genre of hobbyist serious leisure.[2] Only careful open-ended exploratory research can shed light on this under-examined area of volunteering.

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Notes

1 Corporate philanthropy is not germane to this discussion.
2 For a somewhat longer discussion of care-giving, volunteering, and leisure, see Musick and Wilson (2008:24–25).

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7
Organized Study of Career Volunteering

Abstract: *There is no research center or program of studies specifically focused on career volunteering. Instead, the current research and teaching scene in this field is fragmented; it consists of a set of enthusiastic scholars oriented by the SLP scattered, in the main, across Australia, New Zealand, Israel, North America, and the United Kingdom. Overall, according to the bibliography at www.seriousleisure.net, graduate student as well as faculty and practitioner theory and research in this area have been growing, reaching their highest levels of output during approximately the past fifteen years.*

Keywords: career volunteering; research; teaching; volunteering

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Conference presentations and workshops on serious leisure volunteering are difficult to trace with any accuracy, there being no central clearing house for inventorying such contributions. But papers in the area are common at the annual (bi-annual, tri-annual) gatherings of the Leisure Studies Association (UK), Canadian Association for Leisure Studies, Academy of Leisure Sciences (USA), World Leisure Organization, and the Australian and New Zealand Association for Leisure Studies. Given the dominance in volunteer research circles of the economic definition of volunteering, papers on serious leisure volunteering are probably comparatively rarer at their conferences (e.g., those of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action [ARNOVA], International Society for Third Sector Research [ISTR], Israeli Centre for Third Sector Research). Workshops do take place, though only sporadically. Stebbins has presented four outside his local community: in Taiwan on serious leisure (2009), in Australia on disabilities and self-esteem (2010), in Malaysia on social entrepreneurship (2010), and in Scotland on recruiting and retaining volunteers (2012).

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8
Conclusions

Abstract: *In the absence of a central coordinating arrangement, research on serious leisure volunteering has tended to ride off in a variety of directions, albeit always guided to a substantial extent by the larger serious leisure perspective. The volunteering of this genre that has attracted the greatest research attention is the popular (people-oriented) type, especially as it contributes in some way to community development. The leisure-work definition of volunteering presented in Chapter 3 may be modified in light of research on marginal and stipended volunteering as well as altruistic activities in families. And considering this definition what about volunteering that has unexpected negligible or harmful effects?*

Keywords: families; leisure-work definition; marginal volunteering; research; stipended volunteering; types of volunteering

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In the absence of a central coordinating arrangement, research on serious leisure volunteering has tended to ride off in a variety of directions, albeit always guided to a substantial extent by the larger serious leisure perspective (SLP). Obviously, the volunteering of this genre that has attracted the greatest research attention is the popular type, especially as it contributes in some way to community development. Perhaps this is as it should be, in that people are the target of benefits in popular SLP volunteering and their expressions of gratitude for the volunteer work on their behalf is rewarding for the volunteers (e.g., Fischer and Schaffer 1993:Chapter 10).

This observation squares with the definition of relative altruism, which is the usual form of altruism found in volunteering. Relatively altruistic volunteers serve according to a

> significant self-interest, gain self-satisfaction ... from the altruistic act (a) by feeling good (satisfied) about being altruistic (a socially valued trait); (b) by enjoying the satisfaction of the person, group, or other target of benefits being helped (if the helpee seems to feel satisfied by the altruistic act); and sometimes (c) by enjoying the gratitude expressed by the target of benefits or a representative of it (if a group or collectivity). Thus, all normal altruism has a self-satisfying component as well as an other-satisfying intention (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:19–20).

Saint Basil the Great (4th century Greek Bishop and theologian) held that "a good deed is never lost. He who sows courtesy, reaps friendship; he who plants kindness, gathers love; pleasure bestowed on a grateful mind was never sterile, but generally gratitude begets reward."

So the serious leisure interest in ideas, things, plants, animals, and the environment appears to be less prevalent than such an interest in people. Volunteers will receive no hugs for their kindness shown to a heritage site, bed of flowers, or depolluted lake. Even the gratitude expressed by animals (and the other fauna) who, for instance, have been nursed back to health after some kind of trauma is not likely to be at the same level of intensity and emotion as that of a grateful human or social group.

That said, research on volunteering guided by the SLP and the cells of Table 4.1 is highly uneven. Thus, there is no research of which I am aware on casual (leisure) volunteering along lines of any of the six types of interest. It is likewise for such research on projects, though one might interpret the study by Gravelle and Larocque (2005) as, in fact, one focused on project-based leisure (they conducted their study before

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the publication of Stebbins 2005). The pattern of research interests as filtered here through the SLP is obviously asymmetrical, and probably influenced by the fact that Table 4.1, with its capacity to suggest needed research, came into this world only recently (Stebbins 2007). In short, two research agenda have emerged from this review: (1) there are serious leisure volunteers motivated by non-popular interests who should also be put under the microscope of the SLP; (2) a deeper understanding of volunteering in general can be achieved by also studying that motivated by the participant's interest in engaging in casual and project-based volunteering. We will understand serious leisure volunteering even better when we can view it against the background of volunteering carried out under the heading of the other two forms.

We turn now to another matter of rather different import. Some readers might argue that the foregoing definition of the work-leisure axis, because it forms part of the larger incomplete definition of volunteering as a whole, is itself premature. Yet, as mentioned earlier for all definitions, scientific definitions are also subject to revision according to the data and theory at hand. All are actually or potentially incomplete; they are propositions. That is, we must continue to pursue a variety of research questions whose answers will facilitate theorizing in this area.

One such question is the motivational foundation of marginal volunteering. Answering it does not mean that the more particular work-leisure definition reviewed in this book is therefore inadequate. Rather, what is at stake is the scope of the concept of volunteering (and hence that of volunteer), as defined here. Can marginal volunteering eventually find a place in this work–leisure definition? Likewise, research is needed on stipended volunteering and altruistic activity in families and whether these two may be defined as volunteering. For those interested in these questions and others the answers to which might extend the scope of our definition, they have some work to do.

Most broadly, there is need to study further Jurgen Grotz's (2011) "third principle," which is his slogan for signaling that volunteering can sometimes have negligible and demonstrably harmful effects; it is not always as beneficial as participants and volunteer administrators hope. We must improve our understanding of intentionally-productive volunteer activity that flops. As Musick and Wilson (2008:12) put it, "we need to remain open to the possibility that volunteerism is defined, in part, by its motivation." And that even when the motives involved fail to produce the desired outcome.

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The SLP can help steer research into this third principle, for the first focuses on both the costs and the rewards of leisure. That is, as was noted earlier, true volunteering like other leisure activities strikes a favorable balance between its agreeable and disagreeable elements. This certainly includes minimizing, if not eliminating, the negligible and harmful effects of a person's altruistic efforts. The motive to volunteer is also appreciably shaped by this goal of finding a favorable balance however we conceive of volunteering, whether as serious, casual, or project-based.

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