A

A AND B ANALYSIS

This is a heuristic mode of investigation concerned with individuals' freedom to make leisure choices and the different ways in which they compete to achieve certain leisure ends. To this extent it is concerned with the characteristics of power relations in leisure. The central tenets of A and B analysis are implied in many studies of leisure relations, especially those which focus their attention on individual choices and tastes. At the most basic level, A and B analysts would be concerned with, for example, why A might choose to go to the pub against the wishes of B, who wants to stay in and watch a DVD, and how this might cause conflict in their relationship. More complicated applications also explore the multifaceted nature of relationships and the possibility of resolution and cooperation between individuals and social groups.

However, like game theory, A and B analysis is an unsatisfactory perspective on power relations because it fails to account for the structural inequalities and cleavages linked to political attitudes and cultural identification. These observations notwithstanding, Rojek offers a revised understanding for leisure studies which suggests that by being more alert to the processes that accompany social stratification and how these are embedded and embodied in social interaction we can develop clearer insights into the workings of leisure relations in terms of 'the *motivation* of actors, the *location* of trajectories of behaviour and the *context* of action' (2005: 25).

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts   Game Theory; Leisure Bodies; Power.

ABNORMAL LEISURE

The idea of abnormal leisure might be understood as the designation for all that is strange and deviant, unbridled and tempestuous, and which in many cases is likely to be an infraction of the criminal law. It also constitutes the outlandish leisure pursuits that we are illicitly attracted to, but also fear and dare not try to fathom, yet we are often nonetheless fascinated enough to try these out. To this extent, abnormal leisure is the example *par excellence* of the unresolved, disturbing forms of our desires and fantasies, which are explored to good effect by Ken Kalfus in his post-9/11 novel *A Disorder Peculiar to the Country*. This not so simple story of adultery demonstrates how the psychology of domestic attrition stands for the paroxysm – the whole dying world of US security – as New Yorkers indulge in 'terror sex' in order to gain social advantage, and where the highest thrill is to bed somebody who survived the twin towers or served emergency duty in their aftermath.

Contextualizing his core argument around the concepts of liminality, edgework and surplus energy, Rojek (2000) outlines three key types of abnormal leisure: invasive, mephitic and wild leisure. *Invasive leisure* focuses on abnormal behaviour associated with self-loathing and self-pity and the ways in which disaffected individuals experience anomie and personal alienation from the rest of society through drink, drug or solvent abuse in order that they can 'turn their back on reality'. *Mephitic leisure* encompasses a wide range of pursuits and activities, from mundane encounters with prostitutes to the buzz of murdering through serial killing. To this extent mephitic leisure experiences involve the individual's self-absorbed desire for gratification at the expense of others. The reason why Rojek calls these leisure activities and pursuits mephitic is that they are generally understood to be 'noxious', 'nasty', 'foul' and 'morally abhorrent' by most 'normal' people, because they cause major offence to the moral order of things.

Rojek's third category is *wild leisure*, which involves limit-experiences through edgework and as such this tends to be opportunistic in character. But very much like mephitic leisure it involves the individual's self-absorbed desire for instant gratification. The experience of 'limit' is the name of the game with wild leisure, which includes deviant crowd behaviour such as rioting, looting and violence, particularly at sports events. Rojek also suggests that new technology presents individuals intent on pursuing wild leisure with ever more opportunities for instant gratification, typically in the form of video clips of anything from violence in sport to genocide, which supplies individuals with the vicarious 'delight of being deviant' (Katz, 1988).

There is an 'ethical' divide about the relative merits of the concept of abnormal leisure in leisure studies. Criticizing Rojek's work, Cara Aitchison has argued that 'violence, abuse and violations of human rights may well play a part in exploitative leisure relations but these acts themselves are not acts of leisure – they are acts of violence and should be named and researched as such' (quoted in Rojek, 2000: 167).

However, Rojek barks at the notion that we should ignore these kinds of leisure activities. In his view abnormal leisure may belong to the forbidden and the deadly, but it should not escape the notice of scholars of leisure that it *is* leisure all the same. Hannah Arendt coined the expression 'banality of evil' in order to bring to our attention the shocking ordinariness of such activities. In the light of Arendt's perceptive observation we can conclude that Rojek is merely tearing off leisure studies' veil of respectability to reveal what lurks in the hearts and minds of a good many men and women, which enables him to say something important about the infinite playfulness of the human mind. The mirror image this holds up to the rest of humankind may not be an ideal picture – it can frequently be dreadful and upsetting, and often even morally repugnant – but as Rojek makes clear, it is leisure all the same.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts Addictions; Desire; Deviance; Edgework; Football Hooliganism; Liminality; Rojek.

ACCULTURATION

This term emerged from cultural anthropology and has two principal and connected meanings. At its most basic level the concept of acculturation refers to the ways in which different cultures interact. The second, more sophisticated meaning, focuses on the process whereby different cultural (and we might say leisure) groups act together to create new cultural patterns, which may, or may not, create tensions or struggles between the old and new.

In recent years postcolonial critics, who are concerned with the effects of colonization and imperialism on the least powerful cultures and societies, and especially those in the poorest parts of the world, have suggested that as with many other concepts from cultural anthropology, acculturation is limited by its quietism about the contested and uneven nature of cultural exchange, which often means the incorporation of minority cultures into the dominant hegemony of the Western cultural system. For that reason Bhabha (1994) replaces the concept with the idea of hybridity, which as well as acknowledging the shifting expressions associated with ostensibly fixed cultural traditions refers to the synergies of new transcultural forms – artistic, ethnic, linguistic, literature, musical, political, and so on and so forth – that emerge within the contact zones between cultures. According to Bhabha it is the 'in-between' or third space of these synergies that ultimately carries both the weight and the meaning of culture.

Notwithstanding the obvious strengths of Bhabha's critique, with the accelerated pace of globalization and associated technological change it is becoming increasing difficult to identify the unequal processes of cultural exchange associated with processes of acculturation, which are not only rarely fixed to specific localities but are also often transitory. To return once again to the topic of postcolonialism, take, for example, the traditional Punjabi musical and dance form of Bhangra, which many young Asian musicians in Britain have fused with a vast range of other musical forms (often hybrids themselves) such as disco, techno, house, raga, jungle and hip hop, to create new sounds and dance forms that are now being re-exported back to Asia.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts Edgework; Flow; Globalization; Hegemony; Liminality; Power; Racism and Leisure; Structure of Feeling.

ACTION ANALYSIS

This is a term used to understand and account for the nature of purposive or intentional activities in leisure. Action theorists are centrally concerned with concepts like freedom, choice, respect and responsibility. However, despite its focus on voluntarism and individual agency, action analysis is not as 'irredeemably individualistic' as some of its critics imagine. By and large its practitioners pay due attention to the structuration of social relations (e.g., Giddens, 1984). Accordingly, Rojek (2005: 49) uses the term 'to refer to grounded research that is committed to working with actors to understand leisure trajectories by exploring the interplay between location and context, and formulating leisure policies designed to achieve distributive justice, empowerment and social inclusion'.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts Action Research; Giddens; Individualization; Symbolic Interactionism.

ACTION RESEARCH

According to its adherents action research is not simply another methodology in the narrow and broad meaning of 'research methods', but is better understood as an *orientation* to inquiry, which 'has different purposes, is based in different relationships, and has different ways of conceiving knowledge and its relation to practice' (Reason, 2003: 106). If action research has one specific goal, it is to bring about social change. This observation notwithstanding, it might be said that the emphasis of action research is not merely social change (e.g. increased participation in leisure activities that lead to better health and wellbeing) but it is also with articulating the

world through new ways rather than being caught in the entrenched vocabularies of either social science or politics. Reason suggests that to this end action research 'is an approach to human inquiry concerned with developing practical knowing through participatory, democratic processes in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, drawing on many ways of knowing in an emergent, developmental fashion' (p. 108).

Action research is invariably locally based and it often has a community as well as organizational orientation. Either way one of its primary purposes is to produce practical knowledge that is useful to people in the everyday conduct of their own leisure lives. As has already been suggested, on a wider societal level, action research can also been seen as an approach to inquiry that seeks to bring about the increased social, psychological and economic wellbeing of individuals and communities.

Central to the idea of much action research is the idea of cogeneration and it is a mode of research which aims to build democratic, participative, pluralist communities of inquiry by 'conscientizing' individuals and community groups whose lives are circumscribed by social, cultural, economic and political inequalities (e.g., Freire, 1970). Herein action research points to a kind of *praxis* where theory and practice meet in a kind purposive action to interpret 'practice', to make sense of it, and find as yet 'hidden' possibilities for change. In this way, action research also points to the *possible* in the sense that it signifies something that has not yet happened. The idea of *possibility* also signifies a refusal to be constrained within the limits of 'how things seem to be' (see Bauman, 1976), which means that action research is also suggestive of a socialist politics (rather than a Marxist politics) that seeks to alter the world in ways that cannot be achieved at the level of the individual. That said, practitioners are also alert to the tension that may exist between praxis and necessity, namely there is not going to be a revolution so we need to get on with changing *our* world for the better. In

this second sense action research has close affinities with pragmatism.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts Class; Community; Community Action; Community Leisure; Marxism.

ADDICTIONS

The term addiction is generally used to describe the compulsive behaviour of somebody who is burdened by their adherence to an activity or substance, normally a narcotic drug, which is regarded as individually or socially harmful. While psychological studies have predominately been concerned with pathological explanations for addictions, sociological studies have been more concerned with analysing them in so far as they are societal phenomena.

The symbolic interactionist perspective has proved to be perhaps the most important sociological influence on exploring the extent and consequences of addictive leisure. Rather than ascribing addictive behaviours to individual pathologies, symbolic interactionists have explored the social contexts in which individuals become addicted to certain leisure activities. The work of the American scholar Howard Becker (1953) best exemplifies this tradition. He explored the deviant 'career' associated with 'Becoming a Marihuana User', arguing that drug use is like any other leisure activity, a socially acquired taste developed as a response to social processes and social milieu.

The sociological work of Anthony Giddens utilizes more explicitly psychological explanations to suggest that if the frenzy of addictions that marks the contemporary world does not differ to that which fell foul of twentieth century sensibilities, addictions do seem to be more widespread. Reminiscent of

Rojek's work on abnormal leisure, Giddens outlines the specific characteristics of addictions which could include anything from narcotic drug use to alcohol, from sex (his own topic) to high risk leisure activities:

- The 'high': the ecstatic experience or the thrill of being taken out of themselves that individuals seek out when they are looking for a leisure experience that is set apart from the mundane characteristics of everyday life.
- The 'fix': when individuals are addicted to a specific leisure experience all efforts to achieve a 'high' soon become translated into the need for a 'fix'.
- The 'high' and the 'fix': both can be understood as kinds of 'time out' when individuals are transported to another world. The upshot of this is that individuals may come to regard their ordinary day-to-day activities with 'cynical amusement or even disdain', or just the reverse – they might even generate a form of disgust toward their addictive pattern of behaviour.
- 'Giving up': the addictive leisure activity can also be understood as a kind of 'giving up', leading to the temporary abandonment of the care of the self. However, some forms of 'high' – those associated with flow, for example – might be understood by individuals as enabling them to penetrate the mystery of the self.
- The sense of 'loss': which is experienced in the aftermath of being taken out of oneself is often succeeded by feelings of embarrassment, shame and remorse.
- 'Layering': for all the apparent singularity of the ecstatic experience involved in individual highs, addictive experiences tend to be 'layered' in the individual's psychological makeup and can lead to compulsive behaviour patterns.
- Ambivalence: the loss of the self and the kinds of self-disgust typical of addictions are not necessarily just about indulgence. The pathologies of self-discipline characteristic of addictions can swing in two

directions. For example, bulimia (compulsive overeating) and anorexia (compulsive fasting) are two sides of the same coin: each can co-exist in the addictive behaviours of the same individual.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts   Abnormal Leisure; Deviance; Extreme Sport; Flow; Giddens; 'Into', the; Liminality; Symbolic Interactionism.

ADORNO, THEODOR *SEE* CRITICAL THEORY

AESTHETICS

Derived from the Greek words *aisthētikos*, which means 'perceptible by the senses', and *aisthēsthai*, which means 'to perceive', aesthetics, as it is understood in Western philosophy, is concerned with beauty in the arts and nature. The science of aesthetics, on the other hand, understands beauty as something absolute, which has the power to overwhelm any effort to treat it relatively. This modern disciplinary understanding of aesthetics is concerned with the concrete and it promises to offer an understanding of the meaning of beauty through the reconciliation of the rational and the experiential (Eagleton, 1990). As such the science of aesthetics concerns itself with asking questions such as: What is art? Can art be a vehicle for truth?

According to its critics, the major problem with the science of aesthetics is not only is it misguided in thinking that beauty is something absolute, but it also preoccupies itself with the sensory perceptual reaction that objects of art can offer, rather than offering a critique of the ways in which the cultural capital generated through artistic knowledge serves to sustain existing social inequalities, particularly social class. It can also be criticized

for marginalizing the relationship between aesthetics and the passions of a wider human activity relating to our personal ethics and the political meaning of a life lived as a work of art, or in other words, the qualities arising from the experience of the art of life itself, which stimulate knowledge and self-discovery in order to liberate both memory and the imagination.

The work of Michel Foucault is of particular relevance to understanding the significance of leisure to this idea of the art of living. What Foucault suggests is that with the onset of postmodernity, when we (modern men and women) were at last freed from the shackles of the imagined 'social contract' that accompanied the legislating virtues and the habitats of a modern society based on industrial production – from the social solidarity and community formations associated with the working classes, to the self-interest and propriety of the middle classes, to the mimicking 'aristocratic' virtues of generosity and courage of the upper classes – which cast us 'ready-made' through our rank in the class hierarchy, we were, for the first time in our history, in a position to think of ourselves as individuals *de facto*, which also meant exceeding the possibilities of the experiences of leisure in a world built on industrial production with its rigid class differences.

Foucault argues that, from this moment, it was inevitable that we would no longer be convinced 'that between our ethics, our personal ethics, our everyday life, and the great political and social and economic structures, there were analytical relations, and that we couldn't arrange anything, for instance, in our sex life, in our family life, without ruining our economy, our democracy, and so on', and that there could only be one practical consequence: we would have to create ourselves as a work of art: 'couldn't everyone's life become a work of art? Why should the lamp or the house be an art object, but not our life?' (1984: 350b). In other words, according to Foucault, today we inhabit a world in which aesthetics supersedes everything else,

where men and women are their own art and the performativity of life itself, often informed by our leisure choices (our dress sense, the holidays we take, the music and the artists we like best, the way we tattoo ourselves, how and who we love, whatever) is the foremost ethical principle. However, Foucault's critics would argue that if it can be said that postmodern men and women are their own art, it is a form of art made to the measure of a consumer society and to this extent the art of living is mostly ready-made or off-the-peg.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts Authenticity; Bourdieu; Class; Consumption; Habitus, Field and Capital; Foucault; Performativity; Postmodernism; Postmodernity.

AGEING AND LEISURE

We all know that ageing refers to the process of growing physically older, but it is more difficult to suggest a formal definition that will deal adequately with the questions relating to the economic issues, cultural values and social and psychological concerns associated with the ageing process and the consequences of these for people's engagement with, and enjoyment of, leisure.

An ageing society is generally seen as one which is experiencing a decline in the birth rate and a concomitant increase in the longevity of the population as a whole. The UK and USA are good examples of this trend. The Office of Population, Censuses, and Surveys in the UK projects that, by 2011, almost 10 million people will be aged 65 or over, and that by 2020 there will be 30,000 centenarians. However, these bare statistics do tend to hide some anomalies. For example, in the UK, it is the white population that is ageing and ethnic minority

groups are predominantly young, while in the USA, the US Census Bureau estimates that a white man born in 1970 can expect to reach 68 years while for a black man it is just over 60 years.

Studies have also shown that the growing proportion of older people in a population leads to some significant changes in household structure, in particular an increase in one person households (especially women) and shifts in the geographical distribution of populations where, on the one hand, poorer or less mobile older people are left in inner cities and, on the other more, affluent and mobile older people move to retirement areas, such as the popular seaside towns.

There are some major disparities in leisure opportunities associated with age, which can be summarized as follows:

- Health: implications of the lack of mobility, sight, hearing for leisure and leisure provision; increased dependence as confidence and mobility deteriorate; isolation due to loss of spouse, usually the male.
- Image: notions of the 'old age pensioner' and negative stereotypes of the elderly.
- Economic: reduced income with retirement especially for those from working-class social backgrounds. Many older people live on the borders of poverty and for them leisure is a problem of excess time and a deficiency of resources, resulting in an enforced dependency on home-life.
- Psycho-social and cultural restraints: the old are not respected; leisure/work demarcation disappears and social contacts are subsequently reduced; a fear of crime, both real and perceived; increased feelings of being psychologically useless; increasing dependence on organized leisure; the implications of living with 'structureless' time and being a burden to the rest of society.

There are two key theoretical interpretations of the relationship between ageing and leisure. The first of these is identified by Clarke and Critcher (1985: 154–55), who point out that disengagement theorists have highlighted the relationship between older people and the rest of society, particularly the idea that once people retire they tend to withdraw in preparation for death. Focusing on the 'roleless' role that old age confers, disengagement theorists suggest that retirement is experienced by a large number of older people as largely negative, mixing elements of status loss with nothing to do. Retirees are said to have no roles once they lose the status of work and are depicted as 'old' people sitting around in 'cheerless' places, such as supermarkets and shopping malls, watching the world pass them by. The crux of this argument is that in a production-oriented society, retired older people simply lose their central focus of life. Social processes also increase their sense of isolation (e.g., children move away; partners die; family becomes scattered), resulting in what Clarke and Critcher (1985: 155) call 'privatization with a vengeance'.

Contrary to this largely negative theoretical assessment, which by and large constructs older people as passive recipients of the ageing process, activity theorists (e.g., Forster, 1997) see them as active engaged citizens. In this view retirement might be a period of transition and re-adjustment for many individuals, but far from withdrawing from the rest of society, it presents them with an unprecedented opportunity to take on new roles: old age is a time of potential. This optimistic approach assumes retirees have the necessary skills, social bonds, self-definitions, and crucially the quality of time, that can ensure they ake leisure central to their retirement.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts Authenticity; Class; Leisure and the Life Course; Serious Leisure.

AGENCY *SEE* STRUCTURE AND AGENCY

ALIENATION

Alienation can be defined as isolation or a disconnection resulting from powerlessness. Theories of alienation are most commonly associated with the work of Karl Marx, who had built upon the writings of Hegel and Feuerbach. Marx suggested that human beings are distinguished from animals by their *creative activity*, but capitalism strips people of this creativity, and as a consequence, individuals are alienated in four key ways. These are, first, *alienation from the process of working*, where capitalism denies workers a say in what they produce and how they produce it, and work is tedious and repetitive. Second, *alienation from the products of work*, where the product of the work (the object produced for sale) belongs to the capitalists and not the workers. Third, *alienation from other workers*, in that, capitalism transforms work from a cooperative venture to a competitive one. Factory work provides little chance for human companionship so workers become alienated from their co-workers. Fourth, *alienation from themselves* (or *human potential*), in that capitalist production techniques do not allow workers to fulfil their full creative potential as their roles become prescribed and set.

These ideas have been applied by several, and in particular (though not solely) Marxist, writers to the study of leisure. One notable example is Jean-Marie Brohm's (1978) consideration of sports participation. Brohm argues that sport participation in capitalist societies ultimately leads to athletes to becoming alienated from their own bodies. The body is experienced by the athlete as an object and instrument – a technical means to an end and a machine with the task of producing the maximum work and energy. The result of this is that the body ceases to be a source of pleasure and fulfilment in itself. Instead, pleasure and fulfilment depend on what is accomplished with the body, namey satisfaction in terms of competitive outcomes rather than the physical experience of involvement. In particular, Brohm (1978: 18) writes of 'the total, not to say totalitarian mobilization of the athletes to produce maximum performance. Every sport now involves a fantastic manipulation of human robots by doctors, psychologists, bio-chemists and trainers. The "manufacturing of champions" is no longer a craft but an industry, calling on specialized laboratories, research institutes, training camps and experimental sports centres'.

Garry Crawford

Associated Concepts Class; Commodity Fetishism; Hegemony; Leisure Bodies; Marxism; Power; Sport; Work-Leisure.

AMATEUR AND AMATEURISM

The term amateur is most commonly associated with engaging in an activity without formal payment, and/or having received no formal training. Traditionally, this term was used as a badge of honour to mark out an individual who had 'natural' talent (without needing to train) and was willing to engage in an activity out of love for the pursuit rather than monetary gain. This traditional idea of 'amateurism' is therefore very class based, as can be seen in the Victorian (and beyond) 'gentleman' (usually middle-class amateurs) versus 'players' (usually working-class professionals) cricket matches which began in 1806. However, in more contemporary times, the idea of professionalism has come to be associated with expertise, and correspondently, the term amateur is now most frequently used to denote a lack of skill or competence.

For Stebbins (1992) 'amateurs' are different from 'hobbyists', as unlike hobbyists, amateurs constitute one part of the 'professional-amateur-public' (PAP) system. That is to say,

their status as 'amateurs' is defined by the existence of others who get paid to do the same or similar activities. The classic example would of course be sport, where there is often a divide (though this is not wholly clear) between professional and amateur athletes. In particular, the ethos of 'amateurism' has been strongly defended in many sports, such as rugby, where disagreement over payments to players led to the split of codes into 'league' and 'union' in England in 1895 (and it was one hundred years later in 1995 when rugby union eventually removed all restrictions on the payment of wages to players). However, rugby union (and many other so-called 'amateur' sports) for a considerable amount of time allowed the payment of (sometimes considerable and excessive) 'expenses', which led many critics to refer to this system as 'shamateurism' rather than true 'amateurism'.

Garry Crawford

Associated Concepts   Casual/Serious Leisure; Class; Consumption; Fanzines; Hobbies.

ANIMAL RIGHTS

The Aristotelian idea that the possession of reason separates humankind from the animal kingdom and allows them sole entry to the realm of the moral community has been challenged by animal rights activists. They place their faith in the sanctity of all life and argue animals should receive the same moral privileges as human beings.

It is undoubtedly the case that historically animals have quite legally been subject to abuse and neglect while people have pursued their own pleasures in leisure. Making leisure activities which are cruel to animals illegal has a long history, but as the recent ban on hunting with dogs in the UK showed legislation has often been class biased. As figurational sociologists Atkinson and Young

(2005) demonstrate in their discussion of greyhound racing in North America, cruelty towards animals in leisure settings is hardly a thing of the past and we need to understand that abuse and neglect are often embedded and hidden in sporting configurations which perpetuate our tacit tolerance of wrongdoings perpetrated against animals.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts   Blood sports; Elias; Ethics; Figurationalism; Mimesis.

ANOMIE

The concept of 'anomie' was introduced into sociology by Émile Durkheim in his discussion of the division of labour within a capitalist society. In *The Division of Labour* (1933[1893]) Durkheim developed a theory of the historical progression of society from a state of 'mechanical' to 'organic' solidarity. This evolution is bound up with the development of the division of labour (i.e., the occupational structures) and also the social relations of society, such as friendships and communities. Mechanical forms of solidarity are essentially pre-industrial, where social organization is generally undifferentiated. The basis of organic solidarity is the division of labour and social differentiation – which sees the labour process divided into parts, with each individual performing a specific and differentiated role. In an organic society what Durkheim referred to as a 'normal' division of labour would develop, where the skills and abilities of individuals are equally matched to their professions, and laws and rules would be more cooperative and fairer.

However, Durkheim recognized that there also existed 'abnormal' forms of the division of labour, which he referred to as 'anomic', 'forced' and 'uncoordinated' divisions of labour. The latter two 'abnormal' forms are

quite similar, and relate (respectively) to where individuals are forced to perform jobs that are not suited to their particular skills and abilities, and where there is a rapid development in the division of labour and people's roles become uncoordinated and ill defined. However it is the 'anomic' division of labour which has received most attention.

Anomie, for Durkheim, refers to a state of 'normlessness' where there is a lack (or ineffective) set of social norms. In particular, Durkheim suggested that anomie could occur in times of rapid social change or crisis (such as class conflict), where a break-down in social consensus occurs. Durkheim argued that human beings needed to be controlled, to rein in their 'insatiable appetites', and for Durkheim anomie was associated with individual and selfish desires, and an absence of norms to control these.

However, while the concept of anomie was introduced into sociology by Durkheim it was not widely used until its adoption by the sociologist Robert Merton (1938). In particular, Merton formulated a theory of deviant behaviour that suggested contemporary American society was providing a mismatch between promoting certain cultural goals (such individual success) and supplying inadequate means for every person to meet these. Hence, certain individuals would resort to deviant and/or illegal means and there would be a break-down of social norms and regulations (or an anomie) to achieve these ends.

The concept of anomie has often been applied to leisure, most commonly in our considerations of how certain leisure activities (such as sport) can combat anomie by providing social norms and values. For instance, Schwery and Eggenberger-Argote (2003: 49) argued that 'sport could offer a simple societal framework to solve conflicts without having to resort to violence' and that 'sport serves to foster identity and can counteract the problem of social disintegration'. However, others have pointed to how leisure itself can be anomic. In particular, Gunter and Gunter (1980) have identified both anomic and alienated forms of leisure, where anomic leisure is characterized by a general lack of structure in which individuals experience an abundance of unoccupied time. Anomic leisure suggests a 'lack of structural constraints and obligations, coupled with feelings of dislike, antipathy, confusion and possibly a sense of powerlessness to combat such conditions' (1980: 369). Examples of anomic leisure would appear in periods of high unemployment and rapid social transformation, where individuals are unable to move from their societal position and are 'condemned to leisure'. Furthermore, Eric Dunning (1999: 128) has suggested that many modern sports (and especially professional association football in the UK) have become locked into a situation that Durkheim would have called 'classic anomie' – as a result of the vastly increased amounts of money involved in sport, its rapid change, and 'the standards whereby greed was kept in check' having broken down.

Garry Crawford

Associated Concepts Abnormal Leisure; Alienation; Deviance; Functionalism; Marxism; Sport.

ANSOFF MATRIX

The Ansoff Matrix, developed by Igor Ansoff in 1957, relates to the products on offer by an organisation and strategies for diversification (see Ansoff, 1957). It is a tool that marketers will use if they have an objective(s) for growth, primarily because the matrix offers strategic choices to achieve this. Consequently, it is a good method of stimulating organizational growth. There are four main categories for selection: market penetration; market development; product development; and diversification. The matrix is particularly relevant in the leisure industry where market

volatility and short products life cycles mean analysis needs to be undertaken in a dynamic context. That is to say organizations in the leisure industry must constantly evaluate both their products and their markets.

- In the context of the Ansoff Matrix, market penetration is about the marketing of existing products to existing customers in an attempt to increase revenue. Generally, this will be done by promoting the product more intensively and repositioning the brand. The product, however, will by and large remain in its current form and no changes will be made.
- Market development concerns the development of an existing product range in a new market(s). Fundamentally, this will mean using the same product but marketing it to a different audience. Common ways of attempting to this involve taking a product overseas or to new areas of the country.
- Product development is probaly one of the most straightforward strategies, but is also often one of the most expensive. New products are developed and targeted at existing customers as they generally replace existing ones. It is sometimes relatively simple to do this by developing an existing model, but sometimes this will involve developing new products completely.
- Diversification occurs when completely new products are targeted at completely new customers. In the matrix there are two types of diversification: related and unrelated. Related diversification means that the organization remains in its current industry and offers different products. Unrelated diversification means entering unknown industries with new products.
- Place strategies refer to how an organization will distribute the product or service they are offering to the end user. The organization must distribute the product to the user at the right place at the right time. Efficient and effective distribution is important if the organization is to meet its overall marketing objectives. For example, if an organization underestimates demand and customers cannot purchase products, its profitability is likely to be affected.

In essence, place strategies are generally concerned with distribution strategies of which there are two main channels. Indirect distribution which involves distributing products by the use of an intermediary and direct distribution which involves distributing direct from a manufacturer to the consumer.

Depending on the type of product being distributed and the channel chosen by an organization, there are three main distribution strategies: intensive distribution, exclusive distribution, and selective distribution. Intensive distribution is commonly used to distribute low priced or impulse purchase products, for example, chocolates and soft drinks. Exclusive distribution involves limiting distribution to a single outlet. The product will therefore usually be highly priced and requires the intermediary to place a significant amount of detail at its point of sale. A good example of a product associated with this strategy could be luxury cars sold by exclusive dealers. Finally, selective distribution involves the process of selecting a small number of retail outlets to distribute a product. Selective distribution is common with products such as computers, televisions and household appliances, where consumers are willing to shop around and where manufacturers want a large geographical spread. It is worth pointing out here that if a manufacturer decides to adopt an exclusive or selective strategy, they should select an intermediary who has experience of handling similar products, is credible and is known by the target audience.

Rob Wilson

Associated Concepts Boston Matrix; Leisure Marketing; Marketing Mix; Market Positioning and Market Segmentation.

ART *SEE* AESTHETICS; COMMUNITY LEISURE; MODERNISM; POSTMODERNISM

ASCETICISM

A formative term within historical leisure studies, asceticism – from the old Greek term *askein* meaning 'to exercise' – is understood as one of the most important features of the development of modern leisure. Put simply, the term refers to a set of guidelines to living that incorporate self-denial and an abstention from worldly pleasures in order to enhance individual spirituality. In his classic studies of the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930), Weber linked ascetism with the puritan values embodied in early Protestantism (including, Lutherism, Calvinism and rationalization) to demonstrate, albeit controversially, its key role in engaging people in disciplined and productive work as modern capitalism emerged from the preconceptual and presystematic *zuhanden* world that preceded it. Leisure scholars have extended the Weber thesis to explore the key values associated with asceticism, such as discipline, diligence, hard effort and the systematic use of time, and the ways these have historically been linked to the promotion of productive leisure and modern configurations of social control.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts Aesthetics; Cool; Play Ethic; Social Control; Surveillance; Work Ethic.

ASSETS, LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL

Assets, liabilities and capital are three terms that you will often come across when you examine a set of financial statements. Wilson and Joyce (2007) demonstrated how these can have a significant impact on the success or failure of organizations' operations, particularly as they are the central figures that are used to construct a balance sheet. Put simply, assets are items or resources that have a value to the business, are used by the business, and as such are for the business. They can be classified as either fixed assets or current assets, the basic difference being that a fixed asset is something that the business intends to keep and use for some time whereas a current asset is held for the business to convert into cash during trading. Some good examples in the leisure industries are business premises (e.g., a swimming pool) and motor vehicles (e.g., community transport buses), which are fixed assets, and stock and cash, which are current assets.

Liabilities are essentially the opposite of assets as they are amounts owed by the business to people other than the owner. Normally liabilities are classified as either payable within one year (current liabilities) e.g., bank overdrafts and supplier accounts, or payable after one-year (non-current liabilities) e.g., longer-term bank loans.

Capital (sometimes called equity) is the owners' stake in the business. This term is also used to describe the excess of assets over liabilities.

Rob Wilson

Associated Concepts Capitalism; Double-Entry Bookkeeping; Financial and Management Accounting; Financial Health and Ratio Analysis; Financial Statements.

AUDIENCES

This term is most commonly used to refer to the 'recipients' of mass media texts (such as radio, television, or literature) or live performances (such as plays, concerts, or sporting events). Often viewed as the end point of a production-text-audience process, audiences

have until relatively recently often been marginalized in media and leisure research in preference to an analysis of the production process and texts. However, in recent years we have seen an increased focus on the social importance of audiences, and their potentially active role within this process.

A useful summary and categorization of the key theories and debates on audiences is offered by Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998). In particular, they suggest that there are three major paradigms (or groups of theories) that can be identified (historically) in the literature on audiences.

The first paradigm they identify is the *behavioural paradigm*. This concept covers many of the psychological theories of audiences and some of sociology's early thinking in this area, and it includes the work of Katz, Blumer and Gurevitch (1974). This is often referred to as the 'syringe' model, where the media are seen as a stimulus from which audiences passively absorb messages.

A recognition that audiences are not passive, but can actively 'decode' and engage with texts, led to the replacement of this debate with, what Abercrombie and Longhurst refer to as, the *incorporation/resistance paradigm*. In this model audiences are seen as more active in their consumption, where the messages conveyed by the mass media are reinterpreted or even rejected (resisted) by audience members. Put simply, they suggest that the focus of this paradigm is on 'whether audience members were incorporated into dominant ideology by their participation in media activity, or whether to the contrary, they are resistant to that incorporation' (ibid., page 15). This paradigm includes many sociological and cultural studies discussions about audiences, such as the work of Stuart Hall and his colleagues at the University of Birmingham.

However, Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) have argued that there are a number of weaknesses with this paradigm. First, that the power an audience has to resist or reinterpret the messages the mass media convey to them is often overstated within this paradigm; second, that there exists little empirical evident to support this paradigmal framework, and on the contrary, as audiences become more skilled in their use of media, their responses and actions are less likely to conform to this simple model.

Abercrombie and Longhurst have proposal that there a shift is now occurring towards a new paradigm, and this they refer to as the *spectacle/performance paradigm*. Within an increasingly spectacular and performative (postmodern) society individuals become part of a 'diffused audience'. That is to say, we draw on the mass media as a resource and use this in our everyday social performances, rendering us (and others) both performers, and audiences to others' performances, in our everyday lives.

The incorporation/resistance paradigm therefore recognizes that audiences are not the passive product of production/text process, while more contemporary debates (within a spectacle/performance paradigm) allow us to break down the boundaries between production/text/consumption, and to see audiences as both the consumers and the producers of texts and performances.

Garry Crawford

Associated Concepts Birmingham School; Celebrity; Communication; Consumption; Fans; Fanzines; Football Hooliganism; Ideology; Mass Media; Performativity; Power; Subcultures.

AUTHENTICITY

In the work of the existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger (1962) authenticity is understood as that mode of human being-in-the-world (*Dasein*) of interest to those who wish to explore the existential qualities and possibilities that are uniquely their own as individuals; who cannot ignore the fact that as individuals they are 'thrown' into the world at a certain point in time and space;

and who recognize that their existence has a certain distinctiveness that nonetheless transcends simple analysis, description, or perception. Heidegger contrasts authenticity with inauthenticity, which is a mode of existence whereby men and women flee from their responsibility to themselves by reducing their lives to the average or the typical, or to believing they can understand it through the sciences.

As Agnes Heller (1999) has argued, to be authentic is not only to reject the risk of alienation caused by inauthenticity, it is a way of remaining 'true to oneself' in order to achieve the single most sublime virtue of life. As Heller points out, authentic men and women manage to remain faithful to their choices, they are those kinds of individuals 'who are pulled and not pushed, who are personalities', which means they are capable of achieving the sort of life that is as close to perfection as a modern person can get. In this way Heller is, in common with other existential thinkers, speaking of the possibility of moving from a state of 'having' to a state of 'being', in which men and women are rekindled with their own genuine, transcendent mode of being-in-the-world that is only possible through the engagement of the self to a life that is mystical and blends effortlessly with the collective.

That authenticity is increasingly important to people's leisure lives is demonstrated to good effect in Blackshaw's (2003) book *Leisure Life*, which traces the perceived sense of authenticity that marks the characteristic features of being one of 'the lads'. As Blackshaw demonstrates, just as it might be said that is not enough for an authentic Muslim man simply to pray, eat, drink and sleep and dress like Mohamed because he feels he must live like the prophet, it might also be argued that, for a modern secular working-class man, it is not enough for him have a leisure interest, he has to engage with it to the extent that it becomes an essential part of his spiritual being and communal life. As Blackshaw

demonstrates in his discussion, the notion of authenticity is wrapped up with 'the lads" shared leisure experiences: just as they found their collective identity on them, they also justify their extremities through them.

On the face of it, Blackshaw's work seems to confirm Heller's argument that just as authenticity is a matter of living a certain way, it is also an ethical way of life which involves treating others as you would expect them to treat you. In other words, taking responsibility for the Other: caring for and respecting those close to you, but also strangers. However, contrary to Heller, Blackshaw's research, drawing on Ricoeur's terminology, suggests that the constancy and resoluteness that accompany the authenticity of 'the lads'' leisure lives are marked by their own epistemology of 'attestation' that works in two ways which are mutually dependent. First, the discourse of the leisure life-world operates as 'the lads'' very own truth about the world, which is defined through a 'self-certainty' that enables them to give assurances to one another that it is in their leisure that they really can be authentic. Second, it is through the selfsame certainty of this discourse that 'the lads' can certify that 'their' leisure life-world is 'free' from those others whom it excludes – what 'the lads' call the 'flids', 'spastics', 'slags' and 'fanny' living 'solid' modern lives, barred from the discourse that has created them – which enables them to construct and schematize a collective leisure experience that is constant and which allows them to maintain their sameness at the same time as excluding and controlling the Other.

What Blackshaw's research also suggests, following Baudrillard (2001), is that in an individualized society such as ours, pursuing an authentic existence is a form of dream making that is pathetically absurd. For all the determination of 'the lads' to live their leisure lives authentically, their capacity to form authentic loving relationships, to feel secure as well as free, is unlikely. This is

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because the existential import of the idea of authenticity emerges at its most potent in their lives when it transpires that there is no such thing: existentially 'the lads' may think they are authentic, but this authenticity is fated to be no more than fleetingly signifi-cant in a liquid modern consumer society. In other words, 'the lads', in common with other individuals, set themselves a circle that they can never hope to square: the ambivalence of being authentic in a world in which authenticity is just another (leisure) lifestyle choice.

Tony Blackshaw

Associated Concepts Alienation; Bauman; Crafts and Craftsmanship; Consumption; Individualization; Leisure as a Value-Sphere; Leisure Life-style; Leisure Life-World; Serious Leisure.