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JAZZ AS SERIOUS LEISURE

BY

TYLER GEORGE MANDIN

**A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

MASTER OF SCIENCE

**Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation Studies
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba**

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TYLER GEORGE MANDIN

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine and extend Robert Stebbins's (1992) concept of serious leisure by explicating the improvisatory nature of jazz and arguing that Stebbins's concept of play does not allow for pursuits, such as jazz, to be considered serious leisure. The research engages a philosophical enquiry as defined by Bergmann Drewe (1996):

Philosophical enquiry involves reviewing the relevant literature and putting forward positions which agree, oppose or extend the arguments presented in the literature. Reviewing the relevant literature and putting forth alternative arguments or extending the arguments will involve the following strategies and activities: (a) identifying philosophical positions and clarifying the concepts involved, (b) illuminating the assumptions underlying particular positions, (c) explicating the justification for particular positions, and (d) examining the implications of philosophical arguments for practitioners in the area of leisure.

I have reviewed the relevant literature in the areas of leisure, serious and casual leisure, play and jazz. In chapter one, I examine leisure, and contrast the concept of casual leisure with serious leisure. Chapter two explores and illuminates various play concepts. In chapter three I explicate and compare jazz, with its inherently fundamental play features, with the components of serious leisure, arguing that jazz is a form of serious leisure. Finally, in chapter four, I juxtapose play and jazz and conclude by recapitulating the need to extend Stebbins's model of serious leisure to include play.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1974, sociologist Robert Stebbins conducted an ethnographic study of amateur classical musicians. By 1992 the results of his study were included in a book he entitled Amateurs, Professionals and Serious Leisure. Stebbins coined the term "serious leisure" and defined it as "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of its special skills and knowledge" (1992, p. 3). Stebbins suggested that as classical musicians began to systematically acquire skills and knowledge through practice and study, they became more proficient, experienced and capable of careers. On the other hand, inexperienced musicians (those who did not systematically pursue their craft) remained players and merely "played" at being musicians. Musicians at or between these two polar extremes could be ranked by degrees of involvement. As musicians rehearsed and practiced, their level of commitment increased, and they became more experienced; the inexperienced musicians, alternatively, remained players. According to Stebbins, the play element diminished as musicians became more committed to their pursuit, and, consequently, he posited that "the element of play is rarely found in serious leisure" (1992, p. 6). But what is Stebbins's conception of play? Why does the element of play not remain a part of serious leisure? What are the essential defining characteristics of play that would

differentiate it from what occurs in non-serious as opposed to serious leisure pursuits? As other musicians (such as jazz musicians) become more proficient at their craft, do they also lose their ability to play?

Stebbins's failure to clarify his meaning of play may not be that unusual. According to Arnold (1991), a review of 123 studies of play revealed that only 19 authors attempted to define the term within their methodology. To expect that everyone automatically knows what is meant by "play" causes confusion and misunderstanding. In the same article, Arnold (p. 5) states: "If words are ambiguous and we are unsure of our symbols, it will follow that our thinking will be illogical and our intent confusing." As a result of Stebbins neglecting to define play, readers of Amateurs, Professionals and Serious Leisure can only speculate why play is rarely found in serious leisure. Perhaps play refers to the activities of children, or maybe playing implies doing something which is not to be taken seriously. Stebbins's lack of definitional clarity weakens his argument regarding play, and thus calls for further investigation on the subject.

In an attempt to understand how play fits into leisure pursuits, it would be wise to examine different conceptions of play. Kelly and Godbey (1992) summarized play as being a quality of action that is open to the novel, capable of creating in its own world that which did not previously exist. For example, an episode of social play creates its own temporary symbolic world of communication

action. Huizinga (1955, p. 12) describes this type of experience as "the feeling of being apart together in an exceptional situation of sharing something important, of mutually withdrawing from the rest of the world and rejecting the usual norms." Kelly (1990, p. 28) expands on the idea of withdrawing from the rest of the world by defining play as "a non-serious suspension of consequences, a temporary creation of its own world of meaning which often is a shadow of the 'real world'."

The above mentioned play concepts contain elements of communication, creativity and spontaneity. Examples of these elements could be found in various settings, such as two teenagers talking on the phone after school, communicating "non-serious" situations with each other. Children playing with a stick at the beach could creatively imagine that the stick represents a poisonous snake that is about to attack them. College students could have fun with spontaneous impromptu skits during a class break. Another example of communication could be a medium like music where composers transfer their original ideas onto manuscript paper through musical notation. The notes would then be practised by musicians who would perform the written work for listeners. One could argue that music contains elements of play.

Huizinga (1955) posits that music falls under the heading of play and has the ability of transporting "audience and performers alike out of 'ordinary' life into a sphere of gladness and serenity, which makes even sad music a lofty pleasure. In

other words, it 'enchants' and 'enraptures' them" (p. 42). Stebbins's (1992) study involved musicians who played classical music. Classical music "must confine itself to the static, to the written mood, caught once forever" (Ulanov 1972, p. 339). In classical music the composer conceives and realizes every detail of the composition. (Every note is usually composed, arranged and written by the composer.) As a result, classical musicians rarely have the opportunity to communicate their own ideas to each other and to their audiences because they are replicating the ideas of the composer. Perhaps classical musicians rarely experience play; but what about jazz musicians? Is there a difference between classical and jazz musicians? Do jazz musicians experience spontaneous and creative communication? Does playing jazz constitute a serious leisure pursuit?

Ulanov (1972), quoting a well-schooled musician, contrasts classical musicians and jazz musicians:

Jazz, says John, requires a virtuoso technique today. But, unlike the virtuoso of classical music, who doesn't have to be any more than a finished performer, the jazz virtuoso has continually to make harmonic and melodic progress; he has to be a first-rate performer and composer as well. (p. 331)

Merriam and Mack (1960, p. 217) refer to classical musicians as "merely instrumental technicians whose musicianship is limited to printed notes." In contrast, jazz musicians are expected to be creative and spontaneous (Berliner, 1994). Jazz, by its very nature, is a spontaneous and creative art form. Jazz artists

are expected to express original ideas through the art of improvisation.

Commenting on the relationship between spontaneity and jazz, Ulanov (1972, p. 340) stated "spontaneity was recognized as the greatest of all the jazz skills when it was first heard; it remains the hallmark of a jazz musician who is also an artist."

To be capable of "on-the-spot" musical creativity, jazz musicians must pursue their craft in a very serious and systematic manner. Referring again to John (the well schooled musician), Ulanov elucidates that "jazz is an art and a science; it must be studied; it can be significant only if it is the end result of an intensive preparation. That preparation entails hours of work, of unrelenting attention to the interior detail of the creative process" (p. 330). Jazz musicians' purposes in practicing go much farther than their classical counterparts. Classical musicians practise in order to replicate the ideas of others whereas jazz musicians practise in order to gain freedom on their instruments, thus facilitating increased ability for spontaneous communication, communication that typifies play. The pathway leading to proficient jazz playing is fraught with endless hours of hard work and effort, and no one can reach its zenith through alternate routes. True freedom to create and play, to play what one feels, is the cherished reward for all who are willing to pay the price of focused practicing, listening and learning. I would argue that jazz highly exemplifies the element of play and that jazz is also a serious leisure pursuit.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine and extend Stebbins's (1992) concept of serious leisure by explicating the improvisatory nature of jazz and arguing that Stebbins's concept of play does not allow for pursuits such as jazz, to be considered serious leisure. The proposed research will involve a philosophical enquiry. Bergmann Drewe (1996) describes this method of inquiry:

Philosophical enquiry involves reviewing the relevant literature and putting forward positions which agree with, oppose or extend the arguments presented in the literature. Reviewing the relevant literature and putting forth alternative arguments or extending the arguments will involve the following strategies and activities: (a) identifying philosophical positions and clarifying the concepts involved, (b) illuminating the assumptions underlying particular positions, (c) explicating the justification for particular positions, and (d) examining the implications of philosophical arguments for practitioners. (1996)

I will be reviewing the relevant literature in the areas of leisure, serious and casual leisure, play and jazz. In chapter one, I examine leisure, and contrast the concept of casual leisure with serious leisure. Chapter two involves an exploration and illumination of various play concepts. In chapter three, I explicate and compare jazz, with its inherently fundamental play features, with the components of serious leisure, arguing that jazz is a form of serious leisure. Finally, in chapter four, I juxtapose play and jazz and conclude by recapitulating the need to extend Stebbins's serious leisure model by incorporating play.

CHAPTER ONE

LEISURE

What is leisure? This question may be posed to scores of people, and one would probably receive scores of different answers. Even leisure scholars have struggled for years with the definition and parameters of the concept of leisure.

One of the ongoing problems surrounding the whole area of leisure studies concerns conceptualization of the term leisure itself. In recent years this problem has been increasingly recognized by researchers in the field. (Shaw, 1985, p.2)

As a topic for research in the social sciences, leisure contains more than its share of problems, of which the most significant seems to be the lack of definitional consensus: Is it a kind of time, a state of mind or a certain kind of pre-defined activities - e.g. recreation, play or games? (Gunter, 1987, p.115)

As most leisure researchers have found, the leisure construct has been highly subjective; each individual has defined it quite personally. Researchers' attempts to describe this amorphous concept have led to a general agreement that the importance of leisure should relate directly to one's quality of life. (Henderson, 1990, p. 230)

Although leisure studies have been plagued by conceptual confusion, leisure scholars have primarily conceived of the leisure phenomenon as an activity (Dumazdier, 1967, 1974), as not work or free time (Dumazdier, 1967; Parker, 1983; Robinson, 1977), as freedom of choice (Howe & Rancourt, 1990; Iso-Ahola,

1979; Neulinger, 1974; Shaw, 1990), and as a state of mind (Neulinger, 1981, 1982, 1984; Kelly, 1982). For the purposes of this thesis, I will examine the relevant leisure literature and extract those elements that relate to my argument.

One of the earliest (about 400 - 500 B.C.) concepts of leisure was evident in Greece during a time known as the Golden Age of Pericles. Society was divided into two groups, one group being known as "slaves" and the other as "citizens". Slaves (who were far more numerous than citizens) expended their energies toiling to provide for the citizens' physical necessities. Consequently, citizens were free to expend their energies in government, administration, military, the pursuit of knowledge and personal development.

Aristotle, a prominent Greek citizen, is the individual to whom most of the early conceptualizations of leisure have been attributed. In fact, he "is regarded by most modern scholars as the 'Father of Leisure'" (Searle & Brayley, 1993, p. 10). According to Aristotle, there were two major groups of activities: (a) scholē, translated as 'leisure', was for citizens; (b) ascholē or 'not-leisure', meaning 'work', was for slaves. The existence of the slave population was rationalized as being essential for providing citizens freedom to reach a state of arete or virtue.

For Aristotle, scholē represented those pursuits considered honourable and desirable for the most intelligent and well-bred citizens of Greece. It was not leisure in the sense we use it that was Aristotle's ideal but culture: Aristotle was arguing that the cultured Athenian gentleman would engage in certain types of acti-

vity, such as contemplation or music, as the embodiment of wisdom and happiness. (Van Moorst, 1982, pp. 162-163)

Aristotle's whole philosophy was aimed at determining the appropriate life-style of a citizen of Ancient Greece, a life-style that included high levels of culture and wisdom. For Aristotle, it was a moral and personal imperative to attain such levels of culture and wisdom. Such an imperative required an integrated life-style that went beyond the pursuits classified as aschole (Van Moorst, 1982). Aschole was a means to an end; schole, on the other hand, was an end in itself.

In summary, some important leisure elements that stemmed from Aristotle's philosophy include the perception of leisure as a lifestyle rather than an event, activity or period of time; it was an end in itself. Leisure also provided personal growth and social attainment of the good life. Of significant importance, Aristotle connected contemplation with the divine in man and to the transcendent soul. These elements will have significant implications in chapter three where I will argue that jazz is a form of serious leisure. I will next focus on the categories of leisure as an activity, as not work or free time, as freedom of choice and as a state of mind, thereby establishing a framework for a subsequent discussion on serious and casual leisure.

LEISURE AS AN ACTIVITY

Activities associated with leisure may include: going to the movies, reading a book, going for a walk, swimming, attending or participating in a sporting event, dancing, napping, building model railroads and so on. In 1985, Shaw conducted a study where she invited 60 couples to keep time-budget diaries for two days, including one Sunday and one typical work day. In their diaries, participants were to record and classify their activities as "work" or "leisure", "a mixture of work and leisure", or "neither work nor leisure". When the diaries were collected, calculations revealed that 4,117 events were recorded. Shaw realized that "particular types of activities were not consistently defined in the same way" (p. 11).

Defining leisure simply as an activity is ambiguous. For example, what of the movie critic who must frequent the theaters for work purposes, or the elderly person with sugar diabetes who must walk everyday to maintain proper blood circulation: are they both experiencing leisure? Activities that are sheer pleasure for some, may in fact be work, obligatory or simply miserable for others. French sociologist Joffre Dumazdier (1967) recognized that the form of the activity did not adequately distinguish leisure from family, socioreligious obligations, and remunerative work. He posited that

Leisure is activity - apart from obligations of work,
family, and society - to which the individual turns at

will, for either relaxation, diversion or broadening his knowledge and his spontaneous social participation, the free exercise of his creative capacity. (1967, pp. 16-17)

Kelly and Godbey (1992, p. 15), commented that "leisure from this perspective is purposive activity, chosen for ends that some way enhances the self, and is oriented toward expression, diversion from work, and self-development." I would suggest that jazz, with its hallmark of spontaneity and its trademark of creative expression, qualifies as a purposive leisure activity. The jazz enthusiast, for example, may relax while listening to recordings of favorite artists. A jazz student may broaden his/her knowledge of jazz history through reading various history books. A leisure activity, in the form of a jam session, may spontaneously occur after a band has been practicing for an upcoming "gig". The jam session could provide "the free exercise" of each musician's creative capacities.

LEISURE AS NOT WORK OR FREE TIME

It will be helpful to provide some brief historical vignettes in order to help delineate the concept of leisure as not work or free time.

In medieval Europe, Christianity, as represented by the Catholic church, was a ruling and unifying force. The church preached the value of work from the pulpit, and righteousness was taught to be based on self-denial, sacrifice and

solemnity. Pleasurable pursuits were considered to be sinful, and leisure as an ideal ceased to be promoted.

The loosening of the church's cultural control in Europe was facilitated by the protestations of Christian reformers like John Wycliffe, Martin Luther, and John Calvin. In order to escape severe persecution, and to find a place for freedom of religious expression, zealous believers fled to North America. These first colonial settlers demonstrated a strong Puritan work ethic as they began to build their new country; there was little time for leisure, recreation or play.

As the new nations became more established and industrialized, clock time increased in importance. According to Sessoms (1984):

Clock time is a modern concept, a product of both the Industrial Revolution and the need to determine the value of labor. Clock time became a way of organizing the day, of integrating the interdependent elements of an industrial order. It provided a mechanism for scheduling activities, for measuring and rewarding behavior, and for assembly and control. (pp. 67-68)

With clock time, people could divide their activities into neat and tidy compartments. There was a time to work and a time to play. Stanley Parker (1983, pp. 8-9) proposed a division of time into 5 categories:

1. **Work or working time.** This time is used to earn a living. It can be called "subsistence time" since its remunerative nature allows the employee and his/her dependents to subsist.

2. Work-related time, work obligations. Apart from actual working time, most people have to spend a certain amount of time travelling to and from the work place, and in preparing or "grooming" themselves for work.

3. Existence time, meeting physiological needs. This is the first of the non-work groups. People have to spend a certain minimum amount of time on sleep and on the mechanics of living - eg. eating, washing, eliminating, and so on. Beyond the minimum necessary for reasonably healthy living, extra time spent on these things may be more like a leisure activity. For example, going out for dinner can be a leisure experience.

4. Non-work obligations, semi-leisure. Activities which arise from leisure, but have an obligatory nature such as taking care of a pet, or mowing the lawn, fall into this category. The line between obligation and leisure is not always clear and depends to a large extent on one's attitude to the activity.

5. Leisure, free time, spare time, uncommitted time, discretionary time, choosing time. Time away from the previously mentioned commitments and obligations constitutes leisure time.

In a time context, work and leisure become polar extremes. Defined as free time, leisure means being free from obligatory activities like employment or maintaining home and self. But is free time a misnomer? Is any time free from things one must do? Kelly and Godbey (1992, p. 16) asked the question

What is free time? Does free signify time remaining when all obligations are completed and all responsibilities are fully met? If so, most people probably never have any. In fact, is any time really free from obligation?

Perhaps leisure would be better defined as "perceived" free time or "discretionary" time, where people would not only be **free from** obligations but **free to** choose participation in activities (Kelly and Godbey, 1992).

Defining leisure in a time context is problematic because it assumes a segmented view of behavior.

This approach is gender-biased in its presumption of the separation of the workplace and the home and the segregation of tasks from expressive relationships. It is assumed that if you know the form, time, and place of the activity, it can be designated as work maintenance, or leisure. (Kelly and Godbey, 1992, p. 16)

Fox (1997, pp. 157-158) highlights four areas of concern for women within this dichotomy of work and leisure: (1) a logic of domination continues to exist from Aristotle's time when the virtues of leisure were for men only, and also from the Reformation when the work ethic was praised, thus exploiting women and children; (2) the definition and measurement of work has been based on "work for financial remuneration" which leaves invisible the work that women perform outside of the workplace; (3) women often spend leisure time pursuing productive and worthwhile activities, or family supporting tasks; and (4) it is difficult for women in cultures where work, leisure, family interaction and religious practices flow together in form, structure and time.

Both the leisure-as-activity and leisure-as-time notions deny the qualitative aspects of the leisure experience. These notions also deny the holistic nature of

human beings. Life is not easily divided into definitive behavioral segments; there is always the possibility of overlap. I will continue a discussion of time and timelessness later in this chapter. I will also discuss time in a musical context in chapter three.

LEISURE AS FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Frequently, when persons are asked to define leisure, freedom of choice is mentioned (Howe and Rancourt, 1990; Shaw 1990). Neulinger (1981) posits that leisure has one essential criterion, the condition of perceived freedom. Activities engaged in as free agents and of one's own choice implies leisure. For example, if a group of young male students decided to "cut" class and play street hockey, they would be engaged in leisure. Defining leisure as freedom of choice, however, may also prove problematic.

The concept of choice is closely allied with free time, an essentialist concept of autonomous self, and access to resources such as finances and facilities. However, freedom of choice may be problematic, irrelevant, or gender-related for many women who find it difficult, if not impossible to separate their multiple roles as mother, wife, daughter, professional, and volunteer. (Fox, 1997, p. 158)

Shaw (1985) discovered that some leisure situations are not freely chosen and may have elements of obligation. To illustrate, consider the young accountant who is expected to attend the office's weekend golf tournament. He/she may not

want to participate, but feels obligated to attend in order to build stronger rapport with older colleagues. In the process of the tournament, the young executive plays very well, achieves a respectable score, enjoys the company of fellow accountants and feels like the weekend was more of a leisure situation than a work experience. Therefore, "although free choice is an important element of leisure, it cannot be equated with the concept of leisure" (Shaw 1985, p. 20).

Freedom of choice was a central element of leisure for early Greek philosophers. Freedom from toiling for daily sustenance allowed the upper class male citizens the privilege of a life of leisure. More recently, social psychological perspectives on leisure are not class-based but based on individuals and their interactions with the environment; freedom of choice remaining an integral element. A sociopsychological view of leisure focuses on the subjective realities of participants as they interact with their environment; this perspective of leisure is often termed "leisure as a state of mind."

LEISURE AS A STATE OF MIND

Research (Iso-Ahola, 1980; Mannell, 1979; Neulinger, 1981; Tinsley and Tinsley, 1986) shows that leisure as a state of mind is determined by several factors: (1) freedom of choice, (2) source of motivation (intrinsic or extrinsic), (3) relationship to work, and (4) goal orientation. Tinsley and Tinsley (1986, p. 3)

posited that "there is almost universal agreement that the perception of freedom of choice and intrinsic motivation are necessary before an individual will experience leisure." According to John Neulinger (1981), leisure "has one and only one essential criterion, and that is the condition of perceived freedom" (p.15).

Therefore "no activity is inherently not a leisure activity" (Neulinger, 1981, p. 35).

A challenge that arises from this subjective view is that anything can count as leisure as long as the individual avows a subjective experience of freedom.

Consequently, making "snuff" films, the depraved and horrific practice of kidnapping children for pornographic purposes and then torturously murdering them, subjectively counts as leisure alongside family strolls in the park. (Sylvester, 1990, p. 293)

Sylvester (1990) argues that subjective leisure must also include ethical considerations, that choice and conduct entail elements of moral conduct and substance.

Iso-Ahola (1989) argued that seeking and escaping are two fundamental motivational forces of leisure. "People tend to gravitate toward self-determined, optimal leisure experiences whenever possible" (Iso-Ahola, 1989, pp. 258-259). People seek competence-elevating experiences where they can match skills with challenges. Csikszentmihalyi (1975, 1982, 1990) studied optimal leisure experiences and developed a concept he called "flow". There are six qualities

people experience during flow: (1) loss of self and time consciousness, (2) individuals focus their energy and awareness on a relatively small stimulus or set of stimuli, (3) individuals feel they are in control of themselves and their environment, (4) the pursuit in which the individuals were involved was chosen by them, (5) the participation was intrinsically motivated, and (6) individuals received clear and immediate feedback concerning their actions. Flow happens when there is a match between an individual's ability or skill level and the challenge demanded by the activity.

A subjective view of leisure is accepted by many researchers as "the most valid conceptualization of the leisure phenomenon" (Howe, 1985, p. 212). Several subjective leisure definitions contain similar qualities as those listed by Csikszentmihalyi's definition of flow.

Leisure experiences are characterized to some degree by both cognitive attributes (i.e., thoughts, images) and affective ones (i.e., feelings, sensations), including absorption or concentration on the ongoing experience, lessening of focus on self, feelings of freedom or lack of constraint, enriched perception of objects and events, increased intensity of emotions, increased sensitivity to feelings, and decreased awareness of the passage of time. (Tinsley and Tinsley, 1986, p. 7)

The most frequently reported characteristics of leisure, then, were the following: 1) a sense of separation from the everyday world, 2) freedom of choice in one's actions, 3) a feeling of pleasure, or pleasurable involvement in the event, 4) spontaneity, 5) timelessness,

6) fantasy (creative imagination), 7) a sense of adventure and exploration, and 8) self-realization. (Gunter, 1987, p.119)

In leisure people are concerned with self-realization, self-development, self-fulfilment, self-determination, self-expression and self-enhancement. To pursue the essence of self is "to leisure." To engage in the pursuit of self - to try to experience the innermost core of one's spirit - is to leisure. To simply or completely participate in an activity is not "leisuring" unless one is engaged in expressing and enhancing one's spirit - the very essence of who one is at any point in time. What is found to be central to one's essence, for the most part, will drive one's leisure experience or perceiving an experience to be leisure will depend on what is needed to most fully [experience] and explore the self. (Rancourt, 1986, p. 71)

Samdahl (1988) ascertains that self-expression is the critical distinction between anomic free time and any leisure experience.

Returning to the concept of leisure as not work or free time, Sessoms (1984) explicates that

an interesting thing happened as a result of this division of life into work and leisure time. As more time became available, free time became the setting in which we could express our personalities and demonstrate our worth to others. (p. 68)

Lefkowitz (1979) found that Americans want to do things that fulfill their human potential, that develop them as persons. More and more, people are seeking for

this opportunity in their leisure as opposed to their work. Stebbins (1982)

suggested:

If leisure is to become, for many, an improvement over work as a way of finding personal fulfillment, identity enhancement, self-expression, and the like, then people must be careful to adopt those forms returning the greatest payoff. The theme here is that we reach this goal through engaging in serious rather than casual or unserious leisure. (p. 253)

The concept of serious leisure comes from the subjective view of leisure as a state of mind; actively defined as such by those engaging in it. This concept incorporates activities that are freely chosen but that may incur elements of obligation. Serious leisure is not a new concept. "The practice, without the label, seems to have grown up over a very long period indeed. But there is no doubt that it was the Canadian sociologist Robert Stebbins who first introduced the term 'serious leisure' to the academic world" (Parker, 1993, p. 4). "Serious leisure is most effectively examined as a dichotomous quality, with casual or unserious leisure as its opposite" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 6). I will now turn to an explication of Stebbins's serious leisure model as it relates to casual leisure.

SERIOUS AND CASUAL LEISURE

The opening sentences of Robert Stebbins's (1992) book Amateurs,

Professionals and Serious Leisure read:

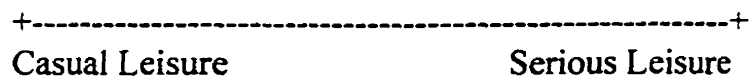
In an age in which the quest for spectator and sensual diversions dominates the world of leisure, the phrase 'serious leisure' has a rather curious ring. Historically, at least, such wording is oddly contradictory, for seriousness has commonly been associated only with work, whereas leisure has been seen as the happy, carefree refuge from our earnest pursuit of money, and the social standing supposedly provided by a paying job. But this view now appears to be losing ground. Current values and behaviour patterns in work and leisure hint at the presence of a serious orientation toward leisure among a significant proportion (albeit still a minority) of the population in today's postindustrial society. (p. 1)

Serious leisure can be defined "as the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of its special skills and knowledge" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 3). Casual leisure can be defined "as immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it" (Stebbins, 1997, p. 18). Stebbins (1997) posits that there are six types of casual leisure: (1) play, (2) relaxation from mental or physical tension, (3) passive entertainment such as watching T.V. or reading a book, (4) active entertainment like playing games of chance, (5) sociable conversations, and (6) sensory stimulation. Casual leisure is fundamentally

hedonic and evanescent, requiring virtually no skill and only minimal knowledge from its participants.

Stebbins (1992) identifies six qualities of serious leisure that, "taken together, distinguish it from casual leisure" (p. 6). The qualities that participants in serious leisure exemplify are: (1) the occasional need to persevere at their activities, (2) the tendency to have a career from their efforts, (3) significant personal effort based on special knowledge, training or skill, and sometimes all three, (4) achieving eight durable benefits from their activities, (5) the forming of a unique ethos, and (6) tending to identify strongly with their chosen pursuits.

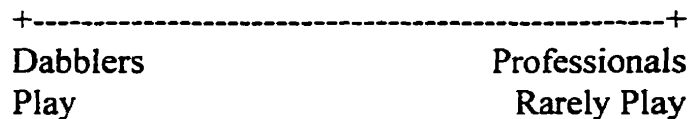
It is critical to visualize serious leisure and casual leisure at opposite ends of a continuum, a continuum whereon individuals are ranked by their degrees of involvement in particular activities.



An implication from Stebbins's serious leisure model is that there exists fluid and continuous movement between the polar extremes of serious and casual leisure. I will now examine the process that participants experience as they move from casual leisure to serious leisure and look to uncover any underlying assumptions found therein. Although Stebbins delineates three types of serious leisure i.e.,

amateurism, hobbyist pursuits, and career volunteering, for the purposes of my thesis, I will focus only on amateurism.

Stebbins (1997) listed play as the number one type of casual leisure and posited that people who engage in casual leisure do so in a lighthearted manner and with a carefree attitude. Participants at this end of the continuum merely dabble in or play around at activities and could be called "dabblers". As defined by Stebbins (1992), dabblers are "those whose active involvement, technique, and knowledge are so meager as barely to distinguish them from the public of which they are actually a part" (p. 42-43). The assumption is that inexperienced persons are players.



If participation in an activity is repeated more frequently, the dabbler becomes a "novice". Novices "are beginners who consistently pursue the activity but who have yet to grow sufficiently proficient and knowledgeable to lay claim to the identity of amateur or professional" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 43). These participants can be identified by statements such as "I am just playing for fun" or "Oh, I am just learning to golf". Novices have yet to develop any systematic pursuit of their activity and remain relatively inexperienced.

+-----+
Dabblers Novices
Play

At this point on the continuum, a very critical decision must be addressed.

According to Stebbins, professionalization in given activities has created the need for pivotal decisions to be made by participants. For example, consider the novice tennis player who plays for fun, and with the professionalization of the sport, he/she attends a professional tournament, witnesses new standards of excellence, and is most impressed. Stebbins (1992) comments on the possible reactions from novice participants after they have witnessed a professional example of their activity:

Indeed, once they become aware of the professional standards, all they have accomplished seems mediocre by comparison. They are thus faced with a critical choice in their careers as participants: either they restrict identification with the activity so as to remain largely unaffected by such invidious comparisons, or they identify sufficiently with it to attempt to meet those standards. (pp. 8-9)

With the first choice, the part-time participant remains a player, dabbler, or dilettante, treating their leisure as being only a casual pursuit. For example, the tennis player, although impressed with the professionals, decides to continue to "play for fun". The second choice would impel the part-time participant away from play toward the pursuit of durable benefits.

The road to these benefits, however, is characterized by necessity, obligation, seriousness, and commitment, as expressed by regimentation (e.g., rehearsals and practice) and systematization (e.g., schedules and organization), and progresses on to the status of modern amateur for some and professional for others. (Stebbins, 1992, p. 9)

At this point on the continuum, casual leisure ceases and serious leisure begins with the introduction of the modern amateur.

+-----+-----+-----+
Dabblers Novices Amateurs
Play

Amateurs are those who love their activities; they are passionate about them. Unlike hobbyists or volunteers, amateurs are members of a professional-amateur-public (PAP) system of relations and relationships. For example, a hobbyist who collects stamps does not have a professional counterpart, whereas an amateur baseball player does. Professional counterparts set high standards for the amateurs, standards that are attainable only through full-time involvement. I will discuss the role of the professional and the public later in this chapter, but for now, I will focus on the process amateurs may go through to become professionals.

A quality of serious leisure is the tendency for its participants to have careers. "A career is the typical course, or passage, of certain types of amateur-professional practitioners that carries them into, and through, a leisure role and

possibly into, and through, a work role" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 68). The passage from dabbler and novice to professional involves five stages of progression: (1) beginning, (2) development, (3) establishment, (4) maintenance, and (5) decline.

Interest in an activity can be developed gradually or immediately. A gradual beginning could be through indirect contact with the activity, such as reading a book or watching television. An immediate beginning could be represented by a memorable, abrupt contact with an activity, usually seeing it done. To illustrate, consider a father taking his young son to watch a professional hockey game: while there, the young boy is so impressed with the event that he vows from then on to be a hockey player. The beginning stage of career development lasts as long as is necessary for interest in the activity to take root.

Development begins when interest in an activity takes root and its pursuit becomes systematic and routine. Often parental approval and support can be a major contingency affecting passage to the stage of development. If the parents of a young boy register him in a hockey program, buy him the needed equipment and flood the back yard in the winter to make a rink for practice purposes, they will help to facilitate their son's developmental stage.

There are five patterns of participation in the process of development: (1) sporadic or irregular participation in the activity, (2) gradual, where involvement

becomes more and more frequent until it reaches a certain level of regularity, (3) steady or consistent involvement, (4) broken-steady as demonstrated by the need to interrupt the pursuit of the activity, and (5) delayed steady - defined as the abandonment of an activity for a length of time, only to return to steady involvement later. Progress in the developmental stage of career passage is manifested by the participant's growth of knowledge and ability. Because of the infinite amount to be learned, experienced or acquired, even the best are still learning.

Practitioners enter the establishment stage when they feel they have moved beyond the status of "learner of the basics" and are ready to enter the work force. "Symphony musicians, for example, get established by acquiring more responsible and better paid positions within their instrumental section (e.g., moving to principal player) and by moving from less to more prestigious orchestras that also offer longer seasons and better pay" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 84).

During the maintenance stage the amateur-professional career is in full bloom. Practitioners are now able to enjoy the pursuit to its fullest. For example, the stand up comic is now a main attraction instead of a preliminary attraction. Another illustration of the maintenance stage is a young hockey player who has been drafted by a professional team and is playing at his/her best.

Career decline is most threatening in highly physical pursuits. Take, for example, a basketball player at age 35, who desperately wishes to renew his/her contract, but is suffering from back ailments, weak ankles, and loss of skills, so therefore does not get re-signed by his/her team. Aging could also be problematic in other pursuits such as acting, where a veteran actress does not secure a role because the production company granted the part to a younger actress.

In the process of finding a career, participants experience another quality of serious leisure: the need to persevere. The amateur must persevere through times of difficulty by conquering adversity and sticking with the chosen activity through thick and thin. To illustrate, consider the young hockey player practicing in his/her back yard. The temperature is very cold and the young neophyte wants to stop practicing and go into the warm house, but he/she knows that in order to improve, he/she must practice through the cold, and so he/she works through the cold and continues to practice.

Another serious leisure quality demonstrated in pursuing a career is significant personal effort, based on specially acquired knowledge, training, or skill. Stebbins, in quoting Carpenter, Patterson, et al., states:

Such characteristics as showmanship, athletic prowess, manual dexterity, scientific knowledge, verbal skills, long experience in a role, and, above all, persistent individual effort, differentiate amateurs and hobbyists from dabblers and the public at large, and volunteers from trainees and clients. Moreover, much, sometimes

all, of this skill and knowledge is acquired outside formal education programs; it comes through self-directed learning. (Stebbins, 1992, p. 7)

Evidence of acquiring skill outside of formal education through self-directed learning is found in Hamilton-Smith's (1993) study of an Australian bush walker. As a young boy, Myles Dunphy spent much of his time walking the bush country near his home. He devoted a great deal of time to surveying and mapping the country through which he walked, and as a result, became one of Australia's foremost and influential conservationists. "All of this was accomplished in the time free from Dunphy's professional responsibilities as an architect and teacher of architecture" (Hamilton-Smith, 1993, p. 11).

Motivated by seriousness and commitment, the amateur moves further away from being a casual leisure participant (player, dabbler or novice) and closer to being a serious leisure participant. Serious leisure pursuits provide participants the opportunity of experiencing durable benefits, as opposed to evanescent or hedonic benefits found in casual leisure pursuits. Stebbins's research identified eight durable benefits found by amateurs in their various serious leisure pursuits: (1) self-actualization or self-realization, (2) self-enrichment, (3) recreation or renewal of self, (4) feelings of accomplishment, (5) enhancement of self-image, (6) self-expression, (7) social interaction and belongingness, and (8) lasting physical products of the activity.

Self-actualization refers to the capacity an activity has for allowing its participants the opportunity to develop talents, skills, or knowledge; to fulfill part of their potential as human beings. Self-enrichment is closely linked with self-actualization and self-realization. Stebbins (1992) posited that

No where is serious leisure so clearly set apart from casual leisure as in these moments; they offer a reward that can only be realized from a base of developed knowledge and skill and expressed at special points in time, in special places. (p. 97)

Recreation or renewal of self is possible as participants, now equipped with adequate skills, can express themselves through their chosen activities. The activity provides participants the chance to divert their minds from work or from other events and problems in life that may absorb attention. Successfully engaging in pursuits allows for feelings of accomplishment. Feelings of accomplishment would increase as other people recognize the amateurs' progress and tell them about it; heightened feelings of accomplishment could naturally lead to enhanced self-image. As amateurs increase in knowledge, skill and ability, they are better able to express themselves through their activities. Following is an example of a jazz piano player who, as a result of intense study and practise, is better able to express himself through playing the piano:

My hands have come to develop an intimate knowledge of the piano keyboard, ways of exploratory engagement with routings through its spaces, modalities of reaching and articulating,

and now I choose places to go in the course of moving from place to place as handful choosing. (Stebbins, 1992, p. 97)

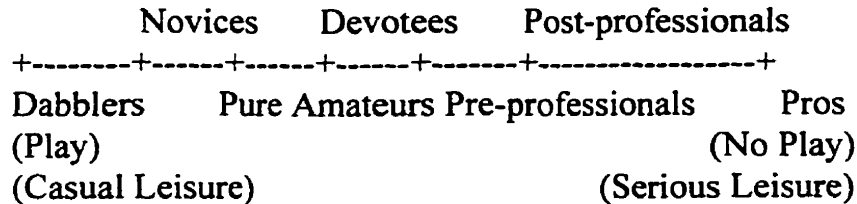
Self-expression, as a durable benefit, is fundamental to the subjective views of leisure referred to previously.

Benefits seven and eight (social interaction and belongingness, and lasting physical products of the activity) lead into a discussion of the fifth and sixth qualities of serious leisure. "The fifth quality differentiating serious from unserious leisure is the unique ethos that grows up around each instance of the former" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 7). In a study comparing Canadian and U.S. masters swimmers, Hastings, Kurth, Schloder, and Cyr (1995) stated "pursuing a serious leisure career, participating in its social world and social networks, and immersing oneself in its ethos may engender an identity rooted in that activity as well as produce a peculiar life style" (p. 104). The sixth quality of serious leisure is that participants tend to identify strongly with their chosen pursuits. Finnegan (1989) studied musicians in an English town and found that music offered participants an enhanced sense of personal status and cultural identity. Participants in serious leisure tend to identify strongly with their chosen pursuits. Nonserious leisure is too fleeting, mundane, and commonplace for most people to find a distinctive identity within it.

Lasting physical products of activities could include a piece of furniture from the amateur furniture maker, or a beautiful quilt made by volunteers at a local

community center. An amateur elocutionist may be recorded on television and have tangible evidence of his/her pursuit.

There are four different categories of amateurs: (1) pure amateurs are those who have no aspirations of becoming professionals, (2) devotees are identified as highly dedicated amateurs, (3) pre-professionals include amateurs who intend to join the professional ranks, and (4) post-professionals represent those who have abandoned their professions but still wish for part-time participation.



I will now discuss the relationship amateurs have with professionals and their public.

The definition of professional that Stebbins alludes to, is that professionals gain at least 50 percent of their livelihood from their pursuits and professionals also spend more time at their pursuits than do amateurs; there is a feeling also that professionals are "better than" others at their crafts. Stebbins discusses nine attributes that can be connected to professionals.

The first attribute is that professionals turn out unstandardized products and services. The product or performance of a professional basketball game is always unique in some way. No forward, for example, has the ball thrown to him from

the guard exactly the same way with each pass. No center blocks the same amount of shots each game. The entire game is played and can never be replicated.

Secondly, professionals are well versed in an exclusive body of specialized theoretical knowledge and, at times, technique. Stebbins (1992) posits that "professionals are highly trained experts in the application of relevant theory, or at least abstract principles, to the solution of difficult problems, often, but not always, by means of considerable physical skill" (p. 26). The veteran professional golfer, because of her ability to read the greens on a certain course, may have an advantage over the less experienced pro.

A third attribute is that professionals have a strong sense of identity with their colleagues and a resulting sense of community. The Chicago Bulls of the 1990's (National Basketball Association) exemplify a team that has enjoyed a strong sense of recognizable identity.

Fourthly, professionals master a generalized cultural tradition associated with their line of work. This mastery is crucial in entertainment, sport and art professions where publics consume the works of the professional. Stebbins (1992) recognized the importance of public-centered professionals being connected to the cultural pasts of their pursuits by stating, "the publics have an interest in the respective traditions and, therefore, help to keep them alive. They care about the great names and events in the history of particular sports, arts, and entertainment

fields" (p. 28).

The fifth attribute is that professionals use institutionalized means of formally or consensually validating the adequacy of training and trained individuals. Stebbins (1992) explains that "artists and entertainers are validated as professionals when they are invited, or hired, to present their art in places renowned for displaying professional talent. These include celebrated museums, theaters, concert halls, nightclubs, and recording studios" (p. 29).

Attribute number six indicates that professional work constitutes a calling in which consistent application of a standard and provision of a service, or product, are primary and monetary rewards are secondary. The underlying assumption here is that professionals would perform their chosen work, whether they would be paid or not, because they have a profound love for what they do. This attribute is debatable in many professional sports today as athletes are asking and striking for more and more money.

The seventh attribute calls for professionals being recognized by their clients or publics for their special authority based on their knowledge, technique, and experience. Attribute eight involves the suggestion that professional services and products provide an avenue for the attainment of certain important social values.

That professional work is self-regulated is the ninth attribute. Stebbins

(1992) gives an example of this attribute:

Stand-up comedy is possibly the purest instance of attribute number 9, given the freedom of its practitioners to write, interpret, and improvise. In reality, the only effective constraints on artistic freedom here are those of the marketplace. For comics, such a constraint refers to whether the audience perceives an act as funny. No matter what the content of the act, if there is laughter, the professional product is good. (p. 33)

Amateurs can also be described in terms of these nine attributes. Both professionals and amateurs are better in their fields than are their publics.

Publics can be defined as "sets of people with a common interest; people not served by, but rather informed, enlightened, or entertained by professionals or amateurs, or both, and who make active demands upon them" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 59). Publics are related to professionals and amateurs in five ways: (1) financial support - e.g., purchasing products or paying admission, (2) feedback - e.g., public reaction to the products of amateurs and professionals, (3) role support - e.g., encouragement of any sort that motivates participants to continue their pursuits, (4) participation - e.g., stand-up comics bantering with members of the audience, and (5) limitations - e.g., the public's capacity to understand and appreciate an amateur-professional production.

The public is indispensable in the arts and entertainment fields. A fine artist, who wishes to sell his/her work, must consider the response the public will demonstrate toward the product. If the response is positive, the work will sell; if

the response is negative, the artist will struggle. The challenge for the artist is to paint what he/she feels, with the goal that it is also what the public wants. In the movie business, films are produced for the public to consume or view. In relation to the jazz artist, publics can either be a help or a hindrance (I will develop this concept more fully in chapter three).

In summary, Stebbins (1992) says the following about casual and serious leisure:

Leisure returning only evanescent benefits - most mass or popular leisure - is a low-yield use of free-time. (p. 126)

Feelings of accomplishment are more likely to be intensified and self-conceptions strengthened when preceded by a major, rather than a minor, effort. (p. 126)

There is a need to find leisure activities that are interesting and substantial. There is a challenge of conceptualizing how to achieve durable benefits from leisure in an age stressing evanescence. (p. 126)

A steady diet of casual, unserious leisure in the sizeable blocks of time left over after a substantially reduced workweek, month, or year, ultimately tends to cause a spiritual wasteland. What is needed is the encouragement and opportunity to participate in serious leisure, backed by the sort of education that makes this possible. (p. 19)

It appears that Stebbins does not have much use for casual leisure. Inherent in his argument is that the inexperienced dabblers and novices merely have fun while

pursuing casual leisure; they simply "play" at it. If and when they decide to become more serious, and gain experience in their pursuits, they move away from play, fun and enjoyment, and enter the world of serious leisure. If play is, in fact, the number one type of casual leisure (casual leisure being the polar opposite of serious leisure), it would make sense, then, for Stebbins to say, "It follows that the element of play is rarely found in serious leisure" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 6). The underlying assumption is that play diminishes as participants progress along the continuum from casual to serious leisure.

It is my contention that play can still be part of a serious leisure pursuit. In fact, I would suggest that play is best experienced by people who have diligently pursued serious leisure. To support my thesis, I will define play and develop a criteria of play.

CHAPTER TWO

In chapter one I examined leisure and contrasted casual leisure with serious leisure. Stebbins categorized play as the number one type of casual leisure and considered play to be rarely found in serious leisure pursuits. But what is Stebbins's conception of play? Why does the element of play not remain a part of serious leisure? What are the essential defining characteristics of play that would differentiate it from what occurs in non-serious as opposed to serious leisure pursuits? In this chapter I will answer some of these questions and in so doing, elucidate more fully why I believe play should be included in serious leisure pursuits.

I will explore what is typically meant by the word play. I will then explicate and critique some of the traditional theories of play and propose a concept of play which I feel best substantiates my claim that play should still be a part of the serious leisure model.

PLAY

Play has been defined in many and often conflicting ways (Kelly and Godbey, 1992). For example, if one were to turn to the Oxford Dictionary and look up the word play, the result would be multiple pages of fine print, defining

play as everything from brisk or free movement to the state of being joyful or merry. Play may be abstinence from work, or could be sexual indulgence. To play may mean engaging in activities in a nonserious way. Due to the various ways play could be defined and interpreted, and because Stebbins neglects to explain which definition of play he is considering, one is left to speculate what he means by play. Perhaps play means doing something which is not to be taken seriously? Maybe because play could be considered the antithesis to seriousness, play then is rarely found in serious leisure pursuits? Again, one is left to guess and speculate which meaning of play Stebbins is considering, thus making his thinking fuzzy and confusing. To help clarify definitional ambiguity, I will begin by examining the roots of the word "play".

First of all, the concept of play is universal and extends to animals as well as humans (Arnold, 1991; Ellis, 1973; Huizinga, 1955). "All languages have a symbol for play, both written and spoken, and no society in the history of written language has ignored play" (Arnold, 1991, p. 17). In the English language, the words "play" and "to play" etymologically came from the Anglo-Saxon "plega" and "plegan" (Arnold, 1991; Huizinga, 1955; Kelly & Godbey, 1992), and from the German "pflegen", "which meant to take care of, or bestir, oneself. It has been used to describe the free, natural, engaging, and satisfying activities of the young" (Sessoms, 1984, p. 74). Play has been connected with activities of the young; this

connection is traced through "the basic Greek word 'paidia' (play), which referred to the play of children, with its roots in child (pid)" (Arnold, 1991, p. 16). I will return to a discussion on the importance of the child, in relation to play, later in this chapter.

So, what is play? What is its connection to leisure? Some researchers have defined play as action oriented, referring to activities that are sought out during and through leisure (Arnold, 1991; Kelly & Godbey, 1992). Ellis (1973), defined play as those activities that are voluntary and pleasurable. Play is leisure in action. If play is found in all human cultures, and also in the animal kingdom, it would be important to study why people and animals play. Scientific examination and theories serve to explain our actions, therefore, it is important to examine some of the existing play theories to elucidate what play is and why it exists.

In 1973, Michael Ellis authored the book Why People Play, wherein he provided one of the most thorough and cogent examinations of play theories and meanings that have been associated with play over the past several hundred years. According to Ellis, there exists 15 identifiable theories of play which can be grouped into four major schools of thought. Those schools of thought are: (1) the physiological (biologic/genetic) theories, (2) the psychological theories, (3) the sociological theories, and (4) the contemporary (psycho-socio-physio) theories. I

will now examine each school of thought, including the strengths and weaknesses of each, and then put forward a concept of play to support my argument.

PHYSIOLOGICAL THEORIES

The earliest theories of play posited that humans and animals were genetically and biologically programmed to produce energy at a constant rate; energy needed to survive and reproduce. The assumption was that excess energy was expended in playful overt behaviour. One of the early proponents of this theory was Schiller, who defined play as the aimless expenditure of exuberant energy; he believed that play was created by the surplus of energy. According to Ellis (1973), this theory can be criticized for two reasons: (1) children and animals still play, even if they are at the point of fatigue, thus indicating that a surplus is not needed for play to happen, and (2) through the process of evolution, the energy needed for survival should have been tailored to be adequate for survival, not leaving residual amounts.

Groos was among one of the first theorists to describe play as being fun and having value beyond that of draining off surplus energies. It was his understanding that play was an instinctive practise, without serious intent, of activities that would be essential to later life. For example, a young cat would play with a dead mouse by sneaking up on it, pouncing on it, batting it around and then

chewing on it. All of this play was instinctive, genetically programmed, and even though it was not serious or critical at the moment, the time would come that the skills developed during play, would be necessary for survival later in life. One problem with this theory is that children would have little to say about what they were going to do during play, because those determinations were biologically and genetically set.

Sessoms (1984) illustrates the changes that began to take place at the turn of the last century:

As the inadequacies of the biological explanations became apparent, new schools of thought developed. The first of these were the psychological-biological theories; they were proposed primarily during the latter nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. According to them, people had certain basic needs, innate needs and drives, which had to be met. These needs could be fulfilled in a variety of ways, play being one of them. Play was assumed to be a compensatory and cathartic activity, a way of releasing energies and psychic tensions, especially for adults. (p. 76)

This theory is called the relaxation theory and it assumes that players work, and that work is tension-producing, and that play, as the opposite of work, could provide the needed emotional balance for the worker. The trouble with this theory is that it does not explain the play of children, unless they are clearly working some part of their day, and also, it follows a segmentalist view of life, where work

and play are divided into separate times. This division of time and activity would exclude the use of play activities also noticed in work.

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

Following the work of Sigmund Freud, psychological theorists posited that play influenced a person's growth and development. Piaget (1962) for example, suggested that play was essential for the intellectual development of a child. He posited that during play, the child could learn to assimilate ideas and behavior and make them a part of his/her own existence. By so doing, he/she could accommodate the world and adjust to the external order of things. Erikson (1950), another developmental psychologist, stated that play was essential for the establishment of self and that certain types of play were critical to certain stages of development. The underlying assumptions are that play involves the intellect, and that through play, the intellect increases in complexity. Also, that this developmental process is separated into stages which children pass through in order. A common criticism, as pointed out by Ellis (1973), is that these theories do not account for play when and if the intellect ceases to develop.

I have discussed a few theories of play that could be considered the "classical theories of play" (Ellis, 1973). These theories are generally concerned with those elements in human nature that lead humans to play, and with the

purposes play serves in human lives. Classical theories attempt to explain why play exists. More recently, theories have been proposed which try to explain why particular playful responses are emitted by play participants, as opposed to simply offering explanations for play. Sessoms (1984) posited that "with the growing awareness of the role played by the environment in shaping the behavior, new explanations of the origin and function of play were offered" (p. 77). Some of the more recent theories of play are sociological.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

Most sociologists interested in the play concept do not attempt to explain why people play; they rather focus on the forms of play and the role it plays in maintaining social groups and social organizations. "According to sociological theory, play and recreation are necessary for the maintenance of the social structure; consequently, play reflects the values and controls of society" (Sessoms, 1984, pp. 78-79). Mead (1963) wrote about the importance of play as contributing to the socialization of the child. It is in and through play, Mead posited, that children are allowed to explore various social roles and learn the ethics and morals of a society. In play, children are free to act out various roles such as firefighter, mother, father or truck driver. Also, playing games allows for children to learn and abide by the rules and to accept their roles in relation to others.

Huizinga (1955) analyzed several of the fundamental characteristics of play. It is his belief that play is not to be understood simply as a biological phenomenon but as a cultural phenomenon. Building on Huizinga's work, Caillois (1961) discussed the importance and significance of play in the structuring of civilizations. He examined the play behaviors of various cultures and civilizations and observed dominant patterns in each. These theories cite play as a motivating force in the development of civilizations and a reflector of cultures; play is viewed as a basic socialization tool. A problem with these theories is that they are culturally biased and do not explain the differences in participation rates of males and females in various play activities. Cultural determinism, though, is important to the modern developments of play concepts.

CONTEMPORARY THEORIES

Modern concepts of play are a mixture of the physiological, psychological, and sociological views of play. "For the modernists, play is necessary for the total functioning of the organism and is caused by the need to interact with the environment at an optimum level" (Sessoms, 1984, p. 80). These theories acknowledge play as an interaction between the environment and the internal dynamics of the participant. The assumption is that there is a need for optimal arousal that can be experienced during play.

White (1959) viewed play as exploratory activity and suggested that satisfaction comes from exploration. According to White, participation in a particular activity, such as lawn bowling, is fostered when the activity allows for mastery and control of the elements involved. A learning process is incurred, and as long as the participant is capable of learning something new from the experience, he/she will continue to enjoy the activity.

Another example of achieving optimal arousal is found in the work of Csikzentmihalyi (1975), where he stresses the importance of the "peak" experience. Peak experiences occur when one's skills are equal to the challenges offered them. For example, a young downhill skier is most likely to experience a peak experience on a slope that is not too steep or challenging. However, as skills increase, the skier will be bored if he/she stays on the easy hill. In order to maintain peak experiences, the skier will be in need of a more challenging course. If the chosen course is too difficult, boredom and frustration will result. Csikzentmihalyi writes of play as a "flow" experience and identifies it as a sensation people feel when they are acting in total involvement with their activity.

These theories suggest that levels of competence can be achieved, and that through demonstration of this competence, feelings of self-worth will result. Few criticisms have been levied against these theories.

SUMMARY

There are several points of agreement amongst these theories, the first one indicating that play is action rather than inaction or idleness. There is the implication that energies (whether psychological, physical, or emotional) are expended in the processes of experiencing play. Secondly, play is seen as pleasurable and somewhat motivated by the satisfactions derived from the experience; otherwise, the activities would not be continued. Another point of agreement is that play serves both biological and social functions.

PLAY CONCEPT

Building on contemporary theories of play, I would like to further develop a play concept that is based on the belief that play allows for an expression of self, and that play also provides the means by which participants can achieve the optimum state. I will focus on "childlike" play as it relates to creativity and posit that this type of play can also be extended to adults. I will then discuss the importance of the "play area". An examination of the competition element in play will be developed, and I will also look at the connections between music and play. I will then consider the relationship between play and seriousness.

CHILDLIKE PLAY

As previously mentioned, play is often linked to the activities of young children. The Greek word "paidia" (play) covers the spontaneous manifestations of the play instinct and is also the root word for child (Caillois, 1961). Children are expected to play; it is what being a child is all about. Adults, on the other hand, are not expected to play. They must allocate their time to much more productive pursuits, such as work. It is in work where human potentialities are best developed. Ellis (1973) pointed out that play is often depicted as behavior which is nonproductive and not instrumental in the process of survival. "In societies with a strong streak of puritanism, play, by virtue of being unrelated to survival, production and profit, stood outside and inferior to the processes of work" (Ellis, 1973, p.9). It would appear that childhood is the time to play, and as the child matures and becomes an adult, he/she must put the child away and allocate his/her time in more effective ways, like earning a living. A closer look at the word "paidia", however, illustrates the fallacy of the statement: "play is for children only".

Arnold (1991), in his article entitled "The Dilemma of Meaning" stated:

In literary usage, however, paidia had an extended meaning to represent the belief that one must be as a child to play. This influence is illustrated by Plato when he wrote, '...man is God's plaything, and that is the best part of him.' He noted that 'life must be lived as play, playing certain games, making sacrifices, singing and

dancing, then man will be able to propitiate the gods...' In this discourse, Plato was referring to a much higher order of play than mere 'child's play.' (p. 16)

Arnold (1991) continued his discussion on play by explaining how not all languages had words for play that were connected with children. In Latin, for example, there was one universal word that expressed the whole realm of play; that word was "ludus". "The word stem comes from 'ludere', of which ludus is a referent. Play was not drawn from the root for child, but rather from a breadth of concepts and at all ages and all levels of society" (Arnold, 1991, p. 16). Michaelis (1991) argued that play is not exclusive to children and that "the right to play should be also fully extended to adults" (Michaelis, 1991, p. 55). Huizinga (1955) made the statement that "really to play, a man must play like a child" (p. 199).

When given an object that is novel, a child will study it and attempt to discover the properties that it has. Once the child has discovered the properties of the object, or mastered a skill, he/she begins to actively experiment with the object in new and creative ways. Caillois (1961) explained the relationship between ludus and paidia when he said:

It [ludus] is complimentary to and a refinement of paidia, which it disciplines and enriches. It provides an occasion for training and normally leads to the acquisition of a special skill, a particular mastery of the operation of one or another contraption. (p. 29)

Learning and applying skills are included in play. I would argue that learning skills on musical instruments is a form of play. (I will develop this concept later in this chapter.)

There is a world of difference between being "childish" and being "childlike". Take for example the childish behavior of throwing a temper tantrum and contrast it with the childlike activity of flying a kite on a beautiful sunny afternoon. On the one hand, childish mannerisms are considered to be immature; they are frowned upon and discouraged by society. On the other hand, however, society should encourage childlike attitudes, but more often than not, society encourages putting the child away completely, thus damaging the creative and imaginative processes so inherent in children. Michaelis (1991) said it this way:

As children, most of us lived in a 'never-never land' where we externally acted out our fantasies. It may have been the backyard, the imaginative worlds of dolls or cars, the forts built on bunk beds, the pickup games where the rules constantly changed, or the abandoned lot down the street. In many ways the whole world was accessible and limited only by imagination. We were not locked into a narrow conceptualization of everyday objects. A table would be a fort, or, turned upside down, a ship or motorcycle. But as we grew, powerful social forces buoyed by peer and adult pressure told us (overtly or covertly) to put aside that childlike freshness and creativity. Expressions of external fantasy were generally no longer legitimized or encouraged: play became more structured and reality became secondary process oriented. (p. 57)

Unfortunately most people are taught to put away the child as they are subtly socialized into mass society. Michaelis (1991) said that "all people have the potential for creative, playful independence, but they are subtly socialized out of the magic, creativity, flexibility, and individuality that is play" (p. 65).

Secondary and primary processes refer to the two human modes of thinking; primary processes stem from our right brain, and secondary process stem from our left brain.

Psychologists tell us that we have primarily two modes of thinking. They are: (a) our right brain primary processes - our non-rational, dreamlike, emotional symbolizing modes; this is the powerful stuff of our tears, laughter, anger, hopes, fears, love, loneliness and, yes, our play. And (b) our left brain secondary processes - our cognitive, reality based, rational modes; this is our organizing, planning self. (Michaelis, 1991, p. 56)

Psychologists suggest that it is in the primary processes of the right brain where the power and magic of play resides and originates. It is in the right brain where creativity is nurtured and developed. Play is closely linked with creativity, and according to Huizinga (1955, p. 162) "Plato understood creativity as play."

Referring to creativity and ancient thinkers, Csikszentmihalyi (1976) stated:

People at play are in control of their actions, they are allowed to be creative. While playing, one does not care about external rewards, nor does one care about the sources of anxiety that may lead to neurosis. It is a state which the most ancient thinkers have seen as the manifestation of freedom, as the fulfillment of human potential. (p. 9)

A fundamental characteristic of play is experimentation with new behaviors, where the player dismantles old behaviors and recombines them in new and entertaining ways, ways that are original. Play is closely linked with creativity in avoiding the usual and familiar and involving the creation of something novel from something commonplace. Kelly (1990) identified three central elements of play, the third of which states: "play involves a nonserious suspension of consequences, a temporary creation of its own world of meaning which often is a shadow of the `real world'" (p. 28). Play allows players a context in which thoughts can be freed from the constraints imposed by the real world, to focus beyond the obvious, make novel associations, and to engage in imaginative activity. Huizinga (1955) mentioned, as his second characteristic of play, that "play is not `ordinary' or `real' life. It is rather a stepping out of `real' life into a temporary sphere of activity with a disposition all of its own" (p. 8).

PLAY AREAS

As part of play not being ordinary or real life, play activities often occur in special places, away from work and real life. Caillois (1961) posited:

In effect, play is essentially a separate occupation, carefully isolated from the rest of life, and generally is engaged in with precise limits of time and place. There is place for play, as needs dictate: the space for hopscotch, the board for checkers or chess, the stadium, the racetrack, the ring, the stage, the arena etc. (p. 6)

Play is "played out" within certain limits of time and place. Huizinga (1955) explains how "all play moves and has its being within a playground marked off beforehand either materially or ideally, deliberately or as a matter of course" (p. 10). These play areas are temporary worlds dedicated to the performance of an act apart. An example of a special place for play is demonstrated in the movie "Sandlot", where a group of young children gather on a regular basis, at an old abandoned sandlot, to play baseball. In this movie, the young neighborhood children are challenged to a game from a group of other players and the element of competition enters the play scenario. The question could be asked: does competition ruin play? Is competition good or bad for the competitors?

COMPETITION IN PLAY

Joseph Levy (1976) suggested that "competitive play, like many other social environments, is not by definition bad or good; but rather that it has the capacity to be either, depending upon the models and the reinforcement contingencies monitoring the play episode" (p. 40). The Latin roots for the word compete are: (1) "com" - which means together, and (2) "petere" - meaning seek. By definition, to compete means to be in rivalry with someone or something. A rival is one who is trying to get or do the same thing as another; to try to equal them. Thus, competition invites its competitors to seek to come together in bringing out the

best in each other. To illustrate, consider two table tennis players matching each other in competition. Each player has similar strengths and weaknesses, and as a result, their match is a very close one. While playing, each brings out the best in the other. Therefore, in this instance, competition is good. Conversely, if one of the players was much better than the other, and intentionally "trounced" the other player in every way, the competition could be considered bad. What makes competition exciting is when the opposing parties are equally matched and the outcome is not easily guessed. Ellis (1973) suggested that "a competition must not have a predictable outcome if it is to remain arousing for all. When clear superiority is detectable, the central element in the process of a competition - the uncertainty of the outcome - is lost" (p. 140) Ellis continues his discussion on the importance of competition in playlike settings by stating that

most playlike situations occur when the end result is actually of no concern to the participants and where their concern is with the mutually arousing nature of the procedures. In situations where the outcome is of importance, the most playlike situation occurs when the probability of winning is equal for all competitors.
(Ellis, 1973, p. 140)

It is apparent, therefore, that competition has the potential to either enhance or ruin play. It could also be suggested that competition can be very salubrious and positive for players, or, competition can be very damaging.

Competitive play tends to bring out the best in each participant as they strive for excellence and superiority. For example, many cities have annual music festivals where children and adults alike are afforded the opportunity of competing in certain events. Knowing the exact dates of the competition, each participant will practice and work as hard as they can in order to do their best in their event. Often there are many competitors in each class; a voice competition for five year old girls, for example, may have 12 contestants. Fortunately or unfortunately, the adjudicator must choose a winner. In this type of group play, each girl can learn her place in the group and develop appropriate in-group feelings and behaviors. Competition provides competitors the chance of proving their achievements and superiority. Huizinga (1955) claimed that people want to be praised and honoured for their excellence and that competitive play provides an excellent opportunity for this to happen.

From the life of childhood right up to the highest achievements of civilization one of the strongest incentives to perfection, both individual and social, is the desire to be praised and honoured for one's excellence. In praising another each praises himself. We want to be honoured for our virtues. We want the satisfaction of having done something well. Doing something well means doing it better than others. In order to excel one must prove one's excellence; in order to merit recognition, merit must be made manifest. Competition serves to give proof of superiority. (p. 63)

There are obvious ethical challenges related to the philosophy of winning, however, it is not within the scope of this paper to examine such related issues.

Huizinga (1955) posited that competition is found in various human activities, but that "in few human activities is competition more ingrained than in music" (p. 163). Evidence of such competition is found during the eighteenth century with vocal battles and instrumental battles. An example of an instrumental battle took place in 1709 between Handel and Scarlatti, "the chosen weapons being harpsichord and organ" (Huizinga, 1955, p.163). Competition has continued to be a part of music even to this day as "battle of the bands" testify. At this point, it is important to discuss the connection between music and play.

PLAY AND MUSIC

One of the multiple definitions of play is "to express or describe by music as played on an instrument" (Oxford Dictionary, 1989, p. 1019). Significant to this definition is the inclusion of self-expression. Music provides the opportunity for musicians to "tell a story" through their instruments. In order to effectively accomplish this, musicians need to be familiar with the three main elements of music: melody, harmony, and rhythm. Play, in its more developed forms, "is

saturated with rhythm and harmony" (Huizinga, 1955, p. 7). Huizinga posited that

Making music bears at the outset all the formal characteristics of play proper: the activity begins and ends within strict limits of time and place, is repeatable, consists essentially in order, rhythm, alternation, transports audience and performers alike out of 'ordinary' life into a sphere of gladness and serenity, which makes even sad music a lofty pleasure. In other words, it 'enchants' and 'enraptures' them. In itself it would be perfectly understandable, therefore, to comprise all music under the heading of play. (p. 42)

In the preceding quote, Huizinga said that "making music" epitomized play, not simply "playing music". I would argue that jazz musicians, because they create music extemporaneously, typify play. I will comment further on this subject in chapter four.

In order for musicians to effectively play their instruments, they must develop the appropriate skills. This development could include a knowledge of their instruments, a familiarity of the instrument's modalities and capabilities, and strenuous training. Huizinga (1955) explained how "it seems probable that the connecting link between play and instrumental skill is to be sought in the nimble and orderly movements of the fingers" (p. 42). It appears that in order for musicians to play, they must first experience some form of "serious" effort. I propose that "seriousness" and "play" can co-exist and need not be antithetical, as Stebbins would suggest.

PLAY AND SERIOUSNESS

Ellis (1973) discussed the historical development of the word play. In his discussion he included the definition of play as "those behaviors that are left outside the realm of work" (p. 10). He then referred to Huizinga's (1955) treatment of defining play as the opposite of "earnest" as opposed to "work". Huizinga (1955) posited that

The conceptual value of a word is always conditioned by the word which expresses its opposite. For us, the opposite of play is earnest, also used in the more special sense of work; while the opposite of earnest can either be play or jesting, joking. However, the complementary pair of opposites play-earnest is the more important.

We can say, perhaps, that in language the play-concept seems to be much more fundamental than its opposite. The need for a comprehensive term expressing 'not-play' must have been rather feeble, and the various expressions for 'seriousness' are but a secondary attempt on the part of language to invent the conceptual opposite of 'play.' They are grouped around the ideas of 'zeal,' 'exertion,' 'painstaking,' despite the fact that in themselves all these qualities may be found associated with play as well. (pp. 44-45)

Huizinga believed that the propensity for exclusive categories (e.g., work-play, or work-earnestness) is misleading. He continued by saying

...we find that the two terms are not of equal values: play is positive, earnest negative. The significance of 'earnest' is defined by and exhausted in the negation of 'play' - earnest is simply 'not playing' and nothing more. The significance of 'play,' on the other hand, is by no means defined or exhausted by calling it

`not-earnest,' or `not serious.' Play is a thing by itself. The play-concept as such is of a higher order than is seriousness. For seriousness seeks to exclude play, whereas play can very well include seriousness. (p. 45)

A young child playing toy trains on the living room floor could well exemplify serious play. He/she could literally believe that the trains are real, that the living room is a far-distant country, and that he/she is the conductor. Anyone attempting to call the child's attention may elicit a tacit response. Huizinga continues by explaining that

Play can proceed with utmost seriousness, with an absorption, a devotion that passes into rapture and, temporarily at least, completely abolishes that troublesome `only' feeling. Any game can at any time wholly run away with the players. The contrast between play and seriousness is always fluid. The inferiority of play is continually being offset by the corresponding superiority of its seriousness. Play turns to seriousness and seriousness to play. Play may rise to heights of beauty and sublimity that leave seriousness far beneath. (p. 8)

I would suggest that Huizinga is describing the possibility play has of carrying its participants into "peak" experiences.

But let it be emphasized again that genuine and spontaneous play can also be profoundly serious. The player can abandon himself body and soul to the game, and the consciousness of it being `merely' a game can be thrust into the background. The joy inextricably bound up with playing can turn not only into tension, but into elation. Frivolity and ecstasy are the twin poles between which play moves. (Huizinga, 1955, pp. 20-21)

PLAY AS OPTIMAL EXPERIENCE

At this point, I would like to review some of the more salient points regarding play. The arousal seeking theory of play (behaviors or activities categorized as the investigation, exploration, and manipulation of the physical, social, and cognitive environments, providing optimal experiences for participants) seeks to eliminate the problems inherent in partitioning human behavior into work and play. Instead of defining play simply as "work" or "not-work", or purely in a behavioral way (e.g., children jumping up and down on a bed are playing), it is "playfulness" that counts. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1976), reaching a state of playfulness can occur "whenever a person is in optimal interaction with his environment" (p. 9). Csikszentmihalyi considers such optimal interactions "peak" experiences and defines this state of playfulness as "flow".

Michaelis (1991) said that "'flow' is enjoyment, and although enjoyment is made up of both rational (left brain) and non-rational (right brain) elements, it is argued that 'flow' is mostly influenced by the primary process, right-brain mode" (p. 59). Developing technical competency is a left-brain function. A person who is well-versed in a given pursuit is better able to express their imagination and be more creative than the person who is not as proficient at their craft. To illustrate, consider a young graduate student attempting to write his/her thesis. Although he/she may know what they want to say, they could be limited by their vocabulary

and writing skills. On the other hand, a prolific writer, who is very familiar with expressing thoughts through words, could be much more imaginative, creative and expressive.

Huinzinga (1955) uses the word "tension" to describe the experience of matching skills with challenges. "The player wants something to `go', to `come off', he wants to `succeed' by his own exertions. Tension tests the player's prowess: his courage, tenacity, resources and, last but not least, his spiritual powers" (pp. 10-11). When people experience flow (or tension), space and time become relatively insignificant and identities merge with action and attainment of a greater sense of the whole. Ulanov (1972) comments on tension in jazz as it occurs in collective improvisation. I will develop his thoughts further in the next chapter.

Ellis (1973) discussed the incremental elements visible in continued flow experiences.

At the beginning, each activity involves novelty. The unfamiliarity of the task itself is sufficient to allow the elevation of arousal. As the task is learned then the uncertainty, and hence the impact of the activity, is maintained by the elevation of standards of performance. The probability of achievement of a goal response is maintained at some level so that the uncertainty of its achievement can usually be varied by the player and boils down to the levels of risk of success and failure the individual will take. Thus in order to maintain optimal arousal individuals will increase the difficulty of the task as their ability increases with learning.

Swimming lessons exemplify the passage people go through as they develop their skills. Beginners may learn simple tasks such as putting their faces under water and blowing bubbles. Six levels later, students may be asked to swim ten lengths of front crawl. Participants will become bored and lose interest in a given activity if it becomes too easy, or below their level of capacity. "When a recreational activity becomes sufficiently familiar, redundant, or simple then its attraction wanes and the individual will try to pass on to another activity" (Ellis, 1973, p. 142). If a person is unable to experience flow, the play element may in fact disappear.

SUMMARY

I began chapter two by challenging Stebbins on his lack of definitional clarity regarding play. I then discussed some of the various definitions of the word play. I then examined the etymological roots of play and proceeded to illuminate some of the various play theories. In order to argue that play can and should be a part of serious leisure, I proposed a concept of play which included the following elements: (1) exemplifying childlike creativity, (2) taking place in a special area, (3) involving competition, (4) using music as a form of play, (5) play can include seriousness, and (6) seeking optimal arousal in play. I believe that jazz, with its

inherent improvisatory nature, meets the above mentioned criteria of play. I would further argue that jazz satisfies the qualities of serious leisure. I will give examples of how jazz meets these criteria in chapter four.

CHAPTER THREE

I previously mentioned that I would explicate and compare jazz with the components of serious leisure, arguing that jazz is a form of serious leisure. In this chapter I will discuss jazz and compare it with Stebbins's serious leisure model.

JAZZ

Jazz is a type of music. In order to understand and appreciate the type of music called jazz, it is important to discuss the meaning of the word "music". Sessions (1950) stated that "we regard music as important, as vitally connected with ourselves" (p. 4). The connection music has with human beings lies in its ability to express and communicate the mind and will of people one to another. Following a dictionary definition, the word music has Greek roots that connect with the art of the Muses; Muses stemming from the Greek mythology of "any of the nine goddesses presiding over literature and the arts and sciences" (Webster's New World Dictionary, 1979, p. 396). Also closely related to the word "music" is the word "muse", which means to "ponder" or "meditate". As people ponder or meditate on any given thought or idea, they may choose music as their medium of communication and expression. Generally speaking, music is an art form that utilizes vocal or instrumental sounds or tones, often including the elements of

rhythm, melody or harmony, to form expressive compositions. The word "jazz" is attached to a type of music that is somewhat unique and inimitable. Before explicating jazz music, I will briefly examine the origins of the word jazz.

The word is African in origin, common on the Gold Coast of Africa and in the hinterland of Cape Coast Castle. Some earlier spellings include "jas", "jass", "jasz" and "jascz". As a verb of the negro patois, "jass" meant "to excite" with an erotic and rhythmic connotation. The word made its way to colonial America through the slave trade. Other peoples were arriving in America concurrently, bringing with them their music and cultures. Port cities became gathering places, thus providing opportunities for people to share cultural activities. Gridley (1978), in talking about jazz as a form of music, stated:

Jazz is the result of a gradual blending of several musical cultures which occurred over a period of a few centuries. Turn-of-the-century New Orleans was a port city in which the diversified musical cultures of African slaves, Europeans, as well as sailors from many parts of the world came together. It provided an ideal place for the blending of African and European musical influences which was to become jazz. (p. 49)

It must be remembered that jazz did not originate in New Orleans. Schuller (1968) indicated that "the research has also shown that early jazz in both its essential and its peripheral manifestations sprang up in many parts of the United States, not only in New Orleans" (p. 65). Another scholar, McCalla (1982) pointed out that jazz

coalesced in various parts of the United States at roughly the same time. New Orleans, however, is typically considered the cradle of jazz.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to engage in an indepth study of the history of jazz. It is worthy of note, though, to recognize that many great jazz artists came from New Orleans, including Charles "Buddy" Bolden, sometimes credited with being the first jazz band leader; Louis Armstrong, one of the most famous jazzmen of all time; and Ferdinand Joseph Le Menthe "Jelly Roll" Morton, a very talented composer and piano player. Of course there were many more famous musicians that originated from New Orleans. In fact, Joachim Berendt (1975) points out that well into the thirties, about half of the important jazz musicians came from New Orleans. New Orleans provided the rich soil in which the hybrid seeds for jazz could be planted. It was the ideal place for musicians to share methods of playing. For example, West Africans shared their rhythmic feel with the Europeans, who, on the other hand, shared their ability to read music with the West Africans.

The musical elements of jazz, (which I will discuss shortly) were present before the word jazz became known to the general public, but it was not until 1917 that the word itself became widely known. Berendt (1975) recalls the well known story: "In 1917, the ODJB (Original Dixieland Jass Band) played at Reisenweber's Restaurant on Columbus Circle in New York and made a tremendous hit. From

that time on, the word 'jazz' - first usually spelled 'jass' - became known to the general public" (p. 11). It was from 1917 and on, with the advent of recorded music, that the word jazz became widely known and associated with a particular style of music. I have discussed the origins of the word jazz and I will now examine the defining characteristics of jazz.

Jazz has been defined as "a spontaneous, improvised - though systematic - music, composed in the playing" (Blesh, 1946, p. ix). Gridley (1978) comments similarly that "an essential element of jazz is improvisation" (p. 1). The act of improvising is to compose music on the spur of the moment, to perform extemporaneously. Gridley (1978) continues a discussion of the meaning of the word improvise:

To improvise is to compose and perform simultaneously. A great deal of improvised music is spontaneous, unrehearsed, not written down beforehand. Popular synonyms for the verb to improvise include ad lib, fake, ride, and jam. Some of the vitality typical of a jazz performance may be due to its spontaneity. Jazz musicians are so conscious of spontaneity and originality that they try to never improvise the same way twice. Several versions of a tune played by a soloist during one recording session may be quite different from one another. (p. 13)

Improvisation is an integral element in jazz. As was previously mentioned, spontaneity is also a fundamental element in jazz. Closely linked to improvisation and spontaneity, is creativity.

To himself and to his followers, the jazz musician is a creative artist, and he participates fully in the satisfactions and thrills of creativity. In his own terms, then, his life is rich and full-bodied, for creativity of his own special kind is, in his judgement, the most important thing in life. (Merriam & Mack, 1960, p. 220)

Alto saxophonist Charlie Parker epitomized creativity. "Parker was a remarkable improviser in that he maintained a high level of creativity, and the flow of his ideas seemed like an endless fountain. Bird's overall level of drive and creativity made him one of the most consistent improvisers in jazz history" (Gridley, 1978, p. 124). Not all jazz musicians however, were naturally gifted creators as Charlie Parker was. Commenting on a conversation between two jazz musicians who were discussing spontaneity and creativity, Berliner (1994) stated:

The advice Miles Davis once gave Curtis Fuller after having heard him perform a solo also speaks to the importance of spontaneity in creative invention. Davis said in his hoarse whisper, 'Hey, man, every time you get to that part of the tune, you keep playing the same thing. You keep playing that B minor against that D sound. Sounds too dark every time you get there. Get with a piano player and work on something new'. (pp. 270-271)

As a creative art form, jazz affords the jazz musician the exquisite privilege of personal expression. Morgenstern (1976) fittingly describes jazz as "the most highly personal of musics" (p. 136). All jazz musicians express themselves in their music and through their instruments; they express the types of persons they are, the experiences they've had during the day, during the night before and during their

lives. Jazz artist Eric Dolphy described what jazz meant to him: "To me, jazz is like part of living, like walking down the street and reacting to what you see and hear. And whatever I do react to, I can say immediately in my music" (Simosko & Tepperman, 1974, p. 24). (I will return to a discussion of jazz as a form of self-expression later in this chapter.)

Another distinguishing characteristic of jazz music is its rhythmic feel, known as "swing". In order to discuss swing, it is important to first define the term; defining and understanding swing, however, is a lofty goal. Two prominent jazz scholars, Marshall Stearns and Gunther Schuller, discussed the challenge of defining swing. Stearns & Stearns (1968) commented that swing "can be heard, felt, and seen, but defined only with great difficulty" (p. xiv). Schuller (1968) mentioned that "swing is an aspect of rhythm that has for many years defied definition" (p. 6). When asked to define swing, jazz great Louis Armstrong would respond that "if you don't feel it, you'll never know what it is". Perhaps a modern example could help illustrate the concept of first hand experience as it relates to understanding. Consider a gallery that has a three dimensional picture hanging prominently on the wall. If someone stands up close to examine what is there, the picture appears to be nothing more than a mess of spattered ink. There is no rhyme or reason to the design. Upon stepping back from the picture a certain distance however, the person could potentially be able to see the entire image. It

may take awhile to see the image, but when the image suddenly appears, in all of its richness and depth, the person can then say, "Ah, now I see it". He/she experiences a type of epiphany. Schuller (1968) similarly refers to an experiential definition of swing: "like the description of a primary color or the taste of an orange, the definition takes on full meaning only when the thing defined is also experienced" (p. 6). Because of the impossibility of presenting swinging jazz music in this written thesis, I am left to attempt defining swing via the written word.

Schuller (1968) mentioned that swing is an aspect of rhythm. Rhythm (the forward movement of music) is characterized by a regular recurrence of beat, accent, meter, time or tempo. Human beings are familiar with regular rhythmic patterns as demonstrated in heart beats and pulses, breathing patterns and in walking. Notice that Schuller said that swing is an "aspect" of rhythm, and not just simply "rhythm". In jazz, there is a need for a constant tempo, or in other words, a beat. This beat is usually kept by the rhythm section, composed of drums, piano, guitar and bass. The question may be asked: does the beat, or rhythm, create swing? Berliner (1994) quotes musician Paul Wertico as saying "there are some drummers who are great technically and can play the most complicated polyrhythmic exercises, but they can't make them swing. Their figures are

mathematically precise, but they're stiff and mechanical" (p. 245). So what is swing then?

L. Ritchey (personal communication, July 21, 1988) defines swing as "the rhythmic development on top of the previously established meter and beat" (personal conversation). He goes on to explain that there is a need for a constant tempo, a good rhythmic groove; but that is not yet swing. Swing begins to happen as musicians depart from the beat and create tension against the original beat. As a result of musicians "playing around" with the beat, a higher level of playing, or another plane of music appears, which is called swing. Not only can musicians improvise with notes, but also with rhythms, thus creating a swinging feeling. A multiplicity of rhythms appears as each instrumentalist, keeping with the element of personal expression, creates their own rhythm. This multiplicity of rhythms would not be possible if there were not a previously established beat to act as the organizing principle or as an anchor for the new rhythmic interpretations and improvisations. Berendt (1975) explains rhythm and swing similarly:

Every jazz ensemble--be it large or small--consists of a melody section and a rhythm section. To the former belong instruments such as trumpet, trombone, clarinet, and the members of the saxophone family; to the latter, drums, bass, guitar, and piano. There is tension between the melody and rhythm sections. On the other hand, the rhythm section carries the melodic group. It is like a riverbed in which the stream of melodic lines flows. Tension exists not only between the two sections but within each group as well. Each line improvised by

a horn has its own rhythm, and each member of the rhythm section plays various elements which in their entirety constitute the 'fundamental rhythm' and often go beyond it. Thus a many-layered rhythm is created. (pp. 163-164)

Creating new rhythmic patterns over the established beat could be called syncopation. Gridley (1978) explained that

One important element in jazz swing feeling is the preponderance of syncopated rhythmic figures. Syncopation often takes the form of accenting a note just before or just after a beat. Part of the rhythmic style that characterizes jazz swing feeling is a tendency to play not exactly on the beat, but just slightly before or after it. The tension generated by members of a group tugging at opposite sides of the beat may be part of jazz feeling. (p. 16)

Stearns (1956) posited that "jazz is almost never played precisely on the beat and that duple rhythm lends itself to infinite complexities" (p. 282). As a result of the infinitesimal possibilities of rhythmic alterations, Stearns (1956) further commented "that jazz cannot be accurately notated" (p. 282). Attempts have been made to transcribe famous solos note for note from recordings. A young jazz artist, for example, may practice and practice to learn the notes of a favorite jazz solo, and could actually arrive at the point of playing the solo perfectly, and yet be dissatisfied to find that it does not swing. There are other elements, which are not easily defined, that also contribute to the feeling of swing.

Gridley (1978) posited that "certain quick, precisely controlled deviations in pitch, tone color and vibrato, including characteristic ways of beginning and ending notes, are essential to jazz feeling" (p. 16). These are embellishing devices, which if timed precisely, can make a line swing. Examples of these devices may include the grace note, *doit*, scoop, bend, smear and drop or fall-off. "There is also a component of swing feeling which applies specifically to jazz lines. The continuous rising and falling motion in a jazz line provides alternation of tension and relaxation" (Gridley, 1978, p. 17). This practice stems from the African field hollers known as "portamento" or "arwhoolie", where workers would call to each other with singing lines that started high and dropped in pitch to the lower range of the voice.

Berliner (1994) summarized the element of swing by saying "the achievement of swing ultimately depends on the interplay of numerous factors ranging from the sheer variety of the artists' rhythmic conceptions to the stylistic manner in which they articulate and phrase them, imbuing them with qualities of syncopation and forward motion" (p. 244).

To summarize, jazz is a type of music that involves improvisation, imagination, spontaneity and creativity. Another element of jazz is its swinging quality. Jazz is a highly personal music, allowing its participants opportunities for self-expression. In order to be able to express themselves with any sense of

immediacy, jazz musicians must be proficient at their craft. Proficiency is the result of hard work and disciplined practice. I will now compare the jazz musician's process of achieving technical competency with Robert Stebbins's (1992) serious leisure model.

JAZZ AS SERIOUS LEISURE

Bergmann Drewe (1996) mentioned that a "philosophical enquiry involves reviewing the relevant literature and putting forward positions which agree, oppose or extend the arguments presented in the literature." I will be reviewing the jazz literature for the purpose of putting forward examples which are associated with the qualities of serious leisure.

Stebbins (1992) posited that leisure pursuits can turn into serious leisure pursuits if participants begin to systematically pursue activities that are substantial and interesting enough for them to find a career in the acquisition and expression of its special skills and knowledge. Stebbins (1992) defined a career as "the typical course, or passage, of certain types of amateur-professional practitioners that carries them into, and through, a leisure role and possibly into, and through, a work role" (p. 68). One of the many ways participants could become interested in given activities is by seeing, or hearing

them done. There are many examples in the jazz literature demonstrating how musicians became interested in jazz:

In the face of the diverse musical options around them, learners decide to pursue jazz for reasons that are as different as their ultimate individual contributions to the field. Many perspective players are simply overwhelmed when they first hear jazz. The circumstances surrounding such encounters remains vivid in the memories of performers as does the music's dramatic impact. For them, it was love at first sound. The bands at the Apollo Theatre 'mesmerized' Charli Persip as a child; he walked around 'in a cloud' after performances and 'daydreamed' about them during school. Gary Bartz was stunned by the beauty and power of a Charlie Parker recording. The music made him euphoric, intoxicating him with the notion that 'I just had to play that.' The determination to play like Parker came even before Bartz had discerned what instrument it was that Parker was playing. (Berliner, 1994, p. 31)

The thing that distinguished this act was the small orchestra accompanying it, which sat right up there on the stage--unlike the regular theatre pit band of Poli's Palace, to which I had never paid a great deal of attention. These stage musicians, though, were something entirely different. I watched them with rapt and breathless interest, staring at them with a wild surmise. The clincher came when, along toward the middle of the act, one of the musicians, all dressed up in a blue-and-white-striped blazer, came down to the footlights, knelt down on one knee (looking sharp as a tack and rakish as all get-out to me as I sat entranced in my stolen seat), and played a tune named 'Dreamy Melody' on a shiny gold saxophone. Well-sir--that did it. (Shaw, 1952, p. 55)

Alto saxophonist Cannonball Adderly remembered it later as a childhood moment that set the direction for his life. His father took him to see the Fletcher Henderson band at the City Auditorium in Tampa, Florida. Featured in the band was the imposing tenor saxophonist Coleman Hawkins. 'Man, it was a great day for me,' said Adderley. 'I think he was the most interesting looking jazz musician I've ever seen in my life. He just looked so authoritative. I kept looking at him. I never did look at Fletcher. I said, Well, that's what I want to do when I grow up.' (DeVeaux, 1997, p. 35)

There are other examples of jazz musicians who became "hooked on jazz" as a result of hearing the music. For the precocious young music prodigy Bix Beiderbeck, hearing the sounds of jazz filtering up from the steamboats on the Mississippi, and listening to early records of the ODJB, enamored him with the sounds of jazz (Sudhalter & Evans, 1974). Once interested in jazz, the next step in developing a career is to secure an instrument. Securing an instrument could require some form of parental support.

The literature indicates varying parental views on children's involvement with jazz. On the one hand, parents did not want their children to be associated with jazz in the least possible way. This attitude could be partly explained by the mendacious notion that jazz was a dirty music, played late at night in bars and brothels where drugs, alcohol and sex were rampant. Some parents did not want their children to be exposed to the pernicious effects of jazz, and highly discouraged involvement in jazz. "For instance, the grandmother of Jelly Roll

Morton, a New Orleans Creole, disowned him and put him out of the house when he began to play jazz. W.C. Handy's father, when he learned of his son's interest in jazz, told Handy he would rather see him dead than become a jazz musician" (Means & Doleman, 1968, p. 334). On the other hand, parents could also encourage and assist in their children's musical development.

Having determined the objects of their affections, students sought to convince their parents that they were serious enough about music to warrant their own instruments. Ronald Shannon Jackson convinced his parents of his earnestness and ingenuity by performing for them with a drum set that he fashioned from pots and pans. As parents succumbed to their children's pressure, youngsters become proud possessors of instruments borrowed, rented, or purchased from neighborhood schools, churches, and local music stores. (Berliner, 1994, p. 26)

The young Charlie Parker procured his first saxophone with the help of his mother. "Around 1933, Parker asked his mother for an alto saxophone of his own, and she obliged by buying a used sax for forty-five dollars" (Woideck, 1996, p. 4).

The next challenge jazz neophytes face is the overwhelming task of conquering their chosen instruments well enough in order to play jazz. Berliner (1994) commented:

Though aspiring artists may follow different paths initially, arriving at the commitment to jazz along direct or circuitous routes, they ultimately face the same basic challenge: to acquire the specialized knowledge upon which advanced jazz performance depends. Precisely how to pursue such knowledge is

not always apparent to new enthusiasts. Traditionally, jazz musicians have learned without the kind of support provided by formal educational systems. There have been no schools or universities to teach improvisers their skills and few textbooks to aid them. Master musicians, however, did not develop their skills in a vacuum. They learned within their own professional community; the jazz community. (p. 35)

In quoting Carpenter, Gaylene, Patterson, and Pritchard, (in press) Stebbins pointed out that "much, sometimes all, of this skill and knowledge is acquired outside formal education programs; it comes through self-directed learning" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 7). Self-directed learning places the onus for learning on the learner instead of on the teacher. Learning to play jazz exemplifies self-directed learning. Woideck (1996), on commenting about Charlie Parker's instruction said: "His formal instrumental instruction seems to have been limited to what he learned in his high school band, and the majority of his study of the saxophone and of music in general was undertaken through self-guided practice" (p. x). There are definite advantages for learners when they are primarily responsible for their own educations. Berliner (1994) stated "that students learn best when they figure out things for themselves. Indeed, there is little inclination to coddle beginners, for they must be discouraged from taking a passive stance in their education" (pp. 53-54). Berliner continues by delineating the advantages in a learner oriented educational system:

The value that the jazz community places on personal responsibility is especially appropriate for the artistic growth of initiates. Self-reliance requires them to select their own models for excellence and to measure their abilities against them. It enhances their powers of critical evaluation, cultivates their tastes, and provides them with an early sense of their own individuality. Overall, the jazz community's educational system sets the students on paths of development directly related to their goal: the creation of a unique improvisational voice within the jazz tradition. (Berliner, 1994, p. 59)

Selecting a model to pattern themselves after, or choosing a mentor, is crucial in the early development of jazz musicians. "I hear what you're trying to do,' a salesman once volunteered after hearing a student's efforts to improvise while experimenting with an instrument at a piano store. 'Now what you must do is get around the people who play this kind of music and learn everything you can from them'" (Berliner, 1994, p. 37). Consequently, young musicians are encouraged to "hang around" the places their heroes would be. Drummers, for example, might hang out at drum shops where they could talk about different types of drums, sizes and makes of drumsticks, and compare methods of playing tunes with each other.

From the student's side, these relationships sometimes verge on idolatry and, as in Arthur Rhames's earlier account, include emulation of the mentor's personal style. Lonnie Hillyer and his teenaged peers were so impressed by the 'images' of artists like Miles Davis that they copied their dress. George Johnson Jr. used to study Eddie Jefferson's 'every move, the way he would

gesture,' eventually getting to the point where he
'would sit up and be acting like him.' (Berliner, 1994,
p. 40)

As jazz musicians begin to seriously pursue their craft, they must inevitably associate with the jazz community. These associations satisfy Stebbins's fifth and sixth qualities of serious leisure, which are: (5) the forming of a unique ethos, and (6) tending to identify strongly with one's chosen pursuits.

Jazz musicians who wish to be efficient and creative improvisers embark on a lifetime of hard work. "Learning to play a musical instrument well enough to improvise at a top level requires a singular devotion found only rarely in other fields. Many claim it is a lifetime job" (Stebbins, 1962, p. 9). There is a strong connection between technical proficiency and creative expression. Musicians are only capable of expressing ideas which are equal to or less than their skill level. Several researchers have commented on the significance of practicing in order to improve creative ability:

As a creative person, the musician must spend a considerable portion of his time practicing if he is to retain or expand his technical and creative abilities. (Merriam & Mack, 1960, p. 214)

The strain toward sophistication within the group requires that he spend most of his time practicing to increase his command of his instrument, since improvisation deteriorates with any lag between conception of an idea and its execution. The technical demands are so great that 24 hours a day are hardly sufficient for one to develop and maintain his skill. Many top-flight jazzmen literally

carry their horns with them at all times so that they can steal practice at every opportunity. (Cameron, 1954, p. 180)

To John jazz is an art and a science; it must be studied; it can be significant only if it is the end result of an intensive preparation. That preparation entails hours of work, of unrelenting attention to the interior detail of the creative process. (Ulanov, 1972, p. 330)

Practicing (or "woodshedding", as jazz musicians call it) includes everything from listening to records and trying to imitate soloists, to playing myriads of scales, modes, arpeggios and chords, reading about jazz, talking about jazz with others, and learning the many traditional jazz tunes and memorizing them in all twelve keys and at different tempos. Building a foundation for proficient jazz playing requires a tremendous output of energy and effort. Following are some examples of musicians who have "paid the price" of hard and incessant practicing:

For saxophonist Jeff Morgan, it was not until he adopted a routine of practicing six hours a day that he began to feel that the instrument was truly a part of him and that he could improvise with great freedom. For the first time, he was able to experience what he had often heard Barry Harris describe in his workshops as the expressive feeling of actually 'talking' with the patterns he played. (Berliner, 1994, p. 117)

Each morning during Barry Harris's early years in New York City, he would 'go to the studio, sit down at the piano, and play.' When he raised his eyes again, 'it was dark all around me and time to go home to bed. Every day was like that.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 494)

Emily Remler recalls going 'through just such a frustration. I'd go to a session, not be able to express myself on guitar, and cry afterwards--I was so miserable. My technique was lousy, and my time was bad. My time was bad basically because I couldn't get to the phrases in time.' Remler's frustration led to an intensive practicing binge known among musicians as woodshedding. She withdrew temporarily from the jazz community and subjected herself to a musical discipline that necessarily carried over into other aspects of her lifestyle. 'I played and practiced the guitar constantly, five hours a day. At one point, I went down to the Jersey shore and locked myself in a room for a month. I lost twenty pounds, stopped smoking, and became a serious guitar player. It took a lot of muscle building to reach the point where I got a really strong and full sound on the guitar. I practiced my tail off trying to play octaves and different things to build up my muscles.' After months of practice, Remler began to overcome her problems. Eventually, she developed a 'reservoir of technique' that she was able to 'tap' for many years. (Berliner, 1994, p. 115)

A classic example of intense practicing is Charlie Parker's three to four years of practicing 11 hours a day (Aebersold, 1992, p. 9).

Musicians can even practice when they are away from their instruments.

Musicians commonly practice this synchronization even when away from an instrument by making up figures and miming their finger patterns simultaneously. The goal is to achieve such close coordination between the body and the conceptualizing mind as to articulate musical patterns with the ease and directness of speech or any expressive gesture. (Berliner, 1994, p. 94)

V. Simosko (personal communication, July 21, 1998) remembers a time when he was visiting with Artie Shaw. "Artie was holding a book and as we were talking, he was playing the spine of the book. He was fingering the book spine as if it were his clarinet. He was practicing while we were talking." Trumpeter Miles Davis exercised the muscles needed for a good trumpet embouchure as a young school boy. "I used to spit rice to school every day and back, or spit half a pea--it makes you used to playing the trumpet" (Chambers, 1983, p. 9).

Stebbins posited that the progression from dabbler and novice to professional includes five stages. I have discussed the first two (beginning and developmental) stages. I mentioned previously that progress in the developmental stage of career passage is manifested by the participant's growth of knowledge and ability. Because of the vast amount of knowledge and skill necessary for jazz musicians, the developmental stage takes years and years. In fact, even the best continue to practice and consider themselves to still be learning.

When Rufus Reid was a young player stationed with the air force in Japan, he once went to a nightclub to hear Ray Brown, who invited him to stop by his hotel. "When I got there, I was so surprised to see him practicing. At the time, I thought, a cat as great as he is, still practicing just like everyone else? Still trying to get better?". (Berliner, 1994, p. 485)

At some point however, participants that are hopeful of finding a career in their pursuits, must enter the third stage of progression, the establishment stage.

Practitioners enter the establishment stage when they feel they have moved beyond the status of "learner of the basics" and are ready to enter the work force.

Making the leap from amateur to professional can be frightening and embarrassing. Young drummer Warren "Baby" Dodds was chagrined as he tried to gain acceptance in his brother's band.

I would sit down in the band. My brother and Ory and the others didn't think I was capable or good enough to play in that band, and they'd walk off the stand one by one, until all the fellows were off but the bass player and me. The bass player was Eddie Garland, and the next thing he would be laying his bass down, and I'd know there was nothing for me to do but get down. And when I'd get down the band would all come back again. It was very embarrassing. They pulled that quite a few times, made me feel awfully bad. I was determined though.
(Gara, 1992, p. 15)

Another musician that experienced similar frustration and embarrassment was Charlie Parker. Twice he attempted to be accepted by better musicians, and twice he failed. Russel (1973) explained what happened the first time:

He chose Body and Soul, played a whole chorus, then, in the next, tried to double the time. The rhythm section hurriedly doubled up behind him. But the bold rhythmic effects that Charlie imagined ready to fall under his fingers, to the confoundment of Jimmy Keith and the others, failed to dovetail. There were some difficult technical problems involved. Everything came unglued at once. He missed a note, then made a still more fatal lapse of time. The time moved ahead and beyond him. Charlie faltered to a stop. Dead silence fell in the High Hat Club. Lawrence Keyes tried to keep him afloat by repeating the chords of the last bar played. L'il

Phil, the drummer, had stopped altogether. The terrible, mounting silence seemed to explode in an outburst of guffaws. Charlie climbed down from the bandstand. His eyes were hot with tears. He packed his horn back in its pillow-ticking case and went home. He cried, and did not play again for three months. An uncertain success had been turned into a minor disaster.
(Russel, 1973, pp. 64-65)

Sometime later, the young Charlie Parker tried his luck with seasoned professionals at the popular Kansas City Reno club. In the Reno club it was common for musicians to gather and play in what was called jam sessions. Musicians could take turns soloing, thus proving their capabilities to the other musicians. Woideck (1996) relays Ramey's comments on Charlie's second debacle:

This was during the days of Major Bowes. You know, if somebody got up to sing, and if the--if it didn't go over too good, the man would hit the gong on them, you know... Well, this thing happened--now, Basie was tellin' Jo Jones 'Hit the cymbal on him!' which is a gong, you know. Bird was still playing. Basie, uh, Jo hit the cymbal: 'gank!' and still Bird kept on playing. Actually, I think that Bird was tangled up and couldn't get out! [laughs] So, all of a sudden,, Jo--they had a small cymbal, I guess it was about, you know, six inches, one of the real small cymbals that they have now--most of the Dixieland musicians use now, you know. Well, Jo just took that off and just dropped that on the floor right beside Bird. Naturally, it frightened Bird, and he snatched the horn out of his mouth, and he came over where I was, he says 'I'll get 'em! I'll get 'em!' He says, 'They rung that bell on me; I'll get 'em!'
(Woideck, 1996, p. 9)

And "get 'em" he did! Parker used this difficult experience as a spring board to reach new heights in his playing. He proceeded to practice like a demon, and the next time he played at the Reno, he impressed all of the skeptics with his polished technical abilities and smooth lines.

In the process of finding careers, jazz participants need to persevere through difficult challenges. Stebbins suggested, as the first quality of serious leisure pursuits, the occasional need to persevere at their activities. Some challenges jazz musicians may need to overcome include convincing unsympathetic parents to support them in their desires to play an instrument. Instruments may also represent other challenges if they are not functioning properly. Trying to play a trumpet that has sticky valves, for example, may be most frustrating for a musician. Sore muscles, swollen and bleeding lips, discouragement and frustration exemplify some of the many challenges musicians may need to overcome in order to continue in their serious leisure pursuits. Perseverance is a hallmark of successful jazz musicianship. As jazz musicians continue to overcome obstacles, they are better able to progress in the pursuit of their careers and to begin to develop their own sound; a sound in which musicians can develop and express themselves.

Musicians who are trained in the European tradition do not seek to have an identifiably individualistic sound on their instruments. Classical music requires its musicians to achieve a homogeneous sound. Within each section, for example,

each instrumentalist is encouraged to listen to the section leader and play just like they are playing. Different than classical musicians, jazz musicians are encouraged to develop their own sound and voice. Jazz music is a highly personal music and resists duplication and imitation.

Some view too close an imitation of a master as an ethical issue. Arther Rhames stopped trying to duplicate 'exactly what other artists played' because he realized that 'they were all playing out of their experiences, their lives--the things that happened to them.' Even though he could 'relate in a general way to most of it,' he decided that jazz performance is 'too personal' to try to duplicate exactly what other artists 'were saying.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 121)

Initially jazz musicians are encouraged to listen to and understand what the masters of jazz were doing. Playing just like the masters though is actually frowned upon. Jazz is based on creative and imaginative playing. Barrow (1988) posited that imaginative persons see beyond the obvious, superficial and immediately apparent by probing into uncharted and unusual territory. The following quotes help develop the argument that jazz players are not to replicate others and must develop their own voice:

'When I first came to New York,' he says, 'I had to play everything fast and double fast. I couldn't stand still. Like a lot of youngsters today, all my ballads had to be double time. I was fresh. I was full of ideas. Augmented chords. Ninths. The cats used to listen to me. 'Well,' they'd say, 'he's nice, but he don't say nothing!' Consequently, I didn't work.' (Ulanov, 1972, p. 238)

It all goes from imitation to assimilation to innovation. You move from the imitation stage to the assimilation stage when you take little bits of things from different people and weld them into an identifiable style--creating your own style. Once you've created your own sound and you have a good sense of the history of the music, then you think of where the music hasn't gone and where it can go--and that's innovation.--Walter Bishop Jr. (Berliner, 1994, p. 120)

Lester Young and others in Roach's early circle advised artists with cleverly rhymed aphorisms like 'You can't join the throng 'til you write your own song.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 121)

Although veterans can be generous initially, they expect their demonstrations to be but a point of departure for learners' independent initiatives in pursuit of a personal style. One novice was rebuffed when he resisted such work and pressed an expert for more material. 'My voicings are my voicings,' his friend replied roughly, 'and I've already shown you enough to get you started. Go off and find your own voicings the same way I did, just by sitting at the piano and trying them all kinds of ways until you find the ones you like' (HL). Similarly, when a youngster once attempted to please an early teacher by patterning faithfully upon his interpretation of a ballad's melody, taped at the preceding lesson, his teacher responded with annoyance: 'That's my way of playing it. You were supposed to find your way of playing it.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 89)

Jazz provides its artists the unique opportunity of establishing identifiable voices, individual voices in which musicians can actually say something or "tell a story". "Doc Cheatham informs us that 'if a guy plays a beautiful solo, and he's playing from the heart or he's talking with his horn, we say, 'He's telling a story'"

(Berliner, 1994, p.255). Through improvising, jazz musicians have the freedom to express themselves, and can actually "talk" through their instruments. The talented Eric Dolphy's style of improvising was highly personal and his playing used speech-like cadences and inflections. He explained that "this human thing in instrumental playing has to do with trying to get as much human warmth and feeling into my work as I can. I want to say more on my horn than I ever could in ordinary speech" (Simosko & Tepperman, 1974, p. 24). Dolphy carries on a musical dialogue with Charles Mingus in the classic recording of "What Love". The dialogue mockingly depicts a former disagreement between them, and the listener can almost hear the two musicians arguing with each other through their instruments.

Sometimes musicians communicate with each other with the intent of excluding uninformed audience members from their conversations. Duke Ellington explained:

'Call was very important in that kind of music...People send messages in what they play, calling somebody, or making facts and emotions known. Painting a picture, or having a story to go with what you were going to play, was of vital importance in those days. The audience didn't know anything about it, but the cats in the band did.'
(Berliner, 1994, p. 233)

The practice of communicating hidden messages was also found in European broadside ballads during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. "The

broadside ballads recycled folksongs which were already well known, and carried on the minstrel tradition. But the genre was also a kind of musical journalism, for it contained social and political satire, well disguised in the days when one could lose one's head for offending the powerful" (Clarke, 1995, p. 3). Many familiar nursery rhymes originated in this way.

I have been reviewing the jazz literature in order to support my claim that jazz can be considered serious leisure. A characteristic of Stebbins's serious leisure model is the opportunity its participants have to achieve eight durable benefits. I would suggest that jazz musicians have an excellent opportunity to experience many, if not all, of the eight durable benefits. Self-actualization, self-realization, self-enrichment and self-expression are easily recognized as integral elements in jazz. Feelings of accomplishment and enhancement of self-image are especially noticeable for people in minority groups. DeVaux (1997) discussed the importance learning a skill, such as playing jazz, had for black American citizens during the early part of this century. "Self-improvement, through the diligent mastery of specific marketable skills (with an eye carefully turned toward what white society would tolerate), was the only way to improve their lot and take their places as productive citizens of the twentieth century" (DeVaux, 1977, pp. 45-46). For Arther Arshawsky, a lonely only child of Jewish heritage, learning to play the saxophone enhanced his image immensely. In his own words

This saxophone was my Magic Lantern, my open Sesame! to a new life--my way of achieving status, earning a living, getting away from a place where I had so far only been taught to feel like an outcast, a despised underdog, a Pariah. (Shaw, 1952, p. 64)

Perhaps the durable benefit most recognized in jazz music is the opportunity for self-expression.

Jazz has been described as the first American art form. It is characterized by self-expression. (Clarke, 1995, p. 65)

Every jazz musician has a special story to tell, for jazz is above all a music of individual expression within a collective framework. (Morgenstern, 1976, p. 291)

'What a satisfying life work as a jazz musician can be,' reflects George Duvivier. 'Where else do you have the freedom to play music which really expresses you--to be your own boss?' (Berliner, 1994, p. 503)

And if jazz is a bona fide form of music it has a supreme opportunity to achieve profundity of expression; for a distinguishing mark of music is its ability to portray states of being rather than things with the the quality of those states--sorrow rather than a sorrowful girl, joy rather than a joyful boy, tragedy rather than a tragic event, pathos rather than a pathetic situation. While traditional music, however, must confine itself to the static, to the written mood, caught once forever, jazz can make an infinite number of grasps at profundity. (Ulanov, 1972, p. 339)

A type of music common in jazz is the "blues." Gara (1992) explained the blues as "getting rid of your feelings within yourself. And it is expressed with a song. And

it must have the feeling with it. If an individual doesn't have the feeling with the blues it doesn't mean anything" (Gara, 1992, p. 30).

In order for ideas to be expressed instantaneously, musicians need to be highly proficient at their craft. It was mentioned previously that proficiency is the result of strenuous practice and hard work. In classical music, technical proficiency is an end in itself. For the jazz musician, however, working to achieve technical proficiency is the means to a higher goal; full and immediate self-expression. Many scholars have commented on this need for technical competency as it relates to self-expression:

Near-effortless command of an instrument is the constant goal of a jazz player, because the ability to play virtually any musical idea that comes to mind, and to play it immediately, is related to instrumental proficiency. (Gridley, 1978, p. 37)

Regardless of the complexity of maintaining their physical well-being, many improvisers remain pre-occupied with improving their technical proficiency because they are greatly dependent on instrumental performance for the assimilation of jazz vocabulary and its expressive use. (Berliner, 1994, p. 119)

Parker advised a novice saxophonist: 'The thing to do, is to know that horn. Control that horn...Because, if you can control the horn you can get anything you want (to).' Charlie Parker was a living example of that philosophy; through knowing his horn, he attained that rare state of oneness with his instrument that allowed him to 'get anything you want.'
(Woideck, 1996, p. ix)

Mastery over particular technical features of performance increases both the nuances of musical sound and the artist's ability to express emotion. (Berliner, 1994, p. 117)

Jazz music is an art form where the musician is both the creator and performer.

The work of art the jazz musician produces is the representative sound that he/she transmits through his/her instrument. Again, the work of art, or music produced, is connected with the artist's ability to communicate through the medium of the instrument.

The work of art is always a compromise between what the artist had in mind, and the limits of his technique and of the medium itself. In this sense, art is both a result of the encounter between the artist and his medium, and an expression of the idea that the artist originally held. The artist is thus seen to be engaged in an intimate dialogue with himself through his art; and revealed in the work is a very personal exposure of his inner self. (Simosko & Tepperman, 1974, p. 4)

Because every artist must master his craft in his own way, for his own purposes of symbolizing ideas of subjective reality, there may be poor art, which is not corrupt, but fails to express what he knew in too brief an intuition. It is hard to hold an envisagement without a more or less permanent symbol; and to be confronted with a wrong symbol can undo an inward vision. An unfamiliar tool, an inadequate musical instrument, but also a physically uncontrollable hand may contradict imagination, and, in the earliest moments of a dawning idea, may ruthlessly put it out. The result is a poor and helpless product, sincere enough, but confused and frustrated by recalcitrance of the medium or sheer lack of technical freedom. (Langer, 1953, p. 387)

Uninhibited spontaneous creativity is the goal of every jazz musician, and if achieved, provides the musician a type of euphoric peak experience. "Few experiences are more deeply fulfilling for improvisers than the compelling, all-absorbing nature of composing music in performance" (Berliner, 1994, p. 220). I will discuss the concept of "peak experiences" in the next chapter. Now I will discuss the role of professionals in jazz music.

Stebbins (1992) referred to professionals as those who gain at least 50 percent of their livelihood from their pursuits, spend more time at their pursuits than do amateurs, and are "better than" others at their craft. Jazz musicians are placed in compromising situations if they expect to meet the requirements Stebbins outlines for professionalism. Because jazz is such a highly personal music, and not all people are understanding of its elements, it is very rare for jazz musicians to find work where they are free to play whatever they feel. More often than not, in order to earn at least 50 percent of their livelihood playing music, the type of music the musician must play is not jazz, but commercial.

"Commercial music may be defined as the two-beat dance music of the plush country clubs and society bands" (Stebbins, 1968, p. 321). Typically, commercial music was not technically or musically challenging, and did not require a tremendous amount of skill on the part of the musicians. "A 'commercial' saxophonist observed sarcastically: It doesn't make any difference

what we play, the way we do it. It's so simple that anyone who's been playing longer than a month could handle it" (Becker, 1951, p. 139). Stebbins (1992) stated that serious leisure pursuits are "sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of its special skills and knowledge" (p. 3). I would suggest that jazz musicians, who earn their living playing commercial music, are not able to fully express their special skills and knowledge in the work setting. I will argue in the next chapter that it is in play where jazz musicians are free to truly experience serious leisure.

Many jazz musicians disdained the thought of having to play commercial music.

Playing commercial music, however, is regarded as prostituting one's musical talent and is generally disapproved by others in the jazz community. There is often more pity than scorn for a well known jazz musician who goes commercial because he has a family to support and who, it is certain, will rejoin the ranks of his colleagues as soon as an opportunity presents itself. The least respect is accorded those who can play jazz, and possibly good jazz, but who prefer to play commercial music because of the money and social prestige. (Stebbins, 1968, p. 321)

Even in those days there was already a great rift between what musicians thought was good (or 'hep') as it would be called today) and what they had to play for a living, the 'commercial' dance music they had to grind out nightly in order to satisfy the paying customers, who were only interested, for the most part, in whether the music was soft or syrupy enough so they would have no difficulty in either talking over it during their

eating or drinking, or recognizing the melody of the tune while they danced. (Shaw, 1952, p. 147)

On most of the programs I did, there was little or no room for any sort of individual musical expression. All I am saying is that what I was doing musically had nothing whatsoever to do with music. (Shaw, 1952, p. 260)

It was not uncommon therefore for jazz musicians to earn the bulk of their livelihood doing other jobs. In her study of professional jazz musicians in an English town, Ruth Finnegan (1989) found that:

The current members were in full-time paid employment: art lecturer, local government officer, teacher, musical instrument repairer, artificial limb maker and graphic artist. They could thus afford to engage in their passion for jazz in both the Original Grand Union Syncopators and the other bands they from time to time played or guested in, without having to worry unduly about finance. (p. 79)

Many earlier jazz musicians similarly earned their incomes in ways other than playing commercial music. I will now focus on the relationship that amateurs and professionals have with their public.

Stebbins defined publics as "sets of people with a common interest; people not served by, but rather informed, enlightened, or entertained by professionals or amateurs, or both, and who make active demands upon them" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 59). Stebbins continued by stating that publics are related to professionals and amateurs in five ways: (1) financial support, (2) feedback, (3) role support, (4)

participation, and (5) limitations. Audiences range from being completely ignorant to being highly knowledgeable. Jazz musicians often refer to the uninformed audience member as being "square." "It is the square's ignorance of music that compels the musician to play what he considers bad music in order to be successful" (Becker, 1951, p. 139). Berliner (1994) posited that "for relatively unsophisticated audiences, bands may restrict soloists to short sporadic solos in order to increase the number of pieces performed over the evening" (p. 459). Accommodating audiences, uninformed or not, is part of the entertainment business, of which music is a part. "The need to accommodate audiences is a fact of life for musicians that shapes their performances in different ways and in differing degrees" (Berliner, 1994, p. 458). As mentioned earlier, the jazz musician is placed in a compromising situation when faced with the decision of whether to play for the audience or for him/herself.

By the nature of his occupation, the musician (and his public by association) is faced with a dilemma regarding the nature of his art and, in his own view, is expected to be both a creative artist and a commercial entertainer, contradictory roles which lead to confusion in respect to status. (Merriam & Mack, 1960, p. 213)

If you stifle your creativity in order to try to appeal to a mass audience, and you get involved with pandering, you run the danger of not knowing the difference between what you're doing for yourself and what you're doing in order to please the audience. (Berliner, 1994, p. 465)

What is the true relationship of the jazzman to his

audience? Surely this is a highly individual matter, but some Negro jazz musicians make a strong case of the fact they are trying to communicate, to present their own values, feelings, and experiences to an audience. This assumes that at least part of the audience responds and the musician receives some kind of personal satisfaction or gain in the response. (Means & Doleman, 1968, p. 339)

Berliner quotes Tommy Turrentine as saying "'My father taught me about the audience a long time ago.' 'It's a big factor. They're the ones who come to hear you, and they're the ones who buy your records. Without them, you don't have a living'" (Berliner, 1994, p. 458). Publics provide financial support by buying records and paying admission to concerts.

Records have played a major role in the educational system of the jazz community, and many students have benefited from listening to their favorite recordings of their heroes. Records are lasting physical products of a musical activity, and represent the eighth durable benefit in Stebbins's serious leisure model. A problem arises, though, when people have purchasing power. Publics become "consumers" who are constantly looking for "good deals." The result of such economic pressures is that performers are again forced to decide whether or not to please their publics, or to focus on creativity. Sessions (1950) suggested that

We must insist, above all, on the autonomy of the artist, and resist with the greatest energy all those who, whether incited by totalitarian movements or by the

pressures of large-scale economy, would press for limitations of that autonomy. Without this complete freedom for the artist to create according to his impulses, there can be no development. Music, or any art, can in such a case only follow the law of the lowest common denominator; in providing the public with 'what it wants' it will inexorably tend to provide it with what is understood with least effort. Under such conditions, music ceases to be vital experience and becomes a mere amusement or, as totalitarian governments seem to wish, a drug. (p. 126)

Another challenge that recorded performers must face is the incessant requests that come from their audiences to play certain tunes over and over again.

Ironically, the same medium that helps to create the popularity of improvisers may also constrain their creative activities. 'Once I was standing next to Coltrane after he finished playing My Favorite Things in a club,' a renowned singer recalls. 'He told me that he was so tired of audiences requesting the tune, he was sorry he ever recorded it in the first place.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 482)

Not all audience members are a burden to jazz musicians; there are some audience members who are quite knowledgeable and who contribute positively to the jazz experience.

Knowledgeable jazz audience members are serious fans. They gain their knowledge from studying such aspects of jazz as its history and repertory and familiarizing themselves with jazz's prominent figures. Often such audience members are musicians themselves who are on the path of developing their skills and abilities. Merriam & Mack (1960) point out that

One special feature of the jazz community is the extreme identification with and participation in the occupational ideology of the jazz musician by his public. Unlike the fans, buffs, or publics of other occupational groups, the jazz musician's public contains some huge, unknown proportion of members who are former professional musicians, of amateurs of varying levels of real or fancied competence. This possibility for empathy undoubtedly helps to account for the degree of identification which welds the jazz musician and his public together into a group. (p. 211)

Others may not share a technical knowledge of jazz, but they may have a discerning ear. The informed audience member is a "listener" to the music and is not just simply "present" when the music is performed. Sessions (1950) gives an excellent treatise on the subject:

By the 'listener' I do not mean the person who simply hears music--who is present when it is performed and who, in a general way, may either enjoy or dislike it, but who is in no sense a real participant in it. To listen implies rather a real participation, a real response, a real sharing in the work of the composer and of the performer, and a greater or less degree of awareness of the individual and specific sense of the music performed. For the listener, in this sense, music is no longer an incident or an adjunct but an independent and self-sufficient medium of expression. His ideal aim is to apprehend to the fullest and most complete possible extent the musical utterance of the composer as the performer delivers it to him. (pp. 7-8)

"Knowledgeable audience members respond to exceptional improvisations with bursts of applause, shouts of praise, and whistle calls. Some join in the delineation of the beat by swaying, nodding, finger snapping and--when the style of jazz, the

occasion, or room permits it--dancing" (Berliner, 1994, p. 456).

Informed audience members have the ability to understand the music and receive its full message. "In the metaphor's broadest sense, audience members enter into and broaden the base of the conversation, responding to the musical statements of band members as if they were literally speaking with them"

(Berliner, 1994, p. 468). Audience members can influence the actual musical performance as evidenced in the following story:

At the Jazz Showcase one night, a renowned pianist opened his first set before a small audience that listened politely at times but generally carried on a patter of conversation. The pianist, too, seemed distracted, his attention drawn from the keyboard by periodic bursts of laughter in the audience. At times, as he improvised, he would exchange brief glances with anonymous audience members seated around the room. Throughout the set, he seemed to be holding himself back, playing perfunctorily. His solos were relatively short, and he played many compositions.

By the third set of the evening, however, a fundamental transformation had occurred. The club filled to capacity. Fellow musicians in the audience had introduced themselves to the pianist in between sets, and as listeners they were, as the saying goes, hanging on his every note. The pianist, in turn, had warmed up and committed himself fully to the performance. Arched over the keyboard, he never raised his eyes from his instrument, nor paused to wipe the sweat from his brow. His improvisations were long, intricate, intense. Another artist in the audience who had remained in the club from the first set expressed his astonishment: 'I can't believe my ears. He's like a completely different musician. I have never heard playing like this before!' (Berliner, 1994, pp. 472-473)

Performers can gain great strength from knowledgeable audiences and can actually raise their playing to higher levels as a result of positive feedback from their audiences. (I will discuss this type of optimal experience in the next chapter.) It is important to note that the professional-amateur-public relationship is extremely vital in the jazz community.

Stebbins (1992) discussed nine attributes that can be connected with amateurs and professionals. I would suggest that there is sufficient evidence in the jazz literature to support these attributes.

The first attribute is that professionals and amateurs turn out unstandardized products and services. These products and services are unique in that they are different each time. The jazz musician thrives on uniqueness and always strives to improvise in a new and fresh manner each and every time; a good jazz artist will never play a solo exactly the same way twice.

Secondly, professionals and amateurs are well versed in an exclusive body of specialized theoretical knowledge and, at times, technique. Because of the previously mentioned need jazz musicians have for technical competency, it is obvious that they emulate this second attribute.

A third attribute is that professionals and amateurs have a strong sense of identity with their colleagues and a resulting sense of community. The jazz community is amazingly tolerant and accepting of one another. Merriam & Mack

(1960) suggest that a noticeable "characteristic of the jazz community is the almost total lack of prejudice on the basis of race, religion, ethnic origin, etc. There is probably less prejudice of this sort in the jazz community than in any other segment of American society" (p. 219).

Fourthly, professionals and amateurs master a generalized cultural tradition associated with their line of work. Connecting with the rich jazz culture is essential for jazz musicians. They must know the development and history of the music, understand who the great innovators were and be able to have a comfortable rapport with traditional jazz songs.

The fifth attribute is the institutionalized means of formally or consensually validating the adequacy of training and trained individuals. I mentioned briefly the role of the jam session in validating a young musician's progress. I will develop an analysis of the jam session in chapter four, but the jam session is one method of validating the adequacy of training in individuals. On the group level, a band may know that they have "arrived" if invited to play at prestigious and famous jazz clubs.

Attribute number six indicates that professionals and amateurs would perform their chosen work, whether they would be paid or not. Many jazz musicians would love to be paid to play jazz, but for the most part, they are not paid to play jazz, so they really do perform their craft because they love to do so.

The seventh attribute calls for professionals and amateurs being recognized by their publics for their special authority based on their knowledge, technique, and experience. Informed publics demonstrate a certain respect and awe for knowledgeable and talented jazz musicians. Attribute eight involves the suggestion that professional services and products provide an avenue for the attainment of certain important social values. Musicians who successfully perform in concerts and on records often receive preferential treatment from fans and society in general.

That professional and amateur work is self-regulated is the ninth attribute. Except in cases where audiences are unsympathetic, jazz musicians have a tremendous amount of freedom to explore, create and express themselves in their improvisations.

SUMMARY

I began this chapter by defining the word jazz and explicating the elements of jazz, including improvisation and swing. I then gave examples from the jazz literature which supported the proposition that jazz is a form of serious leisure. I would argue that jazz is an excellent example of serious leisure. I would further argue that jazz is also an excellent example of play, and that Stebbins's hesitancy to include play in serious leisure can be challenged using jazz as the metaphor. In

chapter two I examined play and developed a concept of play. Chapter four will provide an examination of jazz as it relates to play.

CHAPTER FOUR

In chapter two I examined the play concept and proposed a definition of play that included the following six elements: (1) exemplifying childlike creativity, (2) occurring in a special place, (3) involving competition, (4) playing a musical instrument as a form of play, (5) element of seriousness, and (6) seeking optimal arousal in play. The purpose of this chapter is to examine examples in the jazz literature that support these six play elements.

CHILDLIKE CREATIVITY

The art of improvising requires spontaneity, imagination and creativity. In chapter two it was mentioned that children have the ability to be creative, spontaneous and imaginative and that unfortunately, many adults are socialized into putting away the child. Aebersold (1992, p. 10), a jazz educator, suggested that jazz musicians ought to "resurrect the child singer" within themselves and that musicians need to "become a child" when they play music. If a child is given a toy, he/she will play with it and experiment with all of the possible ways of manipulating it. Some jazz musicians consider their instruments to be toys, and feel that when they are playing their instruments, they are playing with their "toys".

Eric Allan Dolphy Jr. was born in Los Angeles, California, on 20 June 1928, the only child of Sadie and Eric Dolphy Sr., who are of West Indian ancestry. His parents relate that by the age of two his favorite activities were

listening to music and reading picture storybooks. The toys of his preference were horns and drums, which he played incessantly. (Simosko & Tepperman, 1974, p. 27)

Wynton recalls. Having heard Clifford Brown 'play all those fast runs, I used to really practice Clarke trumpet exercises all day long so that I could play fast. That's all I wanted to do. I was like a child with a toy,' he recalls with laughter. (Berliner, 1994, p. 246)

The prowess of some artists is legendary in this regard. Their dexterity and physical adaptability permit them to manipulate instruments as if they were 'toys.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 246)

Just as jazz musicians view their instruments as toys, jazz music also provides musicians a superb forum for expressing and exploring childlike happiness.

Walton (1972) quotes a passage from Hermann Hesse's "Steppenwolf" referring to jazz as being imbued with a mood of childlike happiness:

From a dance-hall there met me as I passed by the strains of lively jazz music, hot and raw as the steam of raw flesh. I stopped a moment. This kind of music, much as I detested it, had always had a secret charm for me. It was repugnant to me, and yet ten times preferable to all the academic music of the day. For me too, its raw and savage gaiety reached an underworld of instinct and breathed a simple, honest sensuality...and this music had the merit of a great sincerity. Amiably and unblushingly negroid, it had the mood of childlike happiness. There was something of the nigger in it, something of the American, who with all his strength seems so boyishly fresh and childlike to us Europeans. (pp. 35-36)

Several musicians considered their involvement with jazz as being "play". "For more than fifty years, Ellington worked almost fifty-two weeks of each year. Music was his vocation and avocation, his work and play" (Morgenstern, 1976, p. 102). Another working musician explained his attitude towards his job as being play:

It was a dance band that liked to play anything. We didn't choose any one number to play well. We had the sort of band that, when we played a number, we all put our hearts in it. Of course that's why we could play so well. And it wasn't work for us, in those days, to play. Nobody took the job as work. We took it as play, and we loved it. (Gara, 1992, p. 35)

Bethell (1977) shares the story of a young musician who considered his involvement in music as play:

When work was plentiful George was earning over \$100 a week on the docks, but it wasn't just the money he like. 'I worked there more because I could get off when I wanted,' he said. 'I'd take my cap, and I've have my shirt, and I had my bicycle. When 12 o'clock came I'd change my shirt, put my band cap on, and go play a funeral. I was only getting two and a half dollars for the funeral, and at the docks I was making nothing under \$18 a day. So I was losing money, but I loved to play.' The sight of him riding off on his bike was a source of amusement to his fellow workers. 'Aw, look at the musician,' he would hear them calling as he rode away. (Bethell, 1977, p. 118)

Sometimes musicians working on commercial jobs did not consider the "gig" or "dance" to be their play. The public they were working for had completed their

workday, and were recreating and playing as the musician worked. Cameron (1954) recognized that the jazz musician "is isolated from persons in general society in several important ways. His time is organized differently--he sleeps while they work, works while they play, and plays while they sleep" (Cameron, 1954, p. 180). Jazz musicians are most likely to experience play in the late hours of the "jam session".

JAM SESSIONS

Jam sessions provide jazz musicians unparalleled opportunities for developing their craft as proficient improvisors. Typically jam sessions are held "after hours" in secluded locations where only the informed musicians can find them. Usually there is a rhythm section playing with instrumentalists being invited to "sit in". There is often a strong competitive element between musicians as they try to outlast each other in terms of endurance, creativity and imagination. It is in the jam session where musicians are free to play who they really are; to truly express their inner feelings.

Jam sessions occur in specially designated locations, away from the public, where only jazz musicians can find them. "Jazzmen deliberately attempt to exclude the general public from the session, and this is facilitated by the 'after-hours' and 'off-limits' setting of the session" (Cameron, 1954, p. 178). There are

several reasons for this planned secludedness. First of all, in the jam session, the jazz musician is freer from the constraints placed on him/her from the paying customer. It is in the setting of the jam session where the jazz musician most meaningfully lives. Another reason that audiences are discouraged from attending jam sessions is because of the hefty fines that could be levied against jazz musicians and club owners by the musicians' union. DeVeaux (1997) explained the importance of secluding jam sessions:

Jam sessions were never intended to be public spectacles. They were physically and temporally separate, usually taking place late at night in out-of-the way places known only to the cognoscenti. They were also carefully set apart from the monetary economy. Even the most highly paid professionals played for free or for the simple barter of food and drink. Precisely because of this, jamming was officially condemned by the musicians' union, whose firmest rule was that any performance must be remunerated at the union-mandated minimum wage. Jamming was tolerated only to the extent that it could be demonstrated to be a strictly internal affair--for the private pleasure of musicians, carefully concealed from the general public. (DeVeaux, 1997, pp.203-204)

Jam sessions represent the above mentioned second element of play: occurring in special places. I will next examine how the competitive element of play began and has since continued to be demonstrated in the jam session.

Early examples of jam sessions are found in New Orleans at the turn of the 20th century (Blesh, 1946; Morgenstern, 1976). It was not uncommon for musicians to play for weekend dances, and in order to advertise the upcoming

events, musicians would ride around town in open wagons playing their instruments for all to hear. "When the paths of two such wagons crossed, the rival bands would lock horns and play at each other, so the people could judge which was better. In that custom, the proudly competitive tradition of the jam session was born" (Morgenstern, 1976, p. 24).

The main focus in jam sessions was, and is, competition. Other terms used in association with jam sessions are "cutting" and "carving", suggesting hand-to-hand combat. As previously mentioned in chapter two, competition provides rivals opportunities for improvement. Berliner, (1994) quoting Tommy Turrentine stated:

Rivalry among the participants added spark to an already charged atmosphere. 'During that time, there was somewhat of a mutual respect among the musicians, and they had cutting sessions. They would say, 'I am going to blow so and so out.' It wasn't with malice. It was no put-down; it was just friendly competition.' Turrentine goes on to describe actual events. 'Maybe two tenor players would get up; maybe there would be about seven horn players on the bandstand. Everybody had the sense to know that saxophones was going to hang up there tonight--they was going to be blowing at each other--so we all got off the bandstand and let them have it. Maybe the next night, two trumpet players would be getting up there at each other; then there would be drummers. I have seen it many times. It was healthy really, just keeping everybody on their toes.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 44)

During the 1930's, Kansas City, under the rule of the corrupt political leader Tom Pendergast, was a thriving hot spot for carving competitions. Russell (1973)

claimed that "there has been no city where the jam session was so popular and was engaged in with such enthusiasm and with such fierce competitive spirit by so many jazzmen and at so many locales as in Kansas City during the Pendergast years" (p. 25). It was in Kansas City where Charlie Parker embarked on his illustrious career by engaging in jam sessions.

Play includes competition, and nowhere is competition more evident than in the jam session. Another element of play identified in the jam session is seriousness, or earnestness. It is in the jam session where musicians are able to determine their place among fellow musicians and also secure employment.

Consider the earnestness a newcomer experiences when first attempting to "sit in":

The first three of four tunes the newcomer plays constitute a period of trial and initiation. He is tense and exhilarated because he knows all the others are watching and listening although they do not appear to be doing so. Both as a gesture of politeness and as a test, he is asked what he would like to play and perhaps in what key. His choice is a password, for to establish himself properly in their eyes he must choose one of about a thousand 'standard' jam tunes, for each of which there are only a few traditional keys. Should he name some tune which is unaccepted, he will be told curtly, 'We don't know it.' (A lie!) 'Let's play Rose Room.' This being the case, he had better play Rose Room, or whatever, in their key, and play it well. (Cameron, 1954, p. 178)

In jam sessions musicians "pay their dues". Charlie Parker's experience at the Reno Club in Kansas City is a good example of a young musician paying his dues.

"Jam sessions provide a proving ground for upwardly mobile individuals within

the jazz community" (Stebbins, 1968, p. 332). Berliner (1994) highlighted an experience the, then unemployed, Art Farmer had with band leader Lionel Hampton:

When Lionel Hampton came to town, Farmer met Quincy Jones and some other members of the band at a jam session. They were the ones who told him that Hampton was looking for a trumpet player. 'I went around to the next gig, and we had a little session. That's the way you got the gig. You didn't just sit down and play the parts, you know.' Hampton would suggest difficult compositions like 'All God's Children' and require the hopeful young artists to improvise on them. 'If you did well, he'd say, 'All right. You got the gig.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 47)

The jam session proceeds with earnestness and seriousness, and musicians, even though they are playing, approach the jam session in a very serious manner. It is in the jam session where musicians demonstrate to fellow musicians all of the hard work and effort that they have put into their craft. It is in the jam session where musicians can match skill level with the level and challenge of the experience. If the musician's skills match the challenge, there is the opportunity for experiencing an optimal experience.

OPTIMAL EXPERIENCE

An underlying assumption of contemporary play theories is the human need for optimal arousal. Modern scholar Csikszentmihalyi (1976) posited that people seek to engage in activities that are both challenging and rewarding. Reaching a

state of playfulness can occur "whenever a person is in optimal interaction with his environment" (p. 9). Csikszentmihalyi considers such optimal interactions "peak" experiences and defines this state of playfulness as "flow". People experience the state of flow when they are acting in total involvement with their activities. An earlier play scholar posited that playing musical instruments falls under the heading of play and has the ability of transporting "audience and performers alike out of `ordinary' life into a sphere of gladness and serenity. In other words, it `enchants' and `enraptures' them" (Huizinga, 1955, p. 42). Huizinga further suggested that play, when approached with utmost seriousness and devotion, completely abolishes that troublesome "only" feeling for participants. Collective play has the potential of providing participants "the feeling of being apart together in an exceptional situation of sharing something important, of mutually withdrawing from the rest of the world and rejecting the usual norms" (Huizinga, 1955, p. 12). According to Huizinga then, "play is not `ordinary' or `real' life. It is rather a stepping out of `real' life into a temporary shpere of activity with a disposition all of its own" (p. 8). I would suggest that jazz is the ultimate backdrop for the enactment of optimal arousal, peak experience and flow.

It is the goal of every jazz musician to be able to express themselves completely and freely through their instruments (Cameron, 1954). In order to achieve this lofty goal, musicians must dedicate a tremendous amount of time and

energy in disciplined practice. I outlined, in chapter three, the laborious processes jazz musicians must go through in order to reach the adequate levels of proficiency required for spontaneous improvisation. Jazz musicians often call their instruments "axes", and practicing is appropriately called "woodshedding". Successful graduates from the woodshed are fully equipped and ready to participate in the most beautiful of dances. With any luck, the eager jazz musician will receive an invitation to the ball, the "woodchopper's ball". The stage is set. The rhythm section is in place. Musicians gather with their instruments, each fervently anticipating what lies ahead. Perhaps "it" will happen tonight. But what is "it"? Musicians know when "it" is happening, but have difficulty finding words to describe "it". Definitional attempts are made, including words like "inspiration", "miracle", "euphoric", "warm", "ecstasy", "fulfilling", "divine" and "transcendent". "It" is what jazz musicians live for and constantly seek to experience. I will now present examples from the jazz literature that will help elucidate the above mentioned experience.

I mentioned in the previous chapter that the first dimension of swing is the establishment of a beat. Swing, defined as playing around on top of the beat, cannot happen without the foundation of a solid and steady beat. Just as a house, that is built on a shaky foundation, may fall, even so, a jazz group will not experience swing in the absence of a noticeable beat. Once a beat is established, it

behooves the musicians to be connected with that beat. Each participant must unhesitatingly know where the beat is if they expect to journey to higher ground.

Among all the challenges a group faces, one that is extremely subtle yet fundamental to its travels is a feature of group interaction that requires the negotiation of a shared sense of the beat, known, in its most successful realization, as striking a groove. Incorporating the connotations of stability, intensity, and swing, the groove provides the basis for 'everything to come together in complete accord.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 349)

When a jazz group locks into a groove, musicians are then free to enter into a whole other realm. Berliner (1994) provides excellent insights into this phenomenon:

Typically, the highest points of improvisation occur when group members strike a groove together, defining and maintaining a solid rhythmic ground for their musical explorations. 'When you find a group that is rhythmically attuned to one another, it's the most beautiful thing that you would ever want to hear in your life' (BH). 'Every jazz musician wants to be locked in that groove where you can't escape the tempo,' Franklin Gordon declares. 'You're locked in so comfortably that there's no way you can break outside of it, and everyone's locked in there together. It doesn't happen to groups every single night, even though they may be swinging on every single tune. But at some point when the band is playing and everyone gets locked in together, it's special for the musicians and for the aware, conscientious listener. These are the magical moments, the best moments in jazz.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 338)

When jazz musicians reach this optimal rhythmic state, they are free to stretch their "musical wings" and soar to unexpected improvisational heights.

"Barry Harris characterizes the soloist's optimum state as 'calm but alert, ready to go with any possibility'" (Berliner, 1994, p. 219). Berliner (1994) quotes another musician, Fred Hersch, as saying:

'I was playing this week, and I played this technical stuff that I couldn't sit down and play now--even if I could practice it for eight hours. At that moment, the music was happening. Everything just fell into place in my hands and in my head. I felt I was expressing something with everything I played. When I'm playing well, there's a certain freedom of just being able to do anything, really.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 217)

All the hours of hard work begin to pay off for the jazz improviser when he/she is able to immediately express him/herself through his/her instrument:

Under the soloist's extraordinary powers of concentration, the singing and visualizing aspects of the mind attain a perfect unity of conception with the body. The artist becomes intensely focused on thoughts in the language of jazz and as they come--one upon the other--they are articulated as instantly as conceived. No lead time separates conception from expression, and the gap between intention and realization disappears. Some illuminate this experience with the metaphor of dance in its broadest sense. When Curtis fuller gets 'caught up' in the music, he says, 'I dance with it. That's my emotional state when I play. That's my feeling of expressing my total self in the music.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 217)

With the groove solidly in place, the dance progresses from the individual to the group. "Proceeding freely, and yet systematically, this music phrases fresh, hot utterances: the cliché has no place in it. Individual inspiration feeds on that of the group, expands to unheard-of limits; a state of ecstasy seizes the band wherein collective miracles happen" (Blesh, 1946, p. 240). It is at this point, the point of departure onto a higher plane, that musicians struggle to find words to adequately express what they are feeling. Berliner (1994) quotes Leroy Williams as saying

It's a beautiful, floating feeling that is hard to describe in words. It's a wonderful feeling, almost like getting out of your body. I never know when it's going to happen, but when everybody is there and it happens, it really happens. It's almost like there's a oneness. You and your instrument are one, there's no separation. And it's like a oneness with the music. It's like you're in tune with the universe. (Berliner, 1994, p. 393)

Being lifted towards heaven is a marvelous and sacred experience. Many musicians describe the miracle of collective improvisation in religious terms.

Following are several examples:

For Lee Kinitz, 'relating fully to every sound that everyone is making not only keeps the improvising spirit going, but makes the experience complete. To hear it all simultaneously is one of the most divine experiences that you can have. (Berliner, 1994, p. 389)

The effect is to dissolve the boundaries that normally separate musical imaginations, sensitizing artists to the 'telepathic' receptivity mentioned earlier, thereby creating a deeply satisfying sense of unity within the group. 'I don't know if I can describe it,' Melba Liston says,

'but I know it when I feel it. Just one night, everybody can feel what each other is thinking and everything. You breathe together, you swell together, you just do everything together, and a different aura comes over the room.' (Berliner, 1994, p. 392)

Finally, at the highest level are extraordinary transcendental experiences in which players feel, if only momentarily, 'in touch with the big picture.' Entering into another world of awareness and sensitivity, they feel a deep sense of reverence for 'all living things.' In spiritual communion, they merge together in the shine of a universal life force--timeless, peaceful, yet energizing and euphoric. (Berliner, 1994, p. 498)

Reinforcing such perspectives are yet other transcendental aspects of improvisation, the occasional out-of-the-body impressions and the sense of being part of a universal life force much larger than oneself. This occurs during moments when the conceptual boundaries between players disappear as they experience musical invention collectively, receiving ideas from outside themselves. The humility that envelops artists in the grip of such awe-inspiring aspects of creativity continually renews their sensitivity to life's spiritual qualities and great mysteries. They ask: What is the human imagination? Where do ideas actually come from?

Vladimir Simosko (1974) gave an excellent synopsis of the jazz musician's shared experience:

In the jazz group, therefore, we are confronted with the instant and efficient externalization of the moment's precise feelings and ideas, expressed intact in a coordinated physical and spiritual discipline involving intimate interaction among all members of the

group. It is not merely a collaboration, but a shared experience. If all participants bring to the act of creation adequate spiritual resources, and psychologically are sufficiently attuned to each other, so that they can respond and participate fully, the success and impact of the encounter is assured. (Simosko & Tepperman, 1974, p. 5)

Ulanov, (1972) another jazz scholar, used the words "intuition" and "tension" to describe "individual" and "collective" improvisation.

In one of his most lucid passages Aristotle explains that intuition occurs when the mind is in direct contact with itself, when the subject of thought and the thinking process are identical, without any external object as a middle term. This seems to me an excellent description of intuition as its enormous constructive force is felt by the jazz musician. Carrying this description along to the realm of collective improvisation, one may say that tension, in the particular sense in which I am using the word, occurs when one musician's mind is in direct contact with another's--and perhaps another's, and still another's.

When skilled jazzmen can summon up fresh and profound ideas by using their intuitive resources, and can, beyond their individual contributions, contact the intuitive resources of their colleagues, you get that highly agreeable tension, that motion of minds expressed through instruments or human voices, which is first-rate jazz. (Ulanov, 1972, p. 343)

Earlier I said that I would return to a discussion of time as it relates to jazz.

Many musicians explain that when they are in the throes of creation, they lose all sense of time. What they are referring to is "clock-time", or the objective passage of time. Such experiences of timelessness relate to the concept of flow and

subjective leisure. It is ironic that a very steady beat, or meter, is the first dimension of swing, and that musicians need to be linked to this beat in order to swing. Musicians must always be aware of time, meaning musical time, in order to swing. Therefore, jazz musicians may simultaneously experience timelessness and time awareness.

I mentioned in chapter three that swing was the musical happenings occurring above the beat. I would propose that the above mentioned experiences of collective improvisation typify swing. Because of the difficulty musicians and critics have in defining collective improvisation, it is no wonder jazz scholars struggle with defining swing. It is true: to understand and appreciate swing, one must experience it.

For those who are engaged in swing, there is a feeling of never wanting to come out of it. Due to the elevating nature of the shared experience, when it is all over, musicians experience a let down. Often musicians will linger and bask in the aura that remains from the cherished event. Hence, it is understandable that jazz musicians would seek for invitations to participate in jam sessions, or gigs, that have the potential for producing what Cameron (1954) calls "the supreme emotional experience for the jazzman" (p. 179). That is what "it" is.

SUMMARY

I began this chapter by delineating a concept of play that included six elements. I then examined the literature on jazz, extracting examples that supported and represented the six elements of play. I would suggest that jazz satisfies each of the six elements of play. I would further posit that jazz provides an excellent example of play.

CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this thesis, I set the stage for the work that would follow. I explained that in 1974, Robert Stebbins conducted an ethnographic study of amateur classical musicians, and wrote up the results of his study in a book he entitled Amateurs, Professionals and Serious Leisure. Stebbins coined the term "serious leisure" and defined it as "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of its special skills and knowledge" (1992, p. 3). Stebbins suggested that as classical musicians began to systematically acquire skills and knowledge through practise and study, they became more proficient, experienced and capable of careers. On the other hand, inexperienced musicians (those who did not systematically pursue their craft) remained players and merely "played" at being musicians. Musicians at or between these two polar extremes could be ranked by degrees of involvement. As musicians rehearsed and practised, their level of commitment increased, and they became more experienced; the inexperienced musicians, alternatively, remained players. According to Stebbins, the play element diminished as musicians became more committed to their pursuit, and, consequently, he posited that "the element of play is rarely found in serious leisure" (1992, p. 6). At that point, I questioned: But what is Stebbins's conception of play? Why does the element of play not remain a

part of serious leisure? What are the defining characteristics of play that would differentiate it from what occurs in a non-serious as opposed to serious leisure pursuits? As other musicians (such as jazz musicians) become more proficient at their craft, do they also lose their ability to play? The purpose of this thesis was to examine and extend Stebbins's (1992) concept of serious leisure by explicating the improvisatory nature of jazz and arguing that Stebbins's concept of play does not allow for pursuits, such as jazz, to be considered serious leisure.

In chapter one I examined the leisure construct. I traced the developments of leisure and found that leisure scholars have generally grouped leisure into the following four categories: (1) leisure as an activity, (2) as not work but free time, (3) as freedom of choice, and (4) as a state of mind. I then studied Stebbins's casual leisure construct and contrasted it with Stebbins's serious leisure construct. Inherent in Stebbins's argument was the fact that play was the first characteristic of the casual leisure construct and that play was rarely found in serious leisure pursuits. It was this statement about play rarely being found in serious leisure pursuits, that was the genesis of this thesis. Nowhere in his book Amateurs, Professionals and Serious Leisure did Stebbins define what he meant by the word play. I argued that his lack of definitional clarity caused confusing and fuzzy thinking.

In chapter two, I examined the concept of play. I found that there were many ways to define play, and in order to argue that play can be a part of serious leisure, I developed a definition of play that included the following six elements: (1) exemplifying childlike creativity, (2) taking place in a special area, (3) including competition, (4) playing a musical instrument, (5) involving seriousness, and (6) epitomizing optimal arousal.

In chapter three I explored the literature on jazz and compared it with Stebbins's serious leisure construct. I found that jazz met all of the criteria of serious leisure and I posited that jazz is indeed a serious leisure pursuit. In chapter four I compared jazz with play and found that jazz epitomizes play.

I would like to suggest that Robert Stebbins's serious leisure model has a significant flaw. The flaw is found in his statement that "the element of play is rarely found in serious leisure" (Stebbins, 1992, p. 6). Using jazz as my example, I have found that play can be found in serious leisure pursuits. One is left to ponder: either jazz is one of the rare examples that Robert Stebbins was referring to, or, there is a need to extend Stebbins's model to include jazz, and any other pursuits that typify both serious leisure and play.

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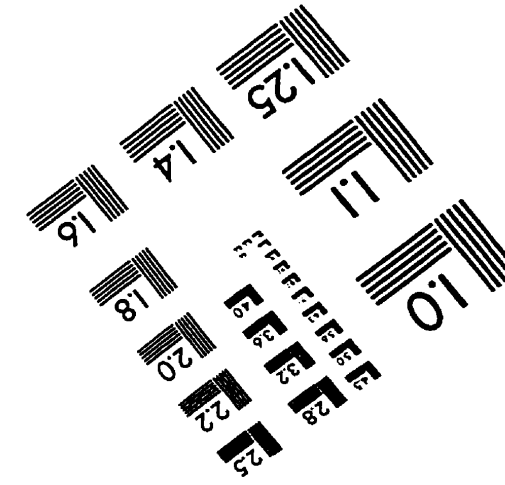
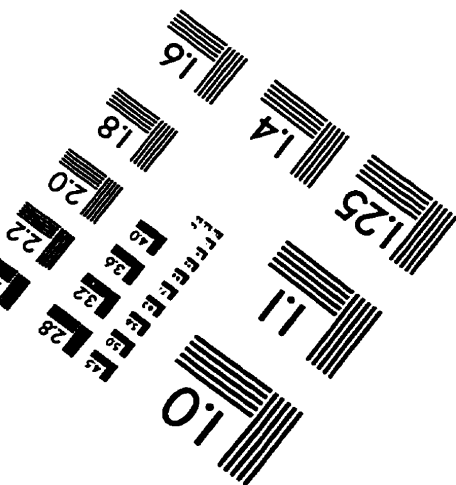
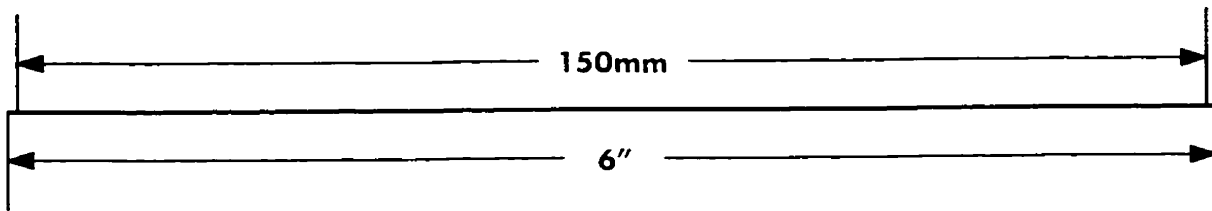
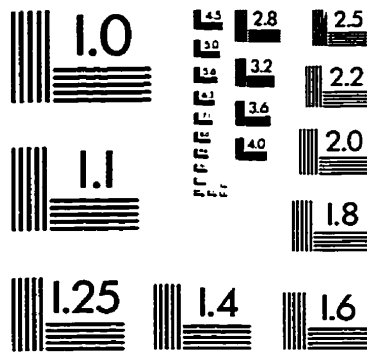
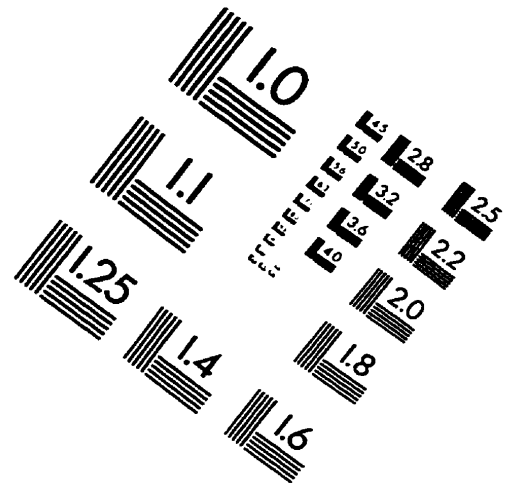
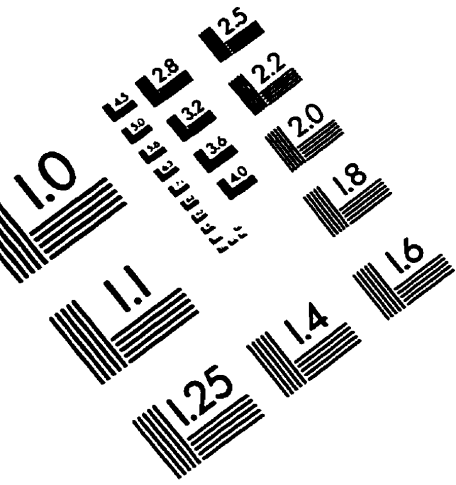
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