

~~03075~~ 1008

~~41~~

~~62~~

~~62~~ R234

096

~~88~~ 10

~~62~~ R

16 R

~~249~~

~~35~~

R052

~~15~~ 154

15 R

10 R183

15329

ABSTRACT

A SYSTEMS VIEW OF LEISURE'S ROLE IN THE SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEM

By

Joseph David Stephansky

A purpose for leisure in the operation and maintenance of society is sought. A model of the sociocultural system is used to identify the necessary processes for the operation of a functional social system; i.e., a social system which allows its members to reach what they see as adequate satisfaction of their needs and desires. Two sets of processes are necessary: structure maintaining processes, which temporarily preserve interaction patterns in order to give some regularity and predictability to the world, and structure changing forces, which allow the system to adapt to changing conditions, to better let the system fulfill the needs of its members.

It is contended that leisure plays an important role in the structure changing processes; leisure contributes not only to the survival of a functional sociocultural system, but also to its daily operation. Social structure is an event structure composed of interaction patterns.

At any one point in time, the interaction patterns are determined by the set of rules used by the members of society. Social rules change through deviance. Deviance means not only finding present rules inadequate to handle a situation and violating them, but also reinterpretation and construction of new rules to guide action.

Leisure contributes to the rule change process in two ways. First, as a state of mind characterized by a feeling of a lack of constraint on behaviors, leisure leads to a higher probability of existing rules not being called to mind or being held irrelevant in a particular interactional situation, thereby affecting the analogizing process to a new rule meaning. Secondly, observers of public rule use are likely to judge intentions (i.e., whether the rule use represents a threat or not) based on whether the rule user appears at leisure or not. The subsequent actions of the observers will affect the continued use of the rule in public, its visibility to other groups, and the possibility other groups may come to use the same rule in facing similar interactional situations. Leisure's importance is in the promotion of rule change and the spread of new rule and meaning use throughout the sociocultural system.

A SYSTEMS VIEW OF LEISURE'S ROLE IN THE
SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEM

By

Joseph David Stephansky

A THESIS

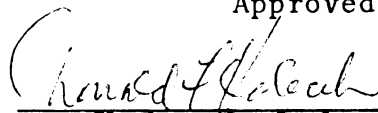
Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

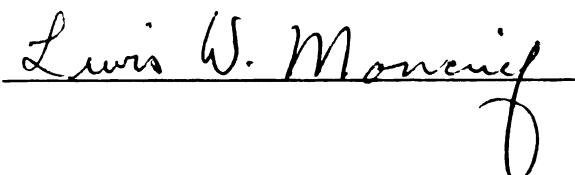
Department of Park and Recreation Resources

1976

Approved



Chairman of the Committee



This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Lynn, who supports me in all the ways I decide to use my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES.....	iv
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. PROBLEMS IN APPLYING THE CYBERNETIC MODEL.	4
III. LEISURE SYSTEM OBJECTIVES.....	8
IV. THE RULES.....	25
V. THE PROCESS OF CHANGE.....	33
VI. INFLUENCES OF LEISURE IN THE SOCIO- CULTURAL SYSTEM.....	47
VII. SUMMARY.....	80
LIST OF REFERENCES.....	86

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Individual Facing a Rule Use Decision.....	62
2. Group Facing a Rule Use Decision.....	65
3. Public Reactions to New Rule Construction Use.....	71

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Modern systems theory has been applied in a wide variety of fields and disciplines, helping to support its basic tenet: there are properties of systems that will always apply no matter what components constitute the system. These properties stem from the relationships present rather than from any characteristics of the components individually. The common phrase is "The whole is more than the sum of the parts". Emphasis is on organization. Interactions, processes, and purposes are stressed rather than structure and one-way cause-effect linkages. Systems thinking has great potential for examining the complex interactional processes occurring in society, within which leisure may play a part.

Most individuals will recognize the value of leisure for themselves. There may also, however, be a value of leisure beyond the sum of these individual benefits, a purpose leisure may have for the operation and maintenance of society. This possible purpose will be sought, and the processes involved will be examined, within a loose framework of systems thinking.

A level of analysis must be chosen, but this choice

is difficult. Hierarchies of systems exist. Each level in the hierarchy has different decision makers, each decision maker seeing the system with different components, resources, and fixed constraints. The nature of the question (a purpose for leisure in society's operation), however, eliminates any choice of intermediate levels. The highest possible level in the hierarchy must be examined. In order to examine leisure's role in society, a model of society's operation is necessary. It should explain the operation and maintenance of the social system in terms of processes within which leisure may play a part. One all-encompassing system of human relationships and interaction will be used, described by Walter Buckley in Sociology and Modern Systems Theory. He calls this system the sociocultural system. In order to examine the societal purpose or value of leisure, a leisure system is also assumed. The components and boundaries of this system cannot be determined, nor is it important to do so at this point. It is important that the leisure system is a subsystem of the sociocultural system, so in some way the leisure system objectives must be in line with and help to achieve the overall objectives of the sociocultural system. The leisure system may not be the immediate subsystem; more systems could be postulated as lying between them. However, purposes and processes are traceable.

Having chosen this level for analysis (i.e., that of

the sociocultural system which sets at the top of the hierarchy of systems), a problem arises in taking the next step. The most common model for systems analysis cannot be used; that is, the cybernetic model. The problems involved in its use and the type of analysis that can be done instead will be examined before turning to consideration of alternative objectives for the leisure system as a subsystem of the sociocultural system.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS IN APPLYING THE CYBERNETIC MODEL

The basic systems analysis model, where planning and goal directed behavior are involved, is a cybernetic model.

A simplified description of this model is:

1. The basic objective of the system is determined, various ways of achieving it are considered, and measures of performance of the system are developed.
2. Some action is taken that will in some way affect the system, its environment, or both.
3. Information about the effects of the action are fed back into the system at some point, and tested against the objective.
4. If the objective has not been met, further action is taken. This may be more output similar to the first, development of a new test more appropriate to the objective or to the information available, or even a reformulation of the basic system objective.

This type of systems analysis has obvious advantages and uses. It has been most effectively applied in business and industry where there are intentional and explicitly stated objectives and goals. Nowhere, however, is the general objective of leisure for society, or the objectives of the sociocultural system in general, explicitly stated. The major difficulties in applying the model at this level are:

1. Identification of the decision maker
2. Problems of communication and identification of effects for feedback
3. Measures of performance

In analyzing a system, Churchman insists that one central decision maker must be identified.¹ Each possible decision maker, however, will have different resources available for use and different sets of fixed constraints, making the boundaries (and hence the components) different for each. In effect, there are as many systems on each level as decision makers. One decision maker must be selected. Buckley asks, however,

Is there a control center in society that can validly be taken as a unified focus of societal goal decisions that alone have significant effects on the state of the system or its environment?²

Since there obviously is not, either for society or for the leisure system, in order to apply the cybernetic model to analyze these systems, all possible decision makers and their joint effects on the system must be shown. Even if this were to be achieved on the scale necessary, Buckley asks whether we can assume that

...the main output into a social system always or even usually stems from central decision centers in the first place. (He also raises the problem of what is)...the role of planned, purposeful goal decisions relative to the aggregate of large numbers

¹C. West Churchman, The Systems Approach (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1968), p. 50.

²Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 174.

of individual and group goal decisions that may be more determinative of the state of the system at any time.³

Even assuming a centralized control of decision making exists, problems of bureaucracy will occur. Output of rules or orders by one group would be applied by other groups (for example, laws passed by the U.S. Congress). As communication lines became very long (as they would have to be to cover a sociocultural system), there would be increased chance of mis- and re-interpretation of the original output from the top. It would become impossible to determine whether a deviation from the desired state was caused by the original output or by changes occurring along the way to execution. Feedback into the system of information about effects would not be a good guide to further action. (Information feedback is most successful where there are quantitative measures of performance; these are absent at this level.)

Since this step by step systems analysis is impossible at the sociocultural level, the system must be examined in an idealized, non-quantitative form. The processes, interactions, and purposes involved will be the focus of attention, rather than traditional structures, institutions, organizations, and their output; this is the heart of systems thinking. Empirical evidence to support conclusions is therefore lacking, but an examination of

³Buckley, pp. 174-175.

this type may help to give some general understanding of the basic systemic processes at work.

The leisure system is a subsystem of the socio-cultural system. An objective for the leisure system is sought which supports the objectives of the sociocultural system. In the next section, some alternative objectives for the leisure system will be examined, and their possible relationships to the sociocultural system's objectives will be considered.

CHAPTER III

LEISURE SYSTEM OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the leisure system will be concerned primarily with the group rather than with the individual. Some current viewpoints stress leisure (or recreation) as the experience of an individual before, during, and after engaging in an activity.⁴ Although leisure will be considered as an experience or state of mind, the concern here is with the social meaning of leisure. Society is a system that has irreducible properties; it is more than the sum of the individual members. Buckley points out that

...society's individuals are not discrete....The behaving individual--the psychological person--is essentially an organization that is developed and maintained only in and through a continually ongoing symbolic interchange with other persons.⁵

Even individual fulfillment may be seen as a social phenomenon. Ervin Laszlo finds fulfillment would not only mean achieving man's potential biologically, but also as a sociocultural being. A major part of fulfillment

⁴B.L. Driver and S. Ross Tocher, "Towards a Behavioral Interpretation of Recreation Engagements, with Implications for Planning," Elements of Outdoor Recreation Planning, B.L. Driver, ed. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1970), pp. 9-28.

⁵Buckley, p. 44.

will be man's role in society and how he fills it; human fulfillment is impossible without interaction in society.⁶

Man is not a single piece of flesh. The things he does and the experiences he has will in turn affect the others around him. It is often argued that there are benefits for society in the existence of an educational system beyond those accruing directly to the individual so benefited (although there is argument over how much of the bill he should pay). There could also easily be benefits for society as a whole from the leisure system's operation beyond individual benefits. The value of leisure for society may indeed be more than the sum of the individual benefits.

To examine how the leisure system objectives will support the sociocultural system objectives, it is necessary to know the objectives of the larger system. These, however, are very difficult to determine. There are so many possibilities it seems impossible to rank them. Again, as in choosing the societal level of analysis, intermediate level possibilities must be ignored in favor of going to the top. It may be desirable to find the main objective of the system that will be pursued over all other goals if a choice must be made. Churchman states this is the ultimate test of whether an

⁶Ervin Laszlo, The Systems View of the World (New York: George Braziller, 1972), p. 110.

objective is the "real" one of a system.⁷

There is one value Ervin Laszlo finds that all complex systems must pursue: survival (or at least replacing the entire system through reproduction).⁸ If a confrontation occurs, all other system goals would be subordinated to the objective of survival. Other objectives can certainly exist, and it is possible, and indeed probable, that the leisure system may have other goals than those considered in this paper that would support those alternative sociocultural objectives. They will have to be ignored, however, in favor of the central question: Does the leisure system, at any point in time, have objectives which support the basic survival objective of the sociocultural system? Leisure may not have survival value for the human organism, but it may have survival value for the sociocultural system, as well as support its everyday operation.

Three possible objectives for the leisure system, and their relationship to the sociocultural system's operation and survival, will be examined. The first two, although appearing sound, upon careful examination will be demonstrated to be lacking.

1. Promoting communication: interaction between individuals and groups as inputs into the sociocultural system.

⁷Churchman, p. 31

⁸Laszlo, pp. 105-6.

2. Supporting and maintaining human culture
3. Providing a relatively open opportunity space for deviance as input to the sociocultural system

Social systems are characterized by interchanges of information between components. To be meaningful, similar environments and symbol systems must be shared by people. Meaning is created in the process of social interaction, where a number of individuals are dealing with a common environment.

Once generated, they (meanings) act in the capacity of selective functions underlying the decision making processes that make possible organized social behavior.⁹

In view of this obvious importance of communication to the operation of the sociocultural system, any promotion of interaction would seem valuable. Providing opportunities for interaction between individuals and groups during leisure could be an objective of the leisure system. In an increasingly urbanized society (as in the U.S.) relations between individuals become more remote; the individual knows more people, but few intimately. Need for more and better communication within the family is often stressed as work roles separate members.

Providing opportunities for interaction, however, is not a sufficient objective for the leisure system. It is certainly important, and if this were all the leisure system could do, the conclusion could still be reached

⁹Buckley, p. 94.

that the leisure system supported the operation of the sociocultural system. This objective, however, is not so much incorrect as it is incomplete. Communication is necessary for organized social behavior but alone does not ensure the operation or the survival of the sociocultural system; certain processes and patterns of interaction must occur. The leisure system may, in turn, also affect these.

Some interactions occur again and again and come to be expected in certain situations. From these interchanges comes a relatively stable structure of social interrelationships; these become organizations and institutions. Buckley finds

In time...we note the selective elaboration and more or less temporary preservation of some of this complex social and physical variety in the form of "culture"...¹⁰

Perhaps it is human culture (arising from the patterns of communication interchanges) that the leisure system should be in some way supporting.

The objective of supporting culture could be very important to the sociocultural system. It is through such preservation of patterns that we see some order and sense in the random and disorganized world around us. The objective appeals to many. It is felt that culture is a "better" or "higher" phenomenon than species survival; it is unique to human beings, worthy of efforts at

¹⁰Buckley, p. 64.

preservation for that reason alone.

This view, however, has faults. Laszlo points out that human does not necessarily mean higher or better, and other species may not follow the human pattern of evolution to self-awareness.

There is no clear and independent evidence to support the claim that an evolved culture has biological survival value, nor for the claim that once biological survival is assured, the inevitable next step is culture.¹¹

Laszlo postulates that at one point in human evolution, self-consciousness developed as a means of assuring species survival. Once generated, self-awareness took off in a new direction apart from its original purpose; the end result (through ability to use symbols, language, abstract thinking, etc.) was culture. Culture seems almost an accident. Evolution dictated man would have culture, but not what kind of culture man would have.¹²

If the value judgement of culture as a "higher" phenomenon is still accepted, the kind of culture to have must be chosen. Culture, according to Laszlo, is a value-guided system; these values are the goals to be realized through behavior.¹³ The goals are reflected in the rules and norms governing behavior. All social systems, however, are characterized by multiple and contradictory

¹¹Laszlo, p. 97.

¹²Ibid., pp. 97-99.

¹³Ibid., p. 101.

value systems.

...in any society, there are sets of more or less common values, norms, expectations, and definitions of situations supported by sanctions of one kind or another. However,...every society of any complexity also has stable sets of alternative, diverse, deviant, or counter-norms, values, etc., as well as a vast area of ambiguities and uninstitutionalized "collective" behavior...¹⁴

What part of culture is to be supported if it contains both values and counter-values?

The obvious answer is that the leisure system should not have the support of culture as an objective; culture is a static concept. Social structure is an event structure that is continually changing. What is seen as culture is only an impression of this event structure at one point in time. To support culture would mean using the leisure system as a control mechanism. Culture, however, is an arbitrary reference point. Any deviance from that point would cause action to force return to the first point. Who is to choose that point, and is it worth preserving? This would represent an equilibrium model, rejected by systems thinking. In Buckley's sociocultural system model, some part of a system's processes must be structure maintaining; this temporarily preserves patterns long enough to have a culture to see. These processes do not, however, maintain an equilibrium state. There must also be structure changing processes.

Culture, as mentioned previously, is a particular

¹⁴ Buckley, pp. 10-11.

pattern of interaction. At any point in time, this pattern is governed by the existing set of rules and norms. These are relatively stable common meanings that result in constraints on interactions and behaviors permissible. These are generally acknowledged to be only shared agreements, however, and not necessarily permanent. Norms are constantly up for review and may be accepted again or rejected by the interacting people. Forcing strict conformance to rules and norms (which a goal of supporting culture would call for) would not allow society's members to cope with new situations. Norms only cover a small portion of human behavior. One set of norms or rules will never be adequate to handle all possible interactional situations. For example, the formal legal rules in society can be examined; they are a subset of the total set of norms existing. It is obvious these laws do not cover all contingencies. The courts are constantly reinterpreting laws and in effect are creating new ones to fill gaps not previously covered or even expected. There must be more than a list of unchangeable rules to be enforced to keep the system operating.

Buckley finds social structure at any given time is a product not only of the rules and norms existing but also of the ongoing interaction of the components in the system whereby norms and rules are constantly changing.

...the norms and rules of a group can specify at best only a range of expected or acceptable behavior, and it is within this range that much of the essential dynamics of society occurs.¹⁵

To use the leisure system as a control agent in maintaining some culture equilibrium point would, instead of supporting the sociocultural system, impede the necessary changes within the system that would allow it to adjust to changing conditions. Such an approach means any deviance comes from outside the system, and enters only to cause disequilibrium, which calls for action to control the disturbance. Deviance, however, as will be seen in the next section, plays an integral role in the sociocultural system; it is also a role in which the leisure system is directly involved.

The third possible objective for the leisure system remains: to provide opportunities for deviance as input to the sociocultural system. Before considering this alternative directly, a closer examination of leisure is necessary. It is not desired to look at everything leisure may do for the individual or for society; a complete and precise definition of leisure, therefore, is not necessary. Instead, two general characteristics identified with leisure will be singled out that may directly affect the accomplishment of this objective.

To help identify these characteristics, some definitions of leisure may be examined. Time has been a

¹⁵Buckley, p. 130.

major factor in many definitions; leisure is often defined as the time blocks left after work obligations and personal survival needs are attended. Some definitions have stressed non-obligated time and freedom of choice. These definitions suggest a perfect dichotomy: obligated versus non-obligated time, and freedom of choice or no choice. This would mean a definite time division point between work and leisure, between discretionary and non-discretionary time. Time is necessary for leisure, as it is for most things. It is not, however, all there is to leisure for the individual.

Instead of using only time blocks to define leisure for the individual, another common factor is met with in many definitions.

Leisure is...incompatible with necessity, obligation, or pressure. (Sebastian de Grazia)

Leisure may be defined as unhurried pleasurable living among one's spontaneous and educated enthusiasms. (Paul Douglas)

Leisure is a...condition that is voluntary in nature, that provokes freedom of thought and subsequent action or absence of action to satisfy individual or personal desires. (Stephen Smith)

Leisure time is choosing time, free from the tensions associated with the necessities of living. (Ott Romney)

When we are concerned with leisure, we are primarily concerned with a period of time in which the feeling of compulsion is minimized. (Charles Brightbill)

The diverse wordings suggest a characteristic of leisure for the individual which I call a feeling of lack of constraint. Leisure to the individual is not simply a

block of time or an activity, but a state of mind. Such a perceived lack of constraint cannot be limited to specific time blocks. Richard Kraus points out that for some individuals certain activities during non-job time will have an associated high level of obligation (or constraint), while for other people, play will be a part of their work.¹⁶

Just as job time versus non-work time cannot be used alone in understanding leisure, neither can constraint versus lack of constraint be used; a social system does not work this way. That a set of elements is organized implies there are constraints operating between them. In Buckley's model of society, however, there are degrees of freedom preventing rigid organization. When faced with a situation calling for action, an individual will have a set of alternatives from which to choose, each associated with varying degrees of compulsion. Instead of a clear division between a leisure state of mind and a work attitude, a continuum is suggested. One endpoint is pure leisure, the other pure work. Between these points lies a wide range of perceived constraint (or lack of constraint) on an individual's behavior. Because the concern is with social interaction, work in this sense becomes any social interaction under a high level of perceived constraint.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to specify

¹⁶ Richard Kraus, Recreation and Leisure in Modern Society (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1971), Chapter 12.

an exact dividing point between leisure and work on this continuum, nor is it necessary to do so. Instead, it is hoped to compare and contrast two more extreme situations: a point near the leisure endpoint and another near the work endpoint. By examining these more extreme differences, it may later be possible to infer how an individual's reaction to a situation would change were he moved from his relative position on the continuum to another point to the right or left. Although this arbitrary classification may not be useful in direct application to reality, it is helpful towards gaining an understanding of the social processes involved.

Now we can return to the third possible objective for the leisure system: providing opportunities for deviant behaviors by society's members as necessary inputs to the sociocultural system. Where do deviant behaviors fit into this conception of leisure and, in turn, into the sociocultural system? Buckley's model of the sociocultural system requires two sets of processes to continually occur for the system (or any complex system) to operate and survive: structure maintaining processes; and structure elaborating and changing processes. While deviance (and conformity) are not the only factors in keeping the required maintaining and changing processes going, they can play an important part. A social system can use

...non-pathological deviation and variety as the basic source of continued critical examination and considered change of the institutionalized

structures and value interpretation. (Pressure to conform may)...threaten individual motivation to question the integrity of the value system and to innovate with respect to institutionalized role expectations, thus helping to preserve a dysfunctional sociocultural system.¹⁷

Any social system will comprise not only conforming actions, but also deviant behaviors. In examining the leisure side of the continuum, deviation becomes the key word.

Deviance in the sense used here is more than the violation of criminal and civil laws more usually labeled deviance. Society contains a much larger, more complex set of rules its members live by; the violation of any of these will be considered deviant by someone. (The full scope of deviance will be discussed later.)

In comparing the leisure and work sides of the continuum, I suggest that the leisure side presents a greater probability of productive deviance occurring (as input to the structure changing processes) than the work side. In simplified terms, individuals or groups are more able to innovate and experiment with behaviors with less chance of punishment. There will not be the pressure to conform as in institutionalized work roles or certain family roles. Through interaction processes, the deviance may be rejected by the sociocultural system, or may become accepted in time as normal behavior by all or at least part of the members of society.

Conforming behavior will also occur in leisure,

¹⁷Buckley, p. 27.

confirming the present value of accepted behavior to the system. This is a maintenance force which allows temporary preservation of structure. Conforming behavior is necessary somewhere in the system, and it does occur during leisure: in examining leisure in the remainder of this paper, however, the emphasis will be on deviance. The deviance-conformance interaction will also occur on the work side of the continuum, but the probability of productive change through deviant behaviors is lessened in the work setting for reasons that will be developed.

Through member interaction, new behaviors (deviance) as well as older, previously acceptable behaviors, are reviewed and accepted or rejected continually. Behaviors, in turn, may be understood in terms of rules. Facing a situation calling for behavior, an individual applies rules he sees as relevant to guide his action. The term deviance implies rule breaking. This, however, is only part of the process; reinterpretation of old rules and construction of new rule meanings are also part of deviance. The input of the leisure system to the sociocultural system lies in the greater chance for deviant behaviors which in turn can mean reinterpretation and construction of new rules and meanings for the members of society to use in solving their relational problems.

Society does not have one set of rules every member operates within. There are countless groups in society, large and small, all with different sets of rules. Some

rules must be shared fairly generally across the socio-cultural system, or there could be no organization that could be called society. At the group level, however, many different sets of rules exist, with extreme differences. (As an example, the NAACP and the Ku Klux Klan have very different ideas about the social rules Blacks should live by in this country.) The first characteristic introduced (lack of constraint) is important in the initial rule change process. It acts at the group level, in decisions by members on changing old rules and using new ones; it is concerned with private rule use among members of a group. When rules become visible to outsiders (through observed behaviors), a second characteristic of leisure becomes important. For the systems of concern, leisure is a concept with more than one dimension; it concerns not only the individual experience or attitude, but also concerns the relationships between people. Leisure extends beyond the individual to influence public reaction to openly displayed new rule use. As a concept, leisure cannot be limited to the individual; the concept must include how observers (either known to the individual or strangers) decide whether a person is at leisure or not, and how that decision affects the observers' subsequent actions.

The idea of leisure as a time block is now useful. The actual attitude (leisure or work) of the observed individual is invisible and immaterial; external

appearance to others is important. To the observer, it may be relatively easy to divide his subjects' time into job, non-job heavy constraints, and non-job few constraints. These time blocks may have no relationship to the observed individual's actual perceived constraints; the observer, however, will use them to impute motives. On this basis, he will decide if an individual's rule use is serious: if it represents a threat to the observer or if it can safely be ignored. This is of prime importance in determining reactions to the public use of new rules and meanings. This differentiation is necessary; while the new rule may have been created when participants were in a leisure attitude, they may not be when the rule is first publicly displayed.

There is a relationship between leisure as a state of mind and leisure as time blocks. In Western society, the seriousness of work for money is taught in the socialization process. Work is not fun; it is separate from the rest of life. Years of education are spent preparing for what may take only twenty percent of the hours in a week. This is serious time. The remainder of an individual's time is non-serious; while growing up, little or no time is devoted to preparation. This built in attitude (despite the fact that a leisure attitude can occur anytime) makes it more likely for the average individual to achieve a leisure attitude during non-job time. This, in turn, causes him to decide if others are in a serious state

based on the relationship of the situation to earning a living. Non-job, non-leisure behavior is a less clear area. There may be some general agreement that job related behavior is serious. There will be more disagreement over whether family obligations or other non-job group functions (church, political involvement, etc.) are serious to the same extent. (When referring to a work situation versus a leisure situation, I will include non-job activities having apparently heavy constraints as work.)

Whatever the actual attitude of an individual at a particular moment, others will judge his intentions based on the external appearance. If that individual is judged to be at leisure, his behaviors, although violating rules that the observer holds to be important, may be seen as non-threatening, or at least less threatening than if the individual were judged to be in a serious state of mind. His public display of deviant rule use, therefore, may be seen as acceptable, at least for that situation.

Before examining these influences of leisure on rule change and public rule use acceptance in more detail, a discussion of the types of rules involved is necessary. Once the nature of the rules involved is understood, consideration will return to the influence of leisure in interactional processes.

CHAPTER IV

THE RULES

The rules of importance here govern social interaction and conduct. They act in, and are violated in, our everyday lives and relationships. This includes much more than violation of criminal rules (enforced by official agencies of social control--police, court system, etc.) usually associated with the term deviance. Laws are part of the interactional rules. Their transgression, however, may represent the extreme: they are a small part of the deviance constantly occurring within society. Denzin lists three types of interactional rules:¹⁸

1. Rules of Etiquette: "...they exist to keep selves civil and apart from one another, and their use protects interactants from embarrassment."
2. Civil-Legal Rules: Rules entered in law books, enforced by official agencies of social control.
3. Relational Rules: These cover "how selves are to interact within the tightly drawn moral orders of the relationship and the social group. Relational rules redefine and frequently make irrelevant the civil-legal and polite interactional standards." These relational rules cover "how selves are defined and presented, how knowledge is controlled and given off, how

¹⁸Norman K. Denzin, "Self and Society," Introduction to Sociology, Jack D. Douglas, ed. (New York: Free Press, 1973), pp. 217-18.

work is accomplished, how emotion and affect are displayed, and how one is to act when not with his relational partners."

Civil-legal rule violations appear common; they are seen in the news daily and have been the focus of most studies of deviance. Douglas, Denzin, Goffman, and others, however, hold that it is a very small, predictable percentage of the deviance in society; the vast bulk of deviance concerns relational rules. If relational rule breaking is the predominant form of deviance, and actual civil-legal deviance rare in comparison, social order would not seem the result of actions taken by official agencies of control. Instead, Denzin finds it is people who recognize the moral orders within which they live (of which civil-legal rules are a small part), and their actions to uphold them, that gives order to society.¹⁹ Order exists not in the rules and morals themselves, but in the way they are used. To see what gives society order, not only criminal deviance, but relational forms of deviance also must be studied.

Most students of deviance have begun with the assumption of what Jack Douglas has called an "absolute morality" for society. Absolute morality was to have the following properties:²⁰

¹⁹Norman K. Denzin, "Rules of Conduct and the Study of Deviant Behavior: Some Notes on the Social Relationship," Deviance and Respectability, Jack D. Douglas, ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 152.

²⁰Jack D. Douglas, "Deviance and Social Control," Introduction to Sociology (New York: Free Press, 1973), p. 538.

1. The rules and morals are obvious to any competent member of society; their meaning for any situation will always be clear and unproblematic.
2. They are independent of any specific situation.
3. They apply to all individuals, regardless of the situation.
4. Rules and morals are timeless and unchanging.
5. They are imposed and sanctioned from outside, derived from the will of God or some other absolute force.

Every member of society was to believe in, and live by, the same set of rules and morals. The morals of a society and its laws were assumed identical. Douglas states these scholars "believed that moral rules led to laws to enforce them and that government laws would be direct representations of society morals".²¹ Assumption of absolute morality, and its translation into laws to be enforced by government agencies of control, led sociologists to study deviance only on the basis of law violations, such as rape, suicide, homosexuality, juvenile delinquency, and prostitution. Government agencies were relied upon for data concerning these violations.

It has generally been recognized that such statistics are biased. More importantly, emphasis on law violations (as mentioned above) does not give a true picture of deviance in society. As Denzin points out, these violations contain little of the intricate bargaining typical of

²¹Douglas, "Deviance and Social Control," p. 540.

everyday forms of deviance in society.²²

The mistaken assumption of an absolute morality invalidates much deviance research. All social systems are characterized by multiple and contradictory value systems; all rules and values are not identical across society. Douglas strongly argues that no true absolute morality can exist for all members of a society. Each interactional group in society has its own absolute body of rules and morals governing member conduct. Instead of being truly absolute, it is constantly changing; the members of a group, however, will think and act as though their own rules were absolutes.²³

Each individual may interact in many social groups having highly conflicting moral orders. Each individual may also develop his own "absolute" body of rules out of all his interactions. This also changes continually, as he moves from group to group and even within single relationships. Each relationship is a tightly drawn moral order; it would seem an impossibility to keep them separate and operate within so many sets of rules. It is, however, expected of every person; on this basis, people are labeled insane.

...every individual simultaneously plays out many careers. In any modern society, a fundamental

²²Denzin, "Rules of Conduct...", p. 151.

²³Jack D. Douglas, American Social Order; Social Rules in a Pluralistic Society (New York: Free Press, 1971).

problem for every person is to organize his many moral careers into some orderly pattern.²⁴

Orderly does not mean logical. People are not logical, and suffer few anxieties over rule and relationship contradictions. Glaser finds rules are situationally specific; problems are avoided by applying contradictory rules only to different and separate situations so they do not come into direct conflict. Interacting groups do the same.

...most people segment their lives to some degree so that behavior acceptable in some of their social circles but not in others is only exhibited where acceptable.²⁵

Douglas states this does not mean there are no rules or morals generally shared across society; it is simply not as extensive as students of deviance have assumed. Society contains uncountable, small, overlapping, interacting groups, with widely different moral orders. For public interaction between groups, a limited agreed upon base for behavior is required. Douglas describes society's limited "absolute" morality as providing the deep background meanings rarely considered directly in interaction between groups or individuals.

Only the existence of such agreements makes it possible to get on with our lives, since the infinite possibilities of action in any situation would prevent our getting beyond the first situation

²⁴Denzin, "Self and Society," p. 224.

²⁵Daniel Glaser, Social Deviance (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1971), p. 44.

if we had to negotiate every detail (or more than a relatively few details) of our interactions.²⁶

These background meanings do limit the construction of new meanings. For any society, it will contain some of the civil-legal rules. It may also contain shared goals, such as health, prosperity, and security, and other concepts such as honesty and responsibility. Edwin Lemert finds it cannot be more than a general collection of values; no hierarchy of values can exist for society. The system, as such, cannot be more in favor of some things than others. Individuals have hierarchies of values. Values do not generate rules directly, but are reflected in them. Multiple values enter rule construction. Some values will be sacrificed to obtain others; this is the cost of compromise in rule and meaning construction.²⁷

Following rules of one group is bound to mean violations in the eyes of another group. Douglas states that to allow society to function with many highly conflicting moral orders, two rule systems have evolved: public and private. They developed through Western society's emphasis on privacy; entering homes and other wall-bounded spaces gives protection from monitoring. This allows private commission of acts that would be considered

²⁶Jack D. Douglas, "Deviance and Respectability," Deviance and Respectability (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 16.

²⁷Edwin Lemert, "Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control," Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972), pp. 5-6.

extremely immoral by many if made public. What has been labeled absolute morality has come to be seen by groups with conflicting moral orders as "an external force which one must simply manage effectively in constructing moral appearances that will be acceptable for public purposes."²⁸

Douglas finds that for most situations, individuals and groups use their own absolute body of rules for guidance. (They contain some generally accepted rules, as above.) Members think and act as though this body had the same five characteristics assumed for a society's absolute morality, but only up to a point; the point where a rule or moral is seen as non-absolute, or changeable, is the topic of concern.

It is on the private rule system that leisure has its initial impact. It is wished to examine the possible role of leisure in reaching the point where a rule is seen as changeable and its role in shaping what comes next. Once a new rule is generated for use within the private group, leisure (through influencing observers' judgements of intention) may influence whether a new behavior is acceptable under the public rule system.

It has been seen that deviance consists of much broader interactional rule violations than are generally considered. This deviance is also more than the actual violations. The old rule is no longer valid; a new rule

²⁸Douglas, "Deviance and Respectability," pp. 25-26.

must be found to use. There is a rule change. A process of rule change, proposed primarily by Jack Douglas, will be examined next. In the last section of this paper, this process will be used as a framework to show how leisure exerts its influences.

CHAPTER V

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

These are social rules. At the most general level, Douglas defines these as

...the criteria that normal members of society are expected to make use of in deciding what to do in any situation for which the rules are seen as relevant.²⁹

Douglas calls all rules and rule use problematic. Three basic problems prevent existence of a true absolute morality:

1. Tremendous variation in situations faced
2. Conflicts within and between rules
3. Uncertainty of enforcement

In any situation, there may be uncertainty of correct action. Individuals or groups search their body of existing rules for a rule or moral to guide behavior. There may not be one to fit. The possible situations of everyday life are too complex and varied to be adequately dealt with by any single set of rules; all possible responses cannot be pre-programmed.

Douglas finds rules are problematic even if not applied to a specific situation. Problems are compounded applying

²⁹Douglas, "Deviance and Social Control," p. 540.

abstract rules to concrete situations.

The meaning and uses of any social rules are uncertain and conflictual in part, because any rule may contain conflicts within itself or conflict with other rules that must be combined with it....There will be disagreement between members over what they see as moral and immoral for a given situation even if they start out with the same rules. This is why we see vast disagreement over what is right and wrong in our everyday lives even within tight knit families and friendship groups sharing the same abstract social values and facing the same situation.³⁰

Civil-legal rules have obvious penalties. Similarly, there are sanctions and potential punishments for violations of relational rules. Exactly as for violation of criminal laws, there is always uncertainty of enforcement. Even knowing all the rules in the abstract, predicting how a rule will be interpreted for a specific situation and how others will react to the interpretation, is impossible.

For example, there is apparently a considerable amount of adultery in our society. This is an activity that the participants cannot normally indulge in without knowing that there are some rules regarding it....But the actual responses to concrete instances that are detected vary from "gladness," "relief," and "understanding," to "horror," and "murder".³¹

In addition, it is generally acknowledged that the majority of rule violations go undetected.

It is often assumed that rules always precede enforcement. Edwin Schur finds the opposite to be true.

³⁰Douglas, "Deviance and Social Control," pp. 552-554.

³¹Jack D. Douglas, "The Experience of the Absurd and the Problem of Social Order," Theoretical Perspectives on Deviance, Robert A. Scott and Jack D. Douglas, eds. (New York: Basic Books, 1972), p. 202.

...rules tend to be enforced only when something provokes enforcement: someone must take the initiative....We can thus picture enterprise or initiative as determining enforcement and enforcement in turn as determining the "real" rules.³²

Enforcement of a rule varies by the situation of violation (public or private, group or individual) and social situation (power) of those desiring enforcement. Schur gives an example:

When reformers own social status and way of life are secure he will view the norm violator as a "deviant" deserving help. When they are threatened, he is more likely to view the violator as an "enemy", a challenger of the legitimacy of the norm who can't be converted or reformed, but must be instead forcibly subdued.³³

The deviant nature of an act, then, lies not in the act or rule involved, but in the social position of those who might take initiative for enforcement, and the threat they perceive.

Situations often arise where no existing rule within an individual's or group's absolute morality is seen to fit, or there is conflict over which rules to apply. Douglas finds that to proceed requires construction of new rules or meanings to fit the situation. In other words, it is not only breaking of old rules (or finding them irrelevant for a particular situation), but also rule reinterpretation and construction of a new meaning. These are not separate concepts; it is a single process.

³²Edwin Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior; Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 101.

³³Ibid., p. 104.

The process of rule and meaning change and construction is very complex and not well understood. Douglas' process of rule change may be summarized as follows:³⁴

1. In our everyday lives, we intentionally try to construct "working agreements" with others we must interact with, to better handle particular situations.
2. This establishes routines and "routinized meanings"; that is, the rules and morals which for the group or individual, form the absolute morality.
3. Routinized meanings are used in concrete situations we become involved in, until a problem arises when they do not fit the actual situation.
4. When a problem does occur, old routines are not thrown out; they are used as background material in constructing some practical solution to the problem. Only if unable to use them will we try to formulate new interpretations, creating new meanings.
5. Once a new meaning has been constructed, it may become a new working agreement. It is absolutized, becoming independent of concrete situations; it enters the absolute body of rules for the individual or group.

According to Douglas, the creation of new meanings requires analogizing. Facing a situation for which an adequate rule does not exist, comparison is made between the present situation and past experience, combined with knowledge of similar situations not actually encountered. Rules applying to similar situations are tested and reinterpreted to try to fit the present situation, minimizing the gap between old and newly constructed meanings. New meanings may supplant, complement, or

³⁴Douglas, American Social Order, pp. 212-214.

conflict with old meanings so that relationships between rules change over time. Through use, they may come to be thought of as part of the absolute morality for the individual or group.

Minimizing the gap between old rules, new rules, and the present situation, is not a sufficient guide to rule construction; analogizing may generate many alternatives acceptable to the people involved. Douglas finds an additional factor entering rule selection. In the final decision to apply a rule (whether an old or a new interpretation), the guiding criteria is practicality for the situation at hand. The choice must seem rational and practical to those directly involved. (In addition to disagreement over what rules are relevant, there can be arguments over the purposes at hand, which makes rule use even more problematic.)

It would seem logical that not only past experience and knowledge are considered in rule interpretation, but also thoughts of the future. This is not common, however, unless the future is seen to hold dire consequences. (These are reflected in the perceived constraints of the work attitude.) Erving Goffman finds all considerations, including the future, will usually be handled so as to uphold the "integrity of the encounter." Future consequences are less important, in his view, than handling the situation such that "it will not become untenable to the participants, helping to maintain the appearance of the

adequacy of the other participants' performance."³⁵

Within a group, a decision that violation of a rule is allowed makes that rule irrelevant for the members involved. In private, each group will develop, through interaction, a set of rules and morals that would have them labeled as immoral and deviant if publicly known. This does not mean a choice to violate a civil-legal or social rule will mean public or criminal deviance. No one is really expected to follow all the rules perfectly all the time. There are even rules dealing with lack of knowledge of the rules; for example, the requirement of advising an arrested person of his rights. Denzin points out that our society acts in such a way as to give special rewards to persons who are able to reinterpret values in unique ways.³⁶ There is never total agreement in application of rules to concrete situations, even among the knowledgable.

Is this not obvious from a consideration of the inevitable arguments even among judges, such as the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, who have the greatest possible knowledge of precedents--or previous moral definitions of analogous situations--and of legal reasoning?³⁷

It must be remembered that deviance is not only rule breaking, but rule reinterpretation and construction.

³⁵ Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1959), p. 29.

³⁶ Denzin, "Rules of Conduct...", p. 131.

³⁷ Douglas, "Deviance and Respectability," p. 18.

While we may reject certain civil-legal or social rules, we "have replaced that rule with another that permits us to act orderly and quite frequently within the boundaries of permissible public and private behavior."³⁸ Norms do not specify exact behavior; they specify a range.

Social relationships are negotiated orders and they must be reaffirmed in daily interaction. Because rules do not fit all concrete situations, they are constantly changing. Rules are changed not only when facing a new situation, but also when a new member enters a group; accommodations and compromises are often necessary. People enter and leave a wide variety of relationships in their lifetime. Within relationships, maturing may also occur. As Denzin points out, being married seven years is to make the self different from what it was after one year of marriage. Changes occur in the definition of self, others, social objects, the interaction rules, and basic conceptions of the relationship.³⁹

All this change is necessary for the sociocultural system. It is part of the structure changing processes. In the face of such constant change, however, it might seem likely that an "everything goes" attitude would develop, with practicality for the situation at hand being a guiding criteria in rule selection so that no rules or

³⁸Denzin, "Rules of Conduct...", p. 131.

³⁹Denzin, "Self and Society," p. 224.

morals would be seen as absolute. Only possible gains from a situation would be considered in rule application decisions. Social order, therefore, would be an impossibility. In terms of Buckley's sociocultural system, there must be structure maintaining forces to balance the structure changing forces discussed.

According to Douglas, the purpose of social order is to

...allow some sharedness of meanings and some coordination of the activities of the members of any society sufficient to achieve what they consider to be adequate gratification of their needs and desires through their everyday lives.⁴⁰

It is unnecessary for social order for all members of society to hold identical rules and morals. Dieter Seibel points out that in every known society there is social deviance and also social sanctions. There is also, in every society, social integration.⁴¹ Some sharing does occur at the intra- and inter-group levels. This commonality prevents random jumps to new rules. Douglas finds that people see rules as absolutes and act in most cases as though they were, even when recognizing the constant change. This will continue for three reasons even in the face of the possible situational gains for holding all rules as non-absolutes:

⁴⁰Douglas, American Social Order, p. 3.

⁴¹Dieter H. Seibel, "Social Deviance in Comparative Perspective," Theoretical Perspectives on Deviance, Robert A. Scott and Jack D. Douglas, eds. (New York: Basic Books, 1972), p. 276.

1. The role of rules for the individual and group in ordering their lives
2. The role of rules as a basis for inter-group interaction
3. The role of rules in social power

Even when members of a group recognize tastes and beliefs as relative and subjective, they resist seeing social rules as also relative.

Rules are seen as basic or ultimate: they form much of the basis on which the accepted differences in motives, tastes, and beliefs are regulated or coordinated. Because of this, any questioning of the rules is generally seen as posing a threat to the ordering of one's social life, and thus, arouses deep anxieties.⁴²

Rules are used to achieve purposes at hand. (Living by the rules, and getting others to do so, may be important in itself; this becomes part of the purpose at hand.) Each group consists of a very highly structured moral order. If one rule or set of rules is suddenly found irrelevant and changeable (now non-absolute) there may be no change in attitude towards other rules. They will still be viewed as absolutes and may be defended more vehemently than ever. Rules give substance to the relationships. Rules specify for group members what is real and what is not. Their body of rules comprise their world view. Persons participate in groups because they gain in some way, while at the same time each person lends part of himself to the situation. Each member affects the

⁴²Douglas, American Social Order, pp. 18-19.

thoughts and actions of the others. If members do not hold to the absoluteness of rules forming their moral order, the valued interactions have no basis and fall apart. The rules give solidity, regularity, and a feeling of predictability to their lives and relationships. Although members consciously recognize rules are constantly changing, they will still cling to what Douglas labels as an absolutist stance.

The process of rule change within the group also prevents radical alterations because it is a bargaining and negotiating procedure occurring over time, usually in many steps. It is usually not the result of a single suggestion by a member. Cohen describes the result of this incremental process as

...a formation perhaps unanticipated by any of them, each actor may contribute something directly to the growing product, but he may also contribute indirectly by encouraging others to advance, inducing them to retreat, and suggesting new avenues to be explored.⁴³

New meanings cannot be rational and practical for only one member; they must be so for all members involved.

For intergroup communication, a set of agreed upon rules is needed to allow public interaction; it forms the resource base of symbolic meanings necessary, as covered earlier. Individuals use the common base of public absolute morality for this purpose, and are not likely

⁴³Albert K. Cohen, "A Theory of Subculture," Deviance; The Interactionist Perspective, Edward Rubington and Martin S. Weinberg, eds. (New York: Macmillan, 1968), p. 210.

to abandon it.

...we all know and take it for granted that there are many conflicting values and beliefs in our complex society, we all know that strangers may be completely against what we "really" think and feel, that we must be on guard against them, and that we must use publicly acceptable fronts whenever we might be observed by strangers....These rules enable any individual who knows them and knows how to act in accord with them to "fit in" in any public situation, regardless of how very different his private life might be from those of other individuals involved.⁴⁴

It is also necessary as the individual joins or forms new groups because this allows the initial interaction necessary to learn or form new moral orders.

The most important force preventing an "everything goes" situation lies in the social power a group can acquire using an absolute morality. Although seeing constant change, people act as though there were an absolute morality existing at the public level. Groups or individuals are rarely only concerned with rules and behavior within the private group but rather wish to influence others to believe in the same rules and morals. When Group A is seen to be acting on rules seen as immoral by Group B, B may perceive a threat and wish to initiate enforcement. In order to have enforcement (from ostracism and social disgrace to action by social control agents), Group B must obtain support from other groups having conflicting moral orders; only then will an individual or group be labeled a public deviant. The broken rule of

⁴⁴ Douglas, American Social Order, pp. 237-240.

Group B, however, may not be acceptable to a wide enough variety of groups. As mentioned before, a desire to enforce may come before the rule to be enforced. Group B will sponsor the idea that Group A is breaking the rules of society. Group B is glad to have an absolute morality from which to draw another rule (perhaps unrelated to the real rule violated) acceptable to other groups to gain support for enforcement against Group A. When arguments occur, one cannot admit one's rules are not absolute because this immediately creates a weak position compared to someone who does not.

At the public level, groups will continue to support what Douglas labels as the "false" absolute morality because it allows interaction between groups and may give control over others. This allows attacks on others who threaten achievement of group objectives. It is the initiative exerted on behalf of certain rules (declaring their importance, enforcement, etc.) that determines what rules exist at this level. This extends to civil-legal rules:

...a rule that has been enacted into law asserts particular norms and values and confers prestige and respect on their adherents.⁴⁵

At the private group and individual level, rules give meaning to life and relationships; without them valuable interactions cease. These attitudes are structure

⁴⁵ Schur, p. 104.

maintaining since old rules are applied rather than new constructions. These are the heavy balances against the "everything goes" rule change possibilities.

It has been seen that a single set of rules cannot cover all possible interactional situations arising between the members of society. There is reason for violation of old rules not fitting a situation and for creation of new rules. Practicality for the situation at hand is a guiding criteria in construction of new rules. To balance these powerful changing forces, there are structure maintaining forces which prevent unorganized, random rule change. These result from the role of rules in giving meaning to individual's lives, allowing inter-group communication, and finally in the accumulation and use of social power. These forces result in most individuals, although recognizing the possibility of constant change, acting in most cases as though the rules they operate under were absolutes.

It was suggested that a possible objective for the leisure system, as a subsystem of the sociocultural system, was to allow a greater probability of deviance as an input to the larger system. This deviance, in turn, involves social interactional rule violations and new rule construction, which allows the members of society to cope with new interactional situations for which previous rules were inadequate or non-existent. This section has

examined the processes by which this change can happen.

In the next section, the role of leisure in the rule change process will be examined in terms of leisure's influence in decisions made by individuals and groups as to rule use.

CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCES OF LEISURE IN THE SOCIOCULTURAL SYSTEM

Leisure's role in the structure changing processes of the sociocultural system will be examined in two parts: influence in the change and construction of rules and meanings: and influence on reactions to public display of new rule use.

People must interact whether on the job or at play. Similar relational situations occur in leisure and work surroundings. At the individual and group level (where new rule meanings and use may be kept private), it is suggested that if the same situation were faced in a leisure or a work environment, the presence of a leisure attitude among the members involved will have a higher probability of leading to construction of new rules and meanings. Once a new meaning or rule becomes public through observed behaviors, the rule is more likely to be tolerated by other groups (who could initiate enforcement) if first used in what appears to be a leisure or non-serious situation.

Though the term individual is used here, the individual's decisions on rule use and behavior are not separate from his group memberships. Most individuals

engage in social relationships. Denzin defines a relationship to exist between persons "when they engage in recurrent forms of symbolic interaction. Each takes the roles of the others and converses with that person, even when out of his immediate presence."⁴⁶ Even when alone, the rules evolved through group interactions are seen as relevant by the individual. Each member feels an obligation to uphold his groups' moral orders in all situations, public or private, alone or together. Thus, the individual's decisions are not solely his own.

Of primary concern in rule and meaning change is leisure as a state of mind among the individuals involved in facing an interactional situation. In contrasting a work and a leisure position on a continuum, it will be argued that the leisure point is more likely to lead to rule and meaning change on the basis of differences in the degree of encapsulation achieved, and its effects.

John Lofland, in Deviance and Identity, describes a process leading to deviant acts. It is based on the absolutist perspective, leading to crime commission as the deviant act. There is no reason, however, why the broad process he describes cannot also be applied to the larger body of deviance as violations of relational rules and morals.

The major concept he uses is encapsulation, a

⁴⁶Denzin, "Self and Society," p. 219.

foreshortening of the time and social span used in judging rules as relevant for a particular situation. Encapsulation limits the range of past experience and knowledge seen as relevant, and severely restricts consideration of future consequences. Encapsulation thus limits application of rules calling for long range solutions to a problem. Threat of punishment at some indefinite time in the future is of little concern. Immediately, many rules required by the legal-judicial system may not be considered for a problem. For example, encapsulation might lead us to shoot someone libeling us (a quick, efficient, short-term way of handling the problem). Within the legal-judicial rules, however, we are expected to suffer a long court procedure to gain satisfaction.

Rule construction requirements, as covered previously, are rationality and practicality for the situation at hand. For any single situation, an individual or group may have a very wide selection of alternatives under one condition but a very narrow selection under another. Encapsulation leads to selection of a rule (original, reinterpretation, or new construction) calling for short-term and quick behavior. Lofland argues many short-term alternatives are available that do not call for new meaning construction. (Choosing these may be structure maintaining.) The total class of simple and quick acts (at least in American society), however, is seen to have an overrepresentation

of deviant acts.⁴⁷ Lofland referred to criminal deviant acts, but there is no reason this same conclusion cannot be reached for all relational deviant acts. When encapsulation occurs, the class of behaviors chosen from may contain proportionately more rules resulting from reinterpretation and construction. The foreshortening of time and social span means fewer existing rules are seen as relevant.

Lofland makes an important point: a rule violation is not the result of a particular person's or group's predisposition or tendency to commit deviant acts. The important factor is the range and character of the alternatives from which he must choose. With encapsulation, the set is more likely to contain a higher percentage of deviant choices.⁴⁸

Because Lofland was addressing criminal deviance, he limited the occurrence of encapsulation to situations threatening to the individual, including not only threat of physical harm but also threat to a person's social self. The latter includes problems ranging from simple embarrassment to extreme social disgrace. The threat, through a degree of panic, causes the individual or group to see many rules as not binding on their actions for a particular situation. This does not mean that all possible rules are

⁴⁷John Lofland, Deviance and Identity (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 53.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 61.

always reviewed and a conscious decision made as to their relevance, because they may not even come to mind. If a rule is not recalled, it cannot possibly be used.

I argue that encapsulation is not limited to the threatening situation. The same factors labeled as encapsulation occur, by definition, in the leisure situation. The leisure state of mind is characterized to varying degrees by the feeling of a lack of constraint. Some rules are simply not seen as binding for a time period. While panic may cause encapsulation and the foreshortening of the relevant time and social span under threat, elation and the experience of relief and freedom will contribute to it in leisure.

Individuals and groups may seek leisure situations allowing encapsulation. Rules existing for a relationship at one point in time are heavy constraints since they demand commitment and limit freedom.

Marriage...affords regular sexual outlet, predictable meals, comfortable situations, and a close association for interaction. Yet stabilizing these aspects of life, changing to live inside certain moral orders, by definition and commitment, excludes other experiences. To commit oneself to a relationship means to live in terms of the demands and rules one has created with his relational partner....It involves the commitment of resources, time, and selves, to one enterprise and not another.⁴⁹

People may view the encapsulation offered by leisure situations as desirable since it allows the chance to break out of regular interaction routines. Although the

⁴⁹Denzin, "Self and Society," p. 225.

leisure state of mind (and attending encapsulation) can occur anytime, leisure time blocks are regularly scheduled, away from time blocks spent earning a living--vacations, parties, etc. It is not scheduled because people recognize its value for possible rule and meaning change. What is attractive is the lack of constraints (at least foreseen at the time of planning) and the freedom of encapsulation. The feeling of success or failure of a leisure experience may stem from the perceived degree of encapsulation achieved. Success, from the individual's viewpoint, is not contingent on actual rule or meaning change although the opportunity is important. This is why many park rules are disliked by visitors. Although commonly asking relatively little of them, the rules impose constraints upon behavior that the visitors did not envision when planning their visit. These impositions, however slight, are alien to what the visitor may feel his leisure experience should be. This is why a positive rather than a "you can't do that" approach may be more effective.

Leisure and work reactions to similar situations will differ in how past experience is held relevant by the people involved. Past experience involves not only knowing what rules have been applied in the past to similar situations (both successfully and unsuccessfully), but also knowledge of how others have handled particular interactional situations. The encapsulation of a leisure

situation will obviously affect how much and what part of past experience will be considered and seen as relevant to a present situation. Work situations will limit encapsulation effects.

Further contrasts between leisure and work points on the continuum may be seen in more detail by examining:

1. Differences in the creation and imposition of relational rules in leisure and work situations
2. The probability of any new rule or meaning construction gaining the social support of the members involved
3. The probability of personal identification with proposed rule changes that are unpopular with other members involved in facing a situation

All work situations involve relations between people. Throwing a group of strangers together, who share only a language and the basic set of social rules that will allow initial interaction, a unique set of social rules will normally evolve for that group, through their personal interaction. These rules cover, as mentioned previously, how work is allocated and accomplished. There will be agreements among the people involved as to who does what and when, in order to complete certain tasks judged necessary by the group. As individuals move into or out of different group memberships, the rules governing how certain things are accomplished are likely to change, and assignments are reallocated, again by agreements of the people involved.

The situation is radically altered in the employment

or work situation; the institution, public or private, has certain tasks to accomplish. The institution may set work methods in order to ensure necessary jobs are done.

Relational patterns are then set from outside the basic interactions; boss-worker, employer-employee, etc. As new members move into the organization, they fill relational positions primarily defined by the institution. Although the institution may only be concerned with accomplishing given tasks and only sets work methods and rules, there is, in effect, a much greater impact on the relational rules among the people involved. Recall that relational rules cover (besides how work is accomplished) how the self is defined and presented, how emotion is displayed, and how one acts when not in the presence of other members of a group. These are all obviously affected. Many relational rules and patterns are thus given constants for both on and off the job rather than the result of agreements among interacting members. To a certain extent, these must be treated as absolute rules if the individual is to survive in the organization.

In many non-job activities, relational rules may also have been defined from outside the direct relationships involved. For example, the existing hierarchies within church groups and clubs create similar constraints. Any situation where an organization exists with roles separate from the specific individuals can impose similar constraints. Within such organizations, the rules

will probably not be as constraining or as resistant to change as in the employment situation, but there will still be more constraint on choice of alternative actions than for the more simple, informal friendship group. Even the family unit can have many rules imposed from outside the interactions involved. Relationships between family members may be greatly determined by the way the previous generation handled them.

The absolutized rules of these relationships form heavy constraints. (It is the perception of such constraints by the members involved when facing an interactional situation which separates a leisure from a work situation.) I argue that in most cases, these types of constraints will be perceived by the people involved. They force a consideration of the future consequences beyond the integrity of the present situation; they force a structure maintaining rather than a structure changing position. The present relationships give meaning to the lives of the members. The relationships are visualized as identical to the most visible rules; hence the rules must be upheld above all. The result is that any present situation will be seen as identical to, or very similar to, a situation experienced (or known about) in the past. This would allow use of present rules (used in past situations) without modification. If rules cannot be used directly, any rule reinterpretation will be minor, causing the least possible change. There is a status quo to maintain,

as outlined by the rule set. Rather than trying to achieve a best solution to an interactional problem, efforts are instead put into recalling a greater number of past experiences so that one may be chosen to justify use of existing rules rather than attempting a new agreement.

An example is the set of institutional rules represented by the organizational chart. It is difficult if not impossible to change in small increments; a change can mean major disruption for many members. Although a particular recurring problem might best be solved by a direct continuing interaction between the shipping room manager and a company vice-president, this is unlikely to occur. The communication must take place through a line of intermediates on the organizational chart; that is, continued use of present rules. Another example lies in the interaction of organization members outside regular job time. The fact a man is your boss may limit the types of non-job interaction patterns entered with him; that is, whether you play golf with him, and whether that golf game is really leisure for you or an extension of job time.

This is not to say rule change cannot occur during job time, or other similarly constrained situations. Leisure and work on the continuum are contrasted by the perceived constraints on alternatives. There are simply more constraints which are in turn more likely to be

perceived by the people involved. There are certain to be times where the constraints considered above may not be perceived by the members facing a particular situation. What is important is the probability of perceiving few constraints; contrast the above situation with two or three informal friends facing an interactional problem. The latter situation (with its relative lack of perceived constraints) may obviously allow more freedom to find past experience and present rules irrelevant for the present situation. There is not the pressure to conform, to find that past situation so nearly identical to the present. The situation may be seen as almost entirely different, something new, giving freer analogy. Analogizing still attempts to minimize gaps between old situations and the present; rules and situations seen as relevant, however, may be very different from the work situation. The key is feeling of fewer constraints: "In this situation those rules are not acting on us, so we can ignore them," or certain rules used in the past are not recalled, so they cannot be used. Rule changes are first more likely, and then are more likely to be radical departures from old interpretations.

People are not likely to do anything they really believe is wrong; for the world to be a meaningful place, the individual must see his actions as morally legitimate. For any possible deviant act, Lofland finds the person or group must come to believe that the act is

"subjectively available" for the situation they face. This is very different from the moral determinists' point of view. They assume that everyone knows exactly what is immoral; when an individual committed a deviant (or immoral) act, therefore, he chose to do so knowing that it was immoral. Instead, because the act is rendered subjectively available as a choice, and therefore morally right for that particular situation, the question is not why an individual chooses to do deviant (or immoral) acts: morality is an irrelevant factor in the decision. (This is independent of the guilt that may be experienced after commission of an act as previously unperceived constraints become apparent.)

Lofland states that defining any new rule interpretation (and the behaviors following from it) as being "positively moral" (and therefore subjectively available) is very easy when all directly involved persons consent to be part of it; social support is necessary.⁵⁰ In the work situation, people involved are, by definition, more aware of constraints on their possible choice of behaviors. First, because of perceived constraints, new rule constructions are less likely to evolve. If they were to be created, those involved will simply not be as likely to lend acceptance and support to something they see as counter to those heavy constraints. A leisure state of

⁵⁰Lofland, p. 85.

mind among participants can make the social support necessary for finding a new rule use (and the accompanying behaviors) subjectively available easier to create. Rule use can more easily be defined as a private group affair, not open to judgement by non-members; rules governing member relationships imposed from outside the group mean greater compulsion to answer to outsiders for group interactions. With fewer perceived constraints, there is automatically an expansion of the range of behaviors in the practical and rational class.

Albert Cohen has suggested a process of interaction leading to creation of deviant sub-cultures; this also, as with Lofland, was concerned with criminal deviance. Part of his process may also apply to the expanded concept of deviance as any interactional rule violation. According to Cohen, change during interaction occurs in small increments; each participant makes suggestions in such a way as to test if others are receptive. At the same time, he does not go too far; the increments must be "so small, tentative, and ambiguous as to permit the actor to retreat if the signs be unfavorable, without having become identified with an unpopular decision."⁵¹ Rule change can result from a single short meeting of members, or of an individual's single decision (recalling his decision's relationship to his group memberships); it may, however,

⁵¹Cohen, p. 210.

require many interactions over a long period of time. The urgency of solution greatly determines this. It is obvious, however, that the longer the time and the more interactions necessary for a decision on rule use or construction, the more likely it will be that constraints will be recalled that were not perceived at the first meeting.

Leisure environments may allow suggestions as to rule use and construction to be more forward and open, without the danger of personal identification with an unfavorable suggestion. This is related to a major characteristic of leisure; the suggestion may easily be seen as not serious, and therefore not threatening in any way to other involved. If a suggestion is favorably received, there is no problem in using it; the non-seriousness of the situation comes up only if it is needed as an excuse to escape the possible bad social consequences of identification. Rule change processes could be accelerated without as much danger of social embarrassment and guilt. There is a similarity to a brain-storming session where ideally no criticism is offered as ideas are generated. Under such circumstances, a decision is more likely reached in a short period of time. New rule and meaning interpretations are more likely created and used. This is in marked contrast to the work situation where suggestions must be in smaller, more ambiguous steps to avoid the problem of identification. A longer time period is required, allowing

more constraints to be perceived, lessening the chances of a new rule interpretation.

It has been seen that in the work environment, or state of mind among participants, there is less extensive encapsulation. It is also more probable that relational rules are imposed from outside the relationships involved, limiting choices of alternatives. There is less chance of receiving support of those involved for use of any new rule interpretation. There is more chance of identification with rule change suggestions, limiting the extent and speed of the processes. The leisure situation presents the opposite conditions.

Figure 1 (page 62) illustrates various sequences possible when an individual faces a situation calling for application of a rule or meaning. In this and the following figures, major pathways are shown; other minor pathways and feedback loops are not drawn. The starting point is the individual facing a rule use decision. In facing a new situation, the first action of the individual is to search his knowledge of existing rules for a meaning fitting the situation directly. If a rule is found to fit and is applied successfully, the situation ends; if unsuccessful in application, however, there may be a further search for relevant rules. Time may not allow another application, however, and further action is delayed until the situation reoccurs. The second major pathway for the individual, if an existing rule cannot be

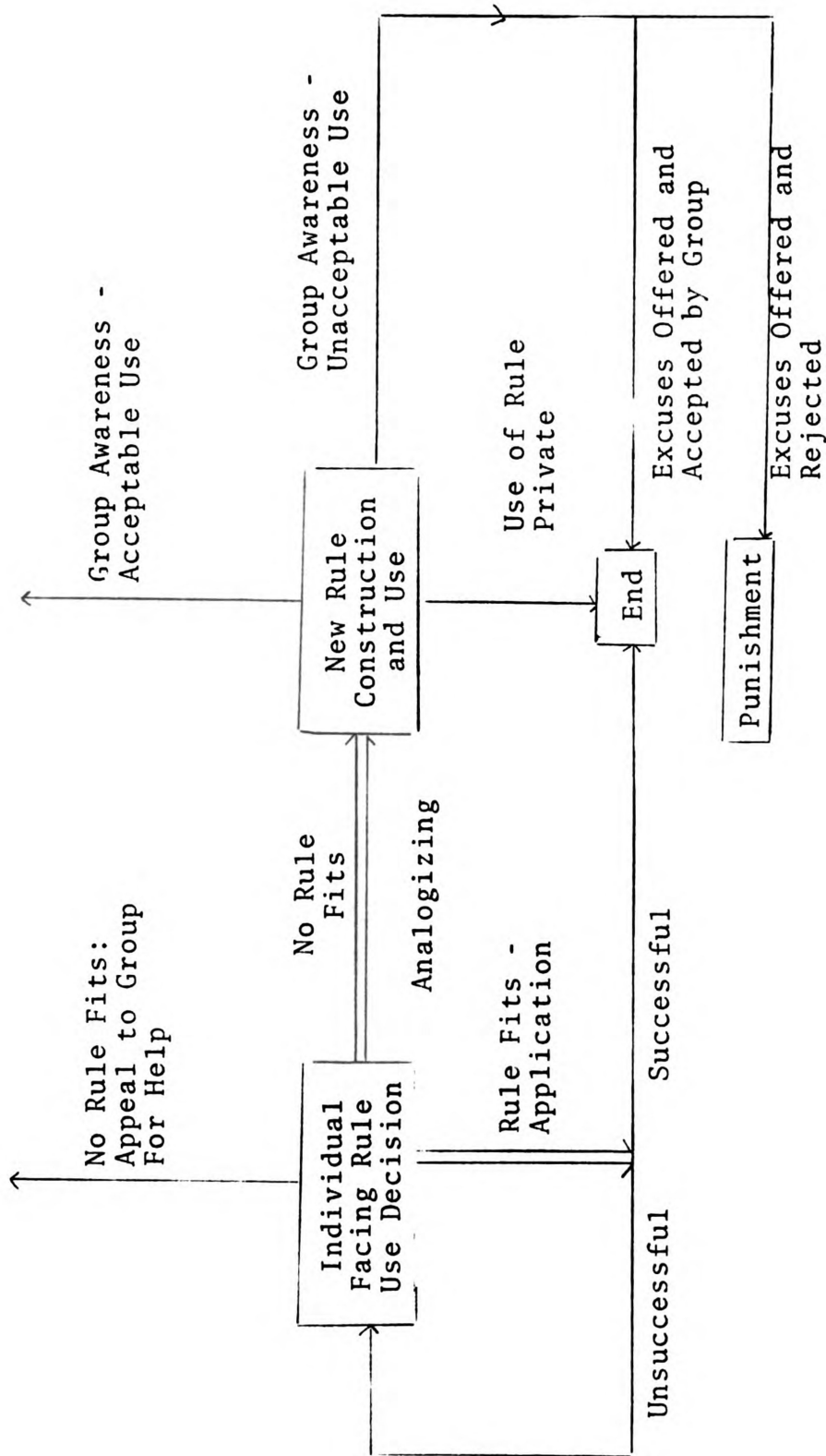


Figure 1. Individual Facing a Rule Use Decision

found to fit, is the analogizing process resulting in a new rule or meaning construction. These two major pathways (finding an existing rule to fit and analogizing to new rule construction) represent directly the structure maintaining and structure changing processes, respectively. We have seen that a leisure state of mind, with the attending encapsulation, plus the factors discussed above, make it more likely for analogizing to a new rule to take place. With a work state of mind, the many perceived constraints will make the choice and application of an existing rule more likely.

In acting alone to formulate a rule interpretation to fit his present situation, the following sequences are possible:

1. His interpretation and his resulting action may remain private and hidden from all his relational partners.
2. Some relational groups of which he is a member may become aware of his meaning or rule use, and accept it as a viable alternative to the situation. Although it may be further modified through group interaction, it may eventually be reused by group members.
3. Other relational groups may become aware of the meaning or rule use and reject it as completely unacceptable. The individual may offer excuses for his behavior and be pardoned for a one time offense, or he may be punished. Of course, the individual may have made the decision that membership in a certain group was no longer worthwhile when he chose the rule, and punishment might mean little.

There is also the possibility other groups to which the individual does not belong will become aware of his actions before the groups to which he belongs. This will



affect the public view, or image, of the groups that he does belong to, especially if his actions are seen as unacceptable.

The individual is not by himself, as mentioned above; his body of rules will contain meanings from all his relationships. In choosing between conflicting rules, he may consider which groups are most likely to become aware of his action, whether participation in a group is still beneficial, and so on. The individual may either interpret the rules himself (waiting for group reactions), or he may appeal to the group seen as most relevant for help.

The pathways for a group facing a rule use decision are the same as for the individual. (See Figure 2, p. 65.) The same conclusions as to probable pathways for the individual under work and leisure conditions are applicable for the group as well. The two arrows coming from the bottom come from the figure for the individual.

Up to this point, I have dealt with deviance resulting from violation of rules by individuals or within a group. Violation simply means no direct use of a present meaning or rule will solve the situation. There is an agreement necessary; it is created through group interaction and is used. The new rule use is seen as a private group affair, not open to the view or judgement of outsiders. It is used because it best solves the groups' problems. This is an important part of the

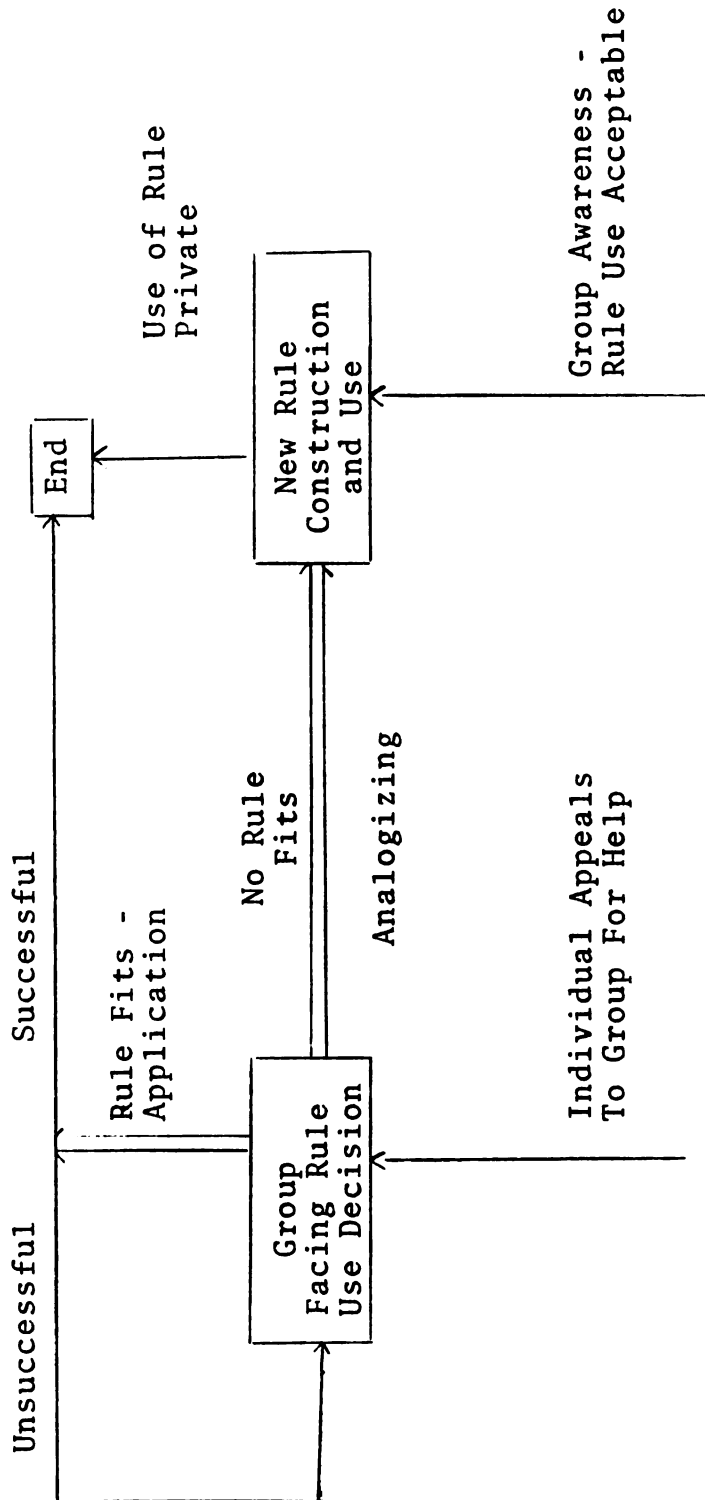


Figure 2. Group Facing a Rule Use Decision

necessary structure changing processes. A higher impact on the sociocultural system is possible, however, when the use of a new rule interpretation becomes public. As Douglas pointed out, a rule chosen by a group or individual might not be institutionalized or meet normal social criteria; if made public, other groups could complain effectively. Since the best solution to the problem at hand is sought (and only for those directly involved), the meaning may still be chosen. The concern will now be with the conditions under which a new rule interpretation of the group will become acceptable to, and be used by, other outside groups. It should be noted that not all groups in society will become aware of the public use of a rule simultaneously; the processes may be repeated each time a new group learns of the rule use.

New rule and meaning use will have the highest impact on the sociocultural system when visible to other groups. It is never certain whether a public rule use will be considered deviant by other groups that may observe them. Even when groups do attempt enforcement (as mentioned before) they may not evoke the actual rule considered violated, but one from the "absolute morality of society" for which they can gain support.

If the individual's or group's new meanings or rules are openly displayed in an apparent leisure situation, it is more likely other groups (who could initiate enforcement) would not view that behavior as threatening since the

leisure situation is not as serious as work. There is, therefore, less probability of enforcement, and more chance for one of the following:

1. An acceptance of excuses given by the group or individual for non-self behavior, such as the drunkenness, fatigue, or boredom of those involved.
2. An acceptance of excuses for special justification of the behavior under the circumstances. The group is still seen as respecting the basic rule and will use it in the future.
3. The repeated use of the new rule, at least in apparent leisure situations, and by that group, will be tolerated.

Other groups may see the same behavior as threatening, but do not possess the social power to induce any degree of enforcement against the performers. To prevent exposure of their own private rules which may be unacceptable for public view, they must tolerate it. This does not mean a majority of such new rule use will be tolerated; in most cases radical new meanings will face opposition, and excuses for behaviors will be offered. (Rule use may not be again repeated in public, although private use may continue.) A higher proportion of apparent leisure behaviors will be tolerated, however, than if the same behaviors were used for the same type of situations in a work environment. Work is serious, and change will be more threatening.

Similarly, individuals or groups may also be more willing or likely to display new rule use in a situation likely to be judged to be leisure by others; enforcement

probability affects feeling of constraint. This allows rules considered relevant for a work situation to be held irrelevant for an observed leisure condition.

Once new rule use is publicly displayed, it may impact other groups. There are creative people in society; otherwise new rule interpretations might never occur. But not everyone can be so imaginative in solving interactional problems; it may also be true that more people are followers than creators. To see a new rule displayed may give the followers a new alternative they never could have arrived at by themselves. In effect, it gives them an answer with having to do any work to get it.

For continued public rule use, tolerance by other groups who could initiate some type of enforcement is necessary. It has been seen above that initial display in an apparent leisure situation could make such tolerance more probable. Tolerance of public use of a rule by a group that could have initiated enforcement does not mean that group would consider that rule as an alternative if facing the same situation. It is probable they would not, at first, as indicated by the importance of a group's own body of rules to its social existence. Roger Nett points out that a behavior may be tolerated because it is seen as strengthening a group's position by showing a lesser alternative (making their own alternative appear better and stronger); they are wrong, emphasizing

we are right.⁵²

Once the use of a rule in public is tolerated, however, it can be re-used and becomes still more visible to other groups. (Of course, over time new groups can become aware of rule use and begin enforcement procedures, such as the general public awareness of many shady federal government activities which have been considered normal operating procedures for many years by those directly involved.) Over time, these groups may see this new rule as also possibly relevant to them as they face similar situations. Old rules are seen as irrelevant for a situation and are ignored as new meanings find general acceptance. This is a gradual process; at times there will be acceptance of two or more rules governing the same situation for different groups; all may be publicly acceptable. These may remain contradictory for long periods, as is typical of our society.

This necessity of constructing concrete meanings of rules for concrete situations means that individuals will have considerable freedom in our society in creating the meanings they want, especially because our society is so pluralistic that individuals often hold different values to be applied to a given situation. This makes it possible for a vast array of different kinds of behavior to be judged morally acceptable or reprehensible by different groups, while the groups continue to see themselves as upright American citizens.⁵³

⁵²Roger Nett, "Conformity-Deviation and the Social Control Concept," Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Scientist, Walter Buckley, ed. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968), p. 554.

⁵³Douglas, "Deviance and Social Control," p. 554.

What started in a private group as a private response to a particular interactional situation may have spread to, and be used by, many other groups in society. The last, most extreme, and probably the rarest step in the rule change process is change in civil-legal rules as a result of increased tolerance and use of a meaning or rule across society. Marijuana use and homosexual practices may be reaching this point. This is a long way from changing your relationship with your mother-in-law or the type of jokes that can be told in front of a certain group, which are more common areas of rule change. It does represent a high impact on the sociocultural system.

These sequences can again be traced through on a chart. (See Figure 3, p. 71.) The pathways for the group and the individual once a meaning or rule use becomes public are identical. Remember that public doesn't mean everyone knows of it; the process may be repeated each time another group who could initiate enforcement becomes aware of a rule use.

For the first possible pathway, the new rule interpretation may not be acceptable to some groups with the power to initiate enforcement (from causing social stigmatization and isolation to enforcement of criminal laws.) Other groups to whom it is unacceptable but who lack the necessary social power for enforcement are of no concern. There are three major response alternatives

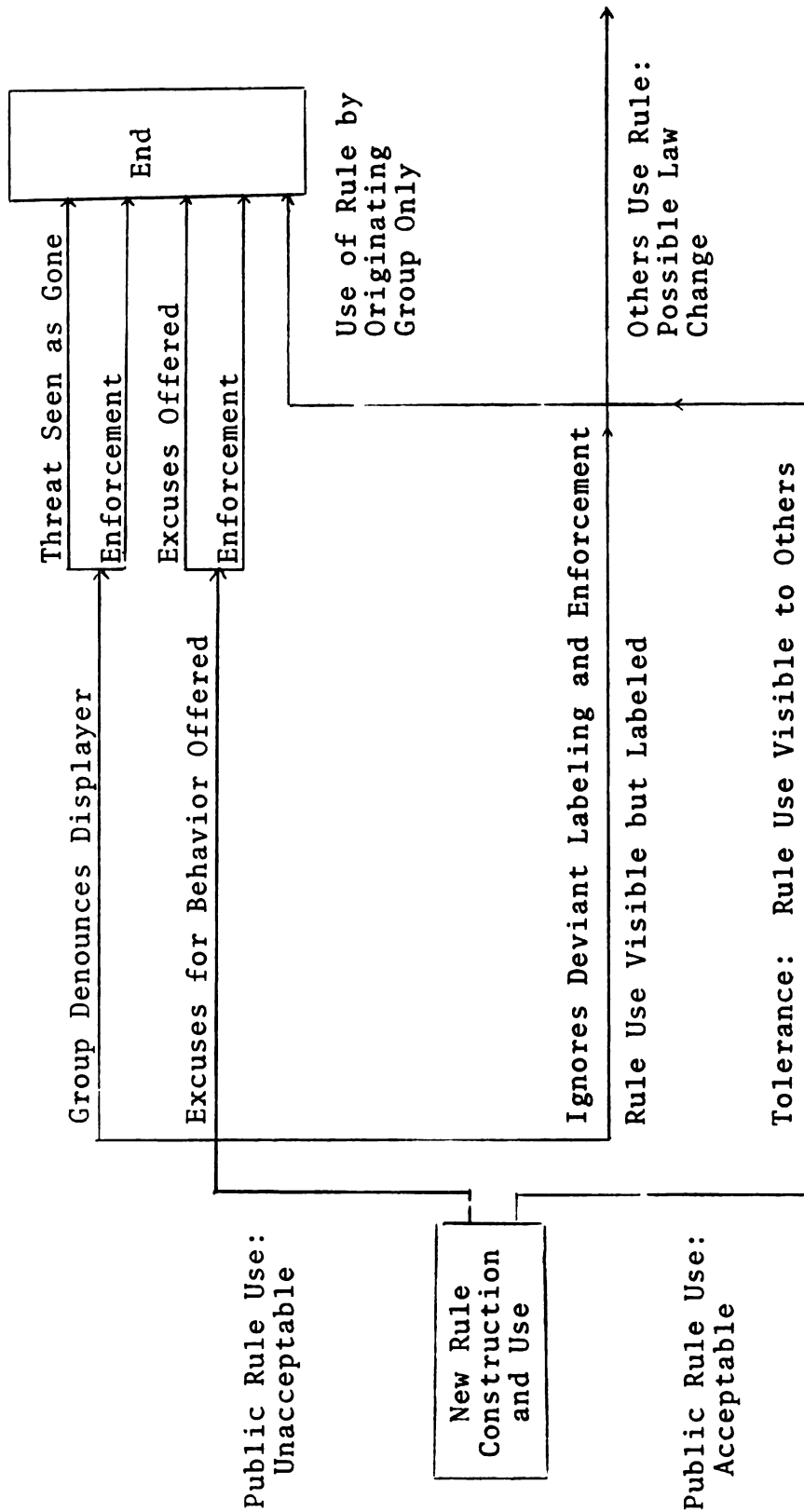


Figure 3. Public Reactions to New Rule Construction Use

for the displayers along this pathway:

1. Some members of the group may denounce other members they see as responsible. The group may break up, and potential enforcers may see the threat as ended.
2. Excuses for behavior may be offered similar to the individual and group private cases covered previously.
3. The group may feel secure enough to ignore the deviant label or other enforcement actions. This will depend on the relative social power of the groups involved. The rule use will be visible, but it may have a deviant label attached to it, making it less likely for other groups to use it.

Enforcement could occur after any of the three. For the first two, the rule or meaning will no longer be used in public; it may, however, continue to be used in private group situations.

If meaning and rule use is tolerated by a group that could have initiated enforcement, it becomes visible to other groups. Tolerance, however, may only be for the rule use by that particular group. But if a rule or meaning is visible, other groups may begin to see this meaning as an alternative for them when facing similar situations; the new rule will gain more general acceptance as more groups make use of it, and have the highest impact on the sociocultural system as a whole. At the extreme, as enough groups see this meaning as a viable alternative, a change in civil-legal rules can occur.

The key term in the above rule change process is "general acceptance". It begins with a situational

tolerance for a rule's use; in an apparent leisure situation, the rule use is not seen as threatening (while it might be if used in another situation). Other groups will see and may pick up that rule for use in similar situations. As the rule becomes more generally acceptable, its use can easily extend to more serious situations, into the work realm; similar interactional situations can occur in work and leisure. If a rule is unacceptable in all situations, it is difficult to do anything with it; once it becomes acceptable in one type of situation, it is much easier to extend its applicability. Some examples follow.

An example of these processes at work can be found in homosexuality; current court decisions and civil-legal rule changes are the endpoint of a sequence beginning with interactional rule changes between two individuals in private. (Few new rule interpretations will reach this level of impact; violations of civil-legal rules are a small part of all the deviance occurring in society.) As with any kind of human interaction, sexual relations are governed by relational rules. Through interaction under existing rules, new rules evolve between individuals making a homosexual relationship normal. It is very unlikely such interactional rules will evolve where one or both persons feel heavy constraints. For example, a work organization situation, where discovery of such rule use might be probable and the consequences grave, gives little

chance for the incremental process to occur. In the same manner, many non-job situations, such as family roles (where the group's moral order calls for heterosexual rules) can offer similar heavy constraint. A more informal situation where all interacting participants are in a leisure state of mind will allow freer analogizing in solving situational problems. In other words, the lack of constraint means a freedom from the rules of other moral orders participated in at other times; these moral orders may have called for heterosexual relational rules. Besides not being bound by rules from other moral orders, the process can occur at increased speed since there is less chance of serious identification with suggestions, especially at the outset. (This has nothing to do with the sexual acts themselves being leisure; once the rules have evolved, there may be a high degree of constraint involved in using them. Similarly, all sex, heterosexual, homosexual, or otherwise, can be either work or leisure. Preconceived ideas among the unexperienced about what it should be like, or a heavy emphasis on performance ability among the experienced can form heavy constraints upon the act, making it work; for others these constraints may be absent, with freer change of rules governing the relationship, making sex a satisfying leisure experience.)

In private, homosexual relational rules have long been found the best and most practical solution to some situational problems for certain people. Public

exposure of rule use to those outside of the relationship, however, has often resulted in punishments of some kind. Others with power to initiate enforcement have seen their moral orders threatened by that rule use and have taken action, either bringing criminal charges or causing social disgrace.

Tolerance of such rule use has increased. It begins with a situational tolerance for the rules; it is permissible for a certain group to use such rules in public under special circumstances. The rules in the abstract are still seen as wrong. The special circumstances may refer to the apparent leisure which makes the homosexual's rule use less threatening; holding hands in a park Sunday afternoon is less threatening than the holding of hands at the conference table Monday morning. Such tolerance was perhaps first limited to gay bars at night, but this still is more visible than use of the rules in private residences. Increased public display allows more people to see another alternative to certain problems. The apparently large number of homosexuals is not only the result of former private rule users coming out into the open, but also of others seeing a new alternative as open to them that never would have been previously considered. The use of the rules by others in the open constitutes some social support, making it easier to find such an alternative subjectively available (and therefore morally right). Television and other media have presented these

interactional rules so often that they have begun to appear "normal"; as the exposure broadens, there is less chance of the new groups becoming aware of such rule use to see it as threatening enough to initiate enforcement. The broad exposure has also allowed those sharing these rules in the abstract to find one another and bind into groups strong enough to ignore labels of public deviance. They also begin to fight publicly for certain rights. The battle is to achieve the acceptance of the use of homosexual relational rules not only situationally, but in the abstract as well. (That is, for outsiders to tolerate such rule use, even though they would never consider the use of those rules themselves.) An argument often put forth is that being a homosexual has nothing to do with the ability to do a job. In seeking increased tolerance, homosexual groups seek to further separate their interactional rules from work, in order to appear less threatening to other moral orders. In the long run, this will probably succeed; this concept is now receiving some support in the courts and may result in changes in civil-legal rules. In the short run, however, the trend will probably be towards increased situational tolerance for such public rule use, with the situations predominantly related to apparent leisure time use of the rules; tolerance of work time use of rules will come much more slowly.

The rules governing marijuana use have undergone

similar changes in private, and are reaching the stage of civil-legal rule changes. At one time, the possession of even minute amounts could result in stiff prison sentences. Today, there is a general, continuing discussion of its legalization. This, however, is unlikely to occur in one large step; the incremental process continues. Too many would find one-step legalization threatening to their existing moral orders. An example of the future route of legalization has occurred. In 1975, the Alaska Supreme Court ruled that possession and use of marijuana in the privacy of the home was a constitutional right. The court felt, however, they should still be concerned with banning the public use of marijuana.

Most relational and interactional rule changes do not reach this level, but can still have a large impact on the sociocultural system. Another example lies in clothing. For all of man's recorded history, and probably for long before that, proper apparel has been governed by a fairly complex set of social rules. It is obvious that for long periods of time, these rules are treated as absolutes. It is equally obvious that the rules do change over time; dress is not the same as it was two hundred years ago. It changes in more than design and style: it changes in social significance. A major contemporary example is the wearing of pants and pantsuits by women. Where once pants were justified only for perhaps the dirtiest of manual labor for women (and often not even for

that), now pants are seen in formal evening wear and routinely donned for hours of employment. Very few years ago this would have been generally considered an insult to the masculinity of the escort or boss, or a slap in the face of the host or hostess. It is not likely this movement suddenly started from a single liberated woman wearing them to the job. Such use probably began for work in the home (private rule use), and spread to other apparent leisure time activities, where there was more visibility, but excuses were available which would reduce the threat to masculinity. As use grew, perhaps, fashion designers picked up the idea and gave it more exposure, helping the idea to spread. But even the clothing designers limited themselves at first to formal wear and other leisure time designs. Only after tolerance and rule use grew did pants on women begin to appear generally in the employment situation.

These have been the more obvious examples of the larger impacts possible on the system as a whole. More typical, and perhaps more important in cumulative effects, are the small rule changes that may never be used by anyone but the originating group. These are basic to the functioning of the sociocultural system; these are the rule changes that let the members of society better meet what they see as their day to day needs. These are rules governing sexual relations between marriage partners (as discussed above), relations between a student and

professor (contrast the direction and speed of rule change between formal classroom meetings only and that which occurs when the professor and his class meet over a stein of beer in a campus beer hall), the relationship between two friends competing for the same girl, the interaction of strangers meeting for the first time, and so on, to cover all types of human interaction. Rule change must and will continually occur; leisure may play an important role in much of the productive rule change in society.

This is not to say that leisure (as the concept used here, contrasted with a work attitude) will cause productive rule change; leisure situations could easily lead to an equal number of unproductive rule changes. Processes after rule change occurs determine whether it is productive or not. Does the new rule meet the needs of those creating it or using it? Do others see its use as a threatening enough gesture to initiate enforcement? (In this sense, productivity must be viewed in terms of who in society benefits and who might have to pay when a new rule is created and used.) In promoting rule change, leisure is neutral; it is not determinative of whether a rule change is useful or productive or not. Leisure's importance is in the promotion of rule change and the spread of such rule and meaning use throughout the sociocultural system.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

Most individuals will recognize some personal value of leisure for themselves. There may also be, however, a value of leisure beyond the sum of these individual benefits. It was desired to find a role leisure plays in the operation and maintenance of society. Even though leisure may or may not contribute significantly to the biological survival of individuals, it may play a part in the survival of the sociocultural system. In making social decisions concerning leisure, it may be important to note that such decisions may not only affect individuals directly but may also have important implications for the way the sociocultural system will operate.

To provide a base for examining this question within a systems framework, a model of the sociocultural system was used. A leisure system was also assumed, as a subsystem of the sociocultural system. Thus, the objectives of the leisure system should support and help to achieve the objectives of the larger system. There are basic problems in identifying the goals of the sociocultural system. There is one value, however, that all complex systems must pursue: survival. Although other

goals might be identified (and the leisure system might at some time be supporting those goals), the basic question is: Does the leisure system, at any point in time, pursue objectives which support the basic survival objective of the sociocultural system?

The model of the sociocultural system is used to identify the processes necessary for the operation and maintenance of a functional social system; that is, a social system which will allow its members to reach what they see as adequate satisfaction of their needs and desires. Two sets of processes are necessary. Structure maintaining forces temporarily preserve interaction patterns to give some regularity and predictability to the world. Structure changing forces allow the system to adapt to changing conditions, to better let the system fulfill the needs of its members. It is held that leisure plays an important role in structure changing processes. One proposed goal of the leisure system is to provide opportunity spaces for deviance. Deviance, as used here, is not only the violation of existing social rules, but also the construction of new rules to take the old rules' places in guiding behavior. Therefore, leisure can be seen to play a part in the process of social interactional rule change. Changes in social rules are necessary: the possible situations of everyday life are too complex and varied to be dealt with by any single set of rules. Forcing conformance to a set of rules may not allow members to

meet their needs as new situations arise, resulting in the preservation (at least for a time) of a disfunctional social system.

Leisure is a concept with many dimensions. It is first seen as a state of mind characterized by a relative feeling of lack of constraint. This is important in the analogizing process of rule change. Analogizing occurs whenever no existing rule is seen to fit a situation. A comparison is made between the present situation and past experience, combined with knowledge of similar situations not actually encountered. Rules applying to similar situations are tested and reinterpreted to try to fit the present situation, minimizing the gap between old rules and newly constructed meanings. A leisure state of mind among participants will affect which past situations and existing rules are seen as relevant to a situation, obviously affecting the outcome of the analogizing. This occurs through encapsulation, a process closely related to the lack of constraint characterizing the leisure state of mind. Encapsulation is a foreshortening of the time and social span used in judging rules as relevant for a particular situation. It will limit the range of past experience and knowledge seen as relevant, and may severely restrict consideration of future consequences. Thus, a leisure state of mind among participants would likely mean a new situation will be seen as entirely different, requiring construction of a new rule to fit it (with

freer analogy) rather than forcing an old rule to "make do". Analogizing still attempts to minimize gaps between old situations and the present; the rules and situations seen as relevant, however, may be very different.

The same feeling of lack of constraint will also affect the rule change process by such factors as reducing the probability that any person will be identified with unfavorable rule change proposals during the interaction of formulating the new rule. In addition, a leisure state of mind among participants will affect the probability that the new rule or meaning will receive the necessary social support of the members involved, in order to actually apply the rule.

The above discussion dealt with rule change within a group where rule use can be viewed as a private group affair, not open to the view or judgement of outsiders. A new rule is used because it best solves the group's problems. A higher impact on the sociocultural system is possible, however, when the use of a new rule becomes public. The concern shifts to the conditions under which a new rule interpretation will become acceptable to, and be used by, other outside groups. Here it is seen that leisure is a concept with more than one dimension; it concerns not only the individual attitude or experience, but also the relationships between people. The concept must include how observers decide whether a person is at leisure or not, and how that decision affects the

observer's subsequent actions. Any new rule use might be seen as threatening to the moral order of the observer, who may have power to initiate enforcement against the rule user. The idea of leisure as time blocks becomes useful; the observer can use external appearances (work time, play time, and other divisions) to impute motives. These time blocks may have no relationship to the observed individual's actual perceived constraints. On this basis, however, the observer will decide if the rule use is serious; that is, if it represents a threat. If the new meanings or rules are displayed in an apparent leisure situation, it is likely other groups (who could initiate enforcement) would not view the behavior as threatening, since leisure is not as serious as work. Rather than enforcement, the observers may accept excuses for non-self behavior or for special justification under the circumstances. A third possibility is that repeated use of the new rule will be tolerated.

Once new rule use is publicly displayed, it may impact other groups. It begins with a situational tolerance for a rule use in an apparent leisure situation. Over time, other groups may see this new rule as also possibly relevant to them as they face similar situations. As the rule becomes more generally acceptable, its use can easily be extended to more serious situations. If a rule is unacceptable in all situations, it is difficult to do anything with it; once it becomes acceptable in one type

of situation, it is much easier to extend its applicability. If such new rule use spreads to a large enough number of groups in society, the end result may be a change in the relevant formal civil-legal rules.

Where does the current field of parks and recreation fit into this conception of leisure? Recreation is not necessarily leisure; leisure is not restricted to time blocks or activities. Park and recreation administrators will not change their programs in order to pursue a goal of permitting easier and faster change of interactional rules. They are, and will remain, committed to the primarily individual benefits of recreation and leisure, rather than the social benefits considered here. Nor, perhaps, is it necessary that they be concerned with the broader processes in operation. In pursuing their present goals, they are also contributing to the societal benefits as well. A continued trend towards a goal of enhancing the recreation or leisure "experience" of the individual obviously plays a part in the latter. One thing that makes the individual experience so rewarding is also important to the social processes described: a feeling of lack of constraint. In trying to provide recreation settings free from the many strains and stresses of everyday life, administrators may be presenting opportunities for an easier attainment of a leisure state of mind, and for everything that follows from it. They are contributing to a goal they may not even know exists.

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Buckley, Walter, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.
- Churchman, C. West, The Systems Approach. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1968.
- Cohen, Albert K., "A Theory of Subculture," Deviance; The Interactionist Perspective. Edward Rubington and Martin S. Weinberg, eds. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
- Denzin, Norman K., "Rules of Conduct and the Study of Deviant Behavior: Some Notes on the Social Relationship," Deviance and Respectability. Jack D. Douglas, ed. New York: Basic Books, 1970.
- Denzin, Norman K., "Self and Society," Introduction to Sociology. Jack D. Douglas, ed. New York: Free Press, 1973.
- Douglas, Jack D., American Social Order; Social Rules in a Pluralistic Society. New York: Free Press, 1971.
- Douglas, Jack D., "Deviance and Respectability," Deviance and Respectability. New York: Basic Books, 1970.
- Douglas, Jack D., "Deviance and Social Control," Introduction to Sociology. New York: Free Press, 1973.
- Douglas, Jack D., "The Experience of the Absurd and the Problem of Social Order," Theoretical Perspectives on Deviance. Robert A. Scott and Jack D. Douglas, eds. New York: Basic Books, 1972.
- Driver, B.L. and S. Ross Tocher, "Towards a Behavioral Interpretation of Recreation Engagements, with Implications for Planning," Elements of Outdoor Recreation Planning, B.L. Driver, ed. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1970.
- Glaser, Daniel, Social Deviance. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1971.

- Goffman, Erving, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1959.
- Kraus, Richard, Recreation and Leisure in Modern Society. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1971.
- Laszlo, Ervin, The Systems View of the World. New York: George Braziller, 1972.
- Lemert, Edwin M., "Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control," Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972.
- Lofland, John, Deviance and Identity. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- Nett, Roger, "Conformity-Deviation and the Social Control Concept," Modern Systems Research for the Behavioral Scientist. Walter Buckley, ed. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968.
- Schur, Edwin, Labeling Deviant Behavior; Its Sociological Implications. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Seibel, Dieter H., "Social Deviance in Comparative Perspective," Theoretical Perspectives on Deviance. Robert A. Scott and Jack D. Douglas, eds. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293101379307