

AN ENQUIRY INTO MEANINGS OF WORK AND LEISURE:  
THE CASE OF PROFESSIONAL AND AMATEUR  
FOOTBALL PLAYERS AND GARDENERS

Alan Roadburg

Ph.D.

University of Edinburgh

1977



I declare that this thesis has been composed by  
me and is entirely my own work.

Alan Roadburg

ABSTRACT

Leisure research and theory lack cohesion because: (i) current definitions identify leisure as either a period of time, an activity, or an experience; and (ii) leisure tends to be conceptualized as the "ideal" antithesis of alienated work. The present research is designed to investigate meanings of work and leisure and it is based on the premise that it is the situation within which an activity is carried out, and not the activity itself, that is defined as work or leisure. Analysis includes subjects who defined football or gardening situations as work, and others who defined them as leisure.

To account for meanings of work and leisure the concept "personal expectations" is introduced. These involve: positive expectations, or elements which are sought in a situation; negative expectations, or elements the individual would prefer to avoid; and neutral expectations, or elements toward which the individual is impartial. It is suggested that at a general level people have an image of work and leisure which is based on at least one of six considerations: remuneration, time, pressures, the nature of the task, notions of freedom, and to a lesser extent, personal aptitudes or inclinations. The notion of work involves negative expectations, while the/....

the notion of leisure involves positive expectations with respect to at least one of these considerations.

At a personal level, people attach meanings to specific situations defined as work or leisure. These involve attitudes toward the self/others determination of action, the self/others determination of a situation's environment, and the strength of social relationships within a situation. Attitudes toward these dimensions form the basis of the individual's general orientation toward, and definition of, a situation. The three attitude and the general orientation dimensions are presented as continua between complying with negative expectations and realizing positive ones. Although both positive and negative expectations can be experienced in any situation, situations defined as work are typically those wherein the individual is oriented toward complying with negative expectations, while situations defined as leisure are typically those wherein the individual is oriented toward realizing positive expectations.

The Personal Expectations Theory may be useful for predicting how a situation will be defined, for integrating and enriching existing propositions in the study of work and leisure, and for future research.

CONTENTS

List of Tables ..... vii  
Introduction ..... x

PART 1 CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF WORK AND LEISURE

1 Leisure as a Field of Study ..... 1  
2 The Relationship Between Work and Leisure ..... 24  
3 Theoretical Perspective and Research Design ..... 52  
4 Situations Defined as Work ..... 88  
5 Situations Defined as Leisure ..... 118  
6 Conceptualizations of Work and Leisure:  
A Summary ..... 146

PART 2 ATTITUDES TOWARD ELEMENTS IN SITUATIONS  
DEFINED AS WORK OR LEISURE

7 Elements and Attitudes in a Situation ..... 149  
8 The Worlds of Professional and Amateur  
Football ..... 161  
9 The Influence of Personal Expectations on  
the Definition of a Situation ..... 188  
10 Personal Expectations in Relation to  
Enjoyment ..... 213  
11 Determination of Action Continuum ..... 231  
12 Determination of Action in Relation to  
Cheating ..... 260

13	Determination of a Situation's Environment Continuum .....	288
14	Social Relations Continuum .....	312
15	Attitudes Toward Other Participants: Select Issues .....	340
16	Redefining Situations .....	375
17	Toward a Theory of Personal Expectations .....	388
Appendix 1	Additional Tables .....	406
Appendix 11	Categories Which Emerged During the Field Work .....	415
Appendix 111	Interview Schedules .....	418
Appendix IV	Research Procedures, Additional Details and Problems .....	431
References	.....	436

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Conceptualizations of Leisure and Subjective Attitudes Toward Work	35
Table 3.1	Number of Amateur Footballers in Britain	76
Table 3.2	Number of Subjects by Age Category	80
Table 3.3	Number of Subjects by Marital Status	81
Table 3.4	Non-Remunerated Football Players and Gardeners by Socio-Economic Group	82
Table 3.5	Non-Remunerated Football Players and Gardeners by Social Class	84
Table 4.1	Division of Subjects by their Definition of Football or Gardening	93
Table 4.2	Reasons for Defining a Football or Gardening Situation as Work	95
Table 4.3	Relationship Between the Presence or Absence of Remuneration and Definition of Football	97
Table 4.4	Number of Hours Spent Per Week in a Gardening Situation Defined as Leisure	99
Table 4.5	Sources of Pressures in Work and Football Situations of Non-Remunerated Football Subjects	110
Table 5.1	Players' Definition of a Club Golf Outing by Definitional Category	138
Table 9.1	Reasons Why Amateur Football is Not a Rat-Race	200
Table 10.1	Reasons for More Enjoyment in an Amateur than in a Professional Football Situation	216
Table 10.2	Elements of a Kick-About	222

Table 10.3	Elements of a Professional Game	223
Table 10.4	Reasons for Defining Gardening as Not-Leisure	225
Table 10.5	Alternative Work Situations for the Pros	229
Table 11.1	Positive and Negative References to Training Exercises	245
Table 14.1	Proportion of Reciprocal to Total Friendship Choices	318
Table 14.2	What Amateur Players Look For in Selecting Another Team	328
Table 14.3	Reasons for Joining an Amateur Football Club	336
Table 15.1	Relationship Between Best Friends and Team Positions	345
Table 15.2	Whom Footballers Play For	350
Table 15.3	Attitudes Toward Replacement	357
Table 15.4	Ball Passing to Friends or Man in Best Position	364
Table 15.5	Percentage of Times Each Category of Receiver was Favoured	367
Table 16.1	Relationship Between Age and Definition of Professional Football	376
APPENDIX 1		
Table 1	Differences Between Professional and Amateur Football by Remunerational and Definitional Category	407
Table 11	Differences Between Professional and Amateur Gardeners by Remunerational Category	408
Table 111	Reasons for Preferring First Team Football by Definitional Category	409
Table 1V	Likes and Dislikes in Work Situation: Amateur Football Subjects	410
Table V	Dislikes in Amateur Football	411

Table VI	Reasons for Playing Amateur Football	412
Table VII	Reasons for Gardening for Oneself	413
Table VIII	After Training Activities: The Pros	414

## INTRODUCTION

The research undertaken for this thesis was originally prompted by personal confusion and doubt with respect to the referent of the term "leisure". The literature contains numerous references to a lack of leisure theory and one is constantly made aware of the lack of consensual agreement in terms of how leisure is to be conceptualized. Numerous authors have offered a definition of leisure as a prelude to their contribution to the field. Yet each time the word "leisure" is used one can't help but question what is being referred to. It is as though most students of leisure are investigating a phenomenon without pausing to ask what it is they are investigating (a case of putting the cart before the horse). Thus, in a general sense this thesis is an attempt to uncover meanings of leisure. But in so doing three points must be noted. First, meanings of leisure can only be understood with reference to meanings of work. For both work and leisure belong:

"to the category of words, sometimes called binary, which can be understood only in relation to one another, in this like husband which can only be understood along with wife, or woman, more generally, with man, or indeed any word out of a pair which describes two complementary actors in a role like parent-child or employer-employee, or many kinds of special relationships like left-right, up-down, higher-lower, in-out which are also liberally used as metaphors. These words which are lost if alone gather meaning if they have a companion". (1)

The/...

The second point is that the terms work and leisure can mean different things to different people. And this difference is particularly pronounced when meanings among leisure scholars are compared to those among people in the everyday world. These differences, furthermore, have developed and changed historically. The discussion to follow accepts the fact that work and leisure can be interpreted in different ways and attempts to deal with these differences.

The third point worthy of mention is that the terms "work" and "leisure" can be used (in the English language) in two distinct ways. They can be used to identify a specific situation or they can be used to describe the nature of an activity within that situation. When used in the former sense, they are simply labels which identify, categorize and order total situations. But when used in the latter sense, work suggests that a particular activity requires a great deal of exertion. An activity described as leisure (or leisurely), on the other hand, suggests that little exertion is required. In this sense leisure is synonymous with ease or taking one's time. Because of this dual usage, both terms can be applied to a single sphere of activity. A situation defined as leisure can involve hard work, while one defined as work can be described as leisurely.

In response to the research problem the discussion/....

cussion to follow will be separated into two parts. Part 1 will deal with conceptualizations of work and leisure by the academic community and by subjects in the everyday world. It will begin by drawing on a number of definitions from the literature in order to gain a degree of understanding into the various ways leisure scholars have conceptualized their subject matter. Next, we shall take a brief look at the current state of leisure research and theory. This will be followed by an outline of the theoretical perspective and research design as a prelude to an analysis of the various ways work and leisure have been conceptualized by the subjects of this enquiry. Part 1 will conclude with a comparison between academic and everyday conceptualizations of work and leisure to point out their similarities and differences.

After dealing with general meanings of work and leisure in Part 1, Part 2 will begin with a theoretical statement which suggests reasons why a situation might be defined as work or leisure. This statement is developed as an alternative method of characterizing work and leisure and includes three attitudinal and a general orientation dimension. It is based on conclusions from the research and will be supported through data from field note entries and interview responses. Although the statement will be presented in its entirety at the beginning of Part 2, each of its four constituent parts will be discussed separately. We shall be looking at attitudes toward/....

toward specific elements in a situation by comparing those of subjects who defined an activity as work with those of subjects who defined the same activity as leisure.

Before turning to the results of this endeavour, I would like to express my appreciation and gratitude to Frank Bechhofer and Tom McGlew, for their interest, suggestions, and assistance in the preparation of this manuscript.

PART 1

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF WORK AND LEISURE

## CHAPTER 1

### LEISURE AS A FIELD OF STUDY

#### LEISURE AS A CONCEPT

Apropos of concept formation, Hubert Blumer suggests that:

"A concept must have the abstract character of a class with specific attributes. Until the specific instances of empirical content isolated by a given procedure are brought together in a class with common distinguishing features of content, no concept of theoretical character is formed". (1)

Blumer suggests a distinction between 'definitive' and 'sensitizing' concepts. The former are clearly defined in terms of attributes or bench marks, while the latter lack specification of attributes. And it is the definitive type, according to Blumer, which should be (but currently is not being) employed in social theory.

After assessing the current state of the sociology of leisure Rhona and Robert Rapoport conclude that:

"the field (of leisure) as a whole has been plagued by an inadequate distinction between concept and content so that as it grows, both as a phenomenon and as a field of study, so grows confusion". (2)

As concepts can vary in the degree to which they can be identified/.....

identified in reality, and as this variance can range from a highly specific to a loose or general reference, we will now turn to the literature to show how leisure is currently conceptualized by the academic community.

A survey of the literature has produced many different definitions of leisure. When these have been categorized it becomes apparent that leisure has been conceived of, not as a single phenomenon, but as phenomena capable of description in terms of a period of time, an activity, and an experience. The tripartite categorization of definitions here being suggested becomes clear when we look at a number of examples.

TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVE:

The time a man is free from work, when his work makes few or no demands on him. (3)

Time during which people are free to express and, if they have the capacity and means to do so, to develop their personality. (4)

Time that is free from the need to be concerned about maintenance. (5)

Time remaining after the necessary allocation to sleep, work and household chores and other functions of daily living. (6)

Constructive use of free time for personal and community enrichment. (7)

Time spent not getting a living, home-making, receiving training in school or carrying on religious or communal practices. (8)

Time not sold. Time not to be used at the direction of others, but rather time during which the individual is, or/....

or may be, master of his own living. (9)

Non productive consumption of time. (10)

Time not only free of the job, but free of social or civic obligations, moon lighting or more or less requisite do-it-yourself projects. (11)

A part of time made free by the growth of productive forces, is oriented toward rest, enjoyment and improvement of the individual as an end in itself. (12)

#### ACTIVITY PERSPECTIVE:

Activities freely entered into. (13)

Those activities whose moral content renders them most important to us, those things that we want to do for their own sake or those things that we feel ethically constrained to do. (14)

An activity the essence of which is expression, contemplation and imaginative vision. (15)

Freedom from activities centering around the making of a livelihood. (16)

Activities undertaken by choice, not of necessity, that are pursued for their own sake. (17)

Any activity other than time one is absolutely compelled to spend in earning one's living or carrying out other inescapable responsibilities like those of a housewife and mother...Leisure must be equated with choice of activity. (18)

#### EXPERIENCE PERSPECTIVE:

Being productive only for oneself. (19)

When obligation and extrinsic instrumentality are absent and when only immediate affectivity and intrinsic leisure gratifications are involved. (20)

End experiences, ultimate rather than instrumental, changing the outside world not at all. (21)

Freedom to do as one pleases. (22)

The/....

The state or condition of being free from the urgent demands of lower level needs. (23)

The pursuit by people of what they enjoy. (24)

A state of being free of everyday necessity. (25)

Relatively self-determined activities and experiences that fall into one's economically free-time roles, that are seen as leisure by participants, that are psychologically pleasant in anticipation and recollection, that potentially cover the whole range of commitment and intensity, that contain characteristic norms and restraints, and provide opportunities for recreation, personal growth and service to others. (26)

A state of mind; it is a way of being, of being at peace with oneself and what one is doing. It is doing what one wants to do and what one chooses to do. (27)

An inner or subjective experience...the complex of self-fulfilling and self-enriching values achieved by the individual as he uses leisure time in self-chosen activities that recreate him. (28)

Linked to people's sense of enjoyment and freedom, their capacity for self-realization and self-expression, the process of recreation and renewal, the possibility of choice and opportunity. (29)

An attitude of non-activity, of inward calm, of silence; it means not being busy, but letting things happen. (30)

Unserious freedom from the authoritarian seriousness of the job. (31)

Each perspective is, in essence, a separate conceptual scheme or theoretical perspective. And, as currently defined, each seems to parallel or identify separate dimensions of leisure. Admittedly there exists a certain degree of overlap between conceptual schemes, and for this reason each should not be interpreted as a hard-and-fast category but as an ideal-typical frame of reference through which leisure scholars have viewed their subject matter.

As/.....

As 'leisure-time' can be readily and quantitatively identified, it is this perspective that is most frequently encountered in the literature. Through this frame, leisure is conceived, distinguished, and identified as a block of time or as a period between socially defined events; the most prevalent of which are the world of work and various social obligations. But as work and social obligations are in themselves blocks of time, it follows that leisure viewed through a temporal perspective is in fact characterized in a residual manner by its relation to other socially defined blocks of time.

The activity perspective on leisure differs from the temporal inasmuch as it identifies the phenomenon in terms of engagement in activities, rather than time periods. There is a similarity between the activity and temporal perspectives, however, in that activities can be seen as being carried out in time. Hence the expression, 'leisure-time activities'. Because leisure activities are distinguished by their relationship to other activities, leisure activities are similarly defined in a residual manner.

The experience perspective differs from the temporal and activity perspectives inasmuch as it distinguishes the phenomenon by the experience or feelings of the individual. By emphasizing perception, this approach/....

approach is more subjective than the other two and thus is more difficult to locate and measure. Leisure as an experience can be present in any or all periods of time or activities. It remains, however, that leisure as an experience likewise relates to something else; only here that something else is another experience.

Because each perspective identifies leisure by its relation to something else, each conceptualization has come to be infused with evaluative elements. Terms such as: free, constructive, non-obligatory, spontaneous, un-serious, enjoyable, self-realising (to name but a few), whether applicable to a period of time, an activity, or an experience, exemplify those evaluative elements that are explicitly stated. But the inclusion of evaluative elements does not end with those that are explicitly stated. For implicit evaluative elements are also present even in those seemingly neutral definitions based on non-work time or activities. Consider, for example, the following definition where leisure is conceived of as, "all the time in a day when the individual is not sleeping, eating or working".<sup>(32)</sup> Leisure is in fact being negatively defined by its relation to those times in a day when the individual is sleeping, eating and working.

The classification of definitions can be a fairly arbitrary exercise. Where one is able to create three/....

three categories, another might be able to collapse this to two, or perhaps change perspectives to create a totally different scheme. It will be helpful, therefore, to outline two different schemes, each with the same purpose, but each of which differs from that outlined above.

John Neulinger, in looking at leisure from a psychological perspective, devised four types of leisure conceptualizations. The first group conceives of leisure as a residual, "what is left of the twenty-four hours of the day when time devoted to work, sleep and other necessities of life are subtracted".<sup>(33)</sup> This perspective Neulinger calls objective definitions of leisure. Subjective definitions of leisure, the second group, views leisure as a state of mind or a way of being. Next comes a group that emphasizes "what leisure does for the individual rather than what it is".<sup>(34)</sup> This is followed by the fourth category, a functionalist's view of leisure, where leisure is regarded as fulfilling certain personal needs. Neulinger rightly concludes by saying, "perhaps the complexity of the problem of leisure does not permit a single principle explanation...Maybe all we can hope for is a delineation of the conditions for leisure along with an elaboration of its many functions".<sup>(35)</sup>

Joffre Dumazedier, a French sociologist who has made major contributions to the study of leisure, put forth a different classificatory scheme in response to what/.....

what he called 'the quarrel over definitions'. Dumazedier began by making a basic distinction between activities:

- (a) Remunerated work
- (b) Family obligations
- (c) Socio-spiritual and socio-political obligations
- (d) Activities external to these institutional obligations and mainly oriented towards self-fulfilment

From here he suggests that, "four types of definitions may be distinguished, depending on whether they hold leisure to include one or all of these elements".<sup>(36)</sup> Definition number 1, sees leisure not as a category, but as a style of behaviour, which may occur in any activity, i.e. activities (a), (b), (c) and (d). This category is similar to Neulinger's subjective definition of leisure. Definition number 2, "explicitly or implicitly situates leisure in relation to work only, and by contrast to it, as if nothing else existed, as if leisure could be equated with non-work".<sup>(37)</sup> Leisure here involves activities (b), (c) and (d), and is similar to Neulinger's objective definition. Definition number 3 includes activities (c) and (d), while the fourth definition, "time whose content is oriented towards self-fulfilment as an ultimate end",<sup>(38)</sup> involves activity (d) only.

#### EMPIRICAL INDICATORS OF LEISURE

At the beginning of this chapter, it was suggested/.....

suggested that attempts to define leisure have involved a number of inter-related dimensions and have created a state of confusion. Nevertheless leisure has been measured through a variety of means. The most frequently encountered method involves measuring leisure in terms of time or money spent on specific activities. That is:

"Among the various ways of observing how time is spent there are three that lend themselves easily to measurement. One method is to see what people spend their money for... Another way is to rank their activities by the frequency with which they are engaged in or by the importance they assign. A third method ranks activities not by frequency but by length of time devoted to them". (39)

The use of time budgets or expenditure ranking as empirical indicators of leisure can present problems for the social scientist. Who, for instance, is to say that the amount of time or money spent on a specific activity represents an empirical indicator of leisure? And even when the subject is asked to list his leisure activities, he is in fact first obliged to consider what leisure is before he can proceed to list those activities. The researcher will then bring together under one conceptual whole (i.e. the researcher's conceptualization of leisure) a number of different conceptualizations of leisure. Similarly, if the researcher himself decides that a given activity is a leisure activity, for instance to permit the secondary analysis of statistics, what the scientist considers to be a leisure activity or a measure of/....

of leisure might not be considered as such by the subjects. Nevertheless, once a leisure activity has been identified (either by the subject or by the researcher), it is often assumed that that activity is a measure of leisure.

Take for example a piece of research conducted in England by B. Newman. Newman defined leisure as, "the pursuit by people of what they enjoy".<sup>(40)</sup> His research, which involved a secondary analysis of British Tourist Authority statistics, looked at the extent to which the individual's work, family and community influences his choice of what he enjoys. Hence, Newman's research focused on the extent to which these three variables influenced leisure.

As a general conclusion, the research established that the propensity to take a holiday varies directly with social class. Now the relationship between social class and the propensity to take a holiday may be a valid one, but can one assume further that all people enjoy holidays? Consider the following quotation:

"Thousands of people at the present moment are enjoying or pretending to themselves that they are enjoying a holiday. They will come back almost tired to death of their pleasures, and delighted to return to their businesses, yet they will persuade themselves and others (including the leisure scholar) that they have passed an inconceivably agreeable vacation". (41)

Newman's statistics defined holidays as four nights or more/....

more away from home. Surely this must include people away on business and those paying obligatory visits to relatives.

In short, is holiday-taking a measure of leisure, if leisure is defined as the pursuit by people of what they enjoy? The parentheses in the above quotation were inserted to emphasize the fact that,

"the sociology of leisure today is little else than a reporting of survey data on what selected samples of individuals do with the time in which they are not working and the correlation of these data with conventional demographic variables". (42)

Time budgets, or expenditure and activity ranking may measure time spent in specific activities, but "a merely quantitative measure of time will not account for the qualities with which the various times are endowed by members of a group". (43) The problem here is one of interpreting scores on empirical indicators. What in fact is being measured? Is it simple time and money allotments, or is it the meanings of the activity to the individual concerned?

The measurement of meaning:

"is the least studied of the three aspects of leisure...One of the reasons for this may be that the very question asked presupposes a different definition of leisure than the traditional residual one generally used". (44)

One/.....

One method that has been used to get at leisure meanings involves the use of a research diary. Outlined by Nelson Foote, the research diary is designed to characterize the respondent's behaviour objectively.

"To what extent do they initiate their own behaviour, and to what extent is it initiated by others, whose intrusion upon their attention is experienced as an interruption? This can be ascertained by looking closely at the initiation and termination of each episode of behaviour".(45)

Through this research tool, respondent's behaviour is examined 'microscopically'.

Another method for getting at leisure meanings was devised by Dubin and subsequently followed up by others interested in the study of workers' 'central life interest'. Through examining where workers' interests lie, in or away from the workplace, Dubin concluded, that "industrial man seems to perceive his life history as having its centre outside of work for his intimate human relationships, and for his feelings of enjoyment, happiness and worth".(46)

Havighurst and his colleagues, in conducting studies on the meaningful use of time, enquired into people's favourite leisure activities rather than into all their leisure activities. Favourite activities were classified into eleven categories and these were related to social class, sex and age. Havighurst's respondents were/....

were asked for the meanings they attached to both their favourite leisure activities and to their work. From this method of analysis, Havighurst concluded that meanings are systematically related to the content of preferred leisure activities. He was also able to put forth 'a general principle of the equivalence of work and play'. That is,

"to a considerable extent people can get the same satisfaction from leisure as from work". (47)

This research was completed with a questionnaire.

Another method used to study the meanings of leisure involved the use of a 'leisure attitude questionnaire'. Designed by Neulinger, the leisure attitude questionnaire identified five leisure attitude dimensions. These included:

- (i) affinity for leisure
- (ii) society's role in leisure planning
- (iii) self-definition through leisure
- (iv) amounts of perceived leisure
- (v) amount of work or vacation desired (48)

Neulinger concluded that, "the objective definition of leisure, i.e. leisure as a residual, is a generally accepted way of thinking about leisure". (49) For when asked to explain what is meant by leisure, 77% of Neulinger's respondents emphasized leisure as discretionary time/.....

time, 18% as discretionary activity, and 5% as a state of mind. (50) As an aside, notice the similarity here between the conceptualizations of leisure as given by Neulinger's respondents and the categorization of leisure definitions as suggested at the beginning of this chapter.

Michael Young and Peter Willmott similarly asked a number of respondents to explain the meanings of leisure. They reported that a number of their informants "seemed to be as puzzled as us... about leisure". (51) Nevertheless, they concluded that work and leisure are mutually exclusive in principle, are distinguished by the three criteria of payment, freedom and pleasure, and are not collectively exhaustive. (52)

As a further example Rhona and Robert Rapoport conducted an extensive study through the framework of the 'life-cycle', where each 'life-line' (i.e. work, family and leisure) was viewed as undergoing a 'career'. That is:

"Individuals have life cycles, according to which they change their preoccupations, interests and activities as they develop - maturing and ageing in the course of the life cycle...The family life cycle is geared both to age and sex variables but it encompasses something more. It implies a changing organisation of roles and value orientations.. which partly reflect the large social environment, and partly the particular people". (53)

Through this framework and through the use of case studies, the Rapoports concluded (in essence) that leisure means different things to different people depending upon their stage/....

stage of development in the life cycle.

One research method that has yet to be used to uncover the attitudes and meanings people hold towards leisure, is participant observation. For if one supports the premise that "the researcher must be able to experience the meaning of concrete concepts in his role as participant and formulate theory about them in his role as observer"<sup>(54)</sup> participant observation is an obvious research alternative to the diary or leisure questionnaire. The usefulness of participant observation as a research tool for uncovering the meanings of leisure will be demonstrated in due course.

Through the above discussion on leisure measurement, the usefulness of the leisure definition classificatory scheme suggested at the beginning of this chapter is demonstrated. For not only does it parallel the two general classifications of leisure types, but it also parallels the three methods of leisure measurement. The time budget method measures the temporal dimension of leisure, expenditure and activity ranking measures the activity dimension, while the research diary, leisure questionnaire and participant observation measures the experience dimension.

One of the purposes of social measurement is, according to Robert Kahn, "to develop a set of procedures that will monitor the quality of life in society".<sup>(55)</sup>

Most/....

Most social scientists would agree with this statement and would also agree that one indication of the extent to which a science has developed is the degree to which these procedures have been advanced. When we talk of procedures that monitor the quality of life, we are in essence talking about research procedures. For it is the extent to which these procedures have developed that determines the degree to which a science has developed. This being the case, let us turn our attention to the extent to which leisure research has developed.

#### LEISURE RESEARCH

Research in the field of leisure has but recently emerged, and for the most part has found its origin as a subsidiary interest to the study of work. Therefore, as one would expect, both leisure research and leisure theory are also in their beginning stages. Great strides have been made during the short period in which leisure has come under scientific scrutiny, but as most students of leisure would agree, we have a long way to go. John Neulinger, for example, suggests that, "the scientific investigation of leisure is still at a primitive stage. Much information has been collected but few comprehensive theories have been proposed, and experimentation is practically nonexistent or, perhaps, just beginning". (56)

A short history may be one reason why the scientific/....

scientific investigation of leisure is at a 'primitive stage', but it is not the only reason. Another has to do with the type of research that has traditionally been carried out in this field. Due to the fact that until recently, most leisure scholars have tended to treat their subject matter quantitatively, the survey analysis method of doing research, because it serves best the role of collecting quantitative data, (57) dominates early studies in the field of leisure. This is not the only research methodology leisure scholars have employed in their investigation, but until recently it was the most popular. Its limitation for leisure research is now clear to most students in this field and it is not used as often now as in the past. Furthermore, many critics have expressed their views against the use of this methodology in leisure research. Tom Burns, for example, suggests that:

"survey research used most in the empirical study of leisure, does not make it easy to develop hypotheses or theoretical explanations since it is applied to individuals and their responses". (58)

If it can be agreed that, "the sine qua non of any research is an adequate conceptualization of the terms used...(and that) this axiom is particularly relevant to the field of leisure research where confusion of terms is abundant" (59) then it can be suggested that leisure as a concept is not sufficiently refined to be used as a variable in hypotheses to be tested. This is not to suggest/....

suggest that survey analysis has no place in the study of leisure, but to suggest that because of the confusion which currently surrounds leisure as a concept, survey analysis is being used prematurely. If, and when, leisure can be operationalized and measured as a concept, then survey analysis will prove its worth in leisure research. Perhaps an example will clarify this point.

There have been a number of studies undertaken to relate social class to leisure. Two in particular can be compared for our purpose. These include one by B. Newman<sup>(60)</sup> and another by C.R. White.<sup>(61)</sup> White studied social class differences in the use of leisure, while Newman, we saw earlier, investigated the relationship between social class and holiday taking.

A Comparison of Research on Relationship  
between Social Class and Leisure

<u>Author</u>	<u>Definition of Leisure</u>	<u>Empirical Indicator</u>
White	All the time in a day when the individual is not sleeping, eating or working.	Movies, television, reading, tavern attendance, etc.
Newman	The pursuit by people of what they enjoy.	Holiday-taking.

We see from the above that both White and Newman defined leisure differently, and both used different empirical indicators in their research. Thus, if they conceive of leisure differently, are they both measuring leisure or are/....

are they measuring participation in activities defined as leisure activities? There is no question of the technical validity of this research. No doubt a relationship exists between social class and participation in certain activities. But is it leisure, or is it simply participation in certain activities that has been measured?

Research alternatives to survey analysis are finding their way into the study of leisure. The research diary and the leisure questionnaire mentioned earlier have made contributions to an understanding of leisure. For these methodologies, along with participant observation research, are facing the problem of the meanings of leisure.

### LEISURE THEORY

Most students of leisure would agree that a body of theory is gravely lacking in their field. A number of quotations given above will attest to this fact. The sociology of leisure is not, however, lacking in hypotheses on the relationship between work and leisure, and on factors which are said to influence leisure behaviour. We shall leave the former issue for the next chapter, for it requires an extended and separate explanation. The latter, however, can be readily ascertained through a review of the literature.

The/....

The following factors appear in the literature as empirically tested influences on leisure behaviour.

Factors from the Literature which Affect Leisure

Job Oriented Factors

Shift work  
Skill level  
Occupational prestige  
Automation  
Work Career  
Occupational milieu  
Job experience

Community/Family Factors

Social class  
Primary group  
Place of residence  
City environment  
Culture/norms  
Nationality  
Status  
Group solidarity  
Autonomy  
Social trends

Personal Factors

Age  
Sex  
Habits  
Personality  
Needs  
Character type  
Personal interests  
Health  
Mobility  
Income  
Car Ownership

Extraneous Factor

Television

The effects of the above mentioned factors have been measured on participation in various activities, through the use of interviews, observation, or the secondary analysis of statistics.

As an addition to the above factors, Glasser suggests two criteria for leisure choices. These include, (1) the extent to which the activities are approved of by other people and of what society expects of someone in terms of an approved identity, and (2) those that confirm and/....

and enhance, to himself, the perception someone has of a desired identity.<sup>(62)</sup> Persuasive apparatus for overcoming the natural resistance on the part of the non-user against trying new leisure activities is suggested by Meyersohn.<sup>(63)</sup> While social compulsion of motives is suggested by Denney,<sup>(64)</sup> Ennis reminds us that although income and occupational position are important determinants of leisure, they shape its use differently in the city and in the suburb.<sup>(65)</sup> de Grazia further suggests that;

"the factors that define a given group often forecast its taste for free time. Groups with money, or an eminent family history, or of certain age or sex, or intellectual attainments, or at neighbouring workbenches, often have particular ways of passing free time both because of the special access or tendency their money or history or mechanical skill gives them, and because of their desire to distinguish themselves from other groups".<sup>(66)</sup>

As a final example from 'A Study of Leisure', Neulinger found the following relationships:

- (i) Males were more satisfied than females (all of whom were working full-time) with the amount of leisure they had.
- (ii) The younger generation feels a greater affinity for leisure than does the older.
- (iii) The more educated person shows a greater desire for vacation, a higher affinity for leisure, and tended to identify more with work than does the less educated one.
- (iv) The higher the respondent's income, the less likely was he to identify himself through leisure.
- (v) The nature of the job may determine whether it can serve as the basis of self-definition, but also that the broader educated person has a greater potential for the uses of leisure.
- (vi)/....

(vi) Protestants showed the strongest work attitude.

Neulinger also lists the following variables that "one might expect to be related to leisure behaviour and attitudes on the basis of theory or common sense: race, country of birth, birth order, work status, health, and personality variables". (67)

At first sight, it might be suggested that research has made progress in creating a body of leisure theory. Such, however, is not the case. For instead of a body of theory (which is made up of interrelated statements), we find that leisure theory is made up of a number of relationships between many independent variables (such as those listed above) and one dependent variable, i.e. leisure. But because leisure as a concept is in a state of confusion, these statements remain unrelated. Although research on the above mentioned factors is useful to an understanding of behaviour in specific activities, because participation in specific activities is not necessarily a measure of leisure, leisure theory remains at a low level of theoretical explanation.

This chapter has been concerned with outlining a number of alternative conceptualizations of leisure, with specifying the nature of the confusion surrounding leisure as a concept, and with tracing the effects of this confusion on/.....

on leisure research and leisure theory. It remains to consider why so many alternative formulations of the concept of 'leisure' are in current use. And as the reason for this has its roots in the relationship between work and leisure, the following chapter will centre on that relationship.

CHAPTER 2

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORK AND LEISURE

In discussing the relationship between work and leisure, it must be emphasized at the outset that references to these terms do not suggest that they are sociological realities. Chapter 1, has emphasized the fact that in a general sense work and leisure cannot be adequately identified or located in reality. But due to the fact that extensive research has been carried out on this relationship and because perceptions of this relationship suggest one reason why leisure has been conceptualized through different dimensions and through a multitude of different definitions, it is necessary to refer to work and leisure in a general sense for this discussion.

Notwithstanding the fact that leisure has been defined in a number of different ways, it has been investigated and discussed in relation to the world of work, the family, social class, subcultures, the community, the state, religion, the value system, and individual personalities. (1) A cursory review of the literature will attest to the fact that of the aforementioned variables the one that has received the greatest amount of attention is the relationship between leisure and the world of work. The/....

The primary concern here will be with a theoretical assessment of this relationship. But before proceeding with this assessment it is necessary to outline the current thinking among students of leisure on this relationship. The discussion to follow will be ordered by separating those scholars who, through common-sense or personal judgement, suggest a work-leisure relationship, from those who, through empirical research have tested that relationship. We shall deal first with the suggestions.

The relationship between leisure and the world of work has generally been conceived of in terms of the influence exerted by the individual's work over his leisure. It is only of late that this relationship is being treated as reciprocal: with leisure likewise influencing work. Leisure, it is commonly held "even for those who do not work - is down at bottom a function of work, flows from work and changes as the nature of work changes".<sup>(2)</sup> Work, furthermore, is said to "set limits on the kinds of leisure which are possible and seem to be desirable, and profoundly influences non-work activities, belief and attitudes".<sup>(3)</sup> Few leisure scholars, including those who hold the work-leisure relationship to be reciprocal would disagree with these statements. With this basic premise in mind, the question that students of leisure usually address themselves to is; what is the nature and magnitude of this relationship? A few examples from the literature should suffice to point out the type of suggestions which have been put forth/....

forth to answer this question.

Bosserman and Kutcher suggest that because large-scale organizations in post-industrial society are characterized by alienating work, the need for recuperation from this type of work is satisfied in leisure. Because work is alienating, people choose recuperative leisure activities.<sup>(4)</sup> James O'Toole concurs with this suggestion. Writing on work in America, he concluded that:

"What little evidence there is indicates that for most...individuals the kinds of jobs that they see open to them do little to provide the sense of self-esteem, identity, or mastery that are the requisites for satisfying work. These individuals turn to other activities (music, hobbies, sports, crime) ... to find the psychological rewards that they do not find in their jobs". (5)

O'Toole goes on to suggest that these other activities in effect become their real work.

With the same idea in mind Nels Anderson suggests that "although leisure reflects and supplements work, it is used as a release from work".<sup>(6)</sup> And this is further supported by Faunce, who in a discussion of the role of automation on leisure concludes that, "the production line workers desiring creative outlets would necessarily seek such experiences in leisure activities because of the essential non-creative character of work in either automated or conventional factories".<sup>(7)</sup> The message in these examples is clear: because man is unable to fulfill himself through his work, as organized in post-industrial society/....

society, it is believed that he seeks fulfilment in his leisure.

The relationship between alienation in work and fulfilment in leisure has been further examined by others who maintain that alienated work does not stop at the factory gates; it carries over to leisure. Seligman, as an example, suggests that, "where work has no substance, leisure cannot realize its regenerative potential; it is essentially a utilitarian diversion, not a conformation of work. The monotony of work penetrates time allocated to leisure, making the latter equally monotonous".<sup>(8)</sup> This line of thinking has been elaborated by Fromm,<sup>(9)</sup> Galbraith<sup>(10)</sup> Tawney,<sup>(11)</sup> and of course, Marx in his theory of alienated labour.

Thus there are two schools of thought on the influence of work over leisure. One suggests that because of the stultifying nature of the world of work, modern industrial man is only able to recreate and fulfill himself through his leisure. The other suggests that man is unable to recreate or fulfill himself through his leisure because alienated work has created a situation where leisure is similarly alienating. This latter suggestion is of course a more pessimistic view in that the industrial worker cannot find fulfilment in any of his life activities. Let us turn now to a few examples of empirical research in this area.

When/....

When empirical research is concentrated on this issue, the conclusions reached are generally of a more specific nature than those suggested by common-sense and personal judgements. As research in this area is rather extensive, we must rely on a number of examples for our understanding. As a first example; when Martin Meissner researched 'the long arm of the job', he concluded that, "employees choose leisure activities whose characteristics are similar to those of their jobs".<sup>(12)</sup> This particular finding can be contrasted to that of Richard Brown and his colleagues. Both Meissner and Brown researched occupational communities. Meissner sampled employees of a large wood-products manufacturing company in Canada, while Brown sampled shipbuilders in England. Brown and his colleagues reached a different conclusion to that of Meissner, in that "although the labour force in shipbuilding is highly differentiated (as is the labour force in wood-products manufacturing) ... this differentiation is not reflected in leisure time".<sup>(13)</sup> Brown thus suggests that the pattern of leisure activities among shipbuilders is not uniquely associated with the type of work, but is influenced by the occupational culture. Another example of research by Stanley Parker which investigated three occupations (bank employees, youth employment workers and child care officers), concluded that "the significance of work in the life pattern and the role of leisure can be shown to be deeply influenced by the way people work, and in particular by/....

by the social conditions under which they work".<sup>(14)</sup> As a further example, in an investigation of the effects of orderly work careers, Harold Wilensky concluded that men whose careers are orderly will have more membership in formal associations, a wider range of secondary attachments, stronger attachments to the community, will integrate work and non-work roles to a greater extent, will more often see work mates socially, and will have more long lasting friendships than those whose careers are not orderly.<sup>(15)</sup> Mention can also be made of two studies that tested the effects of shift work on leisure. In one study, Blakelock found that shift workers are forced to spend more time in flexible activities, and "to the extent that the leisure of shift workers is dependent upon inflexible activities they are at a disadvantage as far as personal fulfilment is concerned".<sup>(16)</sup> Blakelock extends these findings in another publication and suggests that shift workers "tend to belong to fewer different kinds of organizations, go to fewer meetings, and spend a great deal more time around the house than do the day workers".<sup>(17)</sup> In a second representative study on the influence of shift work on leisure, H.G. Brown found that to the younger single men in the sample, the loss of social life in the evening was a serious hardship. While to the housewife, the interference with her housework was a more serious annoyance than restrictions on her social life.<sup>(18)</sup> More than half the married men, on the other hand, preferred shift work to day work because of the advantage of having more time at home/....

home.<sup>(19)</sup> So we see five exemplary factors from the world of work that have been shown to have an influence on the world away from work: job characteristics (Meissner), occupational culture (R. Brown, et.al.), social conditions at work (Parker), orderliness of one's work career (Wilensky), and shift work (Blakelock and H.G. Brown).

The relationship under examination also has its critics. Joffre Dumazedier, for example, warns that "we should be mistrustful of any systematically established relationship between work and leisure. Such a relationship does sometimes exist, but sometimes it does not, or is much less important than other relationships".<sup>(20)</sup> O'Toole, in response to those who believe that leisure serves to fulfill those individuals who cannot find fulfillment in their work, suggests that "studies show that leisure cannot fully compensate for a dissatisfying work situation".<sup>(21)</sup> Brightbill also reminds us that "depending upon the situation and circumstances, a single activity can be both work and recreation to the same person within a short period of time... or can be recreation to one man and work to another".<sup>(22)</sup> Further to this statement, Martin and Esther Neumeyer claim that "Thomas Edison is reported to have said that he never did a day's work in his life. Yet this great inventor spent many hours in his laboratory working on new inventions and engaging in creative activities".<sup>(23)</sup> They agree with Brightbill by saying "what is a leisure activity to one may be work or even drudgery/.....

drudgery to another. Also, the same activity may be either work or a form of recreation to a given person at different times, depending somewhat upon his own feeling toward what he does".<sup>(24)</sup> On the same theme but through a different perspective, Whyte, in his study of the organization man, found that the separation of work and leisure for the organization man is a myth.<sup>(25)</sup> He is involved in a work activity that has become so dominant in his life "that he cannot distinguish between work and the rest of his life - and is happy that he cannot. Surrounded as he is by a society evermore preoccupied with leisure, he remains an anomaly".<sup>(26)</sup> It is not only involvement in work that fuses work and leisure. Bosserman and Kutcher suggest that "because we have entered a service economy, many of the person-caring services fuse leisure and work and give an ambivalent quality to the dichotomy between work and leisure. The picture which emerges is sometimes contradictory and ambiguous".<sup>(27)</sup>

Now that we have a general idea of how students of leisure treat the work-leisure relationship, there remains one aspect of this treatment to be discussed. And that is the various patterns within which this relationship is viewed. The most thorough analysis of these patterns is given by Stanley Parker, and he suggests that "there are three types of relationship between work and leisure and...each of us tends to have one of these in his own/.....

own pattern of life". (28) These Parker calls the extension, the opposition and the neutrality patterns.

"The extension pattern consists of having leisure activities which are often similar in content to one's working activities and of making no sharp distinction between what is considered as work and what as leisure. With the opposition pattern leisure activities are deliberately unlike work and there is a sharp distinction between what is work and what is leisure. Finally, the neutrality pattern consists of having leisure activities which are generally different from work but not deliberately so, and of appreciating the difference between work and leisure without always defining the one as the absence of the other". (29)

An example of the extension pattern can be found in the organization man described by William Whyte, while the opposition pattern can be found in the automobile worker described by Ely Chinoy. (30) In the introduction to Chinoy's book, David Riesman points out the fact that:

"Chinoy's interviews show work to be regarded as a daily part-time imprisonment, through which one pays off the fines incurred by one's pursuit of the good, or rather the 'good time', life at home and on vacation". (31)

And finally, as an example of the neutrality pattern one can refer to Parker's own research on bank workers. (32)

Rather than continuing to concentrate on the direction, strength, and nature of the work-leisure relationship (as is the practice of most students of leisure), perhaps new insight can be gained through a fresh approach. This is not to suggest that the relationship itself be called/....

called into question, but to suggest that an assessment of its theoretical implications could prove to be more insightful than the usual reassessment of its empirical existence.

To distinguish a phenomenon it is necessary to identify those characteristics or elements that are unique to that phenomenon. We saw in Chapter 1, that leisure is currently conceived of as a period of time, an activity and an experience that is free, spontaneous, fulfilling, enjoyable, constructive, etc. Now, if these characteristics are singled out to distinguish leisure, it follows that some period of time, activity or experience must exist that is not free, spontaneous, fulfilling, enjoyable, constructive, etc. For if all periods of time, activities or experiences could be characterized by those characteristics which are attributed to leisure, leisure (as currently conceptualized) would be indistinguishable. One need not search far for the antithesis of those characteristics that distinguish leisure. For they exist (albeit implicitly) in the image of the world of work held by many students of leisure. In fact it can be suggested that the degree to which work is conceived of as an activity, an experience or a period of time which is not free, spontaneous, fulfilling, etc., seems to reflect the degree to which leisure (as currently defined) is distinguished as a separate area of study. Or, to put this same suggestion/....

suggestion another way, many leisure scholars have found it convenient to define leisure as the antithesis of alienating work.

In order to add credence to this suggestion, consider Table 2.1. Column 1, is a condensed version of conceptualizations of leisure as found in the literature (see Chapter 1). The entries in column 2, do not come from the literature but were constructed by the present author to represent the antithesis of column 1. The quotations in column 3, were selected from the literature and reflect the attitudes of certain individuals toward some work activities (other and more satisfying work experiences will be dealt with in due course). As the contrived conceptualizations in column 2, parallel the subjective attitudes toward work in column 3; and as column 2, is simply the antithesis of column 1, it follows that the conceptualizations of leisure as found in the literature resemble the antithesis of the subjective attitudes toward work. And as the quotations in column 3, are applicable to negative work experiences only, it follows that leisure as currently defined is conceived of as the antithesis of a negative work experience. Or, to be more precise, it is conceived of as the antithesis of an alienating work experience. Thus, if all work experiences stood up to the 'ideal' conceptualization of leisure (I say 'ideal' as leisure as currently defined is nothing more than/....

than an ideal), and were inherently satisfying, leisure as a separate conceptual and analytic category would, of necessity, take on different dimensions.

TABLE 2.1

Conceptualizations of Leisure and Subjective Attitudes toward Work

(1) <u>Conceptualizations of Leisure</u>	(2) <u>Antithesis of Column (1)</u>	(3) <u>Work Experience</u>
<u>Temporal Perspective</u>  non-obligatory time, free-time, time not sold, constructive use of free time	obligatory time, time one is not free, time sold, non-constructive use of time	"The things I like best about my job are quitting time, pay day, days off and vacation" (33)
<u>Activity Perspective</u>  non-obligatory, non-instrumental, activities freely entered, spontaneous activities	obligatory, instrumental, non-spontaneous activities; activities not freely entered	"There is an absence of scope for initiative and creative effort... The wage worker does not go to work by choice... His work is the opposite of freedom as he sees it". (34)
<u>Experience Perspective</u>  freedom, end experiences, non-instrumental, enjoyable experiences	imprisonment, instrumental, unenjoyable experience	"When I'm here my mind's a blank...You don't achieve anything here... A robot could do it. I certainly get no satisfaction from the job". (35)

I do not wish to suggest that because man is alienated/....

alienated in his work he is also alienated in his leisure. For the crucial point to note is that by implicitly conceiving of work as alienating, most students of leisure explicitly 'idealize' leisure as unalienating. As a consequence, the degree to which work is thought of as alienating reflects the degree to which leisure has been distinguished as a separate area of study.

Before turning to other considerations in support of the above suggestion, it will be helpful to outline a number of explicit definitions of work. Through searching the literature for these definitions, one finds, however, that the same problem of confusion which surrounds leisure as a concept, also surrounds work as a concept. And as the "general usage of the term (work) is imprecise and the multiplicity of meanings has expert sanction",<sup>(36)</sup> the definitions to follow are by no means exhaustive. They serve only as a guide. Definitions of work include:

- (i) "The purposeful effort a man expends to earn his livelihood". (37)
- (ii) "Effort performed for rewards or satisfactions which are outside of or in addition to the activity". (38)
- (iii) "Effort or exertion done typically to make a living or keep a house". (39)
- (iv) "The activity for which a person expects to be paid, or for which he would have to pay someone else. Or it is an activity which is for one reason or another, compulsory".(40)
- (v) "An activity that produces something of value for other people". (41)

These/.....

These definitions of work hint at one form of alienation in the Marxist tradition. The activity in question is not an end in itself, but is the utilitarian means to an end. An image of work, irrespective of an image of leisure, can evoke a spectrum of images ranging from a negative pole of total alienation to a positive pole of freedom, fulfilment, spontaneity, etc., depending upon the nature of the work task being considered. But when leisure is brought into the picture, it is distinguished as the antithesis of the negative pole of this spectrum and characterized or idealized as the positive pole.

The quotations from the literature of Industrial Sociology that appear in column 3, on Table 2.1, admittedly reflect a negative attitude towards work. Some individuals might agree with this assessment of their work, while others might not. So, to unbiased our description, we must include those who have a positive attitude towards their work. And one way of achieving this is to look at the results of research which has been conducted on the 'Central Life Interest' of workers.

Research in this area was originally undertaken by Robert Dubin who coined the phrase 'Central Life Interest'. Dubin's sample was drawn from industrial workers, and as mentioned in an earlier discussion on the measurement of the meanings of leisure, it was concerned with where workers/....

workers' interests lie; in or away from the workplace. Dubin's research concluded that, "for three out of four industrial workers, work and the workplace are not central life interests".<sup>(42)</sup>

Others have followed from Dubin's work and have tested his thesis on different samples. Louis Orzack, for example, investigated work as a central life interest of professionals. He found that, "work is more likely to be a central life interest for professionals than it is for industrial workers".<sup>(43)</sup> Dumazedier, from a sample of French workers, both skilled and unskilled, concluded that twenty-five per cent of the unskilled workers received most satisfaction from leisure activities, forty-seven per cent from their families, and twenty-four per cent received most satisfaction from their work. Among skilled workers, twenty-five per cent received most satisfaction from leisure activities, fifty-three per cent from their families, and only fifteen per cent received most satisfaction from work.<sup>(44)</sup> Although the difference is slight, it seems more unskilled than skilled French workers find their work to be central to life. This finding is somewhat contradictory when compared to Dubin and Orzack's research. For one would expect a greater percentage of skilled than non skilled workers expressing work as central to life. Nevertheless, these findings do remain in line with Dubin's, insofar as the greatest percentage of/.....

of non-professional workers do not find their central interest in work. Three other studies, one by A. Kornhauser,<sup>(45)</sup> another by P. Lafitte,<sup>(46)</sup> and a third by B. Jackson,<sup>(47)</sup> confirm this tendency among industrial workers.

On the same subject, Stanley Parker asked a sample of business and service people; What is your main interest in life? Their replies can be summarized in the following percentages:<sup>(48)</sup>

	<u>Work</u>	<u>Non-Work</u>	<u>No Main Interest</u>
Business	11	73	11
Service	29	39	32

Parker explains this difference by suggesting that:

"at least some of the business occupations, especially banking and insurance, are not regarded as socially useful by many of the people who work in them. Service occupations, however, are usually regarded as socially important by their employees. This, plus the difference in type of involvement in work, could account for most of the business-service differences found in work as a central life interest".<sup>(49)</sup>

Parker's sample included bank and insurance company employees as business people, and child care officers and youth employment workers as service people. The research mentioned earlier by Neulinger also touches on this point. It concluded that, "both professionals and people in business-sales identified themselves more with work than leisure compared to people in clerical jobs, tradesmen and to a lesser degree, people in business-service and public/....

public service".<sup>(50)</sup> For a cross-cultural comparison of British and U.S. managers, Child and Macmillan conclude that, "work and the job represent less of a central life interest for British than U.S. managers".<sup>(51)</sup> The different interest of American workers is succinctly summed up by de Grazia who suggests that "the executive gets his greatest satisfaction from life on the job, not off the job. This cannot be said for employees and workers. The workers clean up, the clerks pack up, and both go home on the dot".<sup>(52)</sup>

The above research suggests that there is a negative relationship between alienation and interest in work, and that the more inherently satisfying the work situation, the less the conceptual split between work and leisure. One can conclude, therefore, that the conceptual split between work and leisure is greater for those individuals whose work is not inherently satisfying, than for those whose work is inherently satisfying. But, and this is the crucial question, does this suggest that leisure is free, spontaneous, fulfilling, etc.? These attributes may or may not be present in work, and they may or may not be present in leisure. But to define leisure through these attributes only suggests that the definition of leisure is built from an implicit assumption that these attributes are lacking in work. In other words, it supports the suggestion that leisure as presently conceived is an idealized characterization of unalienated activities/....

activities.

It is necessary to pause at this point and clarify the term 'alienation'. Like most concepts in the social sciences, the application of this term is widespread and varied. This is not the place to go into a lengthy discussion on the various uses of the term, either historically or in its modern context. For as Eric and Mary Josephson suggest in their introduction to a reader devoted to the concept of alienation "we are dealing with a word that lends itself to many different meanings. To deal with all of them would truly need an encyclopedia of the social sciences".<sup>(53)</sup> Its historical use and origins aside:

"In modern terms... 'alienation' has been used by philosophers, psychologists and sociologists to refer to an extraordinary variety of psycho-social disorders, including loss of self, anxiety states, anomie, despair, depersonalization, rootlessness, apathy, social disorganization, loneliness, atomization, powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, pessimism, and the loss of belief or values".<sup>(54)</sup>

Because our concern is with the use of the term by sociologists making specific reference to the world of work, the explanation to follow will, of necessity, be restricted to that usage.

"'Alienated work' or 'alienation from work' is... conceived by the various sociologists who speak of it in at least three different ways: in terms of (1) job dissatisfaction, (2) the feeling that one's work is not intrinsically satisfying, and (3) dissatisfaction with the degree/....

degree to which one's work is self-directed, meaningful to one and self-expressive".<sup>(55)</sup> Schacht argues that although most sociologists who use the expressions 'alienation from work' or 'alienated work' acknowledge that they do so under the influence of Marx, there is a difference in usage between them. For, "common to all three conceptions is the idea of conscious dissatisfaction in the work situation, which alone suffices to distinguish them from Marx's conception; for Marx does not hesitate to speak of 'alienated labour' even in the absence of actual worker dissatisfaction"<sup>(56)</sup>

James O'Toole, on the other hand, in writing on work in America, suggests that social scientists identify four ingredients of alienation: (1) Powerlessness (regarding ownership of the enterprise, general management policies, employment conditions and the immediate work process), (2) meaninglessness (with respect to the character of the product worked on as well as the scope of the production process), (3) isolation (the social aspect of work), and (4) self-estrangement ("depersonalized detachment", including boredom, which can lead to "absence of personal growth").<sup>(57)</sup> Through identifying powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement as the four 'ingredients' of alienation, O'Toole presumably had in mind the work of Robert Blauner, who in an attempt to demonstrate how each 'dimension' of alienation varies in form and intensity according to the industrial setting, operationalized powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement.<sup>(58)</sup> We can now look at how social scientists/....

scientists use 'alienation' in the world of work as compared to conceptualizations of leisure.

The fact that the average worker simply "comes to terms with his job",<sup>(59)</sup> and that, "classically alienating jobs (such as on the assembly-line) that allow the worker no control over the conditions of work and that seriously affect his mental and physical functioning off the job probably comprise less than 2% of the jobs in America",<sup>(60)</sup> does not take away from the necessity for clarifying the term 'alienation' in the present context. For that reason we can turn once again to Table 2.1. Note the similarity between columns 2 and 3, and the terms; powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement. As column 2, is purposely constructed to be the antithesis of column 1, (i.e., conceptualizations of leisure as found in the literature) column 1, is by definition the antithesis of column 2. Hence, it is logical to assume that leisure is conceived of as the antithesis of the social scientist's conception of alienating work.

A number of consequences relating to the derivation of leisure as a concept have been outlined in Chapter 1. But, one that has yet to be mentioned, and one that has, until recently, occupied a great deal of attention, is the so-called 'problem of leisure'. Before outlining the position of leisure scholars on this 'problem', however, it will be necessary to link-up the manner in which/....

which leisure has been conceptualized to the emergence of the leisure problem as an issue for investigation. If we take the argument being presented here as a starting point, that is, if leisure is conceived as the antithesis of alienated work, and if as a result, leisure is 'idealized' as an unalienated state, everyday experience suggests that the leisure of urban-industrial man is not living up to the standard of this idealized state. Hence the problem of leisure. Is it possible that the leisure problem is an academic construct?

An analysis of the problem of leisure can best be approached by bringing together a number of interrelated concerns. It will be necessary to investigate how students of leisure and work interpret: (i) the source of job satisfaction, (ii) the function of work, (iii) the function of leisure, and (iv) the problem of leisure itself.

Through investigating job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, social scientists generally focus on the following job related factors: social groupings;<sup>(61)</sup> autonomy, participation, challenge, security, pay, mobility, comfort;<sup>(62)</sup> occupation, status, supervision, peer relationships, job content, wages, promotion, physical conditions of work, organizational structure;<sup>(63)</sup> and putting out quality, pay and security.<sup>(64)</sup> As a final example, a study by F. Herzberg and his colleagues isolated sixteen factors, of which achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility, advancement, salary, possibility of growth, and/....

and interpersonal relations ranked in the top eight in the order here presented. (65)

Before turning to the function of work, it is worth noting that Herzberg and his colleagues, in answering the question; what do people want from their jobs?, found that satisfaction is a function of the content of the job; that is, factors that satisfy the individual's need for self-actualization or self-realization; while dissatisfaction is a function of the conditions that surround the doing of the job. These latter conditions Herzberg calls the factors of 'hygiene', and include; supervision, interpersonal relations, physical working conditions, salary, company policies, benefits and job security. (66) Wilensky, alternatively, suggests that, "job satisfaction is a function of disparity between rewards (what we get in income and job status) and aspirations and/or expectations (what we want in goods and services and job status); both payoff and demand are likely to show a chronology linked to family life cycle and work history". (67) These theories suggest that those factors that are generally regarded as crucial for job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are difficult to isolate from the total complex of societal factors that influence opinions, beliefs and behaviour. Furthermore, empirical research by Morse and Weiss found that, "80 per cent of the employed men (in their sample) said they were either very satisfied or satisfied with their jobs", (68) while from a review of research/....

research, Kahn similarly concludes that, "few people call themselves extremely satisfied with their jobs, but still fewer report extreme dissatisfaction...The proportion dissatisfied ranges from 10 to 21 per cent". (69) It seems that most people (as mentioned above), simply "come to terms more easily than our theories imply, with the only work life they know and can reasonably expect for themselves". (70)

It is important to note that most industrial sociologists differentiate between work and the job. In the above discussion on satisfaction, reference has been to the job, while in the discussion to follow on the function of work, reference will not be to the job but to work. Both work and the job have distinct meanings and they must be used in their proper context. Work refers to the type of activity engaged in, while a job refers to the nature of that activity. For example, an individual's work might involve being a labourer. But his job, which is more specific, might involve any number of tasks; carrying building blocks as one example. For this reason, and as satisfaction pertains to the nature of an activity, industrial sociologists refer to 'job' satisfaction (with reference to the nature of activity), and the function of 'work', (with reference to the activity type). Students of leisure are also beginning to differentiate between work and the job and this has led to a clarification in discussions on the relationship between work and leisure.

Turning/....

Turning from job satisfaction to the function of work, the following serve as examples of the function of work: formation of self-esteem, identity and a sense of order;<sup>(71)</sup> a standard for judging one's worth;<sup>(72)</sup> feeling of being tied to a larger society, or having something to do, of having a purpose in life;<sup>(73)</sup> reassures persons of their productiveness, sociability and place in the community;<sup>(74)</sup> keeps in order one's routine of waking and sleeping, time on and off, life on and life off the job;<sup>(75)</sup> and finally, income, regulation of life activity, identification, association and meaningful life experience.<sup>(76)</sup>

Turning our attention to the function of leisure, we are in fact looking at a philosophy of leisure and what social scientists see to be the purpose of leisure. At a general level there have been a number of leisure scholars who have suggested that leisure is the basis of all culture. Josef Pieper, as a prime example, believes that, "culture depends for its very existence on leisure".<sup>(77)</sup> That is, "the sphere of leisure is no less than the sphere of culture in so far as that word means everything that lies beyond the utilitarian world".<sup>(78)</sup> Martin and Esther Neumeyer similarly believe that,

"culture depends chiefly for its existence on leisure...(insofar as) the tone of society is conditioned largely by the extent and the uses of the time remaining after the practical necessities of life have been attended to. If people engage in creative and constructive activities, civilization is advanced; if they indulge in useless and destructive activities the social order deteriorates and social progress is retarded".<sup>(79)</sup>

Ida Craven further suggests that "the tone of any society is largely determined by the quality of its leisure".<sup>(80)</sup> While Kaplan and Bosserman put forth the suggestion that "a society is what it does in its free time. If slackness, mediocracy and vulgarity prevail in the utilization of this free time, they will drag down the whole of our civilization",<sup>(81)</sup> As a final example of the general function of, in this case the leisure class, Bertrand Russell in praising idleness, states that:

"in spite of the drawbacks of the leisure class it contributed nearly the whole of what we call civilization. It cultivated the arts, and discovered the sciences, it wrote the books, invented the philosophies and refined social relations. Without the leisure class mankind would never have emerged from barbarism".<sup>(82)</sup>

In terms of culture, leisure scholars in particular usually differentiate between minority as opposed to popular culture, or elite as opposed to mass culture.

"Minority culture is usually that which rests its appeal upon intellectual or artistic taste, upon specialist interest and knowledge. Popular culture usually consists of fairly standardized forms with an appeal to mass taste...Minority tastes are somehow 'better', involve a greater degree of creative or intellectual effort and comprise the standard from which culture as a whole is to be judged...Popular culture tends to appeal less to the intellect than to the emotions, involves very little creative or artistic merit and is closely tied to the degeneration of 'real' culture".<sup>(83)</sup>

Other than serving as a basis for culture, students of leisure have suggested other and less general functions. Ralf Glasser suggests that through leisure one is able to take on a socially acceptable identity. "I am/....

am such and such a person because I buy the things that symbolize that kind of person, and because I spend my time in materially identifiable ways".<sup>(84)</sup> Faunce regards the function of leisure to be "relief from boredom",<sup>(85)</sup> while E. Gross considers the central function of leisure to be the solution of the four major functional problems of social systems; i.e. pattern maintenance and tension management, adaption, goal attainment, and integration.<sup>(86)</sup> Finally, Everett Hughes states that Tarde, in his "Psychologie Economique", regards men's leisure, fetes and play as a vehicle through which they, "unite themselves into a truly free accord and they give one another truly social pleasure".<sup>(87)</sup>

Concern with the function of leisure also introduces a differentiation made by a number of leisure scholars between free time and leisure. This relates back to the conceptual differences of leisure discussed in Chapter 1. That is, viewing leisure as an experience as opposed to a block of time or activity. It is necessary to re-emphasize this point as a number of authors have argued that free time is not leisure. de Grazia maintains as his central thesis that:

"anybody can have free time. Not everybody can have leisure...Free time refers to a special way of calculating a special kind of time. Leisure refers to a state of being, a condition of man, which few desire and fewer achieve".<sup>(88)</sup>

In order to add to our understanding of the so-called/....

called leisure problem, we can bring together the sources of job satisfaction, the function of work and the function of leisure. In a very general sense social scientists regard the individual's job as being satisfactory or unsatisfactory depending on the nature of the task and the immediate work environment. The individual's work, once again in a general sense, functions to tie the individual to society by providing him with a source of identification and a standard for judging his worth. Leisure, on the other hand should provide the individual with a sense of fulfillment, a sense of freedom, should be spontaneous, etc. Furthermore, when social scientists discuss which form of culture the individual should aspire to, most students believe that the individual receives little benefit from the popular culture or the 'sugared aimlessness',<sup>(89)</sup> that prevails in contemporary culture. But the reality of leisure has proved the contrary, and popular culture holds sway over the bulk of the population; in fact that is why it is called popular or mass culture. The implications of this exercise in deductive logic is that we have a leisure problem. And, as mentioned, the leisure problem exists simply because leisure has been 'idealized' as a concept.

Having thus arrived at the reason students of leisure have found it necessary to deal with the problem of leisure, it remains to look at a few examples from the literature on this issue. Consider the following:

'The/....

"The most important characteristic of modern mass leisure activities is that they astonish, excite and distract but they do not enlarge reason or feeling or allow spontaneous disposition to unfold creativity". (90)

"The primary problem of leisure is how to avoid boredom". (91)

"today our technological society has engendered a cult of leisure, not, to be sure, as an aristocrat might enjoy it, but rather as a period of time in which masses of people are to draw pleasure from continuous rounds of frenetic activity". (92)

"Leisure is no longer the sphere of realization but a passive state, primarily in which one's need for distraction and vicarious experience that will give those immediate satisfactions denied one during working hours by the constraints of efficiency. Leisure is no longer the positive but the negative corollary to work". (93)

"Happiness is the pleasure of unrestricted consumption, push button power and laziness to the alienated man". (94)

"if there is little interest, honor, or manliness in the working part of our way of life, can we hope for much in the leisure part?" (95)

The problem of leisure is but another reason why it is important that the confusion which currently surrounds leisure as an 'ideal' needs to be clarified. And as this is one of the purposes of the research undertaken for this thesis, we shall turn our attention to that research.



CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Having dealt with work and leisure as defined by students of the subject, it remains to deal with these same phenomena from the perspective of actors in the everyday world. The conclusion reached through the preceding chapters, and one that will be developed through the chapters to follow is that a definition of work or leisure that will satisfy every and all conditions is not to be found. Work and leisure cannot be adequately characterized even though theoretical and everyday definitions abound. This is not to suggest that these terms do not serve a useful function in everyday discourse. For both are significant symbols that evoke standard and shared responses when used. Both terms, furthermore, adequately identify spheres of life in a loose or general sense. They have served their function in human discourse and, more than likely, will continue to do so.

So, why deal with a problem that is the exclusive reserve of the academic? The answer to this question is quite simple. Through enquiring into the meanings of work and leisure as significant symbols in the everyday world,<sup>(1)</sup> we will at the same time be able to gain a further degree of understanding of that world.

THEORETICAL/.....

## THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In order to uncover meanings of work and leisure in the everyday world, one theoretical perspective that deals with these meanings is the 'situational approach' to social behaviour, with specific reference to the concept, 'the definition of the situation'. Because the research to be described differs somewhat from past research into the definition of the situation, and because it differs from traditional approaches in leisure research, it is necessary to elaborate on and clarify these differences.

The definition of the situation has been subjected to methodological and theoretical refinements since first coined by W.I. Thomas in his work on the Polish peasant in Europe and America.<sup>(2)</sup> As originally conceived by Thomas, a situation to be defined refers specifically to:

"The set of values and attitudes with which the individual or the group has to deal in a process of activity and with regard to which this activity is planned and its results appreciated". (3)

Attitudes are the subjective characteristics of the members of the social group and involve:

"a process of individual consciousness which determines real or possible activity of the individual in a social world...The attitude is thus the individual counterpart of the social value; activity in whatever form, is the bond between them". (4)

Social values, on the other hand, are the objective cultural elements of social life. They include:

"any/....

"any datum having an empirical content accessible to the members of some social group and a meaning with regard to which it is or may be an object of activity...When the natural thing assumes a meaning, it becomes thereby a social value. And naturally a social value may have many meanings, for it may refer to many different kinds of activity". (5)

All social theory, according to Thomas in his early writings, must include both attitudes and values.

Culture is composed of or contains definitions of situations which have been arrived at through consensus over a period of time. In this sense group definitions are external to and exert some control over the individual (an approach to culture that is similar to that of Durkheim and Sumner). Although many situations are defined by the group it does not necessarily follow that an individual's definition of a given situation will correspond to that bestowed by the group. In fact, there is a likelihood that definitions of a given situation will conflict; either between individuals or between the individual and the group definition of that situation. It is this conflict which, according to Thomas, lies at the root of social disorganization.

As situations are infinite in number and constantly changing, definitions of situations are, as a result, constantly being readjusted. It is out of this readjustment that the "personality" arises. Personality is, "the efforts of the individual to adjust himself to other individuals and to institutions and social codes". (6)

Recent/....

Recent methodological and theoretical elaborations and advances on Thomas' original scheme refine values and attitudes to include; general life goals, ideal self-conceptualizations, internalized role-expectations, interests, behaviour, perceived rules, language, motives, assumptions, beliefs, etc. Peter McHugh, in a discussion on the origin of the definition of the situation, suggests, "(t)o fully describe an institution as a locus of group rules, for example, requires some description of how the institution looks to those engaging in the action, because they will act according to how it looks to them, and in so doing the institution will be maintained or changed". (7) Knowledge, according to McHugh, is "what members believe to be true in that they base their actions upon it. Knowledge in this sense includes concrete information, rules, social norms - anything that gives meaning to an observation". (8)

The definition of the situation has been extended by Symbolic Interactionists to include two applications. It remains a process in which, according to Willard Waller:

"the individual explores the behavior possibilities of a situation, marking out particularly the limitations which the situation imposes upon his behavior, with the final result that the individual forms an attitude toward the situation, or more exactly, in the situation. In another sense, however, we use the phrase the definition of the situation to denote the actual concrete situation as it has been defined, or to denote certain psychic products of group life which are left as residue from the definition of many situations". (9)

We saw in Chapter 2, that the meanings of leisure have/.....

have received little attention in terms of empirical research. It was pointed out that the research diary and a leisure questionnaire have been used to deal with this issue and that each has achieved a degree of success. Their limitations for our purpose, however, stem from the fact that the former methodology deals exclusively with time spent in certain activities over a short period of time (one or two days), and assumes that leisure can be operationalized as an activity. The latter method, through being administered by a psychologist (Neulinger), concentrated on personal or psychological rather than on shared or sociological elements of leisure.

The definition of the situation is sociological as distinct from psychological in that it "does not rest its case with the study of individual meanings; it attempts to show that inter-subjective understanding requires the acquisition of shared meanings".<sup>(10)</sup> The definition of the situation, furthermore, is a more complete method for understanding meanings of leisure as it does not operationalize leisure as an activity, period of time, or experience.

#### WORK AND LEISURE SITUATIONS

The use of the situational approach for an investigation into the meanings of work and leisure suggests a focus on work and leisure situations; that is, situations defined by the participants to be either work or leisure/....

leisure. These terms will be used in this sense throughout this thesis. It is important to emphasize that a situation only becomes a work or leisure situation if and when it is defined as such by the participant. And this can only be ascertained by asking each subject in a given situation if he perceives of it as work, leisure, or whatever. The research design does not end with the definition of a situation, but begins with it.

The definition of a leisure situation will supplant the experience, temporal, and activity dimensions of leisure as listed in Chapter 1. Reference will no longer be to an experience, period of time, or an activity, but will be to a, "synthesis of interpretation and interrelation of predispositions, intentions and elements of a setting"<sup>(11)</sup>. Furthermore, the setting that will concern us is one that is defined by the subjects to be a work or leisure situation.

The use of the definition of the situation in the present context differs both theoretically and methodologically from its use in the past. From a theoretical perspective a situation has traditionally been regarded as an event, or an encounter and concern would be with the process and factors (subjective and objective) involved in defining that situation. The individual is seen as entering and defining countless situations in his daily life. But a work or leisure situation is not strictly speaking a/.....

a specific event. As used here they are made up of a multitude of situations (or events) all of which, although independently defined, are interrelated to form a configurational situation.

If we take the case of a leisure situation, and if we want to investigate meanings of that situation, we necessarily look for that configuration of (let us say) micro-events, that when taken together constitute the basis of a leisure situation. For this reason, to locate a leisure situation, it is necessary to locate that which is perceived as leisure by the participants in that situation. And once the leisure situation has been located, the events that make up that situation can be identified and studied. Reference to a leisure (or work) situation will implicitly include the configuration of micro-events that when, taken together, constitute that situation.

It is necessary at this point to draw a distinction between an activity and a situation. Every concrete activity, according to Thomas, is the solution of a situation. And every situation involves three kinds of data:

"(1) the objective conditions under which the individual or society has to act... (2) the pre-existing attitudes of the individual or the group which at the given moment have an actual influence upon his behavior, (and), (3) the definition of the situation, that is the more or less clear conception of the conditions and consciousness of the attitudes". (12)

Although the activity is the focal point of a situation/.....

situation, it does not necessarily follow that it will be the most important element in a situation. For an individual can be engaged in, for example, the activity of gardening, but consider his pay cheque or his work-mates as the most important components of that gardening situation. It will be argued, therefore, that it is the situation and not the activity that is being defined as work or leisure. For it will be pointed out that the activity of playing football, or gardening (to name but two) can be similar in a situation defined as work and in one defined as leisure. And any difference which might exist between them and which is likely to influence a definition of work or leisure can be found in the attitudes and/or objective conditions of the situation; which together with the activity make up a particular situation.

Admittedly it is impossible to specify the boundaries, the total number of elements or components, the points of demarcation between elements, and the influence each element exerts on other elements in a situation. For this conceptual scheme is simply a heuristic device designed to add insight into perceptions of work and leisure. If we take for example a football situation, we can focus on the activity of playing football as a central component of that situation. Now the activity itself involves (at its base) two teams of eleven men interacting for 90 minutes in a manner which follows specified rules and objectives. But this activity is without/....

without meaning until it is seen in the context of the total football situation. For only through including the attitudes and objective conditions which surround the activity (i.e. if we focus on the football situation rather than on the activity itself), are we able to give meaning to that activity.

People do (as mentioned) have working definitions of work and leisure (no matter how vague), and these serve to identify specific spheres of action. Thus, the situational approach to meanings of work and leisure differs from research traditionally pursued in the field of leisure inasmuch as work and leisure will not be treated as depositories of characteristics, but as conceptual categories people use to classify, clarify and order their activity in the everyday world.

Components of a situation suggest a conceptual grab bag for they include elements at various levels of conceptualization. Nevertheless, all components, regardless of their conceptual level must be included in order to assess the actors' attitudes toward, hence definition of a situation. It is for this reason that the concept "personal expectations" will be introduced.

One way of establishing what a situation means to an individual (hence, how it is defined) is to enquire into what the individual feels he is getting or anticipates from a particular situation. Personal expectations thus/....

thus include elements that are sought (i.e. those which bring gratification), elements one would prefer to avoid, and those toward which the individual is impartial. These three categories can respectively be labelled "positive", "negative", and "neutral" expectations.

As a concept, personal expectations is similar to what Parsons calls the actor's "system of expectations" or "ego's expectations". As such, we will be dealing with the gratificational aspect of action and will be concerned with (to quote Parsons), "ego's (cathectic) orientation to the object or objects in question for the gratification-deprivation balance of his personality".<sup>(13)</sup>

To contrast personal expectations to role expectations, the former includes what the actor expects from a situation, while the latter includes what is expected from the actor in a situation. The two are of course related inasmuch as what the actor expects from a situation includes his perception of his role expectations in that situation. In other words, upon entering a situation the individual enters a role wherein he is subjected to certain role expectations. But because of personal predispositions he may be in accord with certain role expectations but at the same time he may not be in accord with others. As such, he will react positively to some role expectations and negatively to others.<sup>(14)</sup> Hence, our use of positive and negative expectations.

Personal/....

Personal expectations will change with time and experience. Before experiencing a situation we hold certain expectations of what we can look forward to, and of what we do not look forward to. But once we experience that situation, the reality of that experience might result in an adjustment of personal expectation. Those that were positive might become negative and vice versa, while additional expectations might be added to those already present. It is likely, furthermore, that expectations could change during the process of participation in a situation. Depending upon the degree and nature of change in personal expectations, a change in expectations could result in a redefinition of the situation in question.

#### RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

Methodologically the definition of the situation has traditionally involved a search for individual definitions of specific situations. And this is generally researched through constructing a situation where a crisis is introduced; thereby forcing participants to redefine that situation.<sup>(15)</sup> In this way the dual processes of definition and redefinition can be monitored. This strategy, as conducted under conditions of small group research, is unfortunately not applicable to the research problem at hand. For meanings of work and leisure cannot be studied under laboratory conditions. Situations must be located in the everyday world and as a result it is not possible to introduce crisis points for monitoring.

Advances/....

Advances in situational research have led to field work that have replaced the crisis, with 'recurring' situations. Robert Stebbins, for example, suggests that in the field:

"once one discovers some of the more important recurring situations for the actors in an identity (by means of some form of observation), one can, if not already aware of them, begin to search for the cultural or habitual definitions available for each setting. This can be done most efficaciously by a combination of further direct observation and questionnaire interviewing. Here observation performs a single important function; it gives the investigator a crude idea of the definition that the subject has chosen in response to the situation at hand. Having acquired this knowledge it is possible for the former to question the latter about that event, the intention being to establish a more detailed and consequently more valid picture of the meaning that the incident held for the respondent... The interviewing... must be conducted along the lines of programmatically developed statements operationalizing the concept, the definition of the situation".(16)

Methodologically, Stebbins' research procedures are not unique to research into the definition of the situation. They involve observation and the administration of a questionnaire; both of which have found a variety of uses in social research. What is unique, however, is the theoretical focus or perspective of the researcher in his attempt to discover how the actors define a specific situation. Observation thus accounts for the objective conditions while the questionnaire is designed to account for the subjective values and attitudes that comprise the situation.

The research designed for this thesis went beyond that suggested by Stebbins. For not only did it include observation/.....

observation and the administration of a questionnaire, it also included researcher participation.

Traditionally, research into meanings of leisure begins by locating a sample. It then goes on to uncover the meaning of each subject's work and leisure activities. A comparison is then made between subjects to form a total or general picture of the meanings of leisure. This picture could include relationships between certain demographic variables and types of leisure pursuits as well as individual meanings of various work and leisure activities. Through this research procedure the subjects could be referring to a wide range of leisure activities. These could include those pursued with peers, or with one's family, solitary activities, team activities, or those that involve a group or crowd of unknown co-participants. They could also include activities that require a high or a low degree of involvement, activities that are legal and those that are not, activities that involve a great deal of time and those that require little time. Indeed, when meanings of leisure are sought through this research methodology the number of possible activity types dealt with could be enormous. And because of the numbers and various types involved, the researcher might be able to determine what a particular activity means to a particular respondent, but he is unable to account for the reason why that meaning was assigned. The researcher can ask the respondent why a given activity has a particular meaning but this would only/....

only give a superficial explanation).

The research undertaken for this thesis differs from that traditionally pursued in the field of leisure. It began with the premise that it is the situation and not the activity itself that is defined as work and leisure and it was designed to introduce an element of control into the research situation. This involved identifying a particular activity which in a certain situation might be defined as work and in another might be defined as leisure. Through this methodology the research was able to ascertain why the activity in question was defined as work or leisure based on the nature of the situation within which that activity was located. Playing football and gardening were chosen for analysis because before the research began it was assumed that individuals could be located who defined each of these activities as work in a remunerated situation, and others could be located who defined these same activities as leisure in a non-remunerated situation. The research then set out to enquire into why a given definition was applied to a given situation.

Chronologically the research began when this author was given permission by the manager of a Scottish full-time professional football (soccer) club to do research on the team (herein to be referred to as the Pros). All players were informed that the author was looking into the life of a professional footballer in order to learn his attitudes towards playing football and in order to experience/.....

experience on a first hand basis what it means to be a professional footballer. Participation was extensive. The author took part in all training sessions, a number of after-training and after-game get-togethers, lunch with the players after training each day, the club Christmas party, a player's golf outing, and a number of formal and informal social evenings. The field work with the Pros continued for five months, after which a questionnaire was designed and administered to all players.

During the summer months, and between football seasons, research was conducted on gardener subjects. The remunerated gardeners were located through their place of work. They included 6 employees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, 5 landscape gardeners, 3 nursery employees, 1 who works in a garden centre, 1 retired gardener who at the time of the interview looked after a number of private gardens, 1 who looked after a private garden and at the same time was responsible for gardens at a psychiatric hospital, and 1 who worked for the Parks Department as a landscape gardener. The non-remunerated gardeners were located through two flower shows and through public allotments. These subjects were interviewed only. The author did not observe or participate in gardening activities as gardening, especially on a non-remunerative basis, is a solitary activity thereby making participation impossible.

Upon completion of the questionnaire by the remunerated and non-remunerated gardeners, research began again on/....

on football players, only in this instance it included non-remunerated or amateur players. The subjects here were located primarily through two amateur clubs (herein to be referred to as Amateur 1 and Amateur 2). The research procedure for the amateur subjects was identical to that of the remunerated or professional football subjects. That is, the author (for all intents and purposes) joined the clubs and participated in all club activities, with the exception of league games. This included all training and a number of after-training and after-game social situations with players. The two clubs were researched at separate times. Research on Amateur 1 lasted three months while research on Amateur 2 lasted two months. Upon completion of the participant observation stage of the research on each amateur club, a questionnaire was administered to all players concerned. The subjects thus include remunerated and non-remunerated football players and gardeners; ninety-eight individuals in all.

During the early stages of the research, participant observation with the Pros was very much a learning process. Coming originally from North America, this researcher was initially unfamiliar with British football. This fact was immediately obvious to the players with the Pros and in fact acted in my favour. For on the one hand, being initially unfamiliar with the particulars of British football I was able to enquire into taken-for-granted aspects of the game. Thus, all that was learned about the/....

the football situations studied came from the players themselves and not from personal past experience with the game. A further advantage of my initial lack of experience with British football is that players, especially the Pros, sensed my lack of playing skill and ability. As a result, players accepted me into their ranks as I did not present a threat in terms of ability which might embarrass certain players in front of teammates or the coaching staff. Furthermore, it was obvious that I was not sent by the management to 'spy' on the players

During the participant observation with the Pros, fieldnotes were completed at the end of the training session each day. I did not take notes while in the field as it was felt that this would inhibit the informal relationship that developed between myself and the players. Notes were taken, however, to record sociometric patterns in the team bus, in the dressing room, and in the lunch room. On two occasions when different players saw notes being taken, they joked at the fact that I must be a spy from another club. These comments made it sufficiently clear that actors are aware when notes are being taken, and this awareness affects the informal relationship between researcher and subjects; a relationship that is crucial to participant observation in the field.

As the participant observation stage progressed and as the daily field notes began to grow in number, I went through the process of developing conceptual categories; a process that is described in detail by Glaser and/....

and Strauss.<sup>(17)</sup> Although Glaser and Strauss are concerned with developing grounded theory, and although the research engaged in here involved a search for how actors define situations, the discovery of grounded theory and the definition of the situation are methodologically and theoretically compatible.

Methodologically, both involve observing and interviewing subjects. And although the definition of the situation has traditionally not involved participation in the research situation, (an essential aspect of the discovery of grounded theory), participation is compatible with observation and interviews and thus serves to enrich data collected for the definition of the situation. In a theoretical sense, the constant comparative method of generating grounded theory and the definition of the situation, both involve discovery (the former involves discovering theory, while the latter involves discovering meaning), and both involve a process. For according to Glaser and Strauss "the constant comparison of incidents (or in this case, events)... tends to result in the creation of a "developmental theory"... (and) it especially facilitates the generation of theory of process, sequence and change".<sup>(18)</sup> This being the case, and as the definition of the situation is itself a theory of process, the constant comparative method is compatible with the definition of the situation.

As the conceptual categories that developed from  
the/....

the field notes emerged, this researcher was made aware of the more important recurring situations for the actors; a point of focus suggested by Stebbins in the quotation above. And with these situations in hand, the questionnaire was designed (to quote Stebbins once again), "to establish a more detailed and consequently more valid picture of the meaning that the incident held for the respondent".<sup>(19)</sup> Players with the Pros were thus interviewed at the end of the football season in order to systematically complete the conceptual categories that emerged during the participant observation stage of the research.

The questionnaires administered to remunerated and non-remunerated gardeners were administered without prior participation or observation with respondents. Furthermore, as theoretical literature on gardening is practically non-existent, there were no guidelines to follow in constructing the questionnaires. The questionnaires were thus designed to cover areas similar to those covered in the questionnaire administered to the Pros. Naturally, substantive areas were tailored to gardener respondents and additional questions were included based on prior discussions with gardeners. But, basically the questions asked of the gardeners were similar to those asked of the Pros; only the situation was changed to suit the subjects.

The sources of the gardener subjects require a certain degree of explanation. Remunerated gardeners, as mentioned, came primarily from employees of a large Botanic Garden/....

Garden, a nursery and a landscape company. Those from the Botanic Garden included respondents who volunteered to take part in the interview. After gaining permission from the secretary of the Botanic Gardens, a notice was posted for all employees to see, asking for volunteers to take part in the interview. This process does bias the findings as it is possible that those who volunteered to answer a questionnaire could be unrepresentative of attitudes towards remunerative gardening in general. Although this point cannot be denied, the jobs held by those who did volunteer range from supervisors to grass cutters, and thus cover non-office employees at the Botanic Garden.

After gaining permission to interview employees of the nursery and the landscape companies, respondents were asked by the foreman in each company if they would take part in the interview. Thus, respondents were under a certain degree of pressure to attend the interview, and there could have been doubt in some respondent's minds (in spite of the fact that they were told the contrary) that the information they were giving would get back to management. Nevertheless, as was the case with the employees of the Botanic Garden, those interviewed included the full range of jobs in the nursery and landscape companies.

The non-remunerated gardeners were asked questions similar in content to those asked of the remunerated gardeners. And these in turn related back to the conceptual categories that emerged from the field work with the/....

the Pros. The subjects here came primarily from flower shows and public allotments. The researcher simply approached individuals on their allotment or at a flower show and spoke to anyone who was willing to be interviewed.

Observation and participation resumed with the non-remunerated football players. For, as mentioned, this researcher joined two amateur football teams for this phase of the field work. And as with the Pros, participation although extensive, fell short of playing in regular league games. Participation did however include training games with the two amateur teams studied.

All 98 subjects were interviewed and these took place at various locations including respondents' homes and place of work. In each instance the interview was recorded in its entirety on a tape and subsequently transcribed for analysis.

It might be argued, as alluded to above, that sample bias has not been avoided. And for all practical purposes that is true. But, and this is the crucial point, given the nature of the research problem, any sample bias that might be present is for the most part unrelated to the purpose of the research. If one was interested in a sociology of football or gardening, then sample bias that might be present becomes a relevant factor. But this was not the purpose of the research to be described. It was designed to uncover meanings people attach to situations defined/....

defined (by themselves) as work or leisure. This being the case, the methods used to locate the subjects serve this end. Individuals were located who defined the situation in question as work, and others were located who defined it as leisure.

Why football and gardening? As mentioned, a situation includes the definition, individual attitudes and objective conditions one has to deal with in an activity. A search for a leisure (or work) situation, therefore, necessarily begins with a search for an activity. And in this context two activities had to be located which fulfill the following conditions; - (i) each had to engage individuals who defined it as leisure, others who defined it as work, and a possible third group who defined it as something other than work or leisure, (ii) they had to be common activities that as leisure situations involve a substantial proportion of people, (iii) those individuals who partake of these activities had to be readily identifiable and easily located, and (iv) the activities themselves, as well as the people who engage in them had to be distinctly different from each other.

Playing football and gardening were chosen for study because together they meet the above criteria. Both involve people who defined them as work, people who defined them as leisure, and others who defined them as something other than work or leisure. Both furthermore, are common leisure situations in Britain. To indicate the extent of their/....

their popularity, the following can be noted.

In Britain, amateur gardening is generally carried out either at one's place of residence or on public allotments. And although accurate up-to-date figures are not available as to the numbers involved in gardening at one's place of residence, the following estimates should establish its importance. In the United States, for example, the number of home gardeners has been estimated at forty million,<sup>(20)</sup> while in Britain a government social survey by K.K. Sillitoe disclosed the fact that 75% of male respondents in England and Wales live in households with the sole use of a garden.<sup>(21)</sup> Furthermore, and from the same report, gardening ranked second as the chief leisure activity of all male respondents. Television viewing ranked first (23%), gardening came second (12%), and this was followed by physical recreation as participant (11%).<sup>(22)</sup>

Another way of determining the extent of amateur gardening in Britain is to look at the number of public allotments. An allotment is in essence a plot of land, ranging in size from 50 to over 350 square yards (with the majority being 300 square yards), which the individual rents for £2 a year (in Scotland) from the Department of Parks and Recreation for the cultivation of fruit, vegetables or flowers for consumption by oneself and family. Although the number of allotment holders only represents the number of individuals who want to but who are unable to garden at home, its popularity also indicates the extent of amateur gardening/.....

gardening in Britain.

A Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Allotments reported a total of approximately 600,000 allotments in England and Wales for the year 1967.<sup>(23)</sup> The figure for Scotland is quoted in terms of the percentage of an acre per thousand population that is devoted to allotments, and this represents one-seventh of an acre per thousand population.<sup>(24)</sup> The number of allotments in Scotland is not given by the report, but in a discussion with a member of the Department of Parks and Recreation, the author was told that the city of Edinburgh (with a population of 500,000) had 1,100 allotments on 20 sites. Furthermore, there were 280 people on an allotment waiting list. The size of this list and the slow turnover rate of allotments, could constitute a wait of up to three years for anyone who wanted to be added to the list. Amateur gardening thus fulfills the second requirement of an activity for study in that it is a common activity that involves a substantial proportion of people.

Playing football also fulfills the second requirement for activity selection. For, as mentioned in the Sillitoe Report on Leisure, physical recreation as participant ranked third as the chief leisure activity by the national sample. And although one comes across conflicting data as to the numbers involved, the following should indicate its popularity among the British male population.

James/....

James Walvin, writing on the social history of British football, suggests that, "each Sunday morning from August to the following May, some 500,000 Englishmen set out in all conditions to play football... In any one season it is calculated that a similar number of schoolboys play football, and perhaps as many as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million men and boys play each weekend".<sup>(25)</sup> A different figure is arrived at by Patmore who suggests that there are 750,000 amateur players in Britain,<sup>(26)</sup> while Ashton, suggests that there are more than 35,000 amateur football clubs in Britain.<sup>(27)</sup> And if we assume each club has an average of 15 players (a conservative estimate), this makes a total of 525,000 amateur players. As a final estimate, the second report from the Select Committee on Sport and Leisure suggests that, "a range of values from 1.1 to 2.1 million has been obtained for participation (in football) outside schools in England and Wales".<sup>(28)</sup> Figures thus range from 500,000 to over 2 million amateur football players in Britain.

Given this discrepancy, this author contacted the four football associations responsible for all organized football in Britain. The following numbers of amateur players were reported by each association.

TABLE 3.1

Number of Amateur Footballers in Britain

<u>Name of Association</u>	<u>Number of Amateur Members</u>
The Irish Football Association Ltd.	11,700
The Football Association of Wales	45,978
The Scottish Football Association	43,695
The Football Association (England)	1,000,000
Total	<u>1,101,373</u>

The above totals include all amateur football players (excluding schoolboy football) who play for clubs that are registered with the appropriate association. As such, individuals who play on an ad hoc or unorganized basis, Sunday League games, teams organized through one's place of work, church sponsored teams, and groups of friends or workmates who get together for a 'kick-about' are not represented in the association figures. This being the case, the figure of 2.1 million quoted by the Select Committee on Sport and Leisure might not be too far from the present number of amateur footballers in Britain. Both football and gardening thus fulfill the second criterion for selection of activities for study.

The third criterion, the fact that individuals who partake in the activities selected had to be readily identifiable and easily located, can also be fulfilled by football and gardening. Football is a team activity. As such, individual players can be located through their team affiliation. Gardeners, although not involved in a team activity, can in many instances be located through garden and flower shows and on public allotments. For both serve as a medium for bringing amateur gardeners together.

Football and gardening also fulfill the fourth criterion of activity selection. For each differs radically from the other. Football, as mentioned, is a team activity, while gardening (with the exception of showing) is performed by the individual. Being a solitary activity/....

activity, gardening can be performed at any time without relying on other individuals. Football, on the other hand, requires other players and this necessitates degrees of dependence or reliance on others and a restriction of playing times. A game cannot be played unless others are present and willing to play. The nature of gardening is quite different from football. Where the former involves a degree of knowledge and working with one's hands, the latter involves skill in body movements; results in football are known at the duration of a 90 minute game, while results in gardening could take years; soccer involves competition with the opposition and co-operation with teammates, while gardening need not necessarily involve competition or co-operation.

In terms of the people who participate in football and gardening, one finds that those who partake in one, generally differ in age, socio-economic group and social class from those who partake in the other. From the Silittoe Report on Leisure, one sees a positive relationship between age and the number who report gardening to be their chief leisure activity, <sup>(29)</sup> and a negative relationship between age and the number who report soccer to be their chief leisure activity. <sup>(30)</sup> Similarly, and in the same report on leisure, there is a positive relationship between gardening as a chief leisure activity and social class, <sup>(31)</sup> and a tendency towards a negative relationship between playing football and social class. <sup>(32)</sup>

SAMPLE/....

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Having looked at football and gardening on a national basis, we can turn to a description of the subjects here at hand. And in order to facilitate an outline of the characteristics of the subjects, it is necessary to group them in the manner in which they were located. That is, remunerated and non-remunerated footballers and gardeners will form four basic subject types. A grouping of this nature will be used in this context and for this purpose only. For in the analysis to follow, subjects will be grouped according to whether they defined the situation in question as work of leisure.

Because the subjects were not selected in strict accordance with the methods of random sampling, their characteristics cannot be generalized to all footballers or gardeners. But, as we are not interested in all footballers or gardeners, and are only interested in the meanings selected footballers and gardeners attach to football and gardening as either work or leisure situations, sample generalizations are not essential.

Table 3.2 outlines the relationship between subject groupings and age category. The age categories used follow those in the Sillitoe Report on Leisure.<sup>(33)</sup>

TABLE 3.2/.....

TABLE 3.2

Number of Subjects by Age Category

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>15-18</u>	<u>19-22</u>	<u>23-30</u>	<u>31-45</u>	<u>46-60</u>	<u>61+</u>	<u>Total</u>
Footballers remunerated	5	14	11	2			32
Footballers non-remunerated		5	14	10			29
Gardeners remunerated		3	3	3	5	4	18
Gardeners non-remunerated			1	6	6	6	19
<b>Total</b>	<u>5</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>98</u>

A number of points can be emphasized from Table 3.2. First, subjects' ages tend to be similar to those in the Sillitoe Report on Leisure. That is, there tends to be a positive relationship between age and those subjects who participate in gardening, and this relationship is reversed for those subjects who participate in football. Another point of interest is the fact that of the subjects described in Table 3.2, the youngest footballers and gardeners are more likely to be found among those who are remunerated than among those who are not remunerated for either playing football or gardening. This point should be treated with caution as sample bias does have a strong effect here. For amateur football teams can be located where the average age is lower than that of the two teams included here. Similarly with gardeners; because a number of subjects were located on allotments, and because allotment holders tend to be older, this skews a picture of/....

of the age spread of remunerated and non-remunerated gardeners.

Further to the ages of allotment holders, a governmental inquiry into allotments reports that "over 62 per cent of allotment holders are between the ages of 40 and 65 years, and a further 20 per cent are 65 years or over".<sup>(34)</sup> Included with the subjects at hand are eleven allotment holders. Of these, seven are between the ages of 40 and 65, and four are over 65 years of age.

Table 3.3, which includes the relationship between marital status and subject groupings, points out the fact that a greater proportion of unmarried subjects are to be found in the remunerated than in the non-remunerated situations under investigation. This relationship is consistent with the data on Table 3.2, where it has been shown that the youngest footballers and gardeners are to be found among those who are remunerated for either activity.

TABLE 3.3  
Number of Subjects by Marital Status

	<u>Single</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Total</u>
Footballers remunerated	18	14	32
Footballers non-remunerated	9	20	29
Gardeners remunerated	6	12	18
Gardeners non-remunerated	2	17	19
Total	35	63	98

The/.....

The subjects can be further characterized by social and socio-economic classifications. And the classifications used for these purposes follow those established by the Registrar General, as outlined in the Office of Population Census and Survey, Classification of Occupations (H.M.S.O., 1970). Table 3.4 relates non-remunerated football players and gardeners to eight socio-economic groups. "Each socio-economic group (according to the report) should contain people whose social, cultural and recreational standards and behaviour are similar".<sup>(35)</sup> Although the report included seventeen socio-economic groups, all subjects can be classified through ten categories only. These ten, have been reduced to eight by combining some of the groups.<sup>(36)</sup>

TABLE 3.4

Non-Remunerated Football Players and Gardeners  
by Socio-Economic Group

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H*</u>	<u>Total</u>
<b>Football Players</b>									
Amateur 2		4	8			1			13
Amateur 1	2	1		1	5	6	1		16
<b>Gardeners</b>	3	1	1	1	6	4		3	19
	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>48</u>

\*

- A - (S.E.G. No.2) Employers and managers in industry, small establishments
- B - (S.E.G. Nos.3 & 4) Professional workers, self-employed and employees
- C - (S.E.G. No.5) Intermediate non-manual workers
- D - (S.E.G. No.6) Junior non-manual workers
- E - (S.E.G. No.9) Skilled manual workers
- F - (S.E.G. Nos. 10 & 11) Semi and unskilled manual workers
- G - (S.E.G. No.12) Own account workers
- H - (S.E.G. No.15) Agricultural workers

Although/....

Although all non-remunerated gardener subjects have been combined, the football players have been divided according to team affiliation. The reason for this division is the sharp contrast between socio-economic and (as is apparent on Table 3.5) social class categories which dominates each team. It is apparent, for example, that all members of Amateur 2 (with the exception of one) are in occupations categorized as professional or intermediate non-manual. Members of Amateur 1, on the other hand are for the most part in occupations classified as skilled, semi and unskilled. The gardener subjects, the majority of whom are skilled, semi or unskilled manual workers, also include agricultural workers and employees and managers in industries employing less than 25 people.

In the Report on the Classification of Occupations, each group of occupations (from Table 3.4) corresponds to a specific social class rating.<sup>(37)</sup> Thus, in Table 3.5, we see that members of Amateur 2 are mainly in social classes i and ii, while members of Amateur 1 and the gardener respondents are mainly in social classes iii and iv.

By separating the two amateur football teams on Tables 3.4 and 3.5, it is apparent that although all non-remunerated football subjects engage in the same non-remunerated activity (i.e. amateur football), members of one team generally engage in remunerative activities that differ from those of the other team. This suggests two points/....

points. First, given the subjects being categorized, there is no simple relationship between occupation (or social class) and leisure choice. For here we have subjects whose occupations include doctors, teachers, engineers, managers, as well as skilled and unskilled workers, but all of whom participate in the same leisure situation (i.e. amateur football). The second point raised is that leisure situations which involve other people (such as teams or clubs) will include people in similar social and socio-economic categories.

TABLE 3.5

Non-Remunerated Football Players and Gardeners  
by Social Class\*

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Social Class</u>					<u>Total</u>
	<u>i</u>	<u>ii</u>	<u>iii</u> M N	<u>iv</u>	<u>v</u>	
<b>Football Players</b>						
Amateur 2	4	8	- -	1	-	13
Amateur 1	1	1	7 -	5	2	16
<b>Gardeners</b>						
	1	1	8 2	6	1	19
	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>15 2</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>48</u>

- \*  
i Professional, etc. occupations  
ii Intermediate occupations  
iii Skilled occupations  
    M - manual  
    N - non-manual  
iv Partly skilled occupations

The subjects described are somewhat uncharacteristic of the national sample dealt with in the Sillitoe Report on Leisure. For, as mentioned, the Report suggests a positive relationship between gardening and social class, and/....

and a negative relationship between playing football as a chief leisure activity and social class

This discrepancy can be accounted for by the fact that Amateur 2 is somewhat exceptional for British amateur football in that it originated as a club for ex-university football players. Consequently, it contains a high proportion of university graduates. And this accounts for the predominance of social classes i and ii among its members. Amateur 1, on the other hand, is more characteristic of British football clubs. For it fits the negative relationship between social class and playing football as a chief leisure activity.

The positive relationship between gardening as a chief leisure activity and social class as suggested by the Sillitoe Report, and not portrayed in the subjects here at hand can be accounted for by the sources for locating the subjects. They were located through public allotments and through rural flower shows. And as public allotments are designed for those whose place of residence does not have a home garden, it is likely that users of public allotments will be in the lower social classes.

As a prelude to an analysis of the research, quotation from two subjects can be presented as a way of introducing the research problem. The first quotation comes from a remunerated gardener and deals with his own garden at home. That is,

'you can do literally as you want; or, I've been able to do as I wanted to. I enjoy weeding borders/....

borders or fruit picking and all these sort of things. But, I think it's the sort of background automatically conditions you to look on it being as a leisure; something you enjoy doing. I think association with home and the freedom of choice, I suppose is important. You're not very restricted. I think it's just the background of it that makes one feel it's a leisure'.

The next quotation also comes from a remunerated gardener, but here the subject compares his garden at home to his work at a botanic garden.

'Here it is my career, my profession and one has to approach it with professional precepts. Whereas at home you can do nothing for a week or two and it doesn't really matter because you can catch up with it later... It's not relaxing here in that respect, even though some of the jobs may be similar that are undertaken here; it's approached with a different frame of mind. I don't think one can be prepared to relax in one's profession. It's not that I'm not able to relax here, it's because I don't relax, I don't relax because I don't think I ought to'.

These quotations have been included at this juncture because together they strike at the heart of the investigation here at hand. We will be looking at the so-called 'background' of work and leisure. Why does tending borders or picking fruit tend to be monotonous in a work situation but something one can enjoy in a leisure situation? What is the background that 'automatically conditions you to look on it as being leisure'?

The research to be described will deal with these questions through investigating the three kinds of data that (according to Thomas) are to be found in all situations. That is, it will deal with the definition, the objective conditions/....

conditions, and the attitudes in a situation.

We shall begin (in the next chapter) by looking at the subjects' definitions of their football or gardening situation (with specific reference to the reasons why a particular definition was applied). This will be followed by a look at the objective conditions and attitudes in these situations. , Once these three kinds of data have been presented, we will have a clearer understanding of the meanings of work and leisure to the subjects of this enquiry.

CHAPTER 4

SITUATIONS DEFINED AS WORK

Having identified two activities (playing football and gardening) we are now in a position to offer a number of suggestions in response to the question posed earlier. That is, given that it is the situation and not the activity that is being defined, under what conditions will a situation be defined as work, and under what conditions will it be defined as leisure? The answer to this question, it will be argued, lies in the perceived balance between positive and negative expectations.

Admittedly this suggestion is somewhat simplistic. For it is impossible to account for all personal expectations, to determine how many are positive and how many are negative, and then to assess whether positive or negative expectations dominate a situation. This scheme should thus be looked upon as stages in a process which unconsciously and automatically take place in the mind of the individual.

Before demonstrating this suggestion, it can be noted that when those subjects who defined the situation in question as work, were asked why they defined it that way/.....

way, not one respondent mentioned a single positive expectation (excepting remuneration on which we shall temporarily suspend judgement). And when others were asked why they defined a situation as leisure, not one respondent mentioned a single negative expectation. But, when individual meanings of specific work and leisure situations were sought, positive expectations were revealed for situations defined as work, and negative ones were revealed for situations defined as leisure. And it is for this reason that we are able to identify or define a situation as work or leisure, but at the same time are unable to adequately characterize all work or leisure situations.

From here it was concluded that defining a situation as work or leisure is a process that takes place at two different (but interrelated) levels of generality. At one level people hold general images of work and leisure which enable them to identify specific situations. In this sense, work and leisure are cultural definitions. And at this level work situations are identified through a general negative expectation while leisure situations are identified through a general positive expectation.

At a more specific level, however, situations defined as work will more often than not be conceived of as being dominated (although not exclusively) by negative expectations, while those defined as leisure will be conceived of as being dominated (but again, not exclusively) by positive expectations.<sup>(1)</sup> Hence it is suggested that situations/....

situations are defined as work or leisure through the perceived balance between positive and negative expectations.

To demonstrate this conclusion we shall begin by separating the subjects in terms of which cultural definition each applied to his football or gardening situation. And after identifying those who defined these situations as work, we shall deal with their reasons for this definitional choice. In the next chapter we will turn to the reasons why these same activities were defined as leisure.

The research was originally designed to investigate individuals who are remunerated and individuals who are not remunerated for performing similar activities. This design implicitly followed the common-sense assumption that a greater percentage of those who are remunerated for an activity will define that activity as work, and contrariwise, that a greater percentage of those who are not remunerated will define that same activity as leisure. But as common-sense is a sufficient condition for locating subjects (when the research is in its early stages), it is not sufficient once the researcher has information at his disposal to contradict that assumption. As the data emerged, and as exceptions to this common-sense assumption began to appear, it became apparent that if the subjects were to be divided for analysis (i.e. meaning of the situation) in the same manner with which they were located (i.e. classified by the presence or absence of remuneration), it/....

it would involve an imposition on the data that would artificially categorize individuals regardless of their definition of the situation in question. To circumvent this problem, and because the research was undertaken to analyze definitional rather than remunerational differences, the subjects were separated into those who defined playing football or gardening as work, those who defined these situations as leisure, and those who defined them as something else,

Individuals were placed in specific definitional categories through their response to a specific question designed to deal with this matter. Depending upon whether one was remunerated or not for playing football or for gardening, each subject was asked (in essence) how he defined or labelled the situation in question.

The question designed to categorize the subjects proved initially to be somewhat problematic. For as the interviews progressed many respondents when asked if they looked upon football or gardening as work or leisure considered such a question to be either absurd or naive. And this proved to be the case more so with the amateur than with the professional subjects. It is absurd to those respondents who follow the common-sense relationship between the presence or absence of remuneration and their definition of that situation, and it is naive because it imposes a dichotomy on reality that proved to be too simplistic. Individual definitions could therefore not to ascertained through/....

through a direct question; they could only be solicited if respondents were given examples of the type of answer sought. For example, the remunerated football players were asked; Some people call football a career, others call it a sport, a job, hobby, work, leisure, etc. What do you consider it to be? By forcing respondents to make specific references to football one is able to divide the subjects through their responses and at the same time to analyze differences within the general definitional categories of work and leisure.

A further advantage of asking respondents to choose from a list of possible interpretations is that certain respondents will volunteer an explanation of why the activity in question is not a specific choice. From the remunerated footballers, for example, when respondents were asked to choose from a list which identified football as a career, job, hobby, work, leisure, or a sport, certain respondents not only explained why football is a job, but went on to explain why it is not a career, or a hobby, etc. And to continue with this example, the reasons why football is not defined as a career or a hobby offers insight into what for these individuals constitutes a career or a hobby.

One disadvantage of asking respondents to choose from a pre-determined list of ways of defining a situation is that it tends to limit responses to those suggested in the question. The risk of not including definitional choices in the question was minimized by designing and administering/....

administering the questionnaire after the participant observation stage of the field work was completed. For through observing and participating with the subjects (and this was especially the case with the football subjects), the question was designed to include those definitions most frequently referred to during work in the field. Furthermore, the interview format was open-ended, and respondents were encouraged to include definitions not included among the choices suggested.

DIVISION OF SUBJECTS BY DEFINITIONAL CATEGORY

Based on responses to the questions, which asked each subject how he defined his football or gardening situation, they were divided for analysis as outlined on Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1

Division of Subjects by their Definition of Football or Gardening

<u>Situation</u>	<u>Work</u>	<u>Work/ Leisure</u>	<u>Leisure</u>	<u>Not- Leisure</u>	<u>Total</u>
Football	27	3	30	1	61
Gardening	17	5	25	9	56
N	44	8	55	10	117

The number of definitions of gardening situations included on Table 4.1, is greater than the total number of gardener subjects. This results from the fact that of 19 subjects who garden for others (i.e. for remuneration), 14 gardened both for themselves and for others and 5 had enough familiarity with home gardening to offer an opinion on/....

on it. Of these five, three had had their own gardens in the past.

An analogous football separation, i.e. playing for oneself as opposed to playing for others, does not carry the same meaning as in gardening situations. Gardening is a productive and solitary activity and the results of that production can be consumed either by the individual or by others. But football is a team game which at its base produces symbolic results only (i.e. 2 points, a cup, honours). As such, playing football for oneself suggests playing for personal advancement, glory or personal enjoyment. Playing for others suggests playing for the benefit of the team, manager, club, fans, etc.

With respect to the category on Table 4.1, labelled 'not-leisure', it was mentioned that by locating individuals who are remunerated and others who are not remunerated for performing the same activity, it was hoped that subjects could be separated into three groups; those who defined the activity in question as work, those who defined it as leisure, and those who defined it as something other than work or leisure. Individuals in this third category have been located but it seems that they were unable to pin-point what that something else is. Consequently, nine gardeners and one football player have been categorized as defining the situation in question as 'not-leisure'.

REASONS/....

REASONS FOR DEFINING A SITUATION AS WORK

Reasons given by the subjects for defining football or gardening situations as work are listed on Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2

Reasons for Defining a Football or Gardening Situation as Work

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Football</u>	<u>Gardening</u>	<u>Total</u>
Financial considerations	13	6	19
Hard work	2	3	5
Pressures	2	1	3
Fixed hours	-	3	3
Not enough time	-	1	1
For somebody else	-	1	1
Requires a sacrifice	-	1	1
Must put more into it	-	1	1
Not worthwhile	-	1	1
Limited scope/boring	-	2	2
Necessity	-	1	1
Pertains to a career	11	-	11
No reason	1	-	1
	<u>29</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>50</u>
N			

It is apparent from the above table that to define a situation as work involves different considerations for different people. All reasons (again excluding remuneration) given by the subjects for this definition involve negative expectations only. To expect a situation to be hard work, or to expect fixed hours, or pressures, etc., is to expect something that most people would prefer to avoid. In order to elaborate on these expectations the reasons given by the subjects can be grouped into five basic but inter-related/....

interrelated typologies. That is, reasons which pertain to remuneration, time, pressures, the nature of the task, and notions of freedom.

### REMUNERATION

The most frequently mentioned reason for defining both football and gardening situations as work relates to the fact that one is paid. Subjects mentioned, for example:

'Well, it's your living isn't it? You're playing to earn a living just as you would if you were working to earn a living'.

'If you're not playing, bang, you're losing money. So it's a job really'.

'It's a job in a way because it gives you your livelihood. If you don't work here, that's you on the dole. And the dole money is less than you get here. Well, I'd rather work here'.

'It's not a pastime, it's my job and I like it. I just don't do it for leisure or anything like that. It's my bread and butter'.

'This is my job and you've got to work to make a living'.

'If I wasn't earning any money, I'd call it a sport. Because I'm making money, it's a job actually'.

If we look at the relationship between the presence or absence of remuneration and respondents' definitions of football and gardening situations (see Table 4.3), we can anticipate a positive relationship between the presence of remuneration and a definition of work, and a negative relationship between the presence of remuneration and a definition of leisure.

But/....

But there are exceptions to these relationships and this is particularly pronounced among the non-remunerated gardener subjects. We see, for example, that 30% of the non-remunerated gardeners (including two who defined it as work and nine who defined it as not-leisure) do not define gardening as leisure. Further exceptions include five remunerated football players and four remunerated gardeners.

TABLE 4.3

Relationship between the Presence or Absence of Remuneration and Definitions of Football and Gardening Situations

<u>Situation</u>	Situation Defined As				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Work</u>	<u>Work/Leisure</u>	<u>Leisure</u>	<u>Not-Leisure</u>	
Remunerated					
Football	27	3	2	-	32
Gardening	15	2	2	-	19
Non-Remunerated					
Football	-	-	28	1	29
Gardening	2	3	23	9	37
<u>Total</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>117</u>

It is not sufficient to stop here and just accept the fact that because one is paid in a situation, that situation is likely to be defined as work. For the relationship between the paycheck and a definition of work is a spurious one. It is not simply the paycheck which influences this definition, it is the effects of this paycheck which are crucial. More will be said on this point later. Here it should suffice to suggest that through entering a situation with a remuneration component the individual enters a socially prescribed contractual relationship in which he is subjected to certain role expectations. And as/....

as role expectations are in themselves situational components (which are absent in a situation where there is no remuneration component) they have an effect on the individual's definition of that situation. It will be pointed out in a later discussion that many of those role expectations which co-exist with a remuneration component are viewed by the majority of the subjects as negative expectations. And this can account for the definition of a situation as work based on the presence of remuneration.

### TIME

Time as a factor in determining the definition of a situation does not simply relate to amounts spent in that situation. It relates to an imposed structuring of time which is more often than not (although not always) felt to be externally imposed. This was expressed by a number of subjects either as resentment to fixed hours (i.e. 9 to 5), or in a situation where the individual felt he did not have enough time (due to other work and leisure commitments) to pursue an activity in a 'leisurely' manner.

To emphasize the fact that it is not simply time spent in a situation which influences a definition of work, we can look at the gardener respondents. Each subject was asked how much time he spent in his garden. Of those who defined gardening as leisure, (and who specified the number of hours they spent gardening each week), the following can be noted.

TABLE 4.4/.....

TABLE 4.4

Number of Hours spent per week in a Gardening  
Situation defined as Leisure

<u>Hours Per Week</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>
4	1
8-10	3
11-13	2
16-18	2
20-25	5
40+	2

Of those respondents in Table 4.4, who put in more than 40 hours a week, one was retired, while the other worked for a Botanic Garden. This individual said:

'I do 12 hours a day plus Sunday. Sunday I only do 5 because I come in at 6.30 and do all the watering. We're not supposed to start until 8, but I come in at half past six to get it all done and everything watered before the visitors come'.

Subjects who defined gardening as leisure, but who did not specify weekly totals said (for example);

'Some mornings I'm in it an hour before I go away to my work. Some nights I'm in it for three hours when I come home. Saturdays I'm there in the morning and then I'm back out there again in the afternoon. Sunday mornings I'm usually in the garden, Sunday afternoon I'm often in it'.

'In the winter, not very much at all. In the summer, all of my spare time. All Saturday, all Sunday and as much of the evenings as I have time to spend'.

These statements and the data on Table 4.4, demonstrate the fact that in spite of spending many hours in a situation a number of subjects chose to define that situation as leisure. Many subjects, furthermore, mentioned/....

mentioned that they would like to spend more time in their garden but because of work commitments were unable to do so. In short, it is not simply amounts of time spent in a situation that influences a definition of work, it is the feeling that time is being controlled and structured by someone else.

Statements from subjects who defined a situation as work because of an externally imposed structuring of time include:

'I just look on it as my work. I like doing it. I like the job and everything about it... Well anything that's on fixed hours is not a hobby or pastime. Let's say it's a job, I like the work'. (gardener)

'I consider it to be a job in a 9 to 5 ish sense. But I rather quite enjoy it, rather as a trade'. (gardener)

One gardener respondent who gardened both for others and for himself explained why he did not define gardening for himself as work.

'In your own garden you're not working from 8 in the morning say till 4.30 at night. You're not really working in your own garden'.

The one subject who defined gardening for himself as work did so because he did not have enough time to garden in a leisurely way. That is:

'It's what you do in your leisure time, but it's still work. You see, I regard leisure if you were going to golf or do something like that. But, I mean gardening the way I do it anyway, I mean I haven't got time with doing all these other sports (athletics, rifle shooting, orienteering). I haven't got time to do it leisurely. I mean I take 3 hours to cut a wee bit of grass. I've got to get out there and do it in 5 minutes and get on with something else/.....

else. That's why it's work. I mean it's leisure, there's no doubt about that. It's done in your leisure time. But it's work to my mind. To my mind a hobby's a thing that you spend time on. But I just haven't the time'.

This respondent went on to say:

'I can't do nothing. That could be one of the reasons why I do so much gardening'.

The confusion expressed by the above quoted respondent emphasizes the confusion (mentioned in Chapter 1) between leisure as an activity, period of time, and experience. Because gardening is done in so-called leisure time, it must be a leisure activity. But to this respondent gardening can only be a leisurely experience if one takes time to do it. But because of other sporting interests, this respondent did not have the time to garden in a leisurely way. Therefore, gardening is work.

As a final example, one amateur footballer said the following when asked to explain the difference between work and leisure:

'I think work has the connotations of being something you wouldn't do if you were independent financially... It's the structuring of my time I resent. I resent having this continual bloody every Wednesday I must go and teach from 6 till 8 at night when I could be going and watching the Pros playing football. That is what work is; it's the structuring of my time in a rigid, uncompromising, boring, regular way'.

### PRESSURES

A further condition which might influence a definition of work is whether or not the individual feels under/....

under pressure. This includes subjects on Table 4.2, who mentioned that a particular task must be done or requires a sacrifice, and those who felt under pressure or that they must put more into it. For example:

'It's like every other job; you've got to sacrifice something. The way they work here, the busiest time is when everybody is on holidays. You've got to work to supply them'. (gardener)

'I'd like to look on it as leisure, but you just can't look on a job that you're doing as leisure. You've got to put more work into it... If you're working for somebody else's garden, well you'd have to carry on and therefore it's more a labourer's job than leisure'.

'Before it used to be less demanding on a player. If you turned in a bad performance, O.K. But now there's so much pressure from the directors and the manager for this top ten (to avoid relegation) and all that. You could go out and results weren't really so important as they are now. Therefore, it's more like a job; sort of the finished article's everything'.

'You've got the physical factor as well as the mental factor; only the mental one can be worse at times. Thinking about how you're going to play, if you're going to play all right. If you're in the first team you're getting extra money, if the first team's winning you're getting extra money still. So it's really a job as far as I'm concerned'.

One gardener who defined his home gardening as work said:

'I wouldn't call it leisure at all. It's all work and you don't do it unless you have to do it. I mean it's not leisure, it's a necessity to do your garden at home'.

This individual's home garden consists of an allotment given to him by his employer. He grows vegetables for his own use in order to save money.

Although few subjects mentioned the presence of pressures/.....

pressures as a reason for defining their football or gardening situation as work, it does play a major role in influencing the individual's definition of a situation. So let us enquire into the source of pressures, their effects, and how they differ between a situation defined as work and one defined as leisure.

Football as work and football as leisure are somewhat unique in terms of pressures encountered by participants. For whether it be work or leisure, the game itself is (according to an Amateur 2 player):

'much more an acute thing. If you make a mistake or if you're late for a game, then you feel it quite acutely and it's something that I can't get back, because I'm going to miss Saturday's game. There's no way I can get that back. Whereas at school if I make a mistake teaching, I can always go over the grounds again. It's making me a bit tight for time perhaps, but it's not a loss. Whereas a game lost at football, there's no way I can get it back'.

And because the game of football is unique in this respect, the difference in pressures between a football situation defined as work and one defined as leisure stand out.

Before turning to pressures in the subjects' football situations, Dr. Neil Philips the honorary medical officer of the F.A. said the following about the physical and mental strains on the professional football player:

"The list of pressure on them is endless. They exert pressure on themselves because of their own ambitions. Money, the bonuses they play for that can make all the difference to their standard of living add to that weight. Then, team mates put pressures on them for football is a team game and one man's failure may be a team's disaster. The coaches and managers put pressures/....

pressures on them for the success of the team is tied to the players' performance. The directors, the crowds, even their own families all exert pressures for their own reasons on the players... To know the total weight of such tensions the ordinary man in the street should ask himself how he would feel if he were promoted in his job or how he would feel if he were suddenly sacked. Players, in effect, know exactly these extremes - every three days of their lives... getting promotion... getting sacked... Just think of it". (2)

In addition to those mentioned above, the Pros mentioned pressures from newspaper criticisms, pressures from the opposition, pressures that result from the pre-game build up, and pressures on a reserve player to achieve a position on the first team. Examples of statements that pertain to each of the above mentioned sources of pressures include:

#### Playing for One's Livelihood

'There's no pressure on an amateur football player. He's not doing that for a living. He can do what he likes, whereas we can't. What happens if he goes and gets into a punch-up? It's nothing to do with his work or things like that. Say it was put in the paper. Say there was a scandal or a fight or something like that. I would pay more heavily in my job because I've got a lot more at stake. I've got a lot more to lose than what he has. He can go on the park, he can get sent off, he can start a fight on the park, what does he get? Suspended by his association for 2 weeks. What is he losing? Just a game of football. But I'm losing my wages and bonus money and things like that.

#### The Crowd

'Professionals, they're all up tight... Well you go out in front of a crowd to play. It doesn't matter what they do you're always up tight. This is the kind of pressure you get. It's a tightness in your stomach. As soon as you get out on the field and you get used to the crowd and the atmosphere it goes away'.

Newspaper/....

### Newspaper Criticisms

'Well should we say its mental pressures. There's pressure from the newspapers, there's pressure from fans. You'll read in the papers that this player is playing well and this player is playing badly and they put that wee bit more pressure on you by saying you've had a bad game. And you think, oh well, I've got to show them'.

### Fans

'Sometimes it's a good thing to be well away (from the fans) if the team's not doing good. There are a lot more pressures on you if you stay in X (the home of the Pros). Travelling is a bind for me, but it is a good thing for me to get away from it all'.

### Opposition

'We've got more pressures than junior clubs. I mean they've still got a lot of pressure, don't get me wrong, but I feel the difference between us is the fact that we possibly are playing against better players. Obviously there is no comparison in the standards. I think we're geared to a different game altogether'.

### Pressure on Reserves to get into the First Team

'I enjoy playing in the first team more. As I say, there's a lot of pressure on you when you're in the reserves to try and make it in the first team. But when you make it in the first team you think, well, I've made it. I'm here to stay'.

### Teammates

'There is this tension and worry that you might lose goals and you might lose other players' bonuses... You've still got this worry that you'll maybe lose the boys their money and you'll maybe drop two points, but you seem to play with more confidence (in the first team). It's a funny situation. You've still got this pressure on you and yet there's not as much.

### Pre-Game Build Up

'We're training all week and building up for a Saturday and you've got all these pressures on you but you cannot let them out. After the game if you win, ken, you're maybe a wee bit relieved and that. But apart from that you've always/....

always got these pressures building up inside you. It's just at the end of the season you get this long break. This is the only time you get relieved of these pressures because you've got no worries or that. You just get on with what you want to do'.

### The Manager

'There's slightly more pressure on you. Before you never gave it a thought; about playing well. It was just yourself that you bothered with, or that bothered about you playing well. Now, you have to keep on playing well to get into the first team and that. You have to keep the manager happy you're playing well; don't let down your teammates and that'.

Although there were no direct references made by the Pros with respect to self-imposed pressures, a number of statements have been recorded on an aim by many players to be at the top. And although not articulated as a pressure, presumably this desire is self imposed and could manifest itself as a pressure.

With respect to the effects of these pressures, when the Pros were asked if they enjoyed their football as much at the professional level as they did when they were fifteen years of age, 71% said they enjoyed their football more when they were fifteen. Of these 68% referred to the pressures of the professional game as one of their reasons for enjoying their football more when they were fifteen. Thus, a major effect of pressures in the Pros' football situation is the fact that the game itself loses part of its enjoyment factor. Players mentioned that they tend to be more nervous, more tense, and are afraid of making mistakes.

A further effect of the pressures in professional football/....

football, is that (according to one player), 'sometimes you can have a bad spell through pressures'. That is, the pressures can cause a player to be off form. And when this happens (for whatever reason) a player is generally dropped from the first team to play and regain his confidence in the reserves.

As well as the above mentioned pressures on the players, a number of Pros also mentioned that the manager is under great pressures, and others suggested that the fans come to watch football in order to release pressures that have built up in them during the week.

When asked if the manager had changed since his promotion from trainer (in the previous season) to manager (in the current season), one player replied:

'When he was trainer he never had the same worries. Obviously he had to worry on the Saturday when we were playing. But he just had that worry for an hour and a half. After that all the strain is off him. The manager has got... you know, maybe we've not won a game in the last two games, or the crowds have gone down, the players are wanting more wages, things like that. You've always got all these pressures on you. So I think you must change to a certain extent'.

And with respect to football acting as a release for the fans,

'You know a lot of people come to football just to let out their feelings. They're working in a factory maybe a week, building up pressures and they just come on a Saturday just to let everything go; just to get it all out of their system'.

The/....

The effects of pressures can be counteracted.

In the case of pressures from the opposition during a match, players can react by feigning an injury, thereby slowing down the pace of the game; hence reducing the pressures.

When asked how one feigns an injury, a Pros player responded:

'You know if you're under a bit of pressure if a team's coming at you with attack after attack after attack. You feel this is going to blow up; let's calm it down again. Maybe one of your boys is in a tackle and he's injured. You just tell him to lie down. The trainer stands until he's told to come on, and he'll come on. The referee will come up and say, "what's the matter?", and he'll say, "Oh I got hurt ref", or something like that. And the trainer will come on and will be giving instructions telling him to hit him and telling another to do this and then the game starts up again and the whole game's changed and you're on the attack. The whole momentum's away from the team that's coming at you'.

And when asked how one can tell if a player is feigning an injury, he said:

'If the bloke gets up after a couple of minutes and he's running about daft, you know he's just kidding us on'.

The only avenue open to the professional footballer in terms of counteracting the pressures of his situation is to perform at a consistently high standard. And it is for this reason that the majority of players mentioned they would rather play for the first than for the reserve team. For by playing in the first team, many players believe their own performance will be enhanced; hence they will earn more money, and they will not be under the criticisms/....

criticisms of others, i.e. the fans, the newspapers, the manager, and teammates. Also, by playing at this standard consistently, players will presumably be subjected to fewer self-imposed pressures.

A number of Pros players also mentioned that they felt pressures during a golf outing with the club. One player said, for example:

'Actually I enjoy golfing more with my teammates than with my friends because there's always that wee bit of challenge when you're playing... working besides a group of boys. You always try and get one up on each other; try to prove that you could play as good as him or maybe that wee bit better. And it's more... there's more pressure playing with teammates I would say'.

Pressures in this situation do not come from an outside source such as those felt by the Pros in their football situation. They come from the individuals concerned in their desire to, 'get one up on each other; to prove that you could play as good as him or maybe better'. Proof in this case is between the individual and his golf partners. There are no newspapers, fans, managers, families, etc. involved. Here we have an example of pressures which metaphorically speaking results from 'one upmanship', and which can be said to be self-imposed.

The attitude of the above quoted Pros player toward pressures while golfing with teammates parallels that expressed by 53% of the amateur subjects who said they felt pressures in their football situation. It is not entirely a/.....

a matter of one upmanship, as football is a team game. But it does seem to be a matter of pressures being self-imposed in an amateur football situation, as opposed to being imposed by others in a professional football situation.

In order to secure information on the types and sources of pressures in amateur football, all relevant subjects were asked if they felt pressures in football and where these pressures came from. And for the sake of a comparison, each was also asked the same about his respective work situation. The answers to these questions are reproduced on Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5

Sources of Pressures in Work and Football Situations of Non-Remunerated Football Subjects

<u>Source of Pressures</u>	<u>No. Responding</u>	
	<u>Work</u>	<u>Football</u>
Pertain to the doing of the task	9	3
Other people	11	5
Need to perform well	7	1
Financial	2	-
Personal/self made	-	10
Not enough pressures felt	-	2
No pressures felt	2	4
Total	<u>23</u>	<u>23</u>

Table 4.5 clearly points out the difference between the sources of pressures in the subjects' football and work situations. Where pressures in their work situation stems primarily from external sources, pressures in their/.....

their football situation come primarily from themselves. We see, furthermore, that six subjects felt there was not enough or no pressures in their football situation, and two felt there were no pressures in their work situations. Of the two who felt there were not enough pressures in amateur football, both respondents felt that if they were under more externally imposed pressures they would be forced to play harder. Two subjects mentioned that they did not feel pressures in their work situations. When one was asked what he liked about his job he replied:

'just the money, and the day seems to go quick if we're busy. It's just working more or less for the money'.

In a general sense it can be suggested that a situation can be defined as work due to the felt presence of externally imposed pressures; either through temporal, physical, or social constraints. Pressures which are felt to be present in a situation defined as leisure are seen as self-imposed, hence under the individual's control. It is for this reason that leisure has come to be synonymous with ease, relaxation and taking one's time.

To separate those pressures which stem from external sources from those which are self imposed can be methodologically problematic. For those which are said to be self imposed can in fact stem from external sources, while those which are said to be imposed from outside can simply be part of the individual's imagination; hence, self/....

self imposed. But as we are dealing with meanings of situations to the subjects, it is important to point out that it was the amateur football subjects themselves who identified the majority of the pressures in their football situation as self-made.

#### NATURE OF THE TASK

Four reasons for defining a situation as work (as listed on Table 4.2) made reference to the nature of the task at hand. These include the fact that the situation in question is hard work, is limited in scope, is not worth while, or is boring. For example, from the gardener respondents:

'Here it's hard work. You get your easy jobs and you get your hard jobs. But really I would say it's hard work from the word go'.

Others said:

'I quite enjoy it. The work's a bit boring sometimes. Like this job I'm on now, it's just a matter of going around weeding beds all the time. But, you get sort of different jobs and different places. You're never on a job more than two or three days, which I like'.

'The work here is fairly straight forward. We don't get the scope to say lay out a border or plan a garden as such. So often either the company or the client who you're doing it for will have very set notions, and in fact all we are doing is filling in somebody else's plan'.

One respondent who defined his own garden as work said:

'Well, it's leisure time, but it's not leisure really. It's hard work; the way I do it anyway. It's not a thing you do leisurely. You've got to get on. No, I wouldn't call it leisure really'.

The/....

The two respondents who defined their football situation as work because it was hard work were referring to the training and not to the game itself. And this is why it is necessary to look at the situation (which includes the training and the game) rather than at the activity (which includes the game only). For example:

'It's a job because it's hard work. You need to work at it. It's not something that you can just sit back and let it happen'.

In fact in a football situation (as in most situations) there is more than one task contained within that situation. And as the following example suggests, different tasks within the same situation may be defined differently. That is:

'I go there (stadium) every day. You can get times at the start of the season it's nice. But it's like every other job. You get maybe three months of it and then you start getting fed up. It is a job of work to you then, and it's hard work. I mean, training's a job. It's hard work. The football itself is not a job. You enjoy the football. But the hard slog and the training to me it's a job of work. To me it's just the same as any other job from 9 to 5. At 5 o'clock at night you're tired, only I do my work in the space of two hours'.

#### NOTION OF FREEDOM

From a sociological perspective the notion of freedom can be very problematic. For if society is seen as a constraining force on the individual, where does the concept of freedom begin and where does it end? To enter this debate at this juncture would take us too far afield. Besides, the primary concern here is on the influence of this/.....

this notion (as experienced by the subjects of this enquiry) on definitions of a situation. Therefore, we shall bypass interpretations of freedom as held by philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists, and concentrate on those held by football players and gardeners. In other words, we shall bypass freedom as conceived in the world of theory to concentrate on how it is conceived of in the everyday world.

In a general sense, it can be said that where freedom is seen to be lacking, a situation is likely to be defined as work. But an absence of freedom cannot be neatly extricated from the other four definitional considerations. For it seems to lie at the base of them all.

A number of references to the absence of freedom in situations defined as work have been presented in the discussion on externally imposed pressures. But one aspect yet to be mentioned relates to the fact that the results of one's labour belong to somebody else. One gardener said (for example):

'Anything I'll go out and enjoy if it's for myself. But, if it's for somebody else, working for somebody else or working here, I don't really enjoy it. It's really, it's just work really'.

In conclusion, the subjects of this enquiry referred to one or any combination of the above five considerations as a reason for defining the situation in question as work. Furthermore, with the exception of remuneration these considerations were of a negative nature. In/....

In the next chapter we shall look at reasons for defining a situation as leisure. And in that context it will be demonstrated that a situation can be defined as leisure with reference to these same considerations (including one addition).

Before turning to that discussion, however, it will be of interest to point out reasons given by the Pros for referring to their football situation as a job or as a career. For it was mentioned earlier that a number of Pros volunteered to explain why their football situation was or was not a job or a career.

Four Pros players who defined football as a career gave the following reasons why it was not a job.

These include:

'It's not just a job because other jobs do not entertain people; whereas you are in this game'.

'Well it's not really like an ordinary day job is it? You've got a lot of spare time. I don't know, I just think it's not like an ordinary job'.

'I don't consider it a job because there's much more enjoyment in it than a normal job. Although I'm not saying a normal job doesn't have a lot of enjoyment in it'.

Two players, both of whom defined professional football as leisure, gave the following reasons for not defining it as a job:

'It's what I enjoy doing; it's not a job. Work I consider going to the office every day; labouring was work. But this, I don't know. If you enjoy doing it you don't consider it work. The difference between my office and labouring jobs (held before playing full-time football), is that/....

that I enjoy playing football and the money's better'.

'I certainly don't consider it a job. I get a lot of enjoyment out of it and it isn't a bind for me. Although, if I were here full-time, then I would consider it a job and I'd also consider it a bore because I'd get completely fed up in the afternoons with nothing to do'.

Eight subjects chose to define football as a career. One made reference to the fact that football is something you are born into and is something you have wanted to do all your life. Others stressed the fact that if you do not make it in football you have nothing to fall back on.

'You need to make it your career and try and make a lot of money from the start. Break through to the first team right away and as soon as possible. That's why I think it's a career'.

'For the likes of me not having a job, I've got to make it a career otherwise I've nothing to fall back on. So I feel it's got to be a career'.

The third reason for defining football as a career rests solely on the fact that football is unlike an 'ordinary job'. Because professional football is enjoyable, or entertainment to others, or affords a lot of spare time, and because these characteristics are seen as absent from a 'normal job' (and because these respondents do not perceive of professional football as leisure) these subjects referred to their football situation as a career.

Of those subjects who volunteered reasons why football is not a career, the majority stressed the fact that the time spent playing professional football is too short to classify/....

classify it as a career.

"on becoming a full professional at 17 or 18 years of age a player can look forward to a playing career of at most 10 or 12 years. Only nine per cent of players in (English) Football League clubs and four per cent of Scottish League players are over 30 years old and only nineteen per cent and ten per cent respectively, are over 28 years old". (3)

As the median age of all Pros players is 21 years, and as the oldest player is 34, if time spent in an occupation is one criterion for defining that occupation as a career, it is reasonable to expect the majority of those classified as defining football as work to be those who referred to it as a job rather than a career.

Examples of statements on why professional football is not a career include:

'It's not a career because it only lasts about ten years. So you can't think of it as a career because maybe 1% only stay in football for the rest of their lives. So I think people consider it like a job for ten years until you find something else'.

'If you're sending somebody off on a career you're wanting security behind it. Football's never secure. You just need to look at young lads that get signed at 15, 16, 17; they're better having... going to college or something. That to me is a career. Whereas football, if you sign at 17 you could be out of the game at 18. You'll maybe get a year out of it'.

CHAPTER 5

SITUATIONS DEFINED AS LEISURE

When the interview began on the amateur footballers it immediately became apparent that the question designed to separate the subjects by their definition of football would prove to be a problem. The first few subjects interviewed either mentioned or intimated that they thought it was a 'silly' question for they responded with statements such as : 'naturally I don't think of it as work', or, 'that's a ridiculous question'. Given this negative reaction to the question it was dropped from the amateur footballer's interview schedule in order to retain a degree of credibility in the interview and to save embarrassment.

To exclude this question from the questionnaire does create a problem for the analysis of the data. For it is methodologically imperative that it is the subjects and not this researcher who defines the situation in question as work or leisure. Furthermore, one of the basic arguments of this thesis is that it is wrong to equate remuneration with work or to assume that because remuneration is absent that the situation in question will be defined as leisure.

Faced with the problem of categorizing the amateur football/....

football respondents by their definition of football, and not wanting to assume that all would define it as leisure, these subjects were categorized through their responses to three questions. The first question asked them to explain the difference between work and leisure, another asked them to explain the difference between a professional and an amateur footballer, while the third asked subjects to list their leisure interests and to compare these to playing football. Through a form of content analysis it was decided that with the exception of one respondent who is categorized as defining football as not-leisure, the remaining amateur footballers defined their football situation as leisure. Admittedly for methodological reasons it would have been best to categorize these subjects through their direct responses to a question which asked how they defined football. But the reality of the interview situation made this impossible.

The fact that it was only the amateur football subjects who reacted against this question suggests that there is something unique to amateur football (as compared to the other three situations being investigated) which results in this reaction. And this relates to the point (mentioned in the introduction) that the terms work and leisure can be used either to define a situation or to describe the nature of an activity. Non-remunerated gardening can be described as work as the term can be used to describe the nature of home gardening. And for this reason/....

reason the non-remunerated gardeners did not react negatively to the question designed to separate respondents. But because of the nature of amateur football, it is not generally referred to as work in the sense which describes the nature of the activity. Hence the negative reaction of these subjects.

The logical implication of this suggestion is that those subjects who contradict the relationship between the presence or absence of remuneration and a definition of a situation could in fact be using the terms 'work' and 'leisure' in a manner that is different from those who comply with this relationship. The former might be referring to the terms in order to describe the nature of the activities in question, while the latter might simply be applying cultural definitions to the situations in question. This is not to suggest that remuneration can be equated with work or non-remuneration with leisure. It simply suggests that it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that both terms can be used either to describe the nature of an activity or to identify a situation.

The one amateur footballer who did not define football as leisure said:

'I don't know if I can call football a leisure sport. I think I could call golf, tennis, cricket a bit of fun. But if I wasn't playing football every Saturday I would get narky. I can't do without it. It's like a drug, if you like. I really take it seriously. It's still fun, but, I don't know, it's just different. (Interviewer: If you don't call it leisure, what do you call it?) I wouldn't call it work. I would/....

would prefer not to give it a name. Although I feel I work at it in some ways, not as much as a professional obviously, but in terms of amateur football I feel that I work hard at it in that I train, I wouldn't go out boozing on a Friday night and I try to get some sleep. Just small things'.

With this example we see an individual who claims to 'work' at the game in the sense that he puts effort into it and displays a degree of discipline in terms of curtailing his drinking, getting enough sleep and training. Yet he did not refer to amateur football as work in the sense of identifying the situation (possibly because he considered his remunerated situation - i.e. teaching - to be his work), nor did he refer to it as leisure (possibly because of his dedication and effort).

To turn now to the reasons given by the subjects for defining a situation as leisure, it can be recalled (from Chapter 4) that the reasons given for defining a situation as work made reference to one or any combination of five interrelated considerations. It was suggested, furthermore, that the subjects identified a situation as work or leisure through the perceived balance between positive and negative expectations. This Chapter will demonstrate that reasons for defining a situation as leisure are of the same types as those given for defining one as work. Only rather than involving negative expectations, reasons for defining a situation as leisure involve positive ones.

Because/....

Because the amateur footballers were not asked to explain why they defined football in a specific way, their perception of football as leisure will be drawn from their responses to the question which asked to explain the difference between a professional and an amateur. Consequently a number of their replies make specific reference to amateur football rather than to leisure in general. Nevertheless they serve as an indication as to why their football situation is defined as leisure.

#### REMUNERATION

From the twenty-nine amateur football subjects, fourteen (48%) mentioned that amateurs are not paid to play. If we recall the discussion on remuneration in Chapter 4, it can now be suggested that it is not the absence of the paycheck that influences a definition of leisure, but the absence of those role expectations which might accompany that paycheck.

To be more specific, amateur footballers believe these role expectations might involve the following:

'They've got to play better than we do. They're getting paid for it and you're getting nothing for it. It's just enjoyment. It's a job to them and they've got to do their job well. It doesn't matter how we play; nobody bothers that way'.

'Amateur's different; you're just playing for the enjoyment, not for the money. It makes it harder with all that money involved. You're just playing because you love it'.

I/....

'I think it's the fact that the professional player has got his livelihood to look after and the amateur has got something else. He's got a source of work and so he can probably enjoy his football more than the professional player. The professional player probably has to win so many games to keep up his win bonuses'.

'They're getting paid for it and I'm not. I'm playing for leisure, they're playing for their wages'.

Thus, subjects who defined football as leisure, because of the absence of payment, did so because it was felt that the role expectations of the professional footballer include the fact that he 'must' play harder than amateur, and he 'must' win. In short, 'it makes it harder with all that money involved'.

One Pros player mentioned that if he had an additional source of income apart from playing football, remunerated football would be leisure.

'I suppose it's a wee bit of everything. It is a sport, really, and obviously it's a job. From my point of view I've always wanted to be a footballer, so I suppose it's just like somebody whose always wanted to be a joiner. So, I suppose it's a job really. It's a sport, but it is a job that you wanted to do. If I was driving taxis now, I probably wouldn't think of football as my job because now it's my only source of income. Obviously one of the reasons I see it as a job is because it's my only source of income'.

This player's football situation would not change if he held a job driving a taxi. But because he would be less dependent on football for his livelihood and because he has always wanted to play football, he believes that his attitude/....

attitude towards it would change.

With respect to additional sources of income, four of the thirty-two Pros players fell into this category at the time of the research. These included; a chartered accountant, a painter and decorator, a teacher, and an office worker. The teacher and the office worker defined their football as leisure, while the remaining two defined it as work. And this raises the question of why the other two defined their football as work?

The accountant and the decorator were close friends. They both lived in the same outlying village and commuted together to training and to games. Both, furthermore, were older players (30 and 32 respectively). The accountant defined football as a job because he considered accountancy to be his career. The decorator also defined football as a job, however his reason included the fact that the time spent playing football was too short to call it a career. This individual went on to emphasize that it was the training and not the game that was a job because 'I go there every day and it's like every other job. You start getting fed up with it'.

Although 48% of the subjects who defined football as leisure based their reason on the absence of remuneration, not one gardener respondent defined gardening as leisure for this reason. This difference stems from the/....

the fact that the appropriate gardeners were asked why they defined their gardening situation as leisure, while the non-remunerated footballers were responding to a question which asked to explain the difference between a professional and an amateur. When a question on the difference between a professional and an amateur was put to the gardeners, 50% distinguished an amateur by the fact that he did not garden for his livelihood.

### TIME

Only one football subject made reference to time. This individual mentioned that an amateur (as opposed to a professional) 'fits in a game when he can'. This suggests that amateur football takes second place to other commitments. And as a remunerated work commitment is on a fixed and extensive time schedule, the amateur football game must be fit into an overall time schedule that is dominated by the routines of work. Or, as one home gardener put it:

'(Gardening) is a leisure time activity ... but it's got to take second place to work and earning an income and bread and butter for your family'.

Another gardener respondent suggests a different meaning for considering time in his definition of leisure. This individual, who also offers an interesting difference between/.....

between a hobby and a leisure said:

'Well, I was working at my work (wireworks), and then (gardening) was a hobby. I had nothing else. I had given up cycling; cycling was my hobby before (gardening). Well I'd given that up and I fell into (gardening) which is a hobby. Now, when I retired it became a leisure. It's occupying my time and giving me something to do'.

Here gardening is leisure because it occupies time that would otherwise be empty.

Three gardener respondents defined gardening for themselves as not-leisure because they did not have enough time to devote to it. These respondents gave a reason which is similar to that given by one gardener who defined home gardening as work. In this respect leisure is taking one's time to complete a task. And when that time is not available, the situation in question is (in this case) defined as either not-leisure or as work.

The main point to note with respect to a consideration of time in a definition of leisure is that a situation can be defined as leisure if the individual feels that it occupies time which is felt to be free of external (or self imposed) constraints.

#### PRESSURES

In Chapter 4, it was suggested that pressures are/....

are felt to be present in situations defined as work, and absent from situations defined as leisure. And the reason for this difference is that respondents differentiated between externally imposed pressures in the former situation, and self-imposed ones in the latter. The following statement from a number of amateur footballers will attest to this difference:

'Pressures in football are coming from what you expect of yourself and at work in what you see other people see in you'.

'It's sort of with football the pressures you're making yourself. But at school it's the kids that are making the pressures'.

'Pressures at work are having to get something done for a certain time or pushing myself physically. That's the only real pressure. There's no pressure I can't really cope with, with a bit more energy... Probably my desire to play football is so great that I do push myself and put pressures on myself and make myself nervous at the football which I would never do at work'.

'Sometimes you do feel that big brother is watching you at teaching. That pressure you certainly never feel in football. In teaching as well you have responsibilities to other people. I do feel responsibilities to the kids. I don't feel this so much in football. I spoke about responsibilities to your teammates. You expect them to stand up for themselves. It's not the same kind of responsibility'.

'At work you know there are certain things you have to get through because of outside forces and the pressure is coming from there. At football your pressures stem from your ego trip again; you want to do well personally and you worry about not doing well personally and as a result, how other people are going to think about you and what they're going to say about you'.

I/....

'I suppose there's no pressures in leisure. You don't have to go from say 8 to 5 o'clock; you've got to be there and do a certain task... with the cost of living now, the wife's wanting more money so you've got to work that wee bit harder; do an extra bit of overtime; maybe you get fed up by the time half past four comes but you've got to do an extra couple of hours. You know you've got to do it, you don't want to do it. So when it comes to the weekend you can do what you want. You can watch a football match, play football, you can do your own thing. I think there's a lot of pressure on the average couple now; the likes of just to keep going'.

'you are under pressure in work, whereas in leisure there's not nearly as much pressure. There's a feeling of being able to relax, even when I'm not playing well at football or I'm losing at cards, it's just not the same pressure as having to work where you get up at a certain time and go out every morning and do certain things'.

'The pressure is definitely off at the weekend. I can go and enjoy a game of football. I don't know if there are that many people around who enjoy the thought of Monday morning; the thought of going back to work'.

And, finally, one amateur football subject came right to the point when he said;

'It's only when the pressures come that one becomes work and the other becomes leisure'.

To assess the applicability to the gardener respondents of this suggestion, we can note that the most frequently mentioned reason for defining a gardening situation as leisure relates to the fact that gardening is enjoyable, relaxing or pleasant (given by 47% of those who defined gardening as leisure). And although the reference is not always direct, we find an implicit reference to a lack/.....

lack of externally imposed pressures in gardening situations defined as leisure. For example:

'At home it's a pleasure. There's no pressure. I can stop and go in and sit down and have a cup of coffee and a chat and go back out again. There's no pressure, it's pure relaxation.

'I classify this as leisure up to a point. As I say, I'll spend maybe an hour digging and two hours sitting back relaxing; so there's the leisure part of it. I mean once the garden's dug, say from June till the end of July, that's leisure because all you're doing is a touch of weeding. And then you come back to the hard part; the likes of now, digging potatoes. Your leisure is stopping in between and having a blether with the people passing by and things like that. But there's a lot of hard work involved. So gardening is a mixture of work and leisure'.

One respondent went as far as to suggest that;

'At home I'm abysmal. I'm far too lazy because there's no pressures on me to do anything'.

Another respondent mentioned that he did not particularly enjoy home gardening because he gardened for others during the day. When asked if he could enjoy it more if he did not garden for others he replied:

'Certainly. There wouldn't be the same pressure on you because here you've got the foreman keeping an eye on you and you've got to set a certain pace and get on with it. But if you're gardening on your own time, well, you just doddle along, quietly; probably get more satisfaction in that sense. You're not being harassed in your own garden. But I don't find it a drudgery, it's quite an easy job. But as I say, you're under pressure, you've got to do a certain amount or the foreman wants to know why. But other than that, it's quite pleasant'.

Similarly/....

Similarly we can look to the show gardeners, all of whom defined gardening as leisure. The flower show (generally an annual event) involves competing for prize certificates, small amounts of money (e.g. 10 to 30 pence), or cups. Competitors can enter their fruit or vegetables either in a class which is open to all gardeners (professionals and amateurs alike), or in an amateur section which is "open to any person who does not employ a full-time gardener" (note the definition of an amateur).<sup>(1)</sup> The flower show can be an important event to certain gardeners and entrants can feel considerable 'pressure' to produce a winning entry. As an example of these pressures, one gardener (interviewed on his allotment) explained why he did not enter flower shows. He explained:

'I was here on Friday and it was pouring rain and there was two blokes getting their stuff ready for the show on Saturday and they were bloody nearly drowned. The water was running out of their ears. I was sitting inside here and I could see them for about a half an hour. I wouldn't waste my stuff in the allotment for that. The chap next to me, he used to dig up half his allotment to get three tatties (potatoes) to show and leave all the rest on top. I wouldn't do that. That's vandalism throwing away good food'.

Although none of the show gardeners mentioned that they felt pressures in their gardening situation, the above quotation and observation at flower shows suggests that these gardeners are in fact under pressure for the sake of the competition. But because these pressures are not felt to be externally imposed, the subjects in question/....

question defined their gardening situation as leisure.

To conclude and further exemplify the suggestion that pressures are felt to be externally imposed in a work situation, the following quotation can be noted:

'You've got more responsibility in your work. You've got to earn your money, keep your wife and children. So, you can have a nice 'lazy' time when you come home from your work; you've got to be able to produce the goods to get that. Leisure is just taking your time doing it. It's nice and easy and there's no pressure on you in the fact that you've got to do it'.

#### NATURE OF THE TASK

The most frequently mentioned reason pertaining to the nature of the task for defining a situation as leisure stems from the fact that the situation in question is seen as being different from the individual's work situation. It is for this reason that two of the four Pros who held jobs outwith football defined their football as leisure, and it is for this reason that four gardeners defined their own gardening as leisure. That is:

'I get leisure in terms of just going away and digging. It's a complete break from academic work in that there's no sort of intellectual harassment'.

'You relax in your garden. You're doing something completely different from what you're doing for your work.

'It's a sport and leisure; a break away from work/.....

work (teaching). I certainly don't consider it to be a career. Teaching as far as I'm concerned is my first and foremost career, I like playing football; it's a break away from it. That's why I do it... it's two different things I'm doing, and one's a break away from the other. Teaching is a break from football and vice versa'.

'In some ways it's a job, other ways it's just your sport. I don't really think it is a full-time... I've also got a part-time job in the afternoons so I just think it's sort of leisure really; just a sport really'.

Six gardeners referred to their own gardening as not-leisure as a corollary of this reason. That is, if one gardens for others during the day, gardening for oneself at night or on the week-end may be seen as an extension of the same activity. Leisure to these individuals involves something completely different from their gardening activity during the day. And as gardening for oneself is not seen as different, it is not seen as leisure. For example:

'Say I worked in the woods during the day. I'd quite enjoy at night doing 2 or 3 hours in the garden because it's a change of job. But, I think there's few who if you go out cutting wood during the day and if you come home at night and somebody says will you saw some logs up for me; it's the same old style for another 3 or 4 hours maybe. If I was wood cutting during the day, I would enjoy gardening for 3 or 4 hours in the night. I think you tend to lose heart in your own garden if your're gardening through the day. Well, I don't know if you've heard it, but the saying is: a gardener's own garden is always the worst garden because he's had enough through the day coming home at night'.

'I/....

'I think the majority of folk that do this for a living, I think they'd rather spend their leisure doing something else. Something outwith gardening'.

'Because I'm doing it all day long, it's not actually a leisure to me. It's a different thing if you take up something else. It's a leisure isn't it? Away from what you've been doing all day'.

This suggests an ironical dilemma for those who garden through the day for others and who feel the need for something different in a leisure situation. That is:

'I suppose (your own garden) has to be done. The very fact that you are a gardener, you couldn't have a shabby garden. So you keep it as nice as you could'.

One subject gardens for others in two separate situations. One involved gardening with patients at a psychiatric hospital, while the other involved 'private service' gardening for two customers (i.e. jobbing). The former he labelled work, while the latter he labelled leisure. Gardening at the hospital he referred to as his 'actual every day job of work', and although he mentioned that this gave him satisfaction, his private service gardening gave him, 'great pleasure and leisure'. When asked why he considered private service gardening as leisure, he replied:

'I suppose it's two things really. I'm being very honest here. Sometimes I like to get out of the house because I don't like the atmosphere of the house; it's something private. I couldn't sit down at leisure; I couldn't watch a long film on television. But/....

But, it's leisure because I get a great deal of leisure when I go down to work on a private garden. I feel as if I'm away from it all and I get something from that. I can forget everything and just sort of potter in my own way and I'm happy at that'.

This individual also had his own garden. And he defined this situation as not-leisure. When asked why, he replied: 'I hate doing jobs on the house'. Here we have a subject who defined one form of gardening for others as work, another form of gardening for others as leisure, and gardening for himself as not-leisure. This subject reinforces the point that it is not simply the presence of or absence of remuneration that influences a definition of work or leisure, but the nature of the activity in conjunction with the individual's attitude towards the situation within which that activity is carried out.

A final reason for defining home gardening as (in this case) a hobby, is because 'I always think a hobby is something that you do with your hands'. Although this reason pertains to the nature of a gardening activity, there is much this respondent has left unsaid in terms of why he defined it as a hobby.

#### NOTION OF FREEDOM

Reasons given for defining a situation as leisure that/.....

that pertain to a notion of freedom include: being one's own boss and for yourself (from gardeners); and (from footballers), amateurs can opt out at any time, play voluntarily, and, can pick the team they like. For example:

'I call (home gardening) a pastime because if it's work, well it ceases to be a pastime. If it's work you lose interest in it. So, I reckon it's a pastime. I enjoy myself in here (allotment). But if it was work ... I'm not saying I don't enjoy my work, but the fact that I've got to be there that sort of takes something away from it. ... I'm not held to any rules here, I'm just my own boss sort of thing and I do what I like. If I don't like it I won't do it sort of thing. I've just come up today and I've done practically nothing at all. I've just seen it's a nice day and just pottered about and gossiped a wee bit'.

'Nobody tells me what to do. I'm the boss in my own garden'.

'At home you get more fun. It's for yourself in other words and it's your own. Nobody else owns you. It's that sort of thing. At home you're just pottering about, keeping everything in order and you know it's yours. It's nobody else's to look after'.

Further to this point, we can look at a respondent from the Botanic Garden who defined his gardening situation as leisure. When interviewed this subject made a number of references to the belief that the rock garden was his own. When asked to elaborate he replied:

'Yes, it is mine really. I have more interest in it. If I worked on the herbaceous border I wouldn't enjoy it at all. They wouldn't leave me alone; the supervisor that is. The work there is not nearly as interesting. The rock garden is more interesting. You've got all your heathers and you get to know all the names/....

names and you can tell people what that is. Telling people is part of your job. You've got to be nice to them; I enjoy that. I get letters from Canada, America, and addressed just to Jock who works in the rock garden'.

It is interesting to note that this individual only feels this way in 'his' rock garden. For if he was put on the herbaceous border (with a corresponding change in his gardening situation) he would probably redefine his gardening situation from leisure to work.

Producing for oneself, although similar to growing 'for the pot' suggests different attitudes towards a gardening situation. The former suggests that the individual is in complete control of his gardening situation, while the latter suggests that the individual is simply growing for the sake of consumption. These two concepts are closely related inasmuch as 'growing for the pot' does take on subtle differences depending upon how the individual concerned defined his gardening situation. To demonstrate these differences, note the emphasis in the following quotations on growing 'to save money with the subject who defined gardening as work, to growing for enjoyment or to produce vegetables fresher than those in the stores with those who defined it as leisure.

Gardening Defined as Work:

'It's just for my own use and it's because I can save money on vegetables'.

Gardening/....

Gardening Defined as Work and Leisure:

'For pleasure and profit. When I say profit you don't have to spend so much on vegetables for the home, and fresh fruit. Everything's fresh when you take it; fresh vegetables, tomatoes, stuff like that. It's my theory, if you can't eat it, we don't grow it'.

'I grow mainly for food. That might sound funny but it's all vegetables. It's just for the family sort of thing. I enjoy doing it as well'.

Gardening Defined as Leisure:

'When the garden is like it is now, it's lovely. And especially the stuff you take home; what you get from it. It's really worth the work because everything's fresh. You never get potatoes to eat out of a shop like you get them out of the ground. You just take them out of the ground and give them a wash, and there you are; lovely'.

'The crops are secondary really. Well you're not doing it for nothing, but I don't need all that I grow. There's only the two of us so it's more for just the satisfaction of it'.

PERSONAL APTITUDE/INCLINATION

One addition can be made to the five types of reasons for defining a situation as work or leisure. And this includes the individual's personal aptitude in a situation. This reason was not introduced earlier in the discussion because it was not mentioned as a reason why a definition of work or leisure was applied to a football or gardening situation. It was mentioned, however, when the Pros were asked how they defined a club golf outing.

During/.....

During the participant observation with the Pros, the players (on two occasions) spent the day at a golf course. This outing was instigated by the manager in lieu of a day training. The club paid for the golf and a meal and the outing included all first and most reserve players. During the interviews, those who golfed on these occasions were asked whether they considered these outings to be work or leisure. Table 5.1 records their definitions.

TABLE 5.1

Players' Definitions of a Club Golf Outing  
by Definitional Category

<u>Football Defined As</u>	<u>Golf Outing Defined As</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Work</u>	<u>Work/ Leisure</u>	<u>Leisure</u>	
Work	2	3	18	23
Work/Leisure	-	-	3	3
Leisure	-	-	2	2
Total	2	3	23	28

When asked for their reasons for a given definition, three players mentioned their ability or lack of ability to play golf. That is:

'I'm not really a good golfer so I find it both work and leisure; because I find I hit the ball sort of wrong. I walk all over the course and at the end of the course I'm really tired. You know, a lot of guys who play golf think it's just leisure. I enjoy a game of golf but I find it quite hard work'.

'It's/.....

'It's partly leisure, partly training; the bit of walking you do around the golf course. As you know I play very badly... I'm not particularly keen anyway'.

'When I first came I considered it work. And now (presumably due to improved playing) that I love the game I consider it a day of leisure, even better than a day off'.

This player considers the golf outing to be 'even better than a day off' because:

'If I had a day off I'd sit on my scratcher until 12.00 and fiddle about. The wife would want me to cut the grass or something like that. A game of golf's magic. You go out, get lovely meals, game of golf with the boys; perfect'.

Of those players who defined the golf outing as leisure, the majority gave as their reason the fact that they enjoyed it. In fact, 59% of those who defined the outing as leisure equated the outing to a day off work:

'It's just a complete break, like a day's holiday'.

'They're giving you a game of golf just for a break; to get you away from the normal routines, the same as when they take you to the bath (swimming pool/sauna bath)'.

'It's a day off training to relax you. It helps you relax, so it's a day of leisure'.

These comments once again reinforce the suggestion that a situation may be defined as leisure (regardless of the presence or absence of remuneration) if it is viewed as a 'break' from one that is defined as work. For here we see that 82% of participants defined a remunerated situation/....

situation (golf outing in lieu of training) as leisure and that 59% of those who defined it as leisure equated it to a day off work.

A player's definition of the golf outing can be compared to whether or not he mentioned golf (outwith the club) as one of his leisure interests. For further in the interview all players were asked to list these interests. We see that from the 23 players who defined the golf outing as leisure, 17 (74%) mentioned golf as a leisure interest. Furthermore, only one of the three who defined golf as both work and leisure and one of the two who defined it as work mentioned golf as a leisure interest. Although the numbers of those who did not define the golf outing as leisure are few, if taken together we find that two out of five (40%) of these subjects mentioned golf as a leisure interest. And if we assume that a mention of golf as a leisure interest suggests that the individual concerned might have a greater command of the game (than those who did not mention this leisure interest), then we can further assume that those subjects who are less adept at playing golf are less likely to define the outing with the club as leisure.

As an aside, those footballers who defined the outing as work did so because:

'I take it as part of the job...When you're told to report with the club, it's part of the job. If you go on your own, outside once/....

once you've finished your job, it's leisure'.

'I think it would be more or less your work if you went with the Pros. And if you went with your friends, it would just be leisure'.

When asked to elaborate this player said:

'because you're getting paid for it. You get paid for that day of golf and you don't when you go with your friends'.

And of the three who defined it as both work and leisure, one replied:

'If my wife asked me, where are you going this morning, and I say I'm going golfing with the club, she'd say, some people have all the luck. I think I would probably say to her, well, it's my work, I have to do it. But at the same time while I'm saying to her it's my work, I'm looking forward to a game of golf rather than it being part of my working towards a game on Saturday. And it's because the congregation of the players is going to help build team spirit, to that extent it can be classified as work; but, very, very loosely'.

We can also include personal inclinations among this type of reason for a given definition. For two home gardeners defined that situation as not-leisure because one said he was too lazy and the other said he simply was not interested. These, of course, are reason enough not to define a situation as leisure.

#### SUMMARY

As an addition to an understanding of why situations can be defined as work or leisure, we can include the subjects' responses to the question: In your mind what is the difference between work and leisure? The following list/....

list summarizes what the terms 'work' and 'leisure' mean to the subjects of this enquiry. And because many of the differences given are identical to those mentioned above, both will be included in a single summary.

WORK

LEISURE

Remuneration

Livelihood  
Necessity  
For survival  
Taken for granted  
Primary activity

Must pay for it yourself  
Not a livelihood  
Holding another job  
Not a necessity  
Secondary activity

Time

Structuring of time  
Not enough time

Enough time to be properly  
pursued  
Fit in when can

Pressures

Pressures  
Strains  
Must take seriously  
Not relaxing  
Must put more into it  
Responsibilities

Lack of pressures  
Lack of strains  
Little involvement  
Can forget everything  
Enjoyment  
Relaxation  
Pleasure

Nature of the Task

Not worth while  
Limited scope  
Boring  
Hard

Break/different from work

Notion of Freedom

Sacrifice  
Must comply to somebody  
else's rules  
Wouldn't do if financially  
independent  
Somebody else's gain

Own boss/freedom  
Doing what one wants  
Personal gain

Personal Aptitude/Inclination

Lack of skill

Skilfull

The/....

The above listed characteristics are not intended to be definitions of work or leisure. They simply represent a synthesis of the general images of work and leisure as held by the subjects of this enquiry. So naturally only certain aspects of these total pictures can be applicable to a given individual for a given work or leisure situation.

Following from the above synthesis, examples of answers given to the question on the difference between work and leisure include:

'I play football because I have to play football; it's my living. Whereas golf, if I don't want to play, I don't bother'.

'When you go out and play golf you've got nothing to worry about. There's no pressure on you. You just go out and play golf. If you play badly, OK, you play badly. If you play good, you play good; that's all. It's just a pastime really. But playing football it's your job. You know you've got to do well to get on well. It's not the same as golf'.

'You're playing football because it's supposed to be your job sort of thing. If you're going to play any sports you always have to pay out of your own pocket. But in football you're paid to play it'.

'(In other sports) it's an easier enjoyment than playing football. You're not doing as much playing table tennis or snooker; you're just playing. When I'm playing football I do more in a half hour of football than I would playing a half hour game of badminton or table tennis or snooker; mentally and physically. Football is your living; well you're trying to make it your living anyway. And you still get enjoyment out of football but you know it's your living so there's always that pressure on you. But when you're playing these sports there's no pressure'.

'These/....

'These (leisure) activities you pick yourself. I mean you maybe don't want to play football on a Saturday but you have to. But you can just say, I'll plan to go fishing or go to the baths, anything like this. You're going there for pleasure, you're going to do that for pleasure. Whereas your football, you have to do it. So it's not so much pleasure when you have to do it. It's the same as when you're playing amateur football. You don't have to do it. You just do it for pleasure. So I would say you're doing these sports to relax you, and get away from football. You can do them when you want and when you feel like, and what you feel like doing. But with the football you have to do it when you're asked'.

'It's something out of the ordinary to have a chance to play (tennis, golf or squash), and as well as being a leisure activity, I would also class it as relaxation. Although (professional) football for me is a leisure, there is always a fair bit of pressure, even though I enjoy it. But these are definitely straight relaxation'.

'I've got to comply with their rules when I work. I'm doing their work. I like my leisure time. I like to just relax. My time's my own; there's no boss saying you must do this or you must do that'.

'I don't have to play football. There's plenty of other leisure activities I can take part in and get as much enjoyment, probably. Everyone has to work to make a living, to survive, etc., etc. To a certain extent I look upon work as that'.

'I think work has the connotations of being something you wouldn't do if you were independent financially...It's the structuring of my time I resent'.

'Certainly football and other leisure activities are really just side things. Things you do when you've got spare time. Whereas you've got to get a job and you've got to work'.

'I think if you had a really big distinction between your work and your leisure there would be something wrong...There is a lack of distinction in me, but I still regard work as something I have to do and if I had the choice I wouldn't do it. But I would need to have something to fill its place/....

place. Really it's a bit stupid thinking of giving it up because it's really a part of me. But I think it's a part of me that I have to do. Football isn't. I feel that it's something that I could take or leave; but obviously it's not. But there's not the compulsion there that there is in my work'.

'Leisure is something you consciously decide to do; you make the decision. It wouldn't be leisure unless you make the decision to follow a particular leisure pursuit. Whereas in this society you've got to work, you've got to live, so therefore that's a taken-for-granted before you even start'.

Before turning to the next stage of this enquiry, we can conclude this chapter with a brief summary of the suggestion presented so far. In a general sense the subjects defined a situation as work or leisure through reference to one or any combination of six interrelated considerations. These included; remuneration, time, pressures, the nature of the task, notions of freedom, and (to a lesser degree) personal aptitude/inclination. The subjects defined a situation as work when one or any combination of these considerations included a negative expectation, and defined a situation as leisure when one of any combination of these same considerations included a positive expectation. The presence or absence of remuneration does stand as an exception. For it is the presence or absence of certain role expectations that might accompany the paycheck (and not the paycheck itself) that could result in positive or negative expectations.

CHAPTER 6

CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF WORK AND LEISURE:

A SUMMARY

Having looked at how work and leisure have been conceptualized by the academic community and by the subjects of this enquiry, we are now in a position to compare the two. For in so doing their differences and similarities can be pointed out. We shall begin by listing their similarities.

SIMILARITIES

1. The subjects and most leisure scholars tend to believe that leisure can be defined universally.

This, it has been argued, is an erroneous assumption to make. For with each and every definition, we end up with characteristics of leisure that can not be universally applied to each and every situation or individual. If we look again at the twenty-nine definitions of leisure outlined in Chapter 1, we find that each has its exception (some more so than others). How, for example, can they account for the Pros who defined their football as leisure, or the amateur footballer who defined his football as not-leisure, or the subject who worked in the rock/.....

rock garden of the Botanic Gardens, or the gardener who defined jobbing as leisure and gardening at the hospital as work, or the home gardeners who defined it as work or as not-leisure, or those who defined a situation as both work and leisure? How, furthermore, can the definitions listed in Chapter 1 account for individuals who are not classified as working males: the unemployed, the infirmed, the housewife, children, students, delinquents, criminals, retirees, etc.?

2. The subjects and students of leisure tend to conceptualize leisure either as a period of time, an activity, or an experience.

Because the phenomenon of "leisure" can involve at least three specific dimensions, various interpretations of leisure can be found both within and outwith the academic community.

3. A number of subjects and a number of leisure scholars characterize leisure as an entity which involves individual discretion.

The notion of freedom, in other words, tends to be equated with the phenomenon called leisure.

4. Both groups tend to identify work as alienating.

The position of certain leisure scholars on this issue was pointed out in Chapter 2. And with respect to the/.....

the subjects, it was suggested that their general image of work included negative expectations (i.e. what the individual would rather avoid) in at least one of six considerations. Given this similarity, and in spite of the fact that negative expectations are a crude indicator of alienation, it does suggest that the subjects and many leisure scholars conceive of work as alienating.

### DIFFERENCES

1. The primary difference between the way leisure is conceptualized by many leisure scholars and by the subjects of this enquiry is the inclusion of "evaluative" elements in many conceptualizations by the former and their absence in conceptualizations by the latter.

References to self-realization, self-fulfilment, being at peace with oneself, personal growth, contemplation, imaginative vision, self-improvement, constructive, etc., exemplify images of leisure held by certain academics that were not mentioned by the subjects. Although both groups identified work as alienating, it is only the leisure scholars who tend to "idealize" leisure as the antithesis of this state.

The discussion to this point has only begun to understand the meanings of work and leisure. For as well as holding general images of work and leisure, people also apply specific meanings to specific work and leisure situations. These will be dealt with in Part 2.

PART 2

ATTITUDES TOWARD ELEMENTS IN SITUATIONS

DEFINED AS WORK OR LEISURE

CHAPTER 7

ELEMENTS AND ATTITUDES IN A SITUATION

As mentioned, Thomas originally conceived of a situation as made up of three kinds of data: the definition, attitudes, and objective conditions. Having dealt with the definitions, we shall turn our attention to the remaining two.

According to Edmund Volkart, Thomas conceived of objects in a situation as including those factors which are:

"common to both the observer and the actor, such as the physical environment, relevant social norms, and the behavior of others. The implication of this is that social science requires first-hand empirical description of the observable or "objective" aspects of the situation". (1)

With due respect to Thomas' formulation of the concept the definition of the situation (which was produced around the turn of the century), to locate or identify the observable or objective aspects of the situation does present a problem. That is, we must avoid the temptation of ascribing ontological or objective status to phenomena which are in themselves intersubjective constructs.

Current/....

Current phenomenological and ethnomethodological positions suggest that the individual's everyday "life-world" ("that province of reality which the wide awake and normal adult simply takes for granted in the attitude of common sense"<sup>(2)</sup>) is an experienced and socially learned reality. It is determined by a "pragmatic motive" and includes that which is experienced by the individual as well as the social and therefore the cultural world in which he finds himself.<sup>(3)</sup> According to Schutz:

"it is the main problem of the social sciences to develop a method in order to deal in an objective way with the subjective meaning of human action and that the thought of the social sciences have to remain consistent with the thought objects of common sense, formed by men in everyday life in order to come to terms with the social reality".<sup>(4)</sup>

Whether or not one agrees with the position that social scientists must concern themselves with the thought objects of common sense, the present author is in accord with the belief that social reality only becomes part of the individual's "stock of knowledge" when it is given intersubjective meaning. Because people interpret their own world and because things do not exist apart from meanings ascribed (that is, because reality is based on intersubjective meanings), to identify the observable or objective aspects of a situation does present problems. Therefore, and because the problem of objectivity precludes references to objects in a situation, we shall deal with attitudes toward certain elements (to use Schutz's terminology/....

terminology) or components in a situation rather than with attitudes toward objects (to use Thomas' terminology) in a situation.

This is not simply a terminological about-face as it can be justified on two grounds. First, the term elements is a neutral term which makes no pretence of ascribing a status to its referents such as that which is implicit in the term "objects". Second, people in the everyday world ascribe meaning to and hold attitudes toward things in a situation which they would not characterize as objects. Take for example the presence or absence of glamour in a remunerated football situation. Glamour was seen as part of the Pros' football situation by some of the subjects. But it was not conceived of as an object in that situation in the sense that a football or the stadium were conceived of as objects. Glamour, the football, and the stadium are simply included in the configuration of things which make up that football situation.

To analyze meanings in work and leisure situations, we shall begin by identifying a number of elements and then with reference to the subjects' definitions of a situation, proceed to compare attitudes toward these elements. To assist in the selection of elements for analysis (from the incalculable number that are to be found in the situations under investigation) reference was made to the categories that emerged from the participant/....

participant observation with the Pros and with the amateur football subjects (see appendix 2). Elements selected for analysis fulfilled two criteria. They appeared to be relevant to more than one of the situations being investigated and they appeared to offer insight into meanings in work and leisure situations.

Before proceeding with this analysis the connection between this researcher and the subjects of enquiry must be noted. Being a native of a cultural environment where soccer was rarely played, the present author was forced to ask questions of the subjects which might be taken for granted by someone who was more familiar with soccer. The subjects, furthermore, were not annoyed by certain questions which might appear to be naive as it was apparent that this researcher was attempting to learn what they took for granted. Thus, the categories which emerged during the field work were not, for the most part, the result of preconceived expectations as to what took place in a professional or an amateur football situation. In this sense, a degree of objectivity was retained as everything and anything that could be recalled after each day in the field was duly recorded. Certainly personal subjective mechanisms were at work as the processes of observation and recall can never be value free. Nevertheless, being that this author personally went through the process of experiencing the socially learned taken-for/....

for-granted reality of the football subjects it is part of this reality which will be elaborated on in the analysis to follow.

An analysis of attitudes toward elements in a situation vis-a-vis the individual's definition of that situation can be methodologically problematic. For people with different definitions of a given situation can hold similar attitudes toward certain elements in that situation. Therefore, two points must be emphasized at this juncture. First, statements which refer to attitudes held by the subjects are not intended to be causal. A specific attitude does not necessarily cause a particular definition nor will a given definition necessarily cause a particular attitude. The second point is that by dealing with meanings in situations defined as work or leisure, we will be concerned with the organization of attitudes toward all elements in a situation. As such, it does not necessarily follow that a given definition and a given attitude will always be found together. The object of this analysis is to point out that a given definition and a given attitude tend to be found together and that any influence between the two can be reciprocal.

Earlier it was argued that the phenomena of work and leisure cannot be characterized in a universal manner. But through attempting to uncover attitudinal differences between classes of subjects (i.e. between those who defined a/....

a situation as work and those who defined one as leisure) it will be necessary to make general statements on these differences. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize that statements on attitudinal differences are not presented as defining characteristics. They simply suggest attitudinal differences vis-a-vis the subjects' definitions of the situation or situations in question. Furthermore, because of the nature of the elements to be dealt with, it will be necessary to put forth statements on attitudes toward these elements as held by the majority of subjects who defined a situation in a particular way. Exceptions will be pointed out. But in the main, references to a situation defined as work or leisure will of necessity be to a situation that was defined by the majority to be work or leisure.

With these cautions in mind, and as a prelude to an analysis of the data, it is necessary to posit a theoretical statement which summarizes conclusions relating to meanings in work and leisure situations. That is, because attitudes stand for the internal organization of the act,<sup>(5)</sup> in a situation defined as work, the individual is in a sense internally organized or oriented toward complying with negative expectations, while in a situation defined as leisure he is oriented toward realizing positive expectations. This is not to suggest that positive expectations cannot be realized in the former or that negative expectations are absent from the latter situation. It/....

It simply suggests that meanings in situations defined as work or leisure involve a total orientation toward the situation and include the perceived balance between putting up with things the individual would rather avoid and realizing things which are sought in a situation.

This statement forms the basis of the theoretical argument to be developed and emphasizes the individual nature of the defining process. It does not say what the individual would prefer to avoid or what he will seek in a situation. It simply suggests that in a situation defined as leisure the individual is not oriented toward or prepared to put up with many things he would prefer to avoid. If he feels compelled (for whatever reason) to comply with negative expectations in a situation defined as leisure either he can attempt to eliminate what he prefers to avoid, he can leave the situation, or he will redefine the situation. In a situation defined as work, on the other hand, the individual tends to accept the fact that he must put up with negative expectations and the fact that we do put up with things we prefer to avoid attests to the fact that certain positive expectations are being realized in that situation. (6)

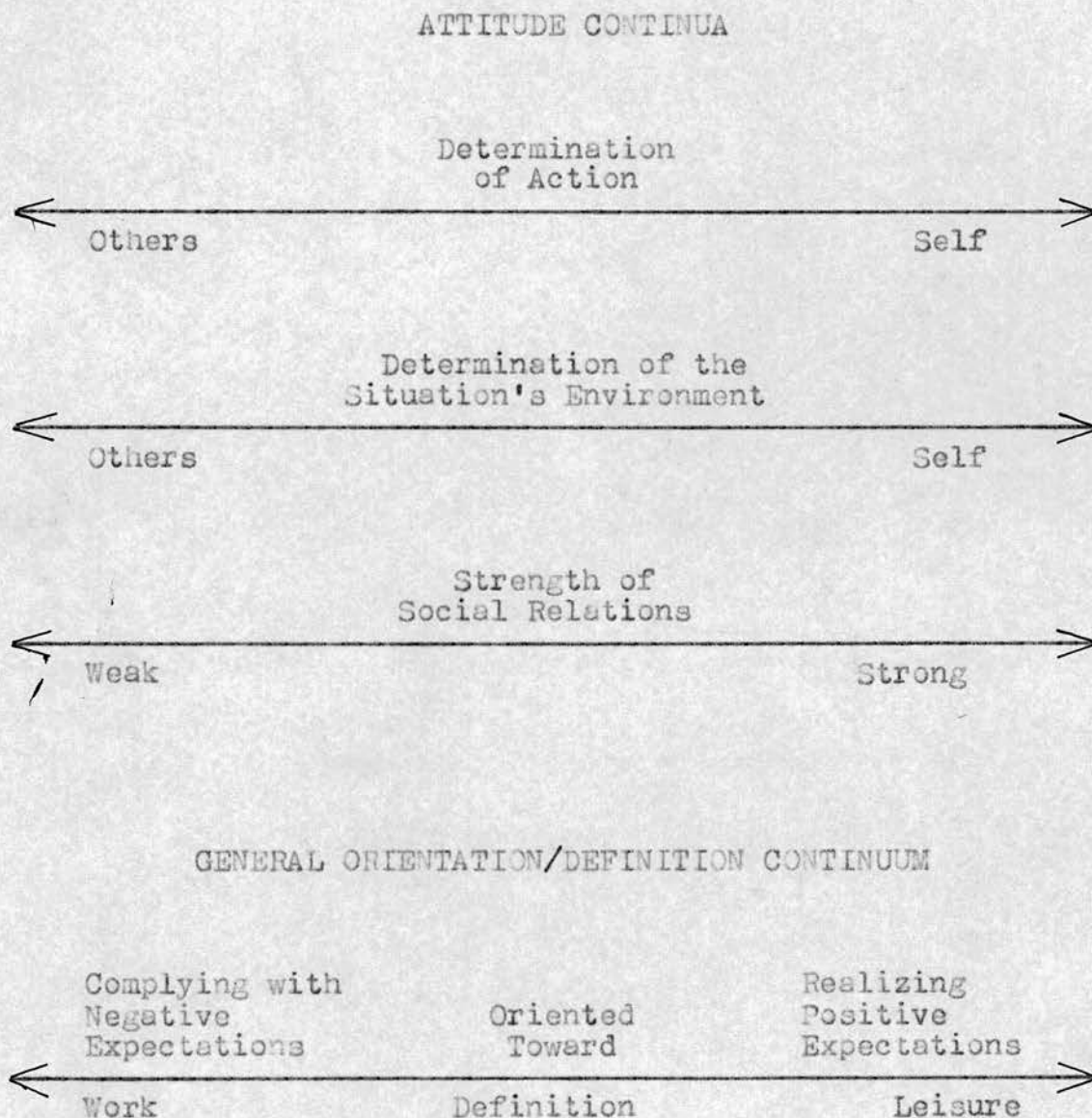
The analysis to follow will be concerned with elaborating on and presenting evidence from the research in support of this statement. And to assist this discussion Figure 7.1 includes a schematic presentation of this/....

this statement.

It must be emphasized that Figure 7.1 is simply an heuristic device which attempts to explain why a given individual might define a given situation as work or leisure. Furthermore, because a definition is influenced by the individual's total orientation toward a situation, attitudes toward each aspect must not be taken out of context. Each must be seen as a part of a whole; that is, as a part of the individual's total orientation toward a situation.

Two words of caution must also be emphasized. First, the scheme here being presented does not include characteristics which define work or leisure as concepts. There are two reasons why it is important to emphasize this point. The first reason is that our primary concern in Part 2 is not with how work and leisure have been or can be defined or conceptualized, but rather with why a situation has been or can be defined as work or leisure. The distinction here is between defining a concept and defining a situation. As Part 1 has dealt with the former, in Part 2 we shall be concerned only with the latter. The second reason why Figure 7.1 is not intended to serve as defining characteristics of work and leisure is based on the conclusion reached in Part 1. That is, due to the nature of work and leisure as concepts, defining characteristics which can account for every and all individuals in/....

FIGURE 7.1 Attitude Continua which Influence an Orientation Toward and Definition of a Situation.



in any situation have yet to be found. This report will make no pretence in that direction for it is not the present author's intention to add definition number thirty to/....

to the twenty-nine listed in Chapter 1.

As a final word of caution, there is no causal relationship intended between the individual's perception of each attitude scale and his definition of a situation. In essence Figure 7.1 simply suggests that where the individual feels a sense of self-determination of action, where he feels that he has control over the environment of a situation, and where social relations (if present) tend to be strong, the individual will be generally oriented toward realizing positive expectations in that situation. Where this should occur, the situation in question is likely to be defined as leisure. On the other hand, where the individual feels his actions are determined by others, where he feels others are controlling the situation's environment, and where social relations tend not to be strong, the individual will be generally oriented toward complying with negative expectations. And where this should take place the situation in question is likely to be defined as work.

The scheme outlined on Figure 7.1 thus includes four continua, one of which pertains to the individual's general orientation toward and definition of a situation, and three of which pertain to attitudes toward specific aspects of a situation. The individual's orientation toward and definition of a situation is presented as a continuum to allow for the fact that a situation need not necessarily/.....

necessarily be defined as either work or leisure. We have seen that certain subjects of this enquiry chose to define a situation as both work and leisure, as not-leisure, or in the case of a gardener respondent, as an absorbing interest. A definition of this nature could result from one of three causes. First, the individual's attitudes need not necessarily be consistent on each of the three attitude scales. Second, each attitude scale may exert varying degrees of influence on the individual's orientation toward and definition of a situation, and third, attitudes toward each of the three aspects of a situation will not necessarily fall at either extreme of the continuum. For example, one might feel that his action was partially self-determined and partially determined by others (i.e. he must be at a certain place at and for a certain period of time but is able to experience a degree of autonomy during that period of time). In general, however, Figure 7.1 suggests that when attitudes fall to the left of centre on the three attitude scales, the individual will be oriented toward complying with negative expectations, hence the situation in question is likely to be defined as work. But when attitudes fall to the right of centre on the three attitude scales the situation in question is likely to be defined as leisure because the individual will be oriented toward realizing positive expectations.

This scheme will be presented in stages. The first will discuss in greater detail the general orientation/definition/....

definition continuum. This will be followed by discussions on each of the three attitude scales with reference to attitudes toward specific elements in a situation vis-a-vis the subjects' definitions of the situation in question. By way of introduction, and because the data to be presented came primarily from football situations, the next chapter will include a brief descriptive statement on professional and amateur football. Its purpose is to familiarize the uninitiated with the worlds of professional and amateur football in Britain.

CHAPTER 8

THE WORLDS OF PROFESSIONAL AND AMATEUR FOOTBALL

Although the popular press is full of autobiographical gossip on the life of certain professional football players and their clubs,<sup>(1)</sup> little has been written from an academic perspective. There have been a number of historical accounts produced<sup>(2)</sup> but these do not give a total picture of players' football situations today. The literature also includes research conducted on specific aspects of professional football,<sup>(3)</sup> but this research deals exclusively with the professional game. Furthermore, it is generally conducted from the perspective of small group research and tends to be limited to specific interaction or behavioural patterns. There is virtually no academic literature on the amateur game. The statement to follow will be of a general nature and it is based primarily on personal observation.

FOOTBALL HERITAGE

Soccer has been described as the national sport of Scotland. It is a game which (at its lowest level) can be/.....

be played with a minimum of skill, a minimum of preparation, and a minimum of equipment. All that is required is a soccer ball and an opposition. From a very early age neighbourhood boys get together and play soccer either on the street, on a patch of ground, or in a public park. They play in a more organized fashion when they begin school and from here they may progress to the non-school amateur ranks, or, depending upon their interest and ability, to the Junior or Professional levels.

The media show the public a picture of glamour and big money in professional football. Consequently, getting to the professional level is the wish of the majority of young footballers, especially if they come from a working class background. Upon asking a group of amateur footballers how many had wanted to be professional footballers, Arthur Hopcraft (writing about people and passions in soccer) said:

"after a silence in which the players looked at each other as if they had been spoken to in French, the centre-forward replied: Well, every lad does, doesn't he?" (4)

But getting to the professional level is reserved for a select few. A player cannot apply, he must be asked to join a club. And the only way he will be asked is if he is spotted by a scout from a professional club.

STRUCTURE/....

STRUCTURE OF A PROFESSIONAL CLUB

The Pros were one of two full-time professional football clubs in a metropolitan area of Scotland. The club was founded over 100 years ago and its successes and failures have played a major role in the lives of its many supporters over the years. The club was made up of a Board of Directors, a manager, a coach, a physiotherapist, a scout, a public relations man (who also managed the Pros' lottery), ground maintenance staff, and ancillary staff such as office personnel, clubhouse catering staff, cleaning staff, bartenders, staff to run the shop selling Pros' souvenirs, and of course, the players. There was also a part-time trainer who accompanied the reserve team to their matches.

The Board of Directors held ultimate control over the club which included all decisions of finance, policy and organization. The directors had little or no direct dealings with the players as this was left up to the manager and his staff. The team manager was responsible to the Board of Directors, and his primary job was to win games. He, therefore, held the ultimate responsibility for team tactics, training, selection, morale, and in conjunction with the directors, the purchase, sale and release of players. The coach was responsible to the manager and it was his job to lead the daily training exercises. (5)

The/....

The physiotherapist was similarly responsible to the manager, and although his primary function was to look after injured players, he did on occasion advise players in health matters. He also instructed players (when required) in the proper way to run for there is a difference between running in a football game and running in a track event.<sup>(6)</sup> It was the scout's job to find new players for the team. He attended lower division matches, including school football games, in the hope of spotting young talent that could be nurtured to the ranks of a professional.

Although a game of football involves eleven players on each team, at the time of research the Pros consisted of thirty-two playing members. These individuals were separated into two teams. The "first" team played regular league matches against other First Division teams, while the "reserve" team consisted of players who figuratively speaking were held in reserve. This generally included younger and less experienced players, or regular first team players who, through being out because of injury, or who through being off form were unable to resecure their place on the first team. The reserves with the Pros played other First Division reserves on a scheduled basis. Generally when the first team played another team at home, the reserves would play that team's reserves away, and vice versa.

RECRUITMENT/....

RECRUITMENT, PLAYERS' CONTRACT AND TRANSFERS

In theory, if a young player showed ability and potential, and if he was spotted by the team scout, he might be asked to join the Pros. Young players could be noticed by the scout at a very early age. Alan Gowling (a professional footballer) reports that:

"One promising young player was noted at the age of seven and watched at various stages until at fifteen he was offered an apprenticeship. He has since become an international player". (7)

Players are usually signed as "probationary" professionals upon leaving school. And at this stage, in what the player hopes to be his career, the neophyte begins on the "ground crew". As a member of the ground crew the player is involved in clean-up chores as well as training and playing games. After one season at this status, and after the player's seventeenth birthday, he might be asked to remain with the club and sign as a full-time professional.<sup>(8)</sup> At the time of the research, the Pros had five players in their ground crew.

When a player signs as a professional, his contract usually covers a period of one year. The conditions of this contract are such that at the end of his signing period, the club has the right to retain that player for an additional period, which can be equal to or less than the initial period of employment. If the club exercises its/.....

its option, the player will be retained under the same conditions of employment (including level of remuneration) as those stipulated in the original contract. If the club decides not to retain the player he can either be sold to another club (i.e. transferred), or be given a free transfer.

A free transfer means that a player is free to join any other club that wants him. He is free inasmuch as the club he has left has not put him up for sale. Generally those players who cannot be sold (i.e. young players who did not make the grade or older players who are no longer making the grade) are given a signing on fee if they join another club. If a player is transferred, he receives a percentage of the transfer fee.

#### DAILY ACTIVITIES

Being a full-time professional club, the Pros trained at least four days a week and played football on a Saturday. Often, and especially if the first team won on a Saturday, the first team players were given the Monday off. The reserve players, however, generally came in on Monday to train.

The training itself was varied both in kind and location. It included training at the stadium, at the playing/....

playing field of a local university, at the beach, at a local public park, and (although infrequently) a day at a sauna bath, a swimming pool, or an outing on the golf course. Furthermore, there were occasions when the first and reserve teams would be separated for training. Consequently, each morning players would not know where or how they would train that day.

The training exercises varied in degrees of difficulty, expected pace, and nature. A day's training was generally varied between a number of different exercises designed to develop speed, reaction time, stamina, physical strength, team tactics, and ball skills. In order to describe a typical day's training, it is best to reproduce a number of field note entries.

The field notes contain 67 entries each of which pertained to a different day's training. And as each day involved different combinations and permutations of exercises, those reproduced below are intended simply to give a taste of what was involved. Each entry refers to a different day's training.

Training was at a local playing field. We began with a jog and a run around the field and we then jogged through the woods behind the field. After this run we ran a few circuits around the grass field. Next we played a brief game wherein everybody tried to score on a goal protected by three men. The game was stopped and the manager placed us in four teams which raced against each other in relay style; over and under four hurdles. Next we split into two groups (which paralleled the first and reserve teams) to play games of one and two touch football.

We/....

We began with a few laps around the gymnasium. After these laps each man was to turn around and weave his way in and out of those who ran behind. Next we did exercises which involved vaulting over a string of players. Following this we were told to pick a partner who was our equal in weight. We lined up and ran sprints with each man carrying the other and straight running with one man holding the right (and then the left) leg of his partner. Next we were divided into four teams, to play indoor football.

Today's training was very hard. We began with a number of laps around the park, through the stands, up and down the stairs and ended up with another lap around the park. We then ran 2-man races; 220 and 440, i.e. half way and then all the way around the park. We ran six of these races with little recovery time between races. After our track workout we went inside to do calisthenics. Here we were to complete 15 exercises each of which lasted for 30 seconds. The exercises included; push-ups, chin-ups, lifting weights, rope-skipping, sit-ups, jumping over a 4 foot barrier, running up and down steps, etc.

We began with a few laps around the pitch and then performed a number of exercises such as chinning on the goal cross-bar, squatting with another person on one's shoulders, heading a ball against a wall, etc. We then broke into two groups and did ball handling exercises such as keeping the ball off the ground by bouncing it on your knee, head or chest.

We were told to put on our football boots and to each carry a football on to the bus. The manager had us do a number of ball exercises. We formed a large circle around the manager and jogged with a ball in our hand, dribbled the ball, on command placed the ball on the ground, turned and picked up the ball from the man behind us, dribbled the ball toward the centre of the circle and then returned to our place in the circle, etc. We then bounced the ball from head to knee to foot and back again. We were then told to divide into two teams of approximately 15 men per team. The game that followed was played with two balls and we/....

we were only allowed to touch the ball two times before we had to get rid of it. I scored a goal and those who saw cheered and congratulated me (I can well imagine how it feels scoring in front of 30,000 spectators). After the game we lined up to run sprints with the ball. We then paired off into twos and then into threes to run toward each other dribbling the ball.

The training described above was typical of that which took place during the season. However, that which took place before the season began was apparently more strenuous. As the research on the Pros did not begin until the season was underway, pre-season training can only be described through the impressions of a number of players. The account which follows was recorded in the field notes and agrees with that given by other players.

X told me that pre-season training was extremely strenuous and demanding. They worked out in the morning and in the afternoon, running great distances over sand dunes. The pressure was constantly on to run farther and faster. This substantiates what I was told before; that training during the season is designed to keep players in shape, while that which takes place before the season begins is designed to get them in shape.

Hunter Davis' description of pre-season training with an English club coincides with that expected of the Pros. That is,

"since the first couple of fairly gentle breaking-in days, they'd got down to some very hard work. The road walks gave way to runs, either on the road, round the pitches or up and down a nearby canal. One of the manager's favourites was a fast sprint for seven hundred yards along a canal bank/....

bank, followed by a fast walk around the houses, then a sprint back down the canal". (9)

That pre-season training is more demanding than that during the season is also attested to by Alan Gowling through his experience with English clubs. He suggests that;

"this period is designed to develop the stamina of the player and improve his oxygen intake". (10)

In a discussion with the manager of the Pros, he mentioned that the amount of physical exertion that players put out during a game is in itself a form of training. Thus, the game itself is seen as an extension of the regular training schedule. It has been calculated, for example, that "a centre-half covers 3,120 yards (during the average first division match), an inside-forward 2,750 yards and a centre-forward 2,810 yards". (11) And because these distances are generally covered at top speed, it is reasonable to classify the game as part of the player's training programme.

Players arrived at the stadium around 9.30 in the morning (ground crew came in earlier to begin their chores). They changed from their street clothes into track suits and awaited instructions as to where they would train. Some congregated and had tea in the tea room, while others waited in the dressing room. Training generally began at 10.00 and, as mentioned, it might be at the stadium or it might involve a bus ride to another ground/....

ground. After training all players headed for the bath. This is a large tiled tub capable of holding up to 20 players. After the bath they changed back into their street clothes and went for lunch (provided by the club) in the supporters club.

After lunch most of the players were free to do whatever they wanted. Some were brought back for extra training, some came back on their own to do extra training, while the ground crew had chores to perform. But, on the whole, players either attended a film, visited relatives, went to part-time jobs or other business interest, went to a betting shop, stayed at the club to drink coffee or play cards, or simply went home.

Occasionally after training certain players would perform "charitable" functions. Some on occasions visited a young supporter who was in hospital, while some took part in an indoor "5-a-side" football match with the proceeds going to charity. Popular players were often asked to take part in evening social functions as guest speakers or to present awards to an amateur club. These functions could involve a great deal of time for certain sought-after personalities, or it could be minimal for younger less popular players.

On a Saturday, players arrived dressed in a jacket and tie for the game. Those who played away, met the bus at the stadium, while those who played at home (excluding/...

(excluding an important match such as a Cup Tie or Derby) made their own way to the stadium. Players were told who would be included in the first and reserve team pools on the Friday after training. A list was posted in the dressing room and it generally contained 15 names per team. Of these, 11 would dress to play on Saturday, 2 would dress as substitutes, while 2 would go along in case they were needed.

Following a Saturday game, many of the first and reserve team players congregated at a small local hotel. They met to have a drink, to discuss the day's games, and when applicable, to watch the highlights of the first team's game on television. Some players were joined by their wives or girlfriends. But, on the whole, because players wanted to be alone (and for this reason they chose to meet in a small out-of-the-way hotel), the after-game get-together included Pros players only.

Other social evenings which brought players together included a Christmas party, a player's 21st birthday celebration, and an occasion when a player's wife gave birth. Informal social evenings, when small groups got together, also occurred. These typically included an evening at a pub, a card game, or a night at a disco.

When the scheduled football season comes to an end, and before players are given their summer break (referred to as the "closed season"), most professional clubs/.....

clubs go on tour. In the case of the Pros this has involved trips both to foreign countries and elsewhere in Scotland. Going on tour meant playing "friendly" (i.e. non-league) games with clubs in different leagues.

### FINANCE

The Pros, as with most professional clubs, were financed primarily through gate receipts, selling players to other clubs, a club lottery,<sup>(12)</sup> selling refreshments and programmes at home games, and through selling club souvenirs at the Pros store. A further source of income was derived through the various Pros Supporters Clubs. The main supporters club at the stadium profited from the sale of food and drink, and through leasing its facilities to outside groups. This club was a social complex. It contained a restaurant, a dance and banquet hall, and a number of bars. It was used on a daily basis by members, and was heavily patronized both before and after a home game. Smaller supporter clubs were located throughout the city and surrounding region. These clubs also put on events in order to raise additional funds for the club.

The players were each on a weekly basic wage and this could be improved through win bonuses, and appearance money (i.e. through being included in the first team pool but not having the opportunity to play).

A/....

A player can accumulate a lump sum of money in one of three ways. If transferred, he is entitled to a percentage of the transfer fee. Another way is through the signing on fee given to a player who has been given a free transfer. A third way is to be given a portion of a benefit match played on the player's behalf. This is usually put on for a popular player in recognition of his long service with a club. It might involve a non-league "friendly" match with a popular (and sometimes foreign) team in order to attract as many spectators as possible. In lieu of a benefit match, a player can be given a benefit night. Here fans show their appreciation through paying for an evening's entertainment by sports and media personalities.

As an example of one player's attitude toward a benefit game (not a Pros player), it was reported in the newspaper

"Player X, Y team's 24 year old midfield player, has asked for a transfer. After five years with Y, X has been refused a benefit and is unhappy at this treatment. So he considers a move elsewhere will enable him to pick up the cash he anticipated from a benefit pay-out". (13)

#### UPON LEAVING PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

The active life of the professional footballer can range from one to perhaps ten or twelve years. Thus a/....

a feeling of 'make hay while the sun shines' is present in a player's mind. Toward the end of a player's career, he might be able to extend his playing by a few years by joining another club in a lower division. Thus, "many players are faced with the unpleasant realization that apart from football they have no skills, little money, and have to start earning a living in a new career at 30-35 years old."<sup>(14)</sup> Those who are released at an early age or those whose careers have ended through injury face difficulties in re-orienting themselves to the commercial world. This difficulty is enhanced through two sources. First, he has tasted both the good and the not-so-good life of professional football and it is often difficult for him to rejoin his former working class (most of the Pros players had working class backgrounds) life styles. And second, after a few years in professional football, a player might be too old to begin a trade apprenticeship. There are exceptions, of course, but on the whole if a young player fails to make the grade in professional football, he has little to fall back on. Reintegration can thus present a number of problems to the ex-professional regardless of whether or not he has played out his career.

There are opportunities for ex-professionals to stay in football as coaches or managers. But these opportunities are few and far between and are generally open only to those who have demonstrated outstanding play throughout their career. The ex-professional whose sole skill/.....

skill is playing football knows he has few skills to offer the commercial world. He can only offer his reputation. Many players thus hope to use their reputation, and what money they have or can accumulate to enter some form of business. A popular and viable venture in Scotland is for an ex-player to open a pub or a news-shop.

#### STRUCTURE OF AN AMATEUR CLUB

Because amateur football clubs abound in Britain, they cover a wide spectrum in terms of organization and commitment to the game. In Scotland, for example, the city that supports the Pros also supports an amateur league made up of seven divisions each of which is comprised of twelve teams; eighty-four teams in all. And these only account for one of sixty-nine amateur leagues affiliated to the Scottish Amateur Football Association (a national association). As well as the S.A.F.A., there are a multitude of amateur teams in a Sunday and in a mid-week league (all teams affiliated to the S.A.F.A. play their games on a Saturday).

At the time of the research, Amateur 1 was in the first division of a city amateur league, while Amateur 2 was in a regional league. Since Amateur 1 was in a league with seven divisions, the same process of relegation and promotion that was applicable to the Pros was applicable to Amateur 1. Amateur 1 was in their first season in the First Division after being promoted at the end of the previous/....

previous season from the Second Division. Amateur 2 was in a league that was not divided by divisions. Consequently promotion or relegation did not apply to them.

Although the basic structure of all amateur clubs is somewhat similar, there are minor differences between them. Amateur 1, for example, was run by a committee of three (including a club secretary). These individuals were older players whose commitment to the club extended beyond their ability to play. One of the committee members did on occasion play, but this only happened when a key player failed to show up for a game. The committee was responsible for the organization of the club, for training, club finances, team selection (deciding who would play each week), and the purchase and maintenance (including cleaning) of "kit" (uniforms). Amateur 1 had a team captain but as he saw it, his role was limited to encouraging teammates on the field of play.

Amateur 2 was similarly organized by a secretary and a committee, but decisions on team selection and training were formally in the hands of the team's captain and vice-captain. The committee consisted of three individuals; the captain, vice-captain (both of whom were playing members), and a non-playing secretary. Also included on an informal non-playing basis was the father of two players. His role, however, was restricted to helping with equipment. He attended every game out of personal interest/....

interest.

In theory, the secretary, captain and committee members were elected to their positions. In the case of Amateur 1, however, the committee members said they just took over the responsibilities because nobody else wanted to do it. Amateur 2 held official elections to select their captain, vice-captain and secretary.

Amateur football teams (with the exception of university or school teams) do not for the most part have first and reserve teams. Thus, most of the players who were connected with Amateur 1 and Amateur 2 were given a game on a Saturday. There were a few individuals who would periodically be left out or who would be asked to be substitutes whenever too many players showed up for a game. There have been occasions, on the other hand, where Amateur 1 has been short handed for a game and on these occasions a committee member has stepped in.

Player organizational networks on the two amateur teams studied appeared to be very fluid and relatively free of a structured hierarchy. This was especially the case with Amateur 1. Amateur 2 did have one individual who was respected by most of the players both as a player and for his enthusiastic leadership abilities. But, other than this individual, no dominant power group was apparent in either amateur team.

RECRUITMENT/....

## RECRUITMENT

Of the amateur teams studied, an overwhelming majority of subjects mentioned they joined their present team because they were asked to join by a friend or because they knew players on the team. In the case of Amateur 1, most of the players frequented a local pub which was regarded as the focal point of the team. This pub was also frequented by players in another team in the same division as Amateur 1. As a result, players on both teams knew and grew up with each other as friends. Although there was a degree of rivalry between these teams, players had changed from Amateur 1 to the other team and vice versa.

Amateur 2 originally developed as a team for university graduates who were no longer eligible to play for the university. Although there was no official connection between Amateur 2 and the university, there remained friendship ties with players on the university team. Only one Amateur 2 player was a non-graduate. He was asked to join at a time when the team needed strengthening. Joining Amateur 2 was thus seen by the majority of players as the logical extension of university football.

## WEEKLY ACTIVITIES

The amateur teams studied trained one night a week/.....

week and played football on the Saturday. Amateur 1 trained on a Thursday night. Training was held in a local gymnasium and was led by a physical education teacher. The team paid for the use of the facilities and for the trainer. There was little variation in the type of exercises given and a typical evening would include;

Training began with a short game of indoor football. This was followed by jogging around the gym, short sprints, hopping on one leg, squat running, etc. Next came 3-man team relays; running and turning at a line, carrying a man, etc. This was followed by a 15 minute circuit which included push-ups, bench-hops, sit-ups, shuttle-run, rope-climb, etc. Training went non-stop from 8 till 9.p.m.

Amateur 2 trained on a Tuesday evening at a city sports centre. Training began at 7.00, generally lasted two hours, and took place outside either on a playing field or on an oval track. The team captain was in charge of training which always began with a game of football. This game included a number of regular Amateur 2 players plus a number of ex-players and university friends who simply wanted a game. Following the game, which usually lasted about an hour, those regular team players who were present joined the captain in a training session. The following were typical of these sessions.

We began by running a number of laps around the field. This was followed by a series of short sprints and exercises which involved jumping on and off a short wall, push-ups, sit-ups, etc. Next we did an exercise where we were paired off into twos. While facing back/....

back-to-back the captain shouted a number and whoever was given that number had to turn, chase and catch his partner.

Tonight as well as the usual sprints and running exercises the captain had us practicing tactical exercises for set moves. We followed patterns for a free-kick and for a corner-kick.

In short, Amateur 1's training was held indoors, was led by a non-team member, and included short running exercises, circuit training, and a brief game of indoor football. Amateur 2's training was held outdoors, was led by the team captain, and included short and long running exercises, calisthenics, game tactics, ball handling exercises, and an hour playing football.

To most amateur players, football involves more than the 90 minutes duration of the game or time spent training. Seen as a whole it often involves playing with pub or workmates and a typical Saturday begins and ends in the pub with the game being but one (albeit a focal) event in a sequence of events. These include a possible drink before the match, the match, and a probable drink after the match, with the likelihood of an extension into the evening. Conversation during the pre-game drink generally centered on the up-coming and past games, and the current situation surrounding whichever professional club players supported. The mood of the post-game drink invariably reflected the day's game results. Although as the evening wore on and as the drink began to take its effects, the/....

the mood and conversation generally shifted to include interests outwith football.

The sequence of events which surrounded the match as a focal point also surrounded training. Although players rarely met for drink before training, most met after training.

At the end of the playing season Amateur 2 went on tour. Although this is not a common occurrence among amateur teams, because the Amateur 2 players included teachers, doctors, and engineers, they were able to take the time and they were able to pay for a trip abroad. At the time of research, the team was planning a playing trip to Germany and Belgium. The tour was organized to play different European teams every second or third day.

## FINANCE

Amateur football by definition implies the absence of payment to players. An amateur/professional distinction based solely on the absence or presence of remuneration has, however, caused a great deal of concern, especially among English football officials. The English Football Association has introduced a contract/non-contract distinction between players and no longer (in theory) distinguishes the amateur from the professional. Although the amateur/professional distinction remains in Scottish football/.....

football circles, it is of interest to note the reasons for and nature of this change in England. The discussion to follow is based on reports of a sub-committee and discussions with a representative of the Football Association.<sup>(15)</sup>

As a result of "sham amateurism" (i.e. payments to amateur players) a sub-committee was formed in 1963 to make recommendations and to look into the whole question of the status of the amateur player. The recommendations of the committee were accepted by the Football Association in January 1975.

In essence the change involved the following: The Football Association has, in effect, done away with amateur football. It is no longer concerned if a player is paid or not. Its only concern is whether a player has a contract or not. If a club holds a contract with one or more players it is a contract club. With the elimination of the amateur status, all players become "footballers" or simply "players". Hence the task of finding paid players is in the hands of the Inland Revenue. The change was brought about mainly to relieve the Football Association of the burden of proof for amateur players who receive payment. A non-contract player can (as far as the F.A. is concerned) be paid to play either through expenses, reimbursed wages or a direct salary. The Association's only concern is his contract status. This concern is to prevent "poaching" by other clubs and to ensure that a player/....

player under contract abides by his contract.

In the past an amateur player could deny receiving payment based on his status, which by definition excluded remuneration. The F.A. and the Inland Revenue had difficulty proving players were receiving payment. Now, with the elimination of this status, a player has nothing to hide behind. As a consequence, a paid player who fails to report this as income is liable for prosecution by the Inland Revenue. In effect, if payments are unreported, it is a criminal offence.

Amateur clubs do have expenses. Therefore, it is of interest to outline how the amateur clubs studied financed themselves, and what was provided by the clubs for their players.

Amateur 1 raised money through a lottery run each week where chances were sold to guess the game scores of the two city professional clubs (the Pros being one of these clubs). Chances sold at 5 pence each and the prize for a correct guess on both scores was £8. The lottery tickets were sold by the players and the club sold an average of 300 tickets a week. From this income the club paid for football strip, excluding boots (the club owned three sets of strip for each position), the cost of hiring the training facilities and the trainer (£1.80 per man per school term), and miscellaneous expenses. The club also paid for the hire of the pitch (£1.65), and the referee fee (£1.85/....

(£1.85) when they were the home team every second week.

Amateur 2 employed a different method for raising money. The club was financed through what is called the "Amateur 2-100 Club". This involved 100 individuals each pledging one pound per month to the club. The money was deposited in Amateur 2's bank account and each month the bank manager drew a pledger's name from a hat. The winning draw received £50 and the remaining £50 paid the club's expenses. Membership in the 100 club included all current players, past players and others (be they family, friends, or associates). The club paid for football strips (excluding boots), training facilities (the trainer was the team captain and therefore was unpaid), travelling, referee, pitch and miscellaneous expenses.

#### CHANGING TEAMS

In amateur football a player is free to leave or change teams at will. His only requirement is to register his change with the appropriate football Association. A player is never released in amateur football. If, for whatever reason, he is no longer wanted or needed by a team selection committee, the player will simply not be given a game. And after standing on the sideline for a number of weeks, he eventually will take it upon himself to leave.

Changing/.....

Changing amateur teams can come about through two channels. First, if a team feels it needs strengthening and if it knows of a player who could supply the needed strength, he might be asked to join. Although it is not always the case, the ethics of amateur football are such that the player who is approached will be one who is not getting a game with his present club. Teams know who is not getting a game as they will see who stands on the sideline when they play. Second, most players know players on other amateur teams. Thus, if a player is unhappy with his present team (even if he is getting a game every week), he simply mentions this to a friend or friends on other teams and eventually through word of mouth he might be approached by another club and asked if he wants a game. An amateur player will rarely directly approach another team for a game. He will either indirectly approach another team, or be directly approached by another team.

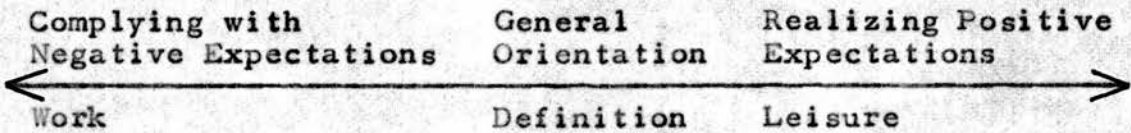
After leaving amateur football, players generally retain an interest or involvement in the game. Many amateurs continue their involvement by coaching young teams, by joining a team's committee or by spectating at professional games. Whichever the case, leaving amateur football does not present the problems that leaving professional football can present. For an ex-amateur player can easily find an alternative situation to supplement his former involvement in amateur football.

In/...

In the next chapter we shall deal in greater detail with attitudes toward a number of elements that were considered important by the subjects in the football situations under consideration.

CHAPTER 9

THE INFLUENCE OF PERSONAL EXPECTATIONS ON THE  
DEFINITION OF A SITUATION



The above continuum is a key statement insofar as the individual's position on this continuum can be directly related to his/her definition of a situation. It refers to a general orientation toward a situation and as mentioned, it suggests that a definition of work or leisure is influenced by the individual's orientation toward complying with negative or toward realizing positive expectations. To demonstrate this suggestion, we shall begin with a discussion on the effects of money in a situation.

ATTITUDES TOWARD MONEY

To dispel the temptation of equating the presence of money to a definition of work and its absence to a definition/....

definition of leisure, we can recall Table 4.3, where 18% of the remunerated gardener and football subjects did not define the situation in question as work, and where 23% of the non-remunerated subjects did not define the situation in question as leisure. Nevertheless, the presence of money does exert a strong influence on the definition of a situation. But it must be emphasized that this influence is not a direct one. For it is not the presence or absence of the paycheck which influences a definition of work or leisure, it is the presence or absence of certain role obligations which tend to accompany the paycheck which influence a definition. It just so happens that many of these obligations are often perceived as something the individual would prefer to avoid. This was clearly demonstrated when the secretary of Amateur 1 complained that some of his players did not turn out for training. He said:

'But what can you do? They're only amateurs. You can't say, well you're not getting your wages this week'.

To assess attitudes toward money in a situation a number of questions were put to the subjects. One involved asking the non-remunerated footballers and gardeners if they thought their attitude would change if they were paid in their respective situations. From the football subjects over 80% said they would change in some way.

For example:

'I wouldn't be too keen on getting paid. My friend (who receives expense money from another team/.....

team) says it always pays your beer money. I wouldn't not accept it but I think it might change my attitude. I'd be afraid of that. The great thing about Amateur 2 is you don't even have to sign for them; they have no ties on you. If they gave me a signing on fee that would make me feel worse. You'd feel you have to play better'.

'If you're being paid, you're paid more money to play in the top team. So I suppose you'd be trying more to keep your own game rather than maybe play for the team. You'd play to make sure you're going to stay in the team rather than for the benefit of the team... There's cases where in amateur football where players would say drop me and play whoever is a substitute because I'm not playing well. But I don't suppose you'd do that if it meant for the money. If it meant a drop in your standard of living I suppose your attitude would change'.

'I think money's a great incentive, a great drive. So if you're going to be paid more for winning, you're going to make sure you're going to win'.

'I don't think I would get paid without having a change in attitude. If I was just paid for what I do now I wouldn't change. I certainly wouldn't try any harder. If someone was willing to pay me and said you don't need to come training any more than you train now, I'd say, fair enough, I'll take your money'.

One amateur footballer who said he wouldn't change if he was paid replied:

'I play for the love of the game. Again that's all very well saying that; I'm quite flushed shall we say. If I was skimped with no money in my pocket, no wages coming in, it would probably play a very important part. I play for the love of it and other folk would have to play for money'.

Here we see that the majority of the amateur football subjects felt they would be forced to change their orientation/....

orientation toward football if the money component was part of their football situation. They mentioned that they would have to play harder, train harder and more often, and that they would have to play for their own benefit rather than for the benefit of the team.

A re-orientation that stems from the inclusion of the money component results from the fact that both maximum effort and skill are required from a player who plays to entertain a paying public. For this public will only continue to add their financial support if the team being supported reciprocates by demonstrating skill, excitement and success on the field. In other words, all remunerated players must play to win and this can only be achieved through putting forth maximum effort.

Reasons why the majority of amateur football subjects felt they would be forced to change their attitude related to the link between remuneration and one's standard of living. If a remunerated player did not put forth a maximum effort, his standard of living might be affected and this in itself could give cause for a re-orientation toward a situation.

Of the two amateurs quoted above who said they would not change their attitude if they were paid, one (a doctor) refused to change (thereby admitting that a change was necessary), while the other (a teacher) said he would change only if his livelihood depended on it.

In/....

In this same context we can note that of the two Pros players who defined their football situation as leisure, one was a full-time teacher and consequently his livelihood did not depend on playing football. The other, whose livelihood did depend on football said:

'Other than staying in on a Friday night, before the game, I don't think I do anything towards football. My 'attitude' to the football is about the only thing that's changed really. I'm never out that much anyway and I don't drink much; usually only at the weekends. That was even before I turned full-time. So it hasn't changed much for me, just the Friday night thing'.

When this player was asked how his attitude changed he replied:

'You never think, at least I would never think of fouling anybody deliberately when I was a Juvenile. Before I never bothered about things like that. Now with the money at stake, professional fouls are in'.

This quotation reinforces the importance of looking at the total situation within which an activity is carried out. For this player suggested that his only change upon turning professional was contained within the activity (i.e. deliberately fouling the opposition during the game) and not in his general behaviour vis-a-vis that activity. This also raises the point that players who are spotted by a scout generally include those whose general behaviour vis-a-vis the game is similar to that expected of the professional. Amateur players who aspire to/....

to reach the professional ranks must be dedicated to the game in order to play at a level of proficiency whereby they may be spotted by a scout. The amateur subjects of this enquiry did not aspire (at the time of the research) to reach the professional ranks and as a consequence felt their attitude and general behaviour would have to change if they were paid to play.

As a further point, and this is conjecture, because amateur footballers who aspire to reach the professional level must display a degree of dedication toward the game, it is conceivable that a greater proportion of these individuals would not define football as leisure if compared to the amateur subjects of this enquiry. This can be surmised from the probability that players could be found whose general orientation toward their football situation lay toward the middle of the general orientation/definition continuum.

The non-remunerated gardener respondents were also questioned on their attitude toward the inclusion of the money component in their gardening situation. One question asked if their attitude toward gardening would change if they sold their produce. From seventeen respondents only two mentioned that they sold their surplus production. These two sold what they could not consume in order to regain a small part of their gardening costs.

Of those who did not sell their surplus production, the/....

the majority mentioned that they gave it to friends, or that amateur gardeners tended to trade produce amongst themselves. A number of allotment holders mentioned that they were bound by the rules of their allotment not to sell any produce. Reasons for not selling surplus production included:

'I've always maintained that if you can do somebody a good turn you're better that way. There's more pleasure, in my opinion, in seeing somebody's face if you give them it than if you sell it. (Interviewer: would your attitude change?) I think it would. I would kick them about more I think. I respect these potatoes because I grew them and I know I'm going to eat them. But if I was selling them I don't think there would be any fun in it.... So I would say I get a bigger kick out of growing for myself than growing for to sell'.

'I think you would get awfully greedy if you were selling stuff. You'd say, 'I've made 5 pounds this week, I'll make 10 next week'.

'Presumably you'd sell off the best cucumbers. But when you're giving them away you'd tend to keep the best ones for yourself'.

'It would spoil the leisure of the thing. I've often thought I'd like to not grow things for the show, just grow lettuce and things that you could sell... But I never got down to that. I just thought, well when it comes round to the shows I wouldn't have nothing to do. So one of the reasons I'm not selling my vegetables or flowers is I'd miss the shows'.

'It's never been the done thing. You know among amateurs you give them to friends. There's always plenty of people willing to take the things for nothing'.

The effects of the money component in a gardening situation are somewhat different from those in a football situation/....

situation. The gardener respondents mentioned that they would become greedy, they would sell off the best produce, they would lose respect for their produce, or it would not allow the individual to produce for the garden show. In short, 'it would spoil the leisure of the thing'.

These respondents were also asked if they felt their attitude toward gardening would change if their income depended on it. In response to this question (and due to multiple replies), nine said that they would probably lose an interest in their own garden, five said they would have to become more profit minded (such as cutting corners and using chemicals), three said their attitude would not change, while two said they could not answer the question.

For example:

'Maybe if I did it all day I might lose interest in my own garden. But maybe not all that extent that you'd let it go to a wilderness. But perhaps I would lose some interest'.

'I think it would be a different thing if you make a living of your garden. You'd have to take short cuts to make a profit as what you actually do for showing'.

'If it was my work I wouldn't like it because you'd be tied down. You'd have to do as you're told more or less. If you're an ordinary gardener and they want this done, you've got to do it. The likes of (my own garden) you can do what you please; you please yourself. You don't need to bother about anybody and it doesn't matter what anybody says to you or anything like that, you just do it.... If it's pouring rain you don't need to come out. But if you're in a nursery, or anything like that you still have to turn up; you've got to earn a living'.

To/....

To compare attitudes toward the money component between the non-remunerated footballers and gardeners we see that although the effects were different (due to the different natures of football and gardening activities) both emphasized the necessity of a change in attitude and orientation. The footballers would be required to put forth greater effort in conjunction with more determination, dedication and discipline, while the gardeners would require a re-orientation toward producing for a profit. The gardeners also mentioned that they would lose an interest in their own garden. This effect (as an aside) is identical to the reason given by the majority of home gardeners who also gardened for others for defining the former as not-leisure.

The change in attitude suggested by the non-remunerated subjects resulted from the belief that one would have to comply with certain role obligations that they believed might accompany the money component. Although these subjects were not asked how they would define the situation if they were paid, the fact that the majority envisaged a re-orientation toward complying with negative expectations suggests a re-definition would probably follow.

To further substantiate the above suggestion, we can include the footballers' opinions on whether or not their football situation was a rat-race. When questioned on/.....

on this matter 81% of the Pros replied in the affirmative. And the most frequently mentioned reason stemmed from the fact that players were competing against each other for a place on the team. For example:

'Everyone is going to be cutting each other's throat. I go to a game and I watch maybe X or Y (players in the same position as respondent) playing and I just hope they make mistakes. Because if they start playing bad, I'll get in. So it is a rat-race to a certain extent because you're always cutting each other's throat. I thought I'm the only one that thinks it and I was saying to them one day when we were at one of the big games, "What are you thinking about now, about boys in your position?" And they would say, "I hope he has a bad game and get maybe injured". It's a rat-race to a certain extent. Before the game if your not playing you're wishing whoever is playing your position all the best and that and it's sort of two-faced. You're wishing them the best of luck yet you're hoping he'll have a bad game'.

'You know; one man's pleasure is another man's pain in this game. A break for somebody; you know, it could be so much luck for me. Somebody getting injured and me getting my position back. It can be upsetting at times but I still enjoy it'.

'It is a rat-race because you don't want him to do as well as what you do. Even when you're out and even when the team is doing well and they say, "all together lads; one, two, three"; this happy spirit. Even when you're out no matter how well the team's going you want to play. In all honesty any chap must say he hopes the chap has a bad game because he wants back in the team. That is a professional outlook from that point of view. It's a hard one, but I think it's a realistic one'.

Although competition between players was not strictly speaking a role obligation, it was perceived of as something players would rather avoid (i.e. a negative expectation), and it resulted in part from the presence of the/....

the money component. This latter point follows from the fact that players on the first team received more money than reserve players, and players who were not on either team (due to an injury or whatever) received less than those who were. The money component was not the only reason why players were competing with one another for a place on the first team and these will be dealt with in due course.

The next most frequently mentioned reason for looking upon professional football as a rat-race had to do with the fact that players were playing for their wages. The connection between competition for a place on the team and playing for money has been discussed above. Here we can extend the relationship to include competition with players on the opposition. Because as one player put it:

'You know they're trying to take your living away from you by beating you. It's their job as well'.

Other reasons for considering professional football to be a rat-race included the suggestions that players were treated as numbers, that players were used by the manager and directors, that players were tied to their contracts, and they were at the mercy of the club. For example:

'When you sign for a professional club you're just a number to them and are used as the manager and board of directors see fit. They can tell you a lot of lies. They'll tell you you're going to get a regular game at times and you never do. There's a lot of deceit in it. There's a lot of untruths told to the players by management. And I suppose at certain times within the dressing room even at times people are not entirely working for the/....

the team but working against each other and working for themselves. It's the same in any job nowadays... Then again between different clubs the rivalry has increased I think over the years with the money increasing and there's far more dirty work goes on now than there used to be'.

All reasons for perceiving of professional football as a rat-race relate to certain effects of the money component which tend to be perceived of as negative expectations. Competing for a place on the team, being treated as a number, beating other players who are trying 'to take your living away from you' suggest an orientation toward a football situation which includes compliance to negative expectations. And this of course, tends to influence a definition of work.

When the amateur football subjects were asked if they considered their football situation to be a rat-race, only one subject (an Amateur 1 committee member) replied in the affirmative. He gave as his reasons the (unsubstantiated) claim that there was money involved, and the fact that players had to win. As well as this individual, five subjects said that amateur football was a bit like a rat-race and their reasons included the beliefs that players would do anything to win, and that there was competition among players for a place on the team.

With respect to competition between players in amateur football, during the field work with both amateur teams this did not appear to be significant. Amateur 2, who/....

who had three players for two positions, organized a rota system wherein one of the three players would miss every third game. Although this was resented by one of the players concerned, it did not appear to suggest a highly competitive situation. Amateur 1, in contrast, had two or three players who stood on the sideline for most games. But these players were older than most of their teammates and when asked how they felt about not playing they said they did not expect to play. Each felt he had had a long football career and one even told the selection committee that he was best left out. In the interview these players mentioned that they continued with Amateur 1 for the Thursday night training, for the chance to play the odd game (or part of a game), and because they enjoyed watching the team play.

The remaining twenty-three amateur football subjects (i.e. 79%) stated emphatically that their football situation definitely was not a rat-race. Of these, seventeen were able to give reasons for this belief (see Table 9.1).

TABLE 9.1

Reasons Why Amateur Football is Not a Rat-Race

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>
Only playing for enjoyment	11
Not playing for money	3
Can quit if not getting a game	3
Losing does not affect the rest of your life	2
Pressure for a place is healthy	1
Total	<u>17</u>

Quotations that pertain to reasons listed on

Table 9.1 include:

'Football at the amateur level is an optional thing that you don't have to do. You bring it upon yourself to go and play on a Saturday. You can step out any time you want and you'll not really be missed and it won't affect your life; at least not economically'.

'It's hardly a rat-race. There's a lot of moaning and groaning about team selection going on in any team. There's always somebody who thinks he should be playing and somebody else shouldn't be playing. But I wouldn't call it a rat-race. If you don't get picked for that team you just get fed up and go and play for another team. Certainly there's competition for places and there will always be somebody who's not satisfied, but nothing depends on it'.

'It's not a rat-race at the amateur level because they're not going out to cut everybody's throat like (the professionals) are. The professionals are being paid for it, they're training, some of them are wanting more than others. Whereas in the amateur you're not getting nothing. You're just on for your 90 minutes, go to your training; what have you'.

With the absence of the money component we find that football tends not to be characterized as a rat-race. We see from Table 9.1 that the most frequently mentioned reason for not identifying amateur football as a rat-race related to the fact that players were playing purely for enjoyment.

The concept of enjoyment will be dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter. Here it can simply be emphasized that where the money component is absent from a football situation, participants did not feel compelled to comply to negative expectations. For this reason/....

reason football was both defined by the majority of amateur players to be leisure and was not characterized by the majority of these players as a rat-race.

The presence of the money component was not the only reason why professional and not amateur football was looked upon as a rat-race. A further reason stems from the unequal distribution of rewards in the former and the equal distribution in the latter. To elaborate on this point we can refer to attitudes among the Pros toward playing for the first as opposed to the reserve team,<sup>(1)</sup> and to reasons why the amateur footballers played football.

Beginning with the amateur footballers, we see from Table VI in Appendix 1, that the most frequently mentioned reasons for playing amateur football included enjoyment and social benefits. Although the question posed might be a crude indicator of why the subjects played football, given the nature of these rewards they were not restricted to a select few. Although it is conceivable that enjoyment or social benefits were not experienced by all amateur footballers, the supply of these rewards was not limited in number.

If we turn to the Pros, we find that as well as enjoyment and social benefits, there were additional rewards to be had in their football situation. These were ascertained through asking players whether they preferred playing for the first or the reserve team. In response to/....

to this question, all players said they preferred the first team. But when asked which they preferred if the money was the same, three players expressed a preference for the reserves. Their reasons were as follows:

'If we were getting the same money; reserves; just because of the pressure. Not nearly so much is expected of you. You can enjoy it that wee bit more...In the first team they say enjoy it, but you're aware that you've got to do well at the same time... If I was a millionaire it would be great. I could play without worrying at all about the money. The money is what playing in the first team is all about'.

'If the money was the same I'd rather have a reserve game. I think I would play better in reserve football. As I say I haven't played much reserve football, but the young lads are different. They've got to try and play well. They're always under a bit of pressure trying to get better to get into the first team. Whereas I've been experienced now. Moving back for me into a reserve team is nothing. There's no nerves, there's nothing, if the money was the same'.

'You can play well in the reserves because there's no pressures. If the bonuses were increased for the reserves there would be more pressures because if you're playing for money that adds pressure right away. But in the reserves just now you're not really playing for money so you've not got any pressures that way. It eases you a wee bit, you know you've not got so much to lose in the game. If you're fighting for a big bonus you're sort of maybe scared to do things you'd maybe do'.

Responses to this question suggest a number of points. First, because only three out of thirty-two players said they would prefer the reserve team if the money was the same it can be assumed that there was more than money involved in a preference for the first team. In fact, the most frequently mentioned reason related to the/....

the larger crowd and the better atmosphere of a first team game. Earning more money came next, followed by the facts that a first team game is better, one plays better in the first team, it is one's aim to be at the top, and there is more glory and limelight in the first team (see Appendix 1, Table 111).

If we consider reasons for preferring the first team as part of the rewards (i.e. positive expectations or what is sought) in a remunerated football situation we see that competition results from a greater number of candidates than available rewards. Although an obvious statement, from thirty-two Pros players only eleven could receive the rewards derived from playing in the first team at any one point in time.

This suggests that we must look to both the distribution and to the type of rewards sought. Notwithstanding the concepts of enjoyment, satisfaction, fulfillment etc. (which could be realized in any situation regardless of how it was defined) in a remunerated situation defined as work, rewards can include money, power, and status. These rewards can exert a strong influence on the individual's position in the community as a whole, and it is more than likely that they will be unevenly distributed among all participants in that situation. In a non-remunerated situation defined as leisure, where the money reward is absent, power and prestige (if available as rewards/....

rewards) are generally restricted to the situation itself, and will exert little if any influence on the individual's position in the community as a whole. As such, even if power and status were unevenly distributed in this situation, it is unlikely that the individuals concerned would react strongly, because the ramifications of this distribution would be contained within the situation itself. Furthermore, it is more than likely that rewards in a situation defined as leisure will be evenly distributed. This follows from the fact that people will be more inclined to leave a situation defined as leisure where they were unable to share in its rewards. In other words, there tends to be a natural levelling in terms of availability of rewards and number of participants in a situation defined as leisure.

One exception to the tendency to leave an amateur team if a player is not getting a game involved an Amateur 1 player. In a discussion with this player (from the field notes):

I asked X if he resented being left out of the game and if he thought about quitting to join another club where he could get a game. He said he did not want to quit because he did not want to play with a lower division club. He said last season he scored a great goal. After that he was hurt and substituted by the secretary. Now he is just waiting for his chance to get a game and prove himself. He said he would wait and fight for his place on the team. I asked if he ever asked the secretary why he was not given a game. He said he never asked the secretary and was prepared to wait until a chance came along.

Although/....

Although this individual was missing out on the rewards derived from playing, his rewards seemed to be derived from being associated with a team in the First Division.

Thus, in a situation defined as work, the individual is more likely to accept the fact that rewards will be unevenly distributed. In this sense he will be oriented toward complying with this negative expectation. But in a situation defined as leisure, an unequal distribution of rewards will not be readily accepted and the individual will not be as inclined to comply with this negative expectation. In essence, this is another way of suggesting that the individual is oriented toward complying with negative expectations in a situation defined as work, and is not oriented in the same manner in one defined as leisure.

To return to the three Pros who said they would prefer the reserves if the money was the same, it is worthy of note that one of these individuals defined football as leisure, one defined it as work and leisure, and one defined it as work (an older player who knew his playing days were limited). This suggests that these individuals were not seeking glamour, atmosphere, prestige, etc. in their football situation. They were in a sense in it purely for the love of the game (a reason given by the majority of those who defined football as leisure). With the exception of money, these players were not after extrinsic rewards.

A/....

A further point emphasized by these three players is 'not nearly so much is expected of you (in the reserves)'. Reference here is, of course, to the role obligations which accompany the money component. And the expectations referred to include those of the manager as well as those of the fans. These players were suggesting that as the rewards were greater in the first team, so too were the role obligations, the pressures and the nerves. But this point must be qualified. For these players were all established first team players. Younger reserve players did not feel that less was expected of them.

If the presence of remuneration induces a footballer to play harder, what are the effects of additional monetary incentives?<sup>(2)</sup> It is common in professional football for players to be offered a "bonus" above and beyond a fixed win bonus for a win in an important match such as a Cup Tie or a Derby. This might be twice that offered for a win in a regular game. In a discussion with a first team player (from the field notes):

I asked X if the manager increased the bonus for tomorrow's Cup match. He told me that it was not increased but that the manager still might raise it just before the game to give the players an extra boost.

Certainly if players were unhappy with the size of their income it could affect their attitude toward the club. But it is questionable whether an extra boost (referred to as an incentive by the players) before a match will make players/....

players play harder during that particular match. For example:

'X feels that the bigger the financial incentive the better the team will play. I disagree with him because there are no players on the field at any point in time go into a tackle or ball more accurately, or shoot harder having half a second before thought Oh Christ, what a big bonus today... If five minutes from the end of a game where we have been promised a big bonus, we're leading 4 to 0, then I think to myself we've done a good job and there's that lovely big bonus at the end; super.... At no point will I say to myself that the money is motivating me; far from it'.

Another Pros player when asked if he would play as hard or as seriously if there was no money involved replied:

'No, I don't think anybody would. It's your work so naturally you want money for it. It's like if you were playing in a game and you would want the bonus to be X pounds and they only say Y pounds, you'd still play as hard for your Y pounds as you would for the X pounds. It doesn't make that much difference I would say'.

This suggests that a paid player will play harder than one who is not because it is a primary source of income, but an extra monetary incentive will not necessarily actuate extra effort. The reason for this stems from the fact that there is more than supplementary monetary incentive to be gained from an all out effort. Reserve players who were not offered a significant win bonus stood to gain a place on the first team, while first team players stood to retain the higher basic income as well as the glory, glamour, prestige, status, recognition, etc. that was available through playing for the first team. Thus/.....

Thus, supplementary win bonuses will not necessarily result in extra effort because all players were putting forth an all out effort irrespective of this inducement.

The only mention of a lowering of effort came from a few regular first team players in reference to playing with the reserves. This was mentioned to point out the belief (by these players) that it was easier to play for the reserves. For example:

'You find you've to push yourself harder in the first team. Playing against the reserves or some of the younger boys you can get by without doing half the work. But when you're playing against the men or boys with experience, then you have to push yourself'.

Although the above tended to apply to the Pros, putting out extra effort can take on different meanings in different remunerated situations. If we consider the case of piecework, it is likely (although not always the case) that an individual will put out extra effort to earn more money. But extra effort can be mediated by pressures from one's workmates. For example, when an amateur footballer was asked about pressures from his workmates he replied:

'We were the top two in the (glassblowing) department. We were making the most wages so we were not going to be pressurized in any way. When you're actually making your own wage you've got a wee bit of power in your own hands for yourself. It's good to make your own wage rather than being dependent on somebody else. So there's never any pressure in that area'.

This individual was involved in piecework. He suggested/.....

suggested that his efforts were not curtailed by pressures from his workmates simply because he was earning more than them and because he felt he had 'a wee bit of power in (his) hands'. When asked about ratebusters, this subject went on to say:

'When I was younger in the crystal works there were a good few of the tradesmen who were too good for the others and they were criticized for being too good. When that happens the union must take a hand. They must try and keep the wages static, keep the bad ones up to the good ones and the good ones to help subsidize the bad ones. It's very unfair but it's normal to find in most unions that you get a certain level that you can't go above. You can't make any more. It's a bonus system. Say somebody makes 150 points, but you can only earn 130 and so 20 points are given to somebody else to help boost them up to make a level in the department. This happened to the guy I was working with at my last job'.

With this example, prior to the institutionalization by the union of a static wage, we find that ratebusters were under pressure from workmates. They were under pressure because they were making more money and because they could be setting a level of production that was unacceptable to the other glassblowers. In this instance, extra effort is clearly defined as extra production.

But the Pros football situation was different. For extra effort could be taken to mean two different things. On the one hand it suggests that a player worked hard and did not "hide" (i.e. maintain a low profile by not running into positions and not shouting for the ball) in the game. It also suggests that a player tended to impress the crowd through/....

through a spectacular display of personal skill. The former suggests playing for the benefit of one's teammates, while the latter suggests playing for oneself (see Chapter 15). If taken in the former sense, putting out maximum effort was not criticized by teammates (excepting the player who might be replaced and this will be dealt with in Chapter 15) because his efforts could benefit the team as a whole. It was criticized in its latter sense, however, because it was only the individual concerned who might benefit from this behaviour.

To compare a remunerated football to a glassblowing situation, attitudes toward ratebusters prior to a static wage in a glassblowing situation appeared to be similar to attitudes toward a footballer who played for personal recognition or glory. And presumably attitudes toward those who put out extra effort after the establishment of a static wage in a glassblowing situation were similar to attitudes toward players who played for the benefit of the team. This difference comes down to degrees of competition between participants in a situation where rewards are unequally distributed.

#### SUMMARY

It goes without saying that the presence of money influences behaviour and attitudes in a situation. It tends to be associated with certain role obligations which participants/....

participants often perceive as negative expectations. Money, in other words, tends to create a type of situation that is likely to be defined as work. But it must be re-emphasized that it is not simply the presence of money that creates this attitude or this definition in a situation. It is the presence of certain role obligations that can accompany the money component and which the individual would rather avoid, which creates this attitude and definition.

This being the case, it does not follow that all remunerated situations will be defined as work or that all non-remunerated ones will be defined as leisure. For negative expectations are not exclusive to situations with a money component, and positive expectations are not exclusive to a situation where there is no money component. If an individual is not predisposed to comply with certain aspects of a non-remunerated situation, that situation might be defined as work, as not-leisure, or as both work and leisure. And in comparison, if an individual is predisposed to comply to the role obligations that accompany the money component, they might not be perceived as negative expectations, and the situation in question might be defined as leisure or as both work and leisure. It just so happens that the presence of money tends to introduce negative expectations in a situation.

CHAPTER 10

PERSONAL EXPECTATIONS IN RELATION TO ENJOYMENT

In this chapter we shall enrich the theoretical statement posited at the beginning of Chapter 9, by suggesting that as pressures are a manifestation of compliance to negative expectations, enjoyment is a manifestation of realizing positive ones. To demonstrate this suggestion we shall look at the relationship between the money component and the concept of "enjoyment".

The significance of enjoyment in the individual's orientation to a situation defined as leisure is amply suggested by the following facts. First, when the subjects were asked to distinguish a professional from an amateur (situation or individual), one of the most frequently mentioned characteristics which distinguished the two was the fact that the professional played football or gardened for his livelihood while the amateur did it for enjoyment (see Appendix 1, Tables 1 and 11). Similarly, when all non-remunerated subjects were asked what they got out of the situation in question, twenty-three out of twenty-nine subjects who defined football as leisure and eighteen out of twenty-three who defined home gardening as leisure said they/....

they got enjoyment and pleasure from the situation in question (see Appendix 1, Tables VI and VII). Enjoyment was mentioned as a reason for gardening for oneself by only two of the nine who defined it as not-leisure, by one of the two who defined it as work, and by all three of those who defined it as both work and leisure.

We can also refer to the Pros who defined their football situation as leisure (or as work and leisure). Of the five Pros in this category, three said football was leisure because they enjoyed it. That is:

'I certainly don't consider it a job. I get a lot of enjoyment out of it and it isn't a bind for me'.

'I'd call it a career; but it is a leisure too. It's something I enjoy doing and probably in any other job I wouldn't enjoy it. In this job it is a career, but it's more enjoyment'.

'It's just a sport really. It's what I enjoy doing. It's not work. Everybody dreams of doing something, and I'm lucky enough to get paid for what I want to do. So it's definitely not work. It would be my hobby if I wasn't full-time, so I'm lucky. It's a sport and leisure at the same time'.

As a final example we can quote a player who defined football with the Pros as work. This individual was interviewed after being given a free transfer and his statement referred to his feelings as a full-time professional as compared to his anticipated feeling toward playing part-time (the following season) with a club in a lower division. On reflecting back to his full-time involvement with the Pros/.....

Pros, he said:

'Full-time football has got to be a career. But the likes of me now being part-time, I'm looking at it as a hobby. I'll enjoy it more being part-time, there's not so much pressure on you. The likes of being full-time, it's a career. You've got to be perfect at everything you do and that frustrated me. I didn't like it. The likes of part-time, I can do my own thing and not have to worry about anything. It's not the end of the world. It's the end of the world in there (with the Pros) if you didn't hit it off'.

These data seem to suggest that enjoyment is both antithetical to receiving a livelihood and synonymous with leisure. But is this the case? And if it is the case, why should this be so? To respond to these questions we shall look at what can be termed the "enjoyment destroyers".

Because all professionals played as amateurs before turning professional, the Pros were asked if they enjoyed their football as much now as when they were 15. In response to this question, 71% said they enjoyed it more as an amateur. This suggests that there is something in a professional football situation which has destroyed (or at least diminished) the enjoyment these subjects used to feel as amateurs. If we refer to Table 10.1 we see that the enjoyment destroyers include certain role obligations which accompany the money component in a football situation.

Replies to this question have produced unexpected results. If we look at those players who said they enjoyed professional football as much or more than the amateur/....

TABLE 10.1

Reasons for More Enjoyment in an Amateur than in  
a Professional Football Situation

<u>Amateur Football Involves</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>
Playing for enjoyment/fun	14
More freedom/no tactics	8
No pressures	7
No responsibilities	2
Nothing at stake	6
<u>Professional Football Involves</u>	
Pressures	15
Playing for money	15
Need to play well/win	13
Less freedom/tactics/unable to entertain	6
Spectator/newspaper criticism	4
More cautious/frightened	1
Same thing every day	2
Enjoy professional football as much or more than amateur football	9

amateur game we find these include eight of the twenty-seven who defined it as work, and one of the five who defined it as leisure (or as work and leisure). Now one would assume that a greater proportion of the latter group would mention that they found at least as much enjoyment at the professional level. To account for this result we see that of the nine players who said they enjoyed professional/....

professional as much or more than amateur football, four held jobs apart from football (three of these defined football as work and one defined it as leisure). And these four were the only Pros who held jobs apart from football. This suggests that enjoyment tends not to be diminished if the individual has an additional source of income. The reasons why this should be so will be discussed shortly.

Of the remaining five players who found as much or more enjoyment at the professional level, two were on the ground crew, two had recently established themselves on the first team, and one (who defined football as leisure) was an established first team player. Reasons given by these subjects include:

'It's far more important on a Saturday. When you come out, there's a lot of pressure on you. When you're 15, you just play for a Juvenile club and you just come out and play purely for enjoyment. But I get as much enjoyment out of it now whether the pressure's on or not. From the actual game I get enjoyment. I sometimes worry about it afterwards, but the actual playing I really enjoy'.

'I enjoy playing football more because now I'm a better player. There are things I can do now which I couldn't do when I was 15'.

'When you were 15 you were just playing on open parks, no crowds. But here the atmosphere, it's different, it's good'.

'I think because maybe you're playing in front of crowds...you're playing with better players and that helps you move the ball around a bit... As a professional you pick up a lot of good habits. I feel now that I've achieved something so I enjoy it just as much'.

In/....

In addition we can look at statements which exemplify why players enjoyed the amateur more than the professional game:

'Probably because it's more of a job now. It depends on winning games to get more money and the enjoyment goes out of the game. There's still a certain amount in it, definitely. But when I used to play Juvenile football, I played for the enjoyment. Before if you got beat, you got beat. It didn't make any difference. But now it just becomes another job. You can get fed up doing the same things every day'.

'I enjoyed it better then. You could make a mistake and I suppose you could entertain more. You could do what you want to do instead of what they're wanting'.

'When you're 15, your livelihood doesn't depend on it. As I said earlier, I think when you're a professional it's your career and you've got to do well at it. It's your job, you've got to do well at it. When you were 15 you were doing it as your sport. It was a pastime. I liked it because you had more freedom, there's none of this tactics and all this'.

'I think once you turn professional the enjoyment goes out of it. When you're playing amateur you're doing it for fun and you're enjoying it; there's no pressure on you. But I think when you are playing professional there is pressure on you all the time'.

'I can't say that I enjoy it as much as I did. The incentives are so big it makes the manager and players cautious; frightened to come out and play the game the way it should be played'.

If we look once again at Table 10.1, and if we regard the characteristics of professional football as enjoyment destroyers, the majority of the Pros have suggested that they enjoyed their football more at the amateur level because of the role obligations they must comply with in/....

in their remunerated football situation.

For the sake of a comparison, Hunter Davies similarly asked players from an English First Division club if they enjoyed their football more when they were 15. From these subjects, 61% said they enjoyed it more as amateurs (compared to 71% of the Pros). According to Davies:

'It's a sad reflection on modern football that the majority of this sample of top professionals should admit they don't enjoy the game as much as they did when they were younger...It's not just the pressures of being in a top club, a club which has to have success, but perhaps the toughness of the English First Division and the prevailing methods of play which are to blame'. (1)

But let us not stop here. For the reasons given by the Pros for enjoying a "kick-about" (impromptu, unorganized game with friends) more than the professional game can be equally as instructive.

When the Pros were asked if they took part in a kick-about, 35% answered in the affirmative. Those who did not, mentioned that they could not risk injury, the club did not allow it, or that they had enough football during the week (once again a reason similar to that given by the majority of those who defined home gardening as not-leisure).

The fact that the club did not allow its players to play football (or any hard physical sports) outside the club/.....

club suggests the influence of the Pros' football situation on situations outside professional football. It also suggests the extent of certain role obligations that players felt compelled to comply with. For example (from the field notes):

On the bus back to the stadium I spoke to X. He told me that he used to be on the school ski team and that he used to also play ice hockey. He rarely does these now as he was told by the club that he couldn't. He said he does a bit of skiing (on an artificial slope) but when he does he wears a large wool hat and pulls it down over his face so nobody will recognize him. He said this in a joking manner but it suggests that he is aware of the consequences if the manager found out.

Additional examples of secrets from the manager include taking on part-time work, training amateur teams, taking weight reducing pills, drinking, and late hours.

The Pros' football situation was somewhat unique with respect to rules of conduct. For example, consider the following rules which were explicitly stated in the rule book issued to each player.

- (i) During the playing season players must not go away from their homes for the weekend without first obtaining the consent of the manager.
- (ii) No player shall attend social functions later than three nights prior to a match.
- (iii) Players shall not make comments to the Press on any subject relating to the club, nor enter into journalism in any manner without the manager's consent. Severe disciplinary action will be taken against any player who does not adhere to the above rules.

It/....

It goes without saying that amateur footballers are not under similar restrictions as those imposed on the Pros. In fact when the amateur subjects were asked if they had a drink on a Friday before a game, only one of 22 respondents replied in the negative.

To return to players taking part in a kick-about, the majority of the Pros did not take part because to be injured might mean a loss of wages. For example:

'We used to play every Sunday. (My friends) still do and somehow the word got back to the club and the Pros stopped us. I played with my mates and I don't know who it was that told somebody that I was playing. And then they told me to stop it; that was the end of that'.

Of those who admitted to playing in a kick-about, most mentioned that they would not play aggressive football lest they be injured.

'On a Sunday you didn't really go for the ball if you could see somebody was going to hurt you because these boys are just that yard slower and they're always tackling hard. If they miss out and it catches your leg... You're not supposed to be playing football on a Sunday. If you're caught you can be done by the club. They can fine you'.

Although only eleven players admitted to taking part in a kick-about, seventeen were able to list elements of a kick-about which distinguish this form of football from playing with the Pros (see Table 10.2). Statements which exemplify these elements include:

'There's no positions. You don't play in 4-2-4's (formation/....

(formation) or anything like that. Everybody goes where they want to go in their own time. It's just leisure. It's just kicking a ball. You're lucky if you break sweat'.

'On Sundays it was just a case of turning up at 3 o'clock and picking sides and getting on with it. Just enjoying yourself. Just thinking about nothing, about anything. Just not thinking about it as much is a reason why I enjoyed it more at 15 than now'.

TABLE 10.2

Elements of a Kick-About

<u>Elements</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>
Play for enjoyment/laughs	11
Can do silly things	7
Don't care about it	7
No tactics	6
Can play anywhere on the field	4
More relaxed	4
No pressures	3
Not obliged to play	2
Nobody shouting at you	2
No money involved	1

'There's no pressure on you when you're playing with your mates. You're just out for a kick-about, you're just out for a run. When I play with (my mates) I usually play centre-forward (a different position from that with the Pros) and I'm just there for a run. You're not really bothered about anything. You just have to keep out of the way and not get kicks in the legs or get injured. But as I say, there's no pressure on you. It doesn't matter if you miss open (unattended) goals or do stupid things'.

'It's just a case of relaxing. It's just sheer enjoyment kicking the ball on a Sunday. You don't/....

don't try as hard, you don't get involved as much, you just play it for laughs'.

'In a kick-about I would try and beat as many men as I possibly could. If there was 8, 10 playing against me I'd try and beat them all. But, with no end/means. It wouldn't bother me if I lost the ball'.

In the same context, twelve Pros players were able to list elements of a game at the professional level. And these are included with Table 10.3. In contrast to a kick-about, in the professional game:

'You're playing this game in earnest; it's your job and it's your livelihood. You're having to do the job here'.

'On a Saturday you've got a set job to do. You've got to go out and do that and your teammates will work in with you'.

'In a professional game you play in earnest. It's my living. The team I'm in has got to do well. They pay my wages. That's why it's got to be in earnest. You've got to go out and make a living. It's just like making a living; you've got to get out and win'.

TABLE 10.3

Elements Of A Professional Game

<u>Elements</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>
Pressures	4
Playing for money	4
Must play well/win	4
Must play to tactics	3
More nervous/tense/not relaxed	2
Obligated to play	1
Can be losing teammates money	1
More serious	1
Bothered by spectators	1

'There's something there that's just not really enjoyable. I don't know if it's the pressure; I don't know it might be that. The sense of pressure that you've got to do well. Therefore if you think you've got to do well you're not relaxed. When you're at your job you're saying to yourself, well, this is it. This is my job. Well being your job you're thinking you've got to do well and you've got a marriage coming up and you've got payments coming up. I think it's just when you're at the club and that, when you walk through that door I think you change a wee bit. I just feel as if when I'm at the club I've got a job to do and when I'm there I will do my best. And then when I come out I can relax'.

By comparing Table 10.3 to 10.2, we see that playing for enjoyment is a dominant characteristic of a kick-about (which presumably would be defined as leisure), and playing for money and its corresponding role obligations are dominant characteristics of playing for the Pros. And if we combine the elements listed on Table 10.3, with those on the bottom half of Table 10.1, we find that enjoyment can be diminished in football through compliance (or attempted compliance) to certain role obligations which accompany the money component. If, furthermore, we compare Table 10.2 to the top half of Table 10.1, we can conclude that enjoyment stems from the realization of positive expectations and from the relative absence of having to comply with negative expectations.

We are now in a position to offer a reason why the four Pros who held jobs apart from playing football all stated that they enjoyed the professional as much or more than the amateur game. That is, notwithstanding the fact that/....

that these players did comply with the role obligations of their football situation, they did not feel as compelled to comply because of their additional sources of income. Because these players were not solely dependent on football for their livelihood (i.e. they did not have all their eggs in one basket) they felt less of a compulsion to comply with negative expectations and at the same time were able to realize certain positive expectations.

Although compliance with certain role obligations which can accompany the money component tend to diminish enjoyment in a situation, enjoyment destroyers are not exclusive to remunerated situations. And this follows from the fact that negative expectations are similarly not exclusive to remunerated situations. Examples of enjoyment destroyers in a non-remunerated gardening situation are reproduced on Table 10.4.

TABLE 10.4

Reasons for Defining Gardening as Not Leisure

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>
Not different from work	6
Not enough time	3
Don't care about it/too lazy	2
A chore	1

As enjoyment destroyers are not exclusive to remunerated situations, they are similarly not exclusive to situations defined as work. When those who defined gardening/.....

gardening as work were asked what they got out of their gardening situation, seven out of seventeen respondents mentioned enjoyment or pleasure. Two of the nine who defined gardening as not-leisure mentioned that they got enjoyment from gardening. When the Pros were asked if they were happy playing football, 81% answered in the affirmative. So, in spite of the so-called enjoyment destroyers, enjoyment can be found in any situation regardless of its definition and regardless of the presence of negative expectations which might accompany the money component. Also, in spite of defining a football or gardening situation as work (or as not-leisure) certain aspects of that situation can be enjoyable while at the same time and within the same situation other aspects might not be enjoyable. Those that are, involve the realization of positive expectations, while those that are not enjoyable involve compliance to negative expectations. For example we can recall those Pros players who mentioned that they enjoyed the game but disliked training, or gardeners who said they enjoyed certain jobs but found others boring. That is:

'I enjoy some of the jobs I do here but I don't enjoy a lot of them because you sort of get boring jobs to do'.

Enjoyment can, however, be a relative matter.

Consider the following quotations from a number of gardener subjects:

'None/....

'None of us are in this for the money. Agriculture and horticulture are known to be amongst the generally poorer paid. We earn an adequate living, but never anything big. The pleasure is really we're spared the monotony of a lot of industrial work and indoor work. Even someone not particularly interested in gardening can get a feeling of well-being just by being out in the open air. It's a very clean, healthy life. If I was doing another outside labouring job, I'd certainly miss gardening'.

'I could never stand behind a machine and play with a machine all day. I like variety. Variety is a source of life to me'.

'What I can't stand is working in a factory'.

'I like the outdoor life. I don't like being stuck in a sort of factory. You feel freer in the open'.

'I like the open air; of course that's one of the reasons I went for the job. I didn't fancy being stuck in a factory again'.

'That's why I couldn't work in a factory, because I couldn't sit all day and do only one thing'.

And from the Pros:

'Let's face it. I think it would be pretty hard for me to go back and start working for a living. There I go again, I contradict myself. I think it would be hard for me to go back working and I just hope that things work out all right'.

When asked to explain, he went on to say:

'I suppose a football player's day is classed as an easy day; I mean from 10 to 12. If you don't go back in the afternoon you only work 2 hours or something. And if you work in a factory it's like say from 8 to 5. And it's a very long day I can guarantee that'.

'In a way it's a great life. You've trained with us, you see us training for a couple of hours and that's about it. There's days when we just go and play golf; there's plenty of leisure time as well. It can't be a bad life doing that. You've got to stand for a lot of abuse at times but this is just part of the job too; it goes with it. Put it this way, I'd rather do that type of job than/....

than standing in Marks and Spencers selling;  
I'd get bored.

'Deep down I think most people would like to be either a footballer or a golfer or something like that; in Scotland anyway. Because 95% of the public follow football. In Scotland it's the national sport and if you're a footballer of the top grade you're idolized. You can go to places far afield and if they know you're a professional footballer you're something special. But if you're in an ordinary job, if you're just Joe Blogs who works in the steel works you're just a number. If you're - not to be boastful - but if you're (mention of own name) playing with the Pros they sit up and listen'.

All of the above quotations came from respondents who defined the situation in question as work, and all touched on aspects in those situations which they enjoyed. At the same time, all suggested that enjoyment could be seen in the light of available alternatives. For the gardener respondents the available alternatives included factory or labouring jobs. The available alternatives for the Pros are listed on Table 10.5 for each was asked what he thought he would be doing if he hadn't become a professional footballer.

Although the relative nature of enjoyment is a viable consideration, it remains conjecture. For those subjects who mentioned enjoyment in a situation defined as work expressed definite feelings on this matter. For example (from the gardener respondents):

'I could make a lot more money doing something else, but then I wouldn't be happy'.

'I think the people who go in for botanics are people/.....

TABLE 10.5

Alternative Work Situations for the Pros

	<u>Number Responding</u>
Trade	
Mechanic, engineer, joiner plumber, road technician, painter, decorator, commercial artist, printer, hairedresser, typewriter mechanic, miner	16
Office Worker	5
Labourer	
Building Site	3
Teacher	2
Police	2
No Idea	3

people that have an interest in plants; much more so than an interest in the cheque at the end of the month'.

'It wasn't the paycheck that bothered me. I like the things for the sake of seeing something out of it. It isn't just a job. I take a real interest in it'.

This chapter has been concerned with pointing out the fact that enjoyment can be a manifestation of realizing positive expectations. Positive expectations are not, however, restricted either to situations defined as leisure or to non-remunerated situations. Therefore, enjoyment is not strictly speaking antithetical to earning a living nor is it synonymous with situations defined as leisure. But due to the fact that the individual is oriented toward realizing/....

realizing positive expectations in a situation defined as leisure, and because enjoyment is a manifestation of realizing these expectations, it tends to be a necessary (although not an exclusive) element in a situation defined as leisure.

Having looked at the relationship between complying with negative expectations and a definition of work, and between realizing positive expectations and a definition of leisure, in the next chapter we shall look at the first of three attitudinal scales which are associated with positive or negative expectations in a situation.



a point of agreement between perceptions of leisure by leisure scholars and by the subjects of this enquiry (see Chapter 6). In essence then, it can be suggested that where the individual's actions are perceived of as self-determined, he will be oriented toward realizing positive expectations, hence is likely to define the situation in question as leisure. On the other hand, where action is seen as determined by others, he will be oriented toward complying with negative expectations, hence is likely to define that situation as work.

Although numerous statements from the interview responses and entries from the field notes could be presented to support this suggestion (in fact, a number have already been presented in Chapters 4 and 5), attitudes toward "leadership" and "cheating" have been selected for analysis because both offer additional insights into meanings in situations defined as work or leisure. We shall begin with attitudes toward leadership as a way of introducing the discussion in the next chapter on attitudes toward cheating.

#### ATTITUDES TOWARD LEADERSHIP

The literature on leadership is voluminous. Ongoing debates cover various aspects of this phenomenon, while definitions of a leader or leadership vary depending upon the individual's approach to this issue.<sup>(1)</sup> This author/....

author agrees with the distinction between headship and leadership,<sup>(2)</sup> with the fact that individual characteristics, group characteristics, and situational variables determine who is to lead and who is to be led in a given situation,<sup>(3)</sup> with the fact that an organization (or a situation) can contain more than one leader at varying or similar levels of status and power, and with the fact that a leader can, at the same time, be a follower. This discussion will not, however, include a strict analysis of why people allow themselves to be led, nor will it look at characteristics which make leadership possible or the traits of the individual in the leadership role. In short, it is not a discussion on leadership per se., but will look at attitudes toward being led in a situation defined as leisure and in a situation defined as work. A leader will be defined (following the definition by Alvin Gouldner) as, "any individual whose behaviour stimulates patterning of the behaviour in some group".<sup>(4)</sup>

This analysis will attempt to demonstrate that attitudes toward being led (or conversely, attitudes toward a leader) can be qualitatively different in a situation defined as work and in one defined as leisure. These differences can, in turn, be related to both the self/others determination of action continuum and to whether the individual is oriented toward realizing positive or to complying with negative expectations in a situation. To demonstrate these differences, we will look at whether or/.....

or not those who are being led feel a sense of control over the selection of their leader or leaders, the extent of the individual's behaviour that is being patterned by the leader or leaders, and the perceived consequences of non-compliance to the will of the leader or leaders.

THE APPOINTMENT OF A LEADER

A football club is an organization. As such it differs "from other collectivities in that within (it) power is, comparatively, more deliberately distributed and institutionalized".<sup>(5)</sup> In this sense, and following from a typology outlined by Amitai Etzioni, we can distinguish between power which is positional and power which is personal. That is,

"an actor may have only positional power, in which case he might be referred to as an 'official'; only broad personal influence, in which case he might be called an 'informal leader'; or both, in which case he is best labelled a 'formal leader'. If he commands neither, he is probably a follower." (See Figure 11.1) (6)

FIGURE 11.1

Personal Power	+	Formal Leader	Informal Leader
	-	Official	Follower
		+	-
		Positional Power	

Position power is characterized by Fred Fiedler as:  
"the/...."

"the degree to which the position itself enables the leader to get his group members to comply with and accept his direction and leadership... The leader who has rank and power can get his group members to perform their tasks more readily than would a leader who has little power... The leader with low position power must first convince his group members that they should follow him, and he must be continually aware of the fact that his hold on his group members is tenuous and dependent upon his personal relations with the individuals in his group. In many groups he can be readily deposed or ignored". (7)

In another publication, Fiedler suggests that:

"The leader who can hire and fire, promote or demote, can obtain compliance (to negative expectations) under conditions which might be impossible for a leader in a relatively powerless position, such as the chairman of a volunteer group whose members are at liberty to walk out at any time". (8)

Based on the three types of leaders as outlined by Etzioni, and turning to the structure of authority and control in the football situations here at hand, we find that all three football situations included individuals in each of the four cells in Figure 11.1. However, where the Pros' football situation included leaders who were "chosen" and leaders who were in a sense "given", the amateur football situations included only those who were "chosen".

To elaborate on this distinction, in the Pros' football situation formal leaders included the manager, coaches, and the physiotherapist, each with descending degrees of power and authority. These individuals were appointed by the Board of Directors. Hence, from the players' /.....

players' point of view, they had no control over who would fill these leadership roles. For this reason, the formal leaders in the Pros' football situation were not chosen but were given. In the amateur football situations, on the other hand, formal leaders included the team secretary and, in the case of Amateur 2, the captain and vice-captain. As formal leaders, these individuals held both positional and personal power, but because they were elected, the players perceived of them as leaders who were chosen rather than as leaders who were given. We also find a similar distinction with officials in a football club. In the Pros' football situation the official leadership positions were occupied by the Board of Directors. These individuals held positional power, but because they had virtually no day-to-day contact with the players, they held very little, if any, personal power. Official leadership positions in the amateur teams studied were occupied by committee members other than the secretary or captain. And once again the difference between the Pros and amateurs with respect to the appointment of the club officials relates to the fact that these individuals were given in the former and chosen in the latter situation.

If we turn to informal leaders we find that individuals who held personal power only can be differentiated between those with a narrow and those with a broad base of influence. And both types were found in the three football clubs studied.

In/....

In the Pros' football situation, informal leaders with a broad sphere of influence included a number of older "star" players. These individuals assumed the right to lead, based on their age, experience, skill, public stature, and in some instances, personality. Attitudes toward these individuals (especially among the younger players) were somewhat similar to attitudes toward the formal leaders. That is, players tended to accept this form of leadership as given, hence outwith their control, and tended to pattern their behaviour to their will. The influence of the star players was recognized and, at times authenticated, by the manager. It also proved to be a problem when the will of these individuals came into conflict with that of the manager. Consider the following incident:

Training took place at a field away from the stadium. It was a cold and wet morning and the manager told us to remove our track suits. With the exception of nine players, everybody complied with this order. These nine included three star players and six other regular first team players (i.e. those with enough security to resist the order). The manager actually pleaded with the dissenters to remove their track suits. It appeared to be a significant moment as they were determined to keep them on. I sensed that the other players were surprised and confused by this incident and were anxious to see the outcome. The manager seemed to give in as they were allowed to run with their track suits on. After the running exercises we broke into four teams for sprinting exercises. At this point the nine dissenters removed their track suits seemingly without being told. When this happened I sensed a change in the atmosphere from one of apprehension and anxiety while the dissenters kept their track suits on, to one of relief when they complied with the manager's order.

Later/....

Later I discussed this incident with the manager and he told me that he spoke in private with the three star players and asked them to remove their track suits explaining that they would get dirty in the mud. When these three agreed the rest followed their lead.

This incident (the only act of dissension observed during the field work with the Pros) raises a number of points. First, it suggests that the manager was aware of the influence of the star players because he spoke in private to them. He knew that if he could convince these players to comply with his wishes the others would follow their lead. The fact that the dissenters included first team players only suggests that dissension was only possible for those who felt a sense of security with the Pros. And as a further example of this latter point, we can refer to players who smoked in the manager's presence.

The majority of the Pros did not smoke simply because of its effects on a player's stamina. However, two star players have been observed smoking in the dressing room (in spite of the fact that a sign stipulated that smoking was prohibited in the dressing room) when the manager was present. Another player who was not securely in the first team did not smoke in the manager's presence. At the club Christmas party, however, this player lit a cigarette after the manager and directors left.

The fact that the manager allowed the dissenters to keep their track suits on for part of the exercises suggests/.....

suggests that he did not want to provoke a major incident. They had taken a stand of self-determination and it was obvious that the manager had to demonstrate his authority over that of the players. The others were confused and apprehensive about the outcome as it demonstrated and reinforced the power of the older players. The manager displayed his leadership (as opposed to headship) qualities by taking the appropriate players aside and explaining why he wanted them to remove their track suits. By doing this he allowed the dissenters to save face. He was no longer telling them, he was asking them. From the point of view of the manager and the younger players, the manager had won, and from the dissenters' point of view, they had won. It was important to impress upon the younger players that the manager's authority was greater than that of the older players and it was important that the manager allowed the dissenters to feel that they had retained a degree of autonomy in their football situation.

For an example of an amateur footballer in an informal leadership position with a broad base of influence, we can look at the individual on Amateur 2 who was chosen as a friend by eight of his teammates (see Figure 14.2). At the time of the research this individual did not hold a formal leadership position although in previous seasons he did hold the position of team captain. In spite of his lack of positional power, his personal power was unquestionably accepted by the majority of his teammates. Although/.....

Although he was an older player and although his influence was spread over the entire team, players' attitudes toward being led by this individual were not the same as attitudes toward the star Pros players. This difference is shown by the fact that this individual was named as a friend by eight of his ten teammates, whereas the older star players with the Pros were only named by each other as friends (see Figure 14.1, group E). The influence of this individual was demonstrated by the fact that he tended to have as much say in team tactics and selection as the captain and vice-captain (the vice-captain and this individual were brothers). He knew who would be playing in what position before the team list was announced to the rest of the players. For example, prior to a particular game this individual told me to watch another player's face when the team list was announced because he would be a substitute in the game.

This individual's influence over his teammates was based on his personal exuberance and enthusiasm for the success of Amateur 2. His dynamic personality and friendly manner won him many friends. As a result, his influence was neither resisted nor resented. In fact it was welcomed.

Informal leaders with a narrow sphere of influence were found on all three football teams. In fact this form of leadership can be found in any group situation regardless/....

regardless of how it is defined. Leaders of this type are generally perceived of as chosen and their sphere of influence tends to be restricted to the members of a friendship group.

In short, although all three football teams included formal, informal and official leaders, with the exception of peer group leaders among the Pros, leaders tended to be given in the Pros' football situation and chosen in the amateur football situations.

#### EXTENT OF BEHAVIOUR PATTERNED BY THE LEADERS

As a formal leader in the Pros' football situation the manager's will was decisive in all matters of players' behaviour both within and outside their football situation. In Chapter 10, for example, it was mentioned that certain players found it necessary to conceal certain secrets from the manager. Similarly, the field notes recorded instances where players' social lives were kept secret from the manager. Within the club the manager's will was the final word with respect to team selection, daily training activities, and the general behaviour of players.

For example, from the field notes:

For the past few weeks lunch was eaten in the bar at the supporters club because the upstairs dining room was being redecorated. Today the manager announced that we were to return to the dining room for our lunch. He told all players to be orderly and not to damage anything in the newly decorated room. He said players were to be/....

be careful when they used the television set, that they were not allowed in the kitchen, and that they must leave after lunch was finished.

The manager's power position was constantly reinforced through his own behaviour. For example, the manager, as opposed to the players and coaching staff, dressed in a jacket and tie whenever he was not in a track suit. When training was completed each day the manager (as opposed to the coach) rarely took a bath with the players but tended to wait until most had finished before bathing himself. The manager (and the coach in this instance) did not eat lunch with the players but ate in a separate and more exclusive dining room in the supporters club. The manager was never referred to by his first name. He was referred to as "boss" or as Mr. It is interesting to note that prior to becoming manager this individual was the team coach (before my arrival). As a coach he was referred to by his first name. That is:

X told me that before Y became manager everybody used to call him by his first name. Now they call him "boss". He said it was a hard change to make.

The team coach was referred to by his first name and so too was the physiotherapist. The part-time coach was referred to by his nick-name.

As further points of distinction, the manager and the coach always sat in the first seats on the bus.<sup>(9)</sup> They tended to talk either to each other, or if alone, they tended/.....

tended to talk to the bus driver. The manager never took part in the horseplay that was prevalent among the players, although at times the coach did take part. For example:

Today after training the coach was in a friendly fight with a reserve player. They were both laughing while it continued and the coach threw a bucket of water on the player.

As further examples of the control the manager had over the behaviour of the players, a number of players mentioned that they played harder when the manager was present. These related primarily to reserve players and included both training and regular league games. For example:

On my way to the stadium I met two reserve players on the bus. X said he thought yesterday's training game was a good one. When I asked why he replied 'probably because the manager was there'. Y then went on to say, 'we always play harder when he's there'.

And with respect to a regular league game:

I asked X (a reserve player) how he felt about the sideline comments of the manager during the game. He said (in essence) that it was not so much what he said that mattered but that it let a player know he is being watched.

Being watched by the manager is especially important to a non first team player, for the decision of who plays in the first team rests solely with the manager.

For a final addition, we can include instances of observations recorded where players tended to complain more about training when led by the coach, part-time coach or/....

or physiotherapist than when led by the manager. The suggestion being that it was not the nature of the exercise that caused players to complain but it depended upon the position of the person who led the exercise. Before presenting data on this issue, two cautions are in order. First, the statements to be presented include only those overheard by this researcher. Second, it is possible that a player would be more inclined to complain about than to praise individual training exercises.

The field notes contained twenty-six statements that, in some way, made direct reference to specific training exercises. These are recorded on Table 11.1, in relation to the nature of the exercise and to who led the exercise.

From Table 11.1 we see that all positive comments regardless of the nature of the exercise pertained to those that were led by the manager. In other words, no positive statements were recorded for exercises led by someone other than the manager. Furthermore, with only one exception, negative statements tended to be more predominant when exercises were led by someone other than the manager. To explain why a given exercise tended to solicit positive comments if led by the manager and negative ones if led by someone else, we can turn to comments by the players themselves. For in the interview the Pros were asked their opinion on this matter. Examples of responses include/.....

TABLE 11.1

Positive and Negative References to  
Training Exercises

<u>Exercise</u>	<u>Statement with Manager Present</u>		<u>Statement with Manager Not Present</u>	
	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Training Game	8 (53)*	2 (13)	-	-
Circuit Training/ Exercises	3 (20)	- -	-	4 (36)
Ball Work	1 (7)	2 (13)	-	1 (9)
Sprints/Running	5 (33)	3 (20)	-	6 (55)

\* Number expressed as a percentage of times manager was present. He was present on fifteen occasions and not present on eleven occasions.

include:

'When the manager's there, he's the man that picks the team you see. If they're going to start moaning and groaning and that, the manager will say, well I'll sort him out, I'll leave him out on Saturday... I mean I've gone in sometimes and the manager or the coach says, you're going on the track and I've said I can't be bothered going on the track. But you do it, it's your job. But I don't go to the manager and tell him, or the coach. I'll maybe say it to X or Y (friends on the team) I don't fancy going to the track. But you've got to do it'.

'He's the manager of course, he pulls all the strings. He can put you in or put you out and it's the same everywhere of course. The players have far more respect, or like to show they've got more respect for the manager than they have for the coach. Whether they have or not, they like to show they have'.

'I think the likes of the coach takes us, there's one or two of the boys that seem to think that he's sort of nothing, he's not really... he's just the trainer to them. Whereas the manager, he's different. I don't think there's really any difference. I just respect them because they're higher up. It's just like an ordinary job, you've got/.....

got your manager, assistant manager and then it comes all the way down the scale and then you've got the workers. That's the way I look at it. We're just as the workers are'.

'You know you seem to enjoy training more because you're out to impress the boss'.

'I think they don't want to say it to the manager but when the coach gives you them (exercises) you take it easy. When the manager's there you've got to do it and that's it. They mess about when the coach is there and this is probably why. When the manager's doing it you don't complain, he's the manager, he's the guy that sets out the training and you do what he tells you. Inside people might feel like complaining, so that's why they take it out on the coach'.

A few players referred to the personality of the manager as one reason why training was more enjoyable.

That is:

'Everybody likes to complain if it's running and maybe just getting on at the person that's taking them, and more so if the coach is taking you because he'll just have you running and running round that track till you're dropping. The manager, he'll run around, he'll stop, he'll crack a joke, he'll keep you happy when you're running. The coach is like an army or something. It's like training an army. It's different'.

'I think it's authority... you've got to be able to command respect, you've got to be able to get them to jump to attention more or less. The coach will give you training and it's just the same day in and day out but with the manager you don't know what you're going to get... The manager commands more respect and I think it's for the simple reason that he knows what he's doing and does it properly'.

This player went on to mention that:

'Seeing that he's manager now (since his promotion from coach), they don't complain because he's the manager. Before they might have complained but in a joking sense'.

Thus, many players tended not to complain when  
the/....

the manager led the training because they were afraid to. They were afraid because of the manager's power to control a player's destiny in his football situation. And this, of course, relates to the consequences of not complying with the behavioural pattern as established by the manager.

It must be emphasized, however, that the Pros were not completely powerless in their relationship with their formal leaders. For they could exert indirect influence over these individuals. The track suit incident is a case in point and of more relevance is the fact that if the players were unhappy with the manager, this could affect their win/loss record which could, in turn, affect the manager's security with the club. To be more specific, the manager at the time of the research had recently been made manager prior to my arrival. Upon taking over, the Pros' win/loss record made a dramatic improvement over that of the previous manager. Most players attributed the team's improvement to the change in managers. For example, from the field notes:

According to X, 'the old manager had an authoritarian attitude, and didn't treat players like men. His attitude was, you do as I say or else you are not going to play'. X then said, 'you should have been here when Y was manager. Everybody walked around with their heads down. It was a very gloomy club and we were at the bottom of the league. The new manager treats us like men and the team now has spirit. The new manager is so enthusiastic about the Pros, he only thinks Pros'.

This attitude toward the change in managers seemed to/....

to be common to most of the players. Thus, whether the players realized it or not, they were responsible for the change in managers because it was the manager who was responsible for winning games. And in professional football, if the team fails to win games, it is the manager who must ultimately face the consequences. It is worth noting that:

"since the War more than eight hundred Managers have left their English League clubs. That makes the average 'life' of a Manager three years, a bleak prospect at first sight... The players' reaction is always the Manager is dead; long live the new Manager - for whom they nearly always turn on an unusual performance in welcome". (10)

Formal leaders in an amateur football situation also determined who would play and who would be left off the team, and in the case of Amateur 2, the team captain led the weekly training exercises. But, in spite of this control, they did not exert a great deal of influence over the behaviour of their players.

To understand the amateur subjects' attitudes toward being led by formal leaders, we can look at attitudes toward training. It can be recalled that Amateur 1 was trained by a local physical education teacher and during the participant observation with this team there were no instances recorded where players complained either about the trainer or his training methods. The Secretary of Amateur 1 was, however, unhappy about the fact that certain players did not show up for training. For example:

After/....

After the game (which Amateur 1 lost) X told the players that he and the other committee members were putting a lot of effort into the club and they felt that they were not getting the same effort or co-operation from the players. He told them that the three committee members were ready to quit if the players did not put more effort into training. Nobody else was prepared to run the team so the Secretary told them that if he did not see a better turn out for training, the committee would quit and Amateur 1 would fold.

The attitude of Amateur 1 players toward training can be summed up by the following comment recorded prior to a training session:

X arrived late and held up training as he changed. The trainer told X to hurry along. X then replied, 'I know I'm keen, but I'm not that fucking keen'.

Although Amateur 2 players held a somewhat similar attitude toward training, they did voice a number of complaints both against the trainer (captain) and against his training methods. These complaints were directed to the captain himself (as opposed to complaints voiced in the Pros' football situation), and rather than being focused on the nature of the exercises (as was the case in the Pros' football situation) they were focused on incidents wherein the captain attempted to control players' behaviour. For example, Amateur 2's training schedule generally began with a game of football and ended with a training session. On one occasion, the game continued for one and a half hours before training began. During this session:

As the training dragged on (in the rain) I heard a number of complaints about the fact that training would end too late to allow enough time to go to the pub. In spite of the complaints the captain kept/.....

kept the players working. I had the impression that they did not want to reduce the amount of exercises, as they felt these were necessary, but wanted to reduce the time spent playing the game.

Another complaint centered on a comment made by the captain that players who did not show up for training would not be given a game on Saturday. The attitude among the players toward this comment was one of resentment in that the captain had no right to make such a statement.

Turning to informal leaders, we find that because the star players with the Pros did not have positional power their influence was less pervasive than that of the formal leaders. Consequently, they were often in a position of having to regain the "respect" they felt was due them. For example:

In the dressing room X (a younger player) threw a bar of soap at Y (a star player). Y retaliated by chasing X out of the tub and then threw a bar of soap at him. It was a hard throw which hit X on the back. X then returned the throw but missed Y (seemingly on purpose). Later when Y finished dressing he spoke to X and told him that he must learn to respect his elders and betters. Y said, 'you younger players have been getting too cheeky lately and must learn your place'.

And on another occasion:

A (a star player) was criticizing B (a younger player) in the dressing room for not giving senior players their proper respect. He said that B was cheeky to players that were better (as players) than he will ever be.

In spite of the precarious leadership position of these individuals, they did stimulate the patterning/.....

ing of behaviour, especially among the younger players. And the extent of this influence can be seen in attitudes toward a golf outing provided by the club in lieu of training. In the interview all players were asked if they preferred playing golf with the club or if they preferred playing with their friends. From those who preferred the latter (mainly younger players) one reason included the fact that, 'you muck about more if you're on your own'. That is:

'As I say some of the older blokes will take it serious. If you're playing with them and you start mucking about, they don't like it. Say you're having a wee bit of a laugh and that. If you're with your mates you're having a good time. That is why I like going with my mates better because they're more freer to do what they want; nobody's watching over you... You've got to be kind of careful because some of them are really serious'.

And from another younger player:

'We would joke about an awfully lot more if we were just ourselves, like shout each other and doing just daft things. Whereas with the club you've got to watch yourself in case you get into any trouble. You've got to behave, which I suppose we should do anyway. Say on a golf course, if I'm playing with my friends, personal friends, and somebody hits a duff shot you shout at them and laugh at them and say, that's rubbish. But with the older players, the Pros players you tend to keep quiet'.

The patterning of behaviour as influenced by a peer group leader can be as pervasive in a professional as in an amateur football situation. However, it will be pointed out in Chapter 14, that because social relationships tended to be stronger in a situation defined as leisure/....

leisure it is conceivable that a peer group leader in an amateur football situation could exert a greater degree of influence than one in a professional football situation. At any rate, to pattern one's behaviour to that of a peer group leader is not likely to be looked upon as compliance to negative expectations. Consequently, it is of little importance in influencing the definition of a situation.

The influence of the club officials on the behaviour of the players was not significant in the football situations studied. In the Pros' football situation the players rarely came into contact with the Board of Directors and any influence they might exert was expressed indirectly through the manager. The influence of the committee members on the amateur teams (excluding the secretary and captain) was at a minimum because these individuals, in fact, held very little positional power.

To summarize the above, we find that players' behaviour was patterned to a greater degree in the Pros than in the amateur's football situation. And this, of course, follows from the consequences of not following the behavioural patterns as established by the team leaders.

#### CONSEQUENCES OF NON-COMPLIANCE TO THE WILL OF THE LEADER

In the Pros' football situation if a player's behaviour was not consistent with that expected by the formal leaders, the latter held the power to punish a player. For/....

For example, if a player failed to adhere to the rules of the club, he could be fined for his offence.<sup>(11)</sup> If the team lost on a Saturday players could be punished by having to train on the Monday, whereas if they won, they could be rewarded with the Monday off. If a player demonstrated a lackadaisical attitude toward training (depending somewhat upon his position) he could either be dropped temporarily from the team, not be given a place on the first team, or as an extreme, he could be given a free transfer. In fact, according to one Pros player, this is one reason why a certain ground crew member was given a free transfer at the end of his first season with the club. Underlying these consequences is that of suffering a loss of income and prestige by being dropped from the team either temporarily or permanently.

Punishment is a concept that does not pertain to an amateur football situation. Even if a player was left off the team or made to do extra push-ups, it would not be regarded as a punishment because of the nature of the leader/follower relationship. We saw, for example, that when the captain of Amateur 2 suggested he might not include players who did not show up for training, this was not acceptable to the rest of the players. Because formal leaders are chosen in amateur football, they are not given the right to administer punishments.

Non-compliance to the will of a formal leader suggests an incompatibility between the will of the leader and/.....

and his followers. If this should take place in an amateur football situation, and if the dissenters are in the majority, it is the leader and not the followers who might suffer the consequences. Because the leader is chosen, he can be readily deposed. If, however, a single individual's will is not compatible with that of the formal leader or leaders, it is the dissenter who might face the consequences. These might include friction or group pressures which could create an atmosphere where the individual feels compelled to curtail his dissension or feels compelled to leave the team. But even if for whatever reason an amateur player was left off or otherwise forced to leave the team, the consequences would not be great. For due to the ease of entry and exit in amateur football, a player could either find another team to play for or find an alternative situation through which he was able to realize those positive expectations that were denied him in his amateur football situation.

To relate the above discussion to the determination of action continuum, we can note the following conclusions. First, leaders tend to be chosen in an amateur football situation and given in a professional one. Second, behaviour tends to be patterned to a greater degree in professional than in amateur football, and third, the consequences of non-compliance to the will of the formal leader tends to be greater in a professional than in an amateur football situation. As a consequence of these differences/....

differences, there is a greater likelihood that action will be seen as self-determined in an amateur and others-determined in a professional football situation. From here it follows that the amateur player is likely to feel that he is realizing positive expectations while the professional player is likely to feel that he must comply with negative expectations in his football situation. For these reasons, being told what to do in a football situation defined as work, can take on a different meaning from being told what to do in one defined as leisure. For example, being told to do a number of push-ups can be regarded as complying with negative expectations in the former and as realizing positive expectations in the latter situation. As one amateur player put it:

'People go along for training just like kids. I do, and I expect to be told what to do'.

Although a professional player similarly expects to be told what to do, his expectation is based on the assumption that his actions will be determined by others. The amateur, on the other hand, because of an orientation toward realizing positive expectations, expects to be told what to do based on a desire for co-ordinated instructions.

These differences can be further demonstrated if we look at more general attitudes toward training. When the amateur subjects were asked to list the qualities of a good secretary/captain, the following were included with their answers:

'A/.....

'A general ability to get on with people, to make them obey his instructions. Instructions shouldn't really be the word in amateur football, but to get his wishes over to the people without making them resent it'.

'He's no got to turn and call you all idiots if you make a mistake. He should just say, bad luck, get on with the game. There's nothing at stake, you're only playing because you enjoy the game'.

'He should be a leader. He should command the respect of his players. This boils down to leadership. I don't think he should demand, he should command the respect of his players'.

'The captain must be a person who's not just good at football. He can drink like a fish, he can pull the chips; he's got to be the sort of person that everybody thinks is great'.

And further to this point, we can look at instances where the secretary of Amateur 1 and the captain of Amateur 2 changed players' positions during a game. To begin with Amateur 2:

During the half-time break (when Amateur 2 was losing 4-0) the captain showed great disappointment with all the players. He told a number of players to change positions for the second half. When X was told to change his position he replied, 'are you asking me or telling me?' The captain replied 'I'm telling you'.

And from Amateur 1:

During the game the committee members decided that it would be best if X (who played at the front) was changed with Y (who played at the back). The secretary then yelled to X and asked if he would rather change with Y. X said he would. The secretary then told X to ask Y if this was all right with him. The change did not take place for some time so the secretary asked Y if he wanted to change with X. Y said he did but when X asked him he did not realize that the change was the secretary's idea. The change then took place.

These/....

These observations suggest that the captain/secretary of an amateur team must be careful when patterning the behaviour of his players. The incident from Amateur 1 goes further to suggest that players do not expect instructions from other players during a game as these are the exclusive reserve of the secretary. This is understandable as players realize the need for organization from a single source. For if everyone made team changes at will, chaos would result and the primary objective of winning games would rarely be reached. The important point to note, however, is because of a sense of self-determination of action, amateur players expect to be asked and do not want to be told what to do. Whereas with the professional player because of a sense of others-determination of action, most players accept the fact that they will be told what to do.

That the amateur and not the professional football subjects felt a sense of autonomy was also demonstrated by the facts that only the former criticized the captain/secretary in his presence and took part in suggesting team tactics. For example, when Amateur 2 was going through a losing streak, the players decided to meet in a pub to give all players the opportunity to tell each other what they thought they were doing wrong. On this occasion:

When X criticized the captain and his training methods most of the players present agreed with this criticism. Y then went on to complain about the fact that certain players were given a game regardless of how they were playing at the time.

Criticism/....

Criticism against the manager of the Pros was never voiced in his presence. They were expressed to teammates (or to this researcher) rather than to the manager himself. When a Pros player explained the difference between playing amateur and professional football, he included the fact that, 'in Juvenile (football) you talk back to your manager, a thing you would never do in Senior (football)'.

Players' participation in team strategies seemed to parallel the level of football played. From observing pre-game instructions, the following differences were noted. The manager of the Pros put forth his instructions and players did not suggest alternative or additional strategies. The tactics for the Pros were more extensive than those for the two amateur teams. The manager tended to speak to each player separately to give him encouragement and to instruct him on how he was to play. Amateur 1's pre-game talk was different. The players received few instructions from the secretary and many players put forth suggestions on how the team as a whole should play. As an example, the following took place before an Amateur 1 match:

The secretary told the team that because A didn't show up, they didn't have a centre-forward for to-day's game and everybody was to play where they wanted. He described a general tactic for covering each other and then asked if anybody had any questions. X made a suggestion that involved himself and Y. The secretary then asked the rest of the players what they thought about this suggestion for it involved a number of other players/....

players changing positions. X half excused himself for the suggestion for in essence he had told the team how they were to play. X's suggestion was contrary to that originally proposed by the secretary. Everybody agreed with X's suggestion. This did not seem to be a case of X overriding the secretary's authority but was a case where somebody had made a better suggestion that was accepted by everybody.

Amateur 2 fell somewhere between these extremes.

The captain generally began with instructions to the team as a whole and often suggested how groups of players (i.e. defenders, mid-fielders, or forwards) should play. The goalkeeper and a few others also added their opinions on how the team should play.

It is clear from the above that the role of formal leader in an amateur football club is a difficult one to fill. For on the one hand, he must make decisions which affect the behaviour of the players, while on the other hand, because of a sense of self-determination of action, the players will not put up with anyone imposing their will to control their behaviour. As one amateur player put it:

'I would rather be in a position to criticize and complain about a loss than have to bear the responsibility'.

## CHAPTER 12

### DETERMINATION OF ACTION IN RELATION TO CHEATING

Attitudes toward cheating have been selected for analysis for two reasons. First, as mentioned, they offer insight into the role of the determination of action continuum on the individual's definition of a situation. The second reason is they demonstrate how elements that appear to be common to different situations can take on different meanings depending upon how a situation is defined.

### CHEATING AT TRAINING

The field work with the Pros recorded instances of what was loosely referred to as "cheating at training". But when the football subjects were questioned on this behaviour their interpretation of it tended to differ depending upon a player's definition of his football situation. The behaviour referred to was of two types:

- (a) Starting before the signal is given for a race to begin, or inching ahead of the starting line in order to get an extra jump on one's opponent.
- (b) Cutting corners during exercises, such as not completing an exercise properly or taking short-cuts.

For/....

For examples of the first type of behaviour the field notes recorded the following:

During the sprinting exercises I noticed that most of the players were cheating by inching forward of the starting line before the signal to start was given. Only two or three actually started on the line or properly completed the necessary full-turn before sprinting. A few players complained about this and the offenders were told to go back to the line for the start.

There was a small amount of cheating in to-day's sprints and this included starting before the trainer gave the signal, starting ahead of the line, and not running the full length before turning to run back to the start.

Examples of the second type include:

During to-day's exercises most of the players rarely did the full amount of push-ups, chin-ups, one-leg hops, etc.

Training to-day included a run through the woods led by the trainer. During this run, X and a few others took a short cut. When he rejoined the rest X said 'what took you so long?'

Often when incidents of this nature took place, other players would comment that the individual concerned was cheating. These comments were addressed to everyone including the manager or trainer. For example:

During our sprints somebody yelled out, 'look at X, he always cheats'.

Part of to-day's exercises involved two groups competing against each other to keep the ball aloft. The ball was passed from one person to the next by hitting it with one's head, knee or chest. During this exercise a few players from the group I was in called to X in the other group to stop cheating. X gestured with his hands as if to say, 'I don't know what you're talking about'.

Another incident proved to be very uncomfortable for/....

for the researcher. The exercise involved a relay-race where one man would run to a marker and then run back to his relay team. When he reached and tagged the next man on his team, that man would run to the marker and back. On this occasion:

Those who ran before me kept telling me to step forward to lessen the distance that each man had to run. As I did this the manager saw me and seemed to be upset. He told me to step back to the starting line. After training I went to apologize to the manager for helping my team cheat. He told me not to worry and that he simply wanted the boys to complete the exercises properly.

When the above incident occurred this researcher's interpretation of cheating differed from that of the players'. Consequently, it was initially interpreted as an example of conflict within the players between complying with teammates and complying with the manager. But, as the field work progressed and after questioning players to assess their attitudes toward cheating, it became apparent that because the manager did not discourage this type of behaviour (within limits) due to its benefits both to training and to the game itself, it was not a source of conflict within the players.

When asked if they considered starting before the signal or cutting corners as cheating, although 45% of the Pros admitted that starting ahead of the signal might be called cheating, most said that they never thought of it as cheating. Furthermore, not one player mentioned that/....

that it was serious or should be stopped. It was treated in this manner because all players were able to offer a justification for this behaviour. These included: you don't want to get beat, it's all in good fun, it breaks the monotony of training, everybody does it, you are punished if you come in last, and starting before the signal helps prepare a player for cheating in the game.

Examples of these justifications include the following statements:

DON'T WANT TO GET BEAT

'You're a mug if you're getting cheated; then you make sure you can beat him back'.

'Everybody does it and if you don't do it you're going to get your laughs sort of style'.

'You're running with somebody and you want to go round the corner and if he goes across you're going to lose 10 yards and you come in 10 or 20 yards behind your partner and the trainer will give you a row; tell you to buck up a bit. So you think well I've done the whole circuit and I've got a row. So piss off, I'm going to cut the corner next time. They turn a blind eye to it all the time so you're all doing the same thing more or less'.

'It is cheating but everybody does it. I mean you either do as they do or you fall behind. You cheat or you get beat, it's as simple as that. It's only a couple of yards they're stealing. It doesn't make that much difference'.

'It all starts off with one person doing it and if he's getting away with it and he's beating you every time then you're going to look slow. I suppose some people put it down to "professionalism", or, as the common saying goes, "reading it". Everybody does it. You want to get a fly start and if you don't do it yourself you're just going to get left behind'.

ALL IN GOOD FUN

'I/....

'I suppose you're working but you're not thinking you're working. It's just a fun day'.

'I suppose it is cheating a bit, but it's just fun sort of really, just having a joke with the rest of them. I never really think it's cheating. You might call somebody a cheat but you don't really mean it'.

'It is cheating but if your partner's going to do it, you do it too. It's just a part of a game. It's not cheating it's a wee game; you try to upset each other'.

#### BREAKS THE MONOTONY OF TRAINING

'It gives a wee bit of light hearted humour to training, which is always needed. I mean if it was always the same that just gets tedious and boring. So its a bit of a laugh, it breaks the monotony a bit'.

#### EVERYBODY DOES IT

'It is cheating but it's all in good humour. Actually I don't think it makes a lot of difference. It's accepted in professional football that players do these things. You find it throughout the country. It's accepted as cheating but it's accepted in good taste and good humour. Players are known to be like this and you have a laugh out of it more than anything'.

'I don't mind cutting corners on long runs because everybody else is going to do it and you have to anyway because it's hard to take a bend. But cutting corners on the number of exercises you do, I think that's cheating as well. But the fact is everybody does it and nobody's going to know the difference; but you will yourself'.

#### PUNISHED IF YOU COME IN LAST

'They say you have to be a good cheat to win because sometimes if you're last in a race you get (additional) exercises. So it's the guys that can cheat that don't get the exercises and I think this is where it all comes from'.

'If you don't cheat you get punished because you're coming in last'. (Punishment might include doing push-ups, or an extra lap around the track)

When/....

When a player was made to do these additional exercises they were similarly treated in a light hearted manner both by the offenders and by the rest of the players. For example:

'The manager might even make a point of making a pair (of runners) do it again and again just for the sake of the light hearted humour because that's adding to it'.

#### PREPARES A PLAYER FOR CHEATING IN THE GAME

'It's the same when you're on the football park. You see the boy lining up to take a free-kick and you see defensive players lined up and the referee says go back ten yards. So you go back ten yards and he says OK, go ahead take the free-kick, and just as he is going to take the kick we all rush forward. You've got to do that'.

'I think it leads to team spirit. It's all done in fun. You're wanting to get away as fast as possible, you're wanting to beat the other man. In the game itself there is a fair bit of cheating going on during the game so it helps'.

'It's like in a game. If you can get a head start on the opposing player, all the better. It's all the better for yourself. It helps you to start anticipating things, reading them. You don't go well before they shout or the whistle goes, you wait and just as they're going to shout go, you start off. It's just like if a player's going to make a pass through and you're reading it like what you were doing in the sprints. You're away early, you're getting that extra yard which could make all the difference'.

'It does (have a value) in a way because you cheat on a Saturday. If the ball breaks loose and you can maybe obstruct the guy and get to it before him or get a start on him by pushing him or something, it's the same thing. I mean on a Saturday you don't sort of stop and say, wait a minute, you're not standing beside me'.

Because cheating in sprints added fun to training,  
and/.....

and because it prepared a player for cheating in the game, one player suggested this type of behaviour was not condemned by the manager, while another suggested that the manager actually encouraged it. When asked if the manager should put a stop to players' cheating in races, one player replied:

'No. He doesn't mind it at all. He actually encourages it in a way although he's meant to be stopping it'.

Another player suggested:

'It's cheating, but why not? It's all in the game. You have to be sly for Saturday, so we're all sly through the week. (Interviewer: Is there a value to cheating?) Yes. That's why it's not clamped down on. It's certainly not condemned at all. And I suppose to some extent it helps the players express themselves or something like that'.

A number of players explained that cheating in races involved a learning process. A younger reserve player explained that he was more prone to cheat in races in professional football than when he played part-time amateur football because:

'Maybe you see the older blokes doing it and you just want to imitate them'.

And from older players:

'Most of the times you find the ones that are cheating most are the older players. They've had it done to them when they were young boys'.

'To be perfectly honest I think what I've learned... When I used to go on the track I never used to cut corners. But I've learned you've got to be brass necked about it. You've got to cheat sometimes because say you're running in groups of 4, and 3 of them cut the grass and you go around the long way and they're in front and the manager doesn't notice that they're cheating/....

cheating. You're going to be last and he's going to say you're slow. You maybe turn to him and say, but they cut the corners. He'll say, well you cut corners then. Now I cheat, I cut corners now. If I can get away with it I'll do it'.

Other factors at work here could be that older players felt more secure in their position with the club and therefore were more prone to cheating. As one player put it, 'Once you're established you can do things and get away with it'. A further reason could be that younger players are faster than the older players in sprinting exercises. Whatever the reason, because players did not want to be beaten in a race, they quickly picked up the knack of cheating. This was observed during the research on the Pros in that cheating in races appeared to be prevalent among all players, regardless of age or length of time with the club.

The above discussion has included instances where most players referred to a form of behaviour as cheating but when pressed for their attitudes toward this behaviour most thought it was harmless and that it should not be stopped. This attitude followed from the fact that players were able to introduce "techniques of neutralization"<sup>(1)</sup> or justifications for their behaviour. In this sense, justifications include, "socially approved vocabularies that neutralize an act or its consequences when one or both are called into question... To justify an act is to assert its positive value in the face of a claim to the contrary/....

contrary". (2) The Pros were thus able to account for this irregular behaviour; irregular that is to those outside professional football.

The second type of cheating observed (i.e. cutting corners in exercises or races) was not treated as lightly by the players or the manager. And the reason for this is, 'you're only cheating yourself'. One player said:

'It's laziness. I just do it because I don't like doing the running and I just can't keep up with them. You're just cheating yourself, for your own personal fitness. So it's cheating to that extent but you're not getting any wages taken off you, you're not going to do anything extra special, it won't make a lot of difference to you'.

Another who shared this view went on to say:

'I suppose you're just fed up; you don't feel like coming in. I suppose it's the same in every job'.

To turn to the amateur footballers, although instances were observed (and admittedly experienced) where several members of Amateur 1 did not complete circuit exercises properly, cutting corners or starting before the signal did not appear to be prevalent among the amateur subjects. Nevertheless, all amateur football subjects were asked in the interview for their attitude toward cheating at training.

The attitudes of the amateurs toward Type (a) cheating were similar to those of the Pros. Most felt it was not serious and that it put a little fun into training/....

training. Attitudes toward Type (b) cheating differed from the Pros, however, in that players suggested a sense of self-determination in how hard they should work to complete an exercise properly. That is:

'You're not going to kill yourself at training or anything like that because you've got to work in the morning. But everybody cheats at training, nobody does it perfect'.

'I can imagine with the Pros players the pressures are on all the time because they've got to turn up with the same people every day at the same place and train all the time. And you've got to try and make good. One day, the manager's looking and he says, what's this? Being amateur it doesn't matter. It's only in your own self how hard you want to try'.

'If you're not fit you cannot do it. I've not kicked a ball for six months now, I cannot do it. I've got too much weight on. I mean you can only do your best'.

Although the amateur respondents similarly regarded not completing an exercise properly as, 'you're only cheating yourself', this was not treated seriously because of their attitude of self-determination in training. It was treated seriously, however, if an individual claimed to have but did not in fact complete an exercise properly. For here we have an instance of cheating one's teammates. For example, one amateur subject said the following about cheating during training:

'Taking short-cuts on exercises could be cheating because the person's jaggered and will do 12 instead of 14. I don't think it means that they can't count. It means you get to 12 and you're just shattered and you think it's not so bad if I go on to the next exercise. It's all right doing that as long as you don't say at the end of it that you've/....

you've just completed the thing. If you just keep your bill shut and not say anything about it'.

Notice that the above respondent mentioned that 'you think it's not so bad if I go on to the next exercise'. This attitude seemed to be fairly typical of all amateur footballers toward training and was not prevalent among the Pros. There was, however, one instance recorded when a Pros player determined his own level of training. On this occasion:

Before we were told to quit, X walked off saying to the coach, 'I've had enough'. He seemed to suggest that the exercises were a waste of time.

The player in question was a star player who was securely in the first team and who had an additional source of income outside the club. Therefore, he was one of the few Pros players who felt secure enough to assert a degree of autonomy in his football situation. Nevertheless, he asserted this autonomy with the coach and not with the manager. Furthermore, acts of dissension among the Pros were rarely observed and few of the Pros suggested that they could determine their own level at training.

To return to an amateur who cheats his teammates if he claimed to but did not complete an exercise properly, one Amateur 1 player mentioned during the interview that 'everybody thinks I'm cheating'. He went on to say:

'If you've got the likes of a circuit course and I'll say I'm finished, ach, you've never; you never done this, you never done that. So they'll try and follow you around to see if you are doing it'.

For/....

For additional insight into the meaning behind cheating in an amateur football training session, we can refer to a number of quotations by the Pros. The first three quotations come from players who, at the time of the interview, acted as trainers for amateur teams. According to these players:

'They don't cheat. That's where they're doing it for their own good and they're just enjoying it'.

This player went on to say:

'I let them off sometimes; the blokes that tire easier than the others because obviously they do it (cheat) if they're maybe a wee bit heavy and depending what they've done. I just let them off because it's not their job'.

'The first night I had them I had them running around a football field. There was no track. As the evening wore on the circle was getting smaller and smaller... Once they feel they're getting a wee bit tired the first thing they'll do is take the shortest route home'.

'They don't really (cut corners) because I was running alongside them. It's a hard thing to explain. You don't classify it as cheating. You do and you don't. When they were running it was just in a park and there was no ash track so you couldn't class whether they were cheating or not. But at (the Pros' stadium) with the ash track you can class it as cheating or not cheating'.

Pros players who did not coach an amateur team but who recently turned professional said:

'Amateurs train one or two nights a week and they're probably really looking forward to it and doing as much as they can; apart from the amateurs that you find that are as fat as anything with their beer and when they train they tend to do little. But most of the amateurs will work hard because they're only doing it two nights a week and that's just complete enjoyment for them. Whereas with us it's more our work. It's like amateurs during the day, if/....

if they're working maybe in a factory and they've got to do something, they may cut corners. It's maybe because it's our work that ... it's hard to say. Amateurs will, but they won't do it as much as we will'.

'When I was an amateur we were trained by a professional and he was trying to give us what he got at training. It's just not on. He was swearing if you weren't doing something right. You could see he was a real professional. But that's no good to me. I'm an amateur. I'm not wanting to do that. And if he wanted to be nasty he could say, look, we'll do it my way. I'd say I don't earn money like you. I'm not going to do it your way, I just want to enjoy myself'.

This discussion raises the following points.

First, the key to attitudes toward cheating is to determine who is being cheated. In the case of cheating in training this could include one of three individuals. It could include the manager (or trainer), one's teammates, or the individual himself. Second, of the two types of behaviour observed, starting before the signal was not considered serious by the subjects regardless of their definition of football. Their reasons included the facts that everyone did it, it put fun into training, and in the case of the Pros, it prepared a player for cheating during the game. Because everyone did it, teammates were not being cheated. Because it put fun into training and prepared a player for cheating the opposition during the game (i.e. because it was condoned) the manager or trainer were not being cheated. Because the individual completed the race regardless of starting before the signal, the individual himself was not being cheated. Consequently, this type of/....

of behaviour was not looked upon as serious.

The second form of behaviour (i.e. cutting corners) was looked upon as more serious by both the Pros and the amateur subjects because 'you're only cheating yourself'. It was further considered by the Pros to be cheating the manager, and by the amateurs as cheating teammates. And herein lies the difference between the Pros and the amateur subjects with respect to attitudes toward cheating others. With the Pros, because their actions were determined by others (i.e. by the manager), and because the manager did not condone this type of behaviour, if an exercise was not completed properly they were cheating themselves and the manager. But with the amateur subjects, because of a sense of self-determination of action, they were not cheating the trainer. They were, however, cheating their teammates if they claimed to but did not in fact complete an exercise properly.

There are two reasons why teammates can be cheated in an amateur rather than in a professional football situation. First, friendships tend to be qualitatively different in a football situation defined as work and in one defined as leisure. This will be discussed at length in Chapters 14 and 15. So in essence, in a football situation defined as leisure, friendships in general tended to be stronger. Therefore, cutting corners could be looked upon as cheating teammates. Teammates were not being cheated, however, in a football situation defined as/....

as work because in that situation friendships in general tended not to be strong.

The second reason is related to the first and includes the fact that the amateur footballers (as opposed to the Pros) felt a sense of action being self-determined. When actors felt this way there could be an implicit understanding or trust between them and this trust was broken if a player claimed to but did not complete an exercise properly. But in a football situation defined as work, where the level of training was determined by the manager and where friendships in general tended not to be strong, the trust between players was preempted through the intervention of the will of the manager.

As well as reasons given by the Pros to justify cheating at training, we can suggest additional reasons which could account for the fact that this type of behaviour appeared to be more prevalent among the Pros than among the amateur subjects. The first simply relates to the fact that the Pros spent more time training than the amateurs. Training five days a week can be boring and repetitive. Thus, as mentioned by the Pros, "kidology" can put some fun into training. The second reason stems from the fact that the Pros more so than the amateur footballers felt the need to impress the manager. And this was especially so for the younger and less secure players. If a player was constantly beaten in races this could be looked upon with disfavour/.....

disfavour by the manager. But if an amateur player was constantly in training races there would be no consequences other than hurt pride. As a result of this difference when the Pros were asked in the interview whom they chose to sprint against, the majority said they chose either their friends and/or their equals in terms of speed. For example:

'I used to sprint with X because we're both about the same speed and weight and we kid each other on; you slow down on this one and I'll speed up. It's just X or Y that I'll sprint with. I wouldn't sprint against Z because he's a lot faster than me. See I'm not very fast at sprints but there is a few that are about the same speed as me so I'd rather go with somebody like that, like X, and if they did beat me it wouldn't show as much'.

'I run against X. He used to race against Y but he got too fast for him... No, it wasn't that, he started running with Z. But I just usually run with X... He's much the same speed as me and I beat him and he beats me sort of thing. (Interviewer: If he always beat you would you run against him?) I'd probably get somebody else that I could beat'.

'I just go with whoever I'm sprinting, about your own pace or just a wee bit faster. But you never go with anybody that's really fast'.

Other players mentioned that they liked to sprint against faster runners because it "pulled them out". That is, it made them run faster. Others mentioned that they ran against anybody. It remains, however, that in both the professional and amateur football situations players did not like to come in last because of personal pride. They were particularly anxious not to come in last in the former situation because of the additional need to impress/....

impress the manager. Consequently, cheating was more prevalent in a football situation defined as work than in one defined as leisure.

### CHEATING IN THE GAME

The game of football is mediated by the referee whose role is to interpret and enforce the rules of the game. But the rules are such that <sup>punishment of</sup> infractions are at the referee's discretion. Also because the game includes twenty-two players who are scattered about the pitch, the referee is not always aware that infractions are being committed. When a player is penalized for an infraction it is common to see him (be he a professional or an amateur) argue with the referee on his ruling. Indeed the referee's role is to ensure that cheating is minimized in the game. For example, when Amateur 1 turned up on a Saturday, the game could not be played because the referee did not show up. The following discussion took place in the dressing room:

The secretary told the players that the opposition suggested that they use a committee man from the opposition as a referee. He said he declined this offer and explained to the players that it was not worth it. When I asked why, the secretary told me that if we were a few goals up chaos could break out. The players all agreed that the committee member could be biased and therefore it was not worth playing.

There are two basic types of cheating which can take place during the game. The first (type c) involves actions/.....

actions which take advantage of a situation. These can include starting play before the referee gives the signal, standing closer to the ball than the allowable limit before the ball is in play, and claiming the ball after it has been kicked out of play by oneself or one's teammates (the ball should go to the opposition under these conditions). The second (type d) involves interfering with or fouling another player. This can include any form of bodily contact such as blocking, kicking, pulling, or even punching a player on the opposition. If undetected by the referee, both types of behaviour are accepted (in varying degrees) as part of the game.

Cheating during the game is related to cheating in training (especially at the professional level) inasmuch as the latter prepared a player for the former. It was pointed out that the manager of the Pros did not condemn players who started before the signal in a training race. The reason for this is that it prepared a player for taking advantage of a situation (i.e. type c cheating) on the field. Fouling a player during the game is similarly common to the game of football. And its acceptance at the professional level is suggested by the fact that infractions of this nature are referred to as "professional fouls". It will be instructive, therefore, to look at the differences in attitudes between the professional and amateur subjects toward fouling another player.

When/....

When questioned on the meaning of a professional foul, it seems that the main difference between the professional and the amateur is the degree to which a player feels the necessity to foul another player. And this comes down to how important it is to stop the opposition from scoring. It was mentioned earlier that according to the subjects one of the main differences between a professional and amateur footballer is that the professional feels a greater compulsion to win. Here it can be suggested that this compulsion might include winning at all costs. Certainly this attitude is not exclusive to professional players, for fouling a player who is going through to score can also be found at the amateur level. Nevertheless, the following statements can serve as examples of differences in attitudes toward fouling between the professional and amateur football subjects. We shall begin with the amateurs' attitudes:

'I've felt myself especially in the full-back position, if somebody is maybe going to score and you're left with a decision whether to trip him up or to just let him go - you'll probably incur the wrath of your teammates if you don't trip him up - I'd probably let him go'.

'Well I would never foul anybody deliberately. Like on Saturday, even if they were going through and... I would never hit anybody intentionally. A professional foul is a foul that you reckon you've got a good chance of getting away with... It's a thin difference between a foul and a professional foul. I think a professional foul is really calculated. You'd call it something else in amateur football'.

'A professional foul is something done behind the referee's back. This is the thing they (professionals) have been trained for... You know, there's/....

there's jersey pulling or standing on their toes, or things like that. It's more open in amateur football... Soon as the referee's back's turned if you put a hard tackle into somebody and he don't like it he'll just turn and kick you or punch you or something like that. He won't do it as sly as the professional football player would do it. Whereas I think professionals are trained to do this sort of thing behind the referee's back'.

'There's this thing called "professionalism" where you'll foul a guy to stop him scoring a goal. It happens in our league too but not nearly as much and we certainly wouldn't injure a guy to stop him from scoring a goal'.

Amateur players who did not feel there was any difference between a foul at the professional and amateur levels said:

'A professional foul is like a foul and getting paid for it'.

'I think it's just built up by the media. You know, when they start saying professional fouls and that. These things have been going on for years. It's only now that they're putting names to them'.

Although the amateur subjects admitted that fouls of this nature took place in amateur football, most felt they were less prevalent in the amateur than in the professional game. The professionals, on the other hand, said the following about professional fouls.

'Definitely your whole attitude to the game has changed from playing Juvenile football. Like professional fouls and that. You never think, at least I would never think of fouling anybody deliberately when I was a Juvenile... but now with the money at stake and that, professional fouls are in'.

'You get folk saying that's a professional foul but I don't know that it's any different from anybody at their work might cut corners to save them doing something. You're just bringing somebody down because you know if you don't they'll probably/....

probably score'.

When asked if this was as prevalent in the amateur game this player replied:

'A fellow in amateur football could do exactly the same as one in the professional game but it will just be called a deliberate foul. It wouldn't be classed as a professional foul. I mean it's just the same thing except you're just playing a different grade of football and it's just as likely to happen'.

'You can get professionalism on the park; guys that have been in the game for years make fouls out of nothing and this is professionalism. Like when they're going by you, just a little nudge and over they go and the referee thinks it's a foul and you've never touched him. In amateur games if it's a foul, it's a foul because the boys are much slower, they're not as sly as we are; you know, to con the referee into doing something'.

'Professionalism is going all out to win by fair or foul means, by whatever method you can'.

'Professionalism means possibly at times doing things that are not of highest value possibly from a sportsmanship angle. Like if a free kick is given in a dangerous position to you, you can maybe kick the ball away. This can be termed professionalism; it's bad sportsmanship but it's professionalism... It's doing things which possibly are not what you'd like to do but sometimes you have to do'.

'When you're an amateur it doesn't matter if it doesn't come off on the day but playing senior there's a lot more; it's like meditation, I'm going to kill this boy. You're going out there to stop them doing a job. You've got to do your job to the best of your ability and you've got to stop them from doing it'.

The Pros thus tended to look upon a professional foul as a role expectation in their football situation. It was part of so-called "professionalism" in the game. Whereas amateur players, although some might be as inclined to/.....

to commit a foul, and although they might incur the wrath of their teammates for not committing a foul, on the whole did not feel the compulsion of the professional to commit a foul.

Some of the Pros were questioned as to how their attitude toward fouling other players came about. This was put to them as a result of the following observation:

The trainer was talking to two younger players and told them that when a player bothers you, such as constantly stepping on your feet, he is testing you to see how tough you are. He explained that you must show him that you can't be pushed around. The trainer then demonstrated how a quick elbow in the player's ribs or a knee to his thigh will show him that you are somebody that can't be pushed around. This is the first time I have seen a demonstration of this nature. The trainer also emphasized that this retaliatory gesture should be done discreetly so the referee doesn't see.

When asked where they learned professional fouls, a number of the Pros said they were taught (as in the example above) while others said they learned from seeing other professionals on television or from watching older teammates. For example:

'It's just a natural thing. You see it happening with the older boys first. You might not do it at first, but the way the game is you soon pick it up. You see it and somebody says, good job he done that, and you see why it was a good job. If you're in the same position you obviously do it'.

'You're not taught how to do a professional foul or anything. I was never taught anyway. I never heard it been mentioned by any managers. You heard about it from the likes of watching telly, from watching some other players. You knew what it was. But I think it's a load of rubbish; it's a name put to a foul. If it's a/....

a foul, it's a foul, isn't it?'

'Professionalism is instilled into the players when they join a professional club. Not openly, well in some clubs I suppose you're openly encouraged to kick opponents. But you're certainly encouraged to fight hard all the time; to get in hard, to never let your opponent off the hook and to go at it all the time'.

In conclusion, four types of behaviour have been described. Those that pertain to training include:

(a) starting before the signal in a race, and (b) cutting corners in exercises. Those that pertain to the game include: (c) taking advantage of a situation, and (d) fouling a member of the opposition. Neither the Pros nor the amateur subjects regarded type (a) as serious because everybody did it (therefore nobody was being cheated), and because it added fun to training. The Pros included an additional value to this behaviour in that it prepared a player for cheating in the game (i.e. cheating the opposition).

Type (b) behaviour was treated by the Pros as cheating oneself and as cheating the manager (because training was a role obligation in this situation). It was similarly treated by the amateur subjects as cheating oneself but was also regarded as cheating one's teammates if the individual lied about completing an exercise properly. It was not considered as cheating the trainer/captain because training was felt to be self-determined in an amateur football situation.

Behaviour/....

Behaviour types (c) and (d) although considered to be cheating by the Pros and the amateurs, were also considered to be an acceptable part of the game (if undetected by the referee). The attitude of the Pros differed from that of the amateurs, however, inasmuch as they were felt to be role obligations for the Pros and a matter of individual discretion for the amateurs.

In general then, cheating can take on different meanings depending upon the definition of the situation and depending upon who is being cheated. Furthermore, differences between cheating management as opposed to cheating teammates parallels different orientations toward a situation. For in a football situation defined as leisure where players tended to feel a sense of self-determination of action, cheating was not directed toward the trainer but could be directed toward one's teammates. But in a football situation defined as work where players tended to feel that their actions were determined by others, cheating was not directed toward teammates but toward the manager.

Although action tends to be seen as self-determined in a situation defined as leisure and others-determined in one defined as work, in reality freedom is curtailed in the former. For example, when the amateur subjects were asked why they played football (see Appendix 1, Table VI), 28% said they played because they grew up with it. Furthermore, all amateur footballers mentioned that/....

that they had been involved in football most of their lives. In spite of this influence on their choice to play football, all respondents believed that they were free to commit or not to commit themselves to the amateur game.

And what about the amount of freedom once a player is committed to an organized amateur club? He is committed to training often outside in the rain and the cold, to showing up without fail every Saturday at game time, to playing by the rules of the game as enforced by the referee, to the disciplinary action of his football association, and to the decisions of his team's selection committee. In fact, freedom is curtailed in an amateur football situation. But in practice, players did not see it this way.

Let us look at these same conditions in a hypothetical remunerated situation defined as work. One is committed to being on time, and one must abide by the rules as enforced by management. Admittedly freedom of behaviour in a situation defined as work is generally more restrictive than in one defined as leisure. Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that freedom is curtailed in a football situation defined as leisure, many subjects chose to differentiate work from leisure through an emphasis on freedom in the latter.

Further to this point, we can include the so-called hidden persuaders of social pressures or the expectations/....

expectations of others. And for an example we can look to a non-remunerated gardening situation.

It could be argued that because gardening for oneself can be a solitary activity, these individuals are not under direct expectations of others. But such is not the case. For as well as following socially learned and expected methods and procedures, home gardeners are influenced by the expectations of neighbours and peers. It is not a coincidence, for example, that all subjects who gardened at home (as opposed to an allotment) grew flowers at the front of the house and vegetables at the back. When one gardener was asked why he did not grow vegetables in his front yard, he replied:

'Because it would spoil the image. It would spoil the outlook of it. Because a front garden is for flowers, not vegetables. Some people do do it, but I think it looks much better. No matter where you go you'll always see flowers in the front garden. You find there's a lot of lady gardeners, and they go for their flowers at the front. It's not so much the man, it's the women; what she wants'.

This respondent's excuses notwithstanding, that growing vegetables at the front of the house is not the done thing, is an excellent example of the expectations of generalized others in a gardening situation.

The expectations of one's neighbours can also act as a powerful force in home gardening. One respondent said for example:

'If you go into certain areas which I would term "snobby" areas, those people to keep up with the Joneses will spend endless money and time just to make their garden as nice as the one next door'.

And/....

And with respect to specialization as opposed to growing one type of flower only, another respondent said:

'I think I would sort of raise my eyebrows if the whole of the garden was devoted to dahlias. I'd think he was a bit of a crack-pot'.

The expectations of one's neighbours is further documented by Jackson and Meyersohn in a study of gardening in two American suburbs. Upon locating a group of respondents, "who had... become committed to (gardening) but who hadn't shown signs of enjoyment or success", the authors concluded that, "these people seemed to be doing extensive gardening because they felt it was expected".<sup>(2)</sup> Although it is questionable whether these respondents would define gardening as a leisure situation (even though the authors predefined gardening as a leisure activity), it remains that home gardeners are acting under the expectations of others.

Expectations of one's peers is strongly demonstrated for those who take part in the competition of flower shows. Forty-one per cent of the gardener subjects took part in flower shows at the time of the interview. And it goes without saying that the expectations imposed in terms of what and how it is to be produced are in this situation very strong indeed. For we can recall the quotation where an allotment holder described, 'the two blokes (who) were getting their stuff ready for the show and they were bloody nearly drowned (in the rain)'.

In/....

In conclusion, and in spite of the fact that social pressures and the expectations of others can be as pervasive in situations defined as work as in those defined as leisure, action in situations defined as leisure tends to be perceived of as self-determined, while action in situations defined as work tends to be perceived of as others-determined.



presented as separate continua because it is conceivable that an individual can feel a sense of autonomy with respect to his behaviour in a situation but at the same time can feel that certain elements in that situation are determined by others. The difference here is between elements which are selected or provided by oneself as opposed to those which are not. The source of these elements need not necessarily be readily identifiable. Of importance is the feeling that they are or are not determined by the individual.

Now it can be suggested that in a situation defined as leisure the elements of that situation are generally perceived of as determined either directly or indirectly by the participants themselves. Whereas in a situation defined as work, the elements are generally perceived of as determined for the participants. Quotations from two Pros players make this point clear. That is:

'If you're going to play any sports you always have to pay out of your own pocket. But in football you're paid to play'.

'Everything seems to be laid out (in professional football). Whereas amateurs sort of, you got to cope for yourself. The likes on a Saturday you're travelling. The coach is laid on for you, your dinner's laid on, everything seems to be laid on. It's ready for you. Whereas an amateur you've really got to cope for yourself'.

The self/others determination of a situation's environment does not entail an either/or distinction. There are many elements that are common to an amateur and a professional football situation which are not self-determined. The/....

The rules of the game and the size and shape of the ball are but two that come to mind. But as these are of little importance in influencing the definition of a situation, we can concentrate on attitudes toward other elements which are more readily identifiable with respect to their influence on a definition.

To begin with attitudes toward the material elements in a situation, one obvious attitudinal difference is that actors tend to show greater concern for the preservation of material elements which they provide themselves as opposed to those which are provided by others. As an example, the Pros were provided with their complete football "kit" which included three types of boots (two types for games and a third for training). Their boots, furthermore, were maintained and cleaned by the ground crew. Amateur players provided everything themselves. Their kit was provided indirectly through raising money for the team while their boots were purchased directly by each player. When a Pros player was asked how often boots needed replacing, he replied (from the field notes):

'If players had to provide their own boots they would probably be worn until they fell off our feet and would most assuredly make it through the season'.

As it was, the Pros generally went through two pairs of boots in one season while a number of amateur subjects mentioned that their boots would last at least two seasons.

The difference in rates of replacing boots cannot be/....

be accounted for by frequency of use. For many of the amateur subjects played football at least two times a week. This difference can be accounted for by the following facts. First, a professional has to look well equipped in front of the fans. Second, because faulty equipment could affect a player's performance, a professional club will provide its players with new boots at frequent intervals. And from the amateur players' point of view, because they had to purchase their own boots, they took greater care to make them last as long as possible.

As a further example from a gardener respondent:

'Working in a garden centre you can imagine your neighbours saying, oh, he should have a nice garden, he works for X. But we have to pay for everything just like everybody else. We get a discount, fair enough. But you have to pay for everything. You get that extra bit of fun, you say to yourself, I'll plant that. It maybe costs a pound or something and you plant that and by heavens you make sure you look after it. Like if you were getting it all for nothing and if it died you'd just throw it out and take another one. But when you buy something, you say to yourself that better grow I'm not going to get another one'.

To turn to the non-material elements in a situation, the research suggests a number of examples where these elements were provided for participants in the professional football situation and by the participants themselves in an amateur football situation. The first includes the "lift" felt by players during the game.

Football is a fast moving team game. And although the/....

the pace of the game is increased with the level of football played, all players need to be spurred on while the game is in progress. The lift felt by players during the game is thus an important element in an organized football situation. Its importance among the Pros is demonstrated by the following facts:

When the Pros were asked if they preferred playing in a first or a reserve match, 74% of those who expressed a preference for a first team match mentioned the larger crowd and a better atmosphere as a reason (see Appendix 1, Table 111).<sup>(1)</sup> And when asked:

What does the presence of a crowd do to you?, all respondents said that the crowd and its atmosphere gave their game a lift. For example:

'The atmosphere of the crowd helps to lift a professional'.

'The bigger the crowd the better I feel prior to a game. I get a better build up and I go out the right way and I think I play better'.

'I think I play better because the atmosphere itself lifts you. You have off-days the same as if you were playing in the reserves. But, you play better. I think you must have the atmosphere of a first team game; have a big game'.

'If you've got 30 or 40,000 people cheering you on it makes you want to do really well. That is the big difference'.

'There is a wee bit more pressure on you to do well. That helped me when I went in the first team. It did help me a lot realizing that there were 10-20,000 people out there watching you and they're wanting you to do well. They're hoping you do well. That type of pressure helps'.

'If there is a big crowd there and the place is packed, you want to play. Your confidence is at a/.....

a good high. You want to turn it on in front of all those people. When you play for the reserves there's nothing more soul destroying than going out into an empty stadium trying to turn on your skills in front of a few hundred people'.

'One of the greatest pleasures of my life, apart from watching my wee boy being born, was playing for Scotland against England at Hampden; 147,000. When you walked out there and I didn't even look to the crowd, I was too frightened to, I just walked out and I felt this wall of noise. The warmth and the camaraderie in this noise, it put a wee lump in your throat. You felt like a wee cry before you went to play. You feel so strong it just wasn't true. When you scream you're supposed to be fantastically strong; they seemed to be screaming for me'.

As a large crowd helps to lift a player's game, a small crowd can do the opposite. One of the reasons for this is with a small crowd individual spectator shouts are more readily discernible by the players. And these, according to a number of players, were more likely to be bad than good comments.

'I would rather play in front of a real big crowd than the ones we (reserve) usually get because you can hear every word they're saying. In a big, big crowd you don't'.

'When there's nobody there and you're expected to beat X, and if you're not playing well you hear everyone of the crowd. But when you've got a big crowd, say we're playing Y, their support is bigger than ours and you don't hear the boys that shout to you every week. I find that you get some boys that will go out there, against the likes of X, and they'll slag you to ribbons. You'll hear everyone of them'.

'You become more involved with a small crowd because you can hear more individual shouts, occasionally. A big crowd is really just noise. You don't hear anything at all'.

Excluding Cup finals, the average amateur football game/....

game does not draw a crowd. During the participant observation with Amateur 1 the only people who observed their matches were substitute players, committee members, and very infrequently, an interested bystander. Amateur 2 did attract a number of spectators to a few of their games. They drew, for example, approximately fifty spectators when they played a Cup Tie, approximately twenty-five spectators when they played a village team (away), and a handful when they played locally. And as an interesting side point apropos watching an amateur game, the field notes recorded the following error made by the author:

When an amateur game is played, there is an implicit understanding that spectators who are in any way connected with either team will stand on opposite sides of the pitch. When the Amateur 1 game started (the first Amateur 1 game I attended), I found myself standing on the same side as those connected with the opposition. At half-time when I changed to the Amateur 1 side of the pitch, X jokingly called me a traitor for standing on the other side.

As an aside, the relationship between team affiliation and spectator positioning is dramatically emphasized in the professional game. For there the home and the away fans congregate in separate but implicitly designated sections of the terraces.

In spite of the absence of a crowd at an amateur football match, players still experienced a lift in their game. Only instead of coming from the crowd, amateurs provided their own lift. This was expressed in the type of shouts that took place between players during an amateur game/....

game as compared to those that took place during a professional game.

Through observing Amateur 1 and Amateur 2 matches, shouting between players proved to be of two types; those to the team as a whole, and those to particular teammates. The following were typical of shouts recorded during those matches:

SHOUTS TO THE TEAM AS A WHOLE

Encouragement

Let's get them picked up Amateur 2  
Come on Amateur 2, play well here  
Keep it going Amateur 2  
Let's really move, we've a Cup Tie next week  
Let's face it (the ball) Amateur 2  
Come on lads  
Up you go Amateur 2  
Come on Amateur 2, let's have a goal this time  
Come on lads let's talk to each other  
Come on lads we've got a battle here  
Come on Amateur 2 start fighting again  
Come on Amateur 2, heads up  
Come on Amateur 1 keep it going lads  
Come on let's cash in on this

Compliment

Good stuff Amateur 2  
Well played lads  
That's good Amateur 1

Criticism

Amateur 2, stop giving away goals  
For fucks sake, put the bloody thing in  
That was bad defence  
Come on Amateur 2, we're just walking around here  
We're really playing badly; come on lads, we're giving away goals  
Let's get the tackles early  
Start thinking Amateur 2  
Settle down Amateur 1  
Come on lads, let's work that wee bit harder up there

SHOUTS TO INDIVIDUAL TEAMMATES

Encouragement/....

Encouragement

Unlucky A  
Hard lines B

Compliment

Well played C  
Good ball D  
Brave stuff E  
You run like a Trojan

Criticism

That was terrible G  
That was silly  
H, keep your hands down  
I, that's a bad ball  
You should shout quicker

As well as the above, there were a number of incidents recorded where one player would apologize to another, or where one player would shout instructions or a warning to another. An apology might follow a bad pass, and a warning could, for example, indicate to a player that he is in danger of being tackled from behind. Instructions can be exemplified by the following extract from the field notes. The reference is to Amateur 2.

When the play is stopped, X usually shouts instructions to the whole team. The opposition do the same. The instructions are of a general nature and usually pertain to things to watch for or areas that need tightening up. For example, 'go for every ball; don't wait for it to come to you'; 'Let's start attacking, don't let them get on top of you'. There were also occasions where X or somebody else would give instructions to individual players.

The primary point to note with regard to inter-team shouts is the high incidence of shouts to the team as a whole; with particular reference to the number of times/....

times the team name was mentioned.

There was also a great deal of shouting by those who stood on the sideline. And these were more often than not of a positive nature, i.e. encouragement and compliments. Most of the sideline shouts were made by the committee members and most were to the team as a whole. Negative statements by the committee were restricted for the most part to private discussions. In fact, during an Amateur 1 game, one player who, on his own decision, left the game ten minutes before the final whistle yelled to another player on the field who had made a mistake, 'you're the most X'. It was a sarcastic yell to which one of the committee members responded, 'that isn't the proper thing to say'.

Due to the noise of the crowd at a Pros' match it was impossible to record the shouts and comments between players. The extent to which this took place (and the content) can only be surmized from personal experience in training games, from observing reserve games where the noise of the crowd was not as great, from a discussion with a First Division referee, and from players' comments. An entry from the field notes suggests the type of inter-team shouting that occurred during a training match:

As to-day's game was being played I noticed many compliments from one player to another. These usually took the form of complimenting a player on a good pass. I have noticed that this has occurred many times in the past. Where the manager and coach make positive and negative comments, the players seem to be making positive ones only.

Shouting/....

Shouting to other players was regarded by the manager of the Pros as an important contribution to the game. As such, it was encouraged. For example, before a match, the following took place in the dressing room:

After everybody was dressed, the manager addressed the team. He told them how they were to play as a team and then told each player what he was to do. He then told the goalkeeper to keep talking to the players and to instruct them when they were in danger. He emphasized at length the importance of shouting during the match.

During the half-time break in this match, the manager re-emphasized to the goalkeeper the importance of "talking it up". The manager emphasized shouting by the goalkeeper and those who played in defence, for these players were in a position to see the field of play and to warn their fellow teammates of impending danger from a "blind" (from behind) tackle. Further to this point:

As the (training) game was being played I noticed a great deal of shouting between players. This included drawing attention to whoever had the ball for a pass, warning shouts of a tackle on a player's blind side, and shouts, especially from the goalkeeper and defence men for players to cover certain positions. I asked one goalkeeper if this always went on and he said it did but simply couldn't be heard in the terraces. He said it was an important aspect of the game as it warns the man who has the ball or tells him who is clear for a pass. In speaking to another goalkeeper with the Pros, he said he often called for people to move to avoid a tackle and that he would instruct players where to stand in the case of a free or corner kick. I have also spoken to X (a defence player) on this matter and he told me that he was hired by the Pros because he could bring his ability and experience to direct the back-field during the game.

In the interview one of the Pros players said the following about shouting during a game:

'This/....

'This is to keep you on your toes, as well as the defence, because if you stop yelling for 5 minutes you lost touch. You have to keep on shouting. When you're in goals you're watching the opponents attacking. You'll maybe see that your right-back is going to be tackled by their left-winger and you'll shout. You're shouting to them all the time. If a ball comes and you shout for it you shout, 'my ball', 'keeper's ball'. You have to shout a name but I just shout, 'keeper's ball'. If you keep on shouting and telling them what to do this promotes confidence in them. They think, 'well the goalkeeper is on his toes. He's telling me to do this, he's telling me to do that'. It builds confidence up in them. You're helping them to do their job as well... Even I get shouts from some of the players at times. Ken, you go out for a ball and you think there's nobody at the back of you and you get a shout, 'man on', and you know maybe just to punch it then because there's somebody coming to challenge you... But you can also get bad shouting. You get somebody shouting for the ball that's covered. So it works both ways to a certain extent. A bad shout is just like making a mistake; if you shout wrongly'.

For additional insight into the type of shouts that take place in the professional game, we can refer to an extract from a discussion with a First Division referee.

A referee sees and hears most of what takes place during a game. He, therefore, is able to give an account of the type of inter-team shouting that takes place. When asked if players in the Pros' League would shout to the team as a whole or would use the team name in a shout, this referee replied:

'For instance in the Rangers-Aberdeen game, you'll get shouting, Come on Gers, this is short for Rangers. And the same with Aberdeen. Their nickname is the Dons, and there's one or two of them shouting, Come on Dons, or Come on Reds. I wouldn't say that they would refer to the team as Rangers or Celtic. It would perhaps be the colour of the jersey - the Reds or the Blues, or the Gers or the Dons'.

When/.....

When asked if amateurs shout the club name because there were no fans to do the shouting he replied:

'This might very well be a factor. I think you've got a point... In amateur football this is the method of trying to inspire the team as a team'.

This statement suggests that there is a certain degree of encouragement by players to the team as a whole in professional football. It is not as prevalent as in the amateur game, however, as it can be recalled that the referee said 'there's one or two of them shouting, Come on Dons'. The reason for the use of a nick-name could be to distinguish a player's shout from those of the crowd.

Further to this point, Alan Gowling who played for an English professional club said:

"Most of the time (during a game) players will be encouraging each other with cries of 'well done', 'bad luck', 'keep going', 'good effort', or cajoling each other, keeping one another on their toes". (2)

This suggests that inter-team shouting on the professional team described by Gowling also tended to be directed to individuals rather than to the team as a whole.

There were instances recorded where Pros players who stood on the sidelines shouted to individual players during a five-a-side training game in a gymnasium. Shouts were not to a team as a whole because those who stood on the sidelines were themselves in a team which would eventually play the winner of the game in progress. A further reason relates to the fact that an ad hoc five-a-side team did not have/....

have a total identity apart from that of the individual players who made up the team. As an example:

Training to-day took place in a gymnasium at a local university. Players were divided by the manager into four teams of five players to play a knock-out competition. I noticed a great deal of shouting by those who stood on the sidelines. These shouts were to certain individuals in the game either to praise a player for a good play or to make a joking comment on somebody's mistake.

That sideline shouts only occurred during an indoor five-a-side game stems from the fact that these were the only training conditions during which certain players stood on the sideline. Furthermore, when compared to larger training games or to training exercises, small training games played indoors or outdoors were enjoyed by all players. They were in a sense not defined as work. For example:

When we arrived at the training field, X, seeing that the bollards were set up for two games said, 'Magic, five-a-side'. He then said 'we get paid for running and do this (play in a five-a-side game) for nothing'.

When the Pros played small training games, it was often difficult for the manager to bring them to an end.

On one occasion:

After about fifteen minutes of playing the manager told us we were through for the day. Some protested at having to end the game so soon, so the manager said we could continue for a little while longer. Another reason why there were protests over quitting was because the score was nil-nil. We played for another ten minutes and the team I was on scored a goal. When we quit the other two teams were still playing and continued to play for another five minutes.

On the other hand, when a number of first team players/....

players spectated at a mid-week reserve team Cup match, they did not make any comments to players on the field. On this occasion:

I sat in the stands with six regular first team players. The players were recognized by many people who sat near us as I could see heads turn in our direction. The players seemed to be fairly oblivious to the attention they were getting. During the game, although the fans were shouting comments to the team, the players I sat with did not shout anything to the players on the field but passed comments between themselves about what certain players were doing wrong on the field.

Although the lack of shouting to the team on the field could result from a desire to retain a "professional composure", it remains that the Pros did not have to shout encouragement to the team as a whole because this was being provided by others. For it was the fans who were shouting and at times singing encouragement to the team. But in amateur football, because there were no fans, and because all footballers, regardless of their definition of football, need a lift during the game, encouragement to the team as a whole, including the frequent use of the team's name was of necessity provided by the players themselves. As one amateur subject put it:

'I think in a professional game they shout more at individuals. I don't think the players themselves shout like, Come on Pros. It's the crowd that do that. In the team they shout at individuals. In amateur football there's no crowd to shout. I mean there's no crowd of say a few thousand standing shouting, Come on Amateur 1. So for one man at the back of the pitch, maybe the goalkeeper or centre-half, instead of shouting up to one bloke, he'll shout Come on Amateur 1. It's probably just to substitute the crowd'.

Here we have an example of a non-material element that/....

that was provided by the participants themselves in a football situation defined as leisure and that was provided by others in one defined as work. This phenomenon does not, however, take place among unorganized teams simply because they rarely have either a team name or an identity. And if we look at the identity of a football team we can see an additional factor which could explain this phenomenon.

An amateur team tends to be identified through the players who make up the team at any point in time and this is generally tied up with the identity of a pub or place of work from which the players originate. But if the composition of the players changes, so too would the identity of the team. A professional team, on the other hand, has an identity irrespective of its players. This may be based on religious and/or geographical considerations and it tends to remain constant. Thus, a further reason why the Pros tended not to shout to the team as a whole or use the team name during a match could be related to the fact that the identity of the team was something that was above and beyond the identity of the players themselves.

To explain this interpretation, consider the following statements by the Pros when asked if they played for the manager, fans, teammates, themselves or the club (responses to this question will be discussed in Chapter 15).

'I think the club comes about last because you do it anyway irrespective of what club you're with because whoever you're with at the time determines your livelihood. So they come about last. Although people and the supporters think of the club first, 'I'm a Pros supporter all my life/....

life'. That doesn't wash with me. Being a Pros supporter all my life doesn't pay my electricity bill. You know you can't pay that by telling the Electricity Board you're a Pros supporter'.

'Well I certainly don't play for the supporters and I don't play for the club or the directors or whatever... I go out to play for myself and I would say that goes for the vast majority of everyone else here'.

Whether it was because the fans were doing the shouting or because the team's identity was above and beyond the identity of the players themselves, it remains that in a football situation defined as work, the lift experienced by players came from a source outside the players themselves, while in one defined as leisure it was generated by the players themselves.

This same phenomenon can also be exemplified when we look at the source of prestige and recognition among football players. Because professional football is a major source of entertainment for millions of people in Britain, the amount of prestige and recognition that can be gained at the professional level can be enormous. Certain players have become public figures due to exposure through the media and because they appear in front of crowds of spectators every week. To give an idea of the number of spectators who attend professional football matches, a report on professional football (including four English divisions only) mentioned a figure of twenty-five million spectators for the 1973/74 football season. Moreover:

"attendance figures are only the base level from which total interest in football is measured. Professional football remains the largest spectator sport/....

sport in Britain and the interest it generates probably exceeds that of all other such sports combined". (3)

When the Pros were asked how they felt about being recognised, or treated as something special, seventeen said they liked being recognised, five said they both liked and disliked it, three said they disliked it, and six said they were used to it and took it as part of the job (older players). For example:

'There's no private life; it bugs me. A year ago I'd say I was glad it was there. But now it's... it helps you a bit. It gets you free drinks and that, but you've no private life. You go out to this pub and there's always one person who can recognise you. Even when you go out with another player and you're sitting drinking you always get the boy who gets the wee free rounds and over they come. He wants to talk football, football. I think that spoils the reason right away...

'It's very seldom it's a nuisance. It's nice to be recognised; psychologically. It's sometimes a nuisance, but more often than not it's a help to you. You might be able to get into things that you aren't normally able to do. So I've no real objections to it at all. I'd rather have it than not have it'.

'It's got its advantages, it's got its disadvantages. Advantagewise, it can open a lot of doors to you. But, it's got its disadvantages. If you go out, say socially on the weekend, people come up and they start talking to you about the game. You get the awkward people who come up and try to be funny; especially when you have your wife there. You want to forget about the game after a Saturday match and just relax and enjoy yourself; which you're never allowed to do. If you've drunk like three pints of beer, somebody sees you and says, he's drunk again, he's had 15 pints of beer and everything gets enlarged'.

'It's a good feeling. It must make you feel good if you're walking down the street and people say, Oh there's so-and-so. But you just try to get on. It makes you feel good; people notice you. It makes you feel important'.

'I/....

'I feel great when people ask me for my autograph; it's just great. I like being noticed. I think it's great when people stop and say, Oh, there's one of the young Pros players'.

Further to being recognised, the field notes recorded the following events:

After the interview with X, we went to a pub near his house. When we sat down a lady came up and said, aren't you X? He winked at me because we had discussed this type of incident during the interview. As the lady stood over our table she talked about her son who was a keen Pros supporter.

While watching a reserve cup match with six first team players:

At least ten autograph books were produced for the players to sign. I could see fans everywhere pointing in our direction. Although the players seemed to be somewhat oblivious to the attention they were receiving, I must admit, I felt a thrill.

Signing autographs is a common occurrence in the life of a first team player. He can be asked for his signature either when he meets supporters in public places or when he is at the stadium. Autograph books, pieces of paper and even footballs will be sent or brought to the club for all players to sign.<sup>(4)</sup> And (from the field notes):

I asked X how often he signed his autograph and he replied, 'there is no pattern. One week I might sign none, and the next week I might sign fifty. It depends on whether the kids are off school, and usually I am asked before a big game. Usually the autographs are for friends of a player and for kids that hang around after training'.

Often a number of young fans would wait outside the dressing room or the lunch room to catch players for their autograph. This can be problematic to the younger reserve/....

reserve players, however, as some might sense that they were being asked for their autograph simply because they were in a group of older and more readily recognized first team players. One young player said:

'You feel a wee bit proud, but half the time they don't know who you are. You might be coming out with another player, maybe a first team player, and they say, he must be one of the Pros players too; and ask you for an autograph. That takes you down a bit. You hear them saying to their wee pal, who's he?'

Personal experience will attest to a situation of this nature.

From the field notes:

I did not play in the training game to-day as the manager asked me to act as a line referee. Three youngsters approached and asked me for my autograph. Presumably they assumed I played for the Pros because I was dressed in a club tracksuit.

As we left the dressing room to go to lunch, a number of young fans waited outside. Upon seeing us they immediately asked all the players (including myself) for autographs.

As well as coming from outside sources such as the fans and the media, recognition for the Pros could also be gained from teammates. When a player scored a goal his teammates responded with jubilation because all players might benefit through win bonuses, an improvement in the team's league standing, and the glory and joy of being on a winning team. But the jubilation expressed by teammates can be tempered somewhat by a player's own desire for recognition and/or security with the club. Thus, although the Pros gave recognition to a player who 'does his job and doesn't try to take any limelight', they did not appreciate/....

appreciate a player who 'plays to the crowd'. The former was referred to as a "professional" while the latter was referred to as an "entertainer". (5)

Prestige and recognition can also be found in the amateur ranks. Only with amateur players this is not expected from the public at large but from teammates and from players on the opposition. In fact many amateur players look upon the other players on the field as an audience. When asked why he preferred a team game, an Amateur 2 player said:

'I certainly do like the idea of it being a game that you're playing with 21 players. You do get more of a thrill if you're playing well because I suppose there's more people participating. If you're playing well and if you're being outstanding, I suppose you're being outstanding in front of more people'.

This same player replied in the affirmative when asked if he looked upon the other players on the field as an audience.

That the opposing players and one's teammates act as an audience in amateur football was observed on a number of occasions. For example, during an Amateur 1 match:

When X scored a goal a number of opposition players clapped and congratulated him. It was a well scored goal and worthy of praise. They clapped again when he was replaced towards the end of the game.

This player was 38 years old and was well known by many of the opposition players. It was known that his playing days were limited so both his teammates and players on the opposition/....

opposition responded by acknowledging his goal. As a further example from an Amateur 2 match, when the goalkeeper made a good save, players on both teams applauded and praised him. Acknowledgement or praise from the opposition occurs only in cases where a spectacular or "brilliant" play is made. And although this may occur infrequently in a player's career, when an amateur player's audience is impressed it will respond.

When all amateur subjects were asked why they played football, only two players mentioned the need for recognition. (See Appendix 1, Table V1)

'Really I think when it comes down to it, it's a bit of an ego trip. I think you go out on to the field to show everyone what you can do; to show them your skills'.

'I don't enjoy playing football that much, but I happen to be good at it. Plus from my dad's point of view, he was a good football player and the rest of the family never took it up. So I came along and when I was at school I was pretty thick and I just took up football for his sake. Because I used to be the wee boy, the youngest boy in the corner and they didn't speak to him sort of no love and that sort of thing. So, I think, I just took up football to get a wee bit of love from them, and it's turned out great. Now I'm the bee's knees as far as he's concerned'.

Although the second quotation does not refer directly to a need for recognition from other players, it presents an interesting example of why this individual played amateur football. Here we have a case where because this subject felt he was 'pretty thick' at school he sought recognition from his father through playing amateur football (this subject's father and brother attended most Amateur 2 matches/....

matches). This subject, furthermore, was the only amateur footballer who mentioned that he did not enjoy playing football. Perhaps his reason for playing football accounts for his lack of enjoyment in the game. He nevertheless defined football as leisure, for in response to the question on the difference between a professional and an amateur he replied: 'they're playing for their wages and I'm playing for leisure'.

In short, recognition for the Pros came from the crowd, the public at large, the media, and from teammates. It did not, however, come from players on the opposition because as one player put it (quoted earlier) 'you're going out there to stop them doing a job'. And if players on the opposition are similarly out to stop the Pros from doing their job, it stands to reason that a brilliant play will not be acknowledged on an inter-team basis. But in an amateur football situation, because recognition did not come from outside sources, and because players were not out to stop anybody from doing a job, it came both from teammates and from players on the opposition.

Recognition and a lift during the game are two examples of non-material elements which make up a football situation's environment and which were generated by the players themselves in an amateur, but were, for the most part, provided for the players, in a professional football situation. Thus, having to cope for oneself in an amateur football situation not only includes having to provide for the/....

the material elements in that situation but it includes providing certain non-material elements as well. (6)



sociograms outlined on Figures 14.1, 2 and 3 are based on the football subjects only. The sociograms are the result of asking each subject to name his friends on his team. Solid double connectors represent reciprocal choices and a broken single connector represents a one-way choice (with an arrow indicating the direction of choice). Although this analysis will deal in the main with the football subjects, attitudes toward others as held by the gardener respondents will also be introduced into the discussion.

In Figure 14.1, we see five basic social groupings among the Pros. With few exceptions these groups followed a social structure that was observed and anticipated during the participant observation with the Pros.

Groups A and B included all reserve players and a number of younger first team players. Group A was made up primarily of the latter, while Group B was made up primarily of the former. Although there was considerable interaction between these groups, members of Group A had (on average) been with the Pros longer than those in Group B. As a further point of distinction, the members of Group A tended to be older than those in Group B (median ages 21.5 and 19 years respectively).

Group C (with the exception of player 16) was made up of first team players (median age 21 years). Four members of this group lived outside the city and commuted together by train. Player 16 was a younger reserve player/....

Figure 14.1

Sociogram: The Pros

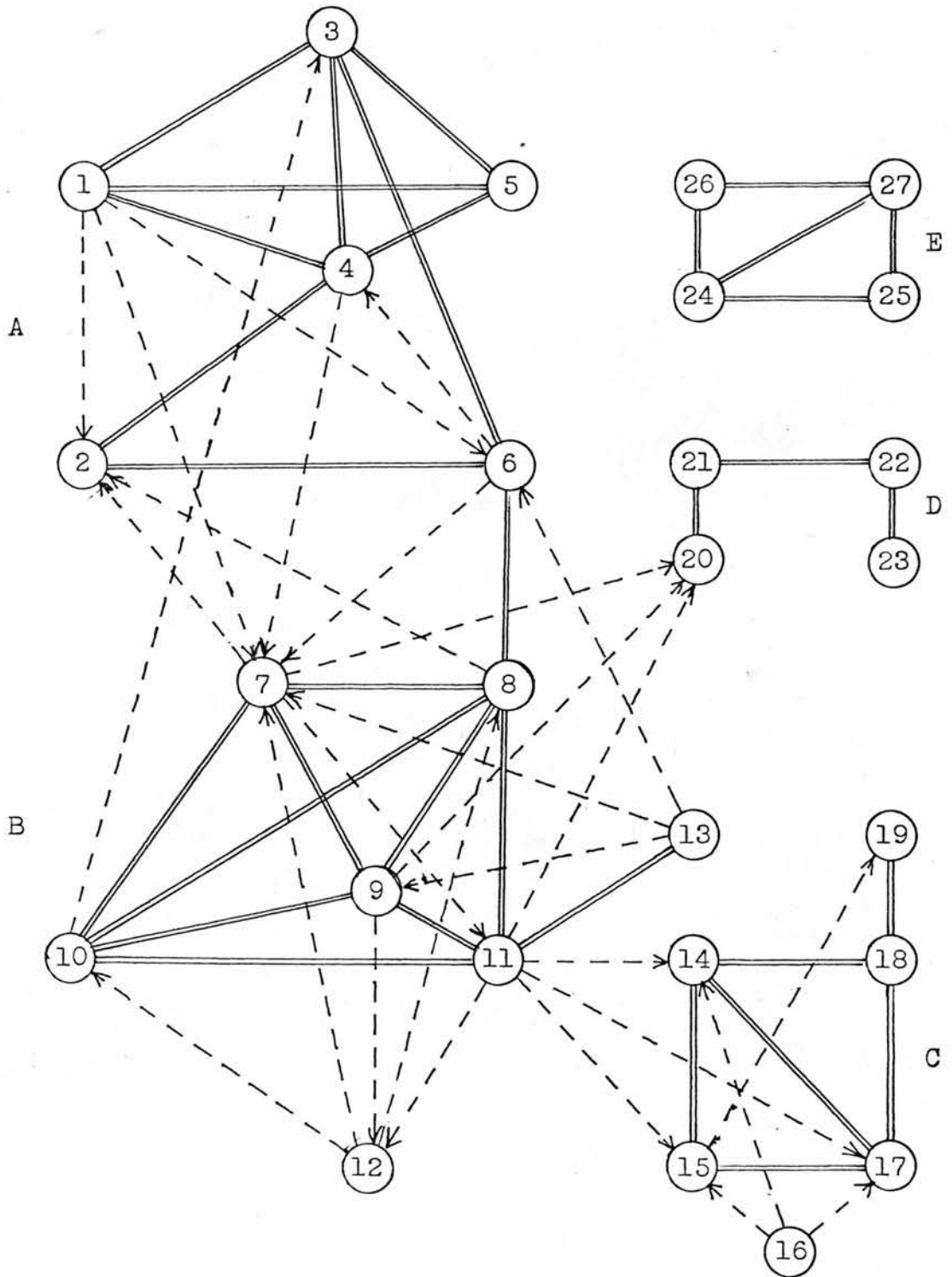


Figure 14.2

Sociogram: Amateur 2

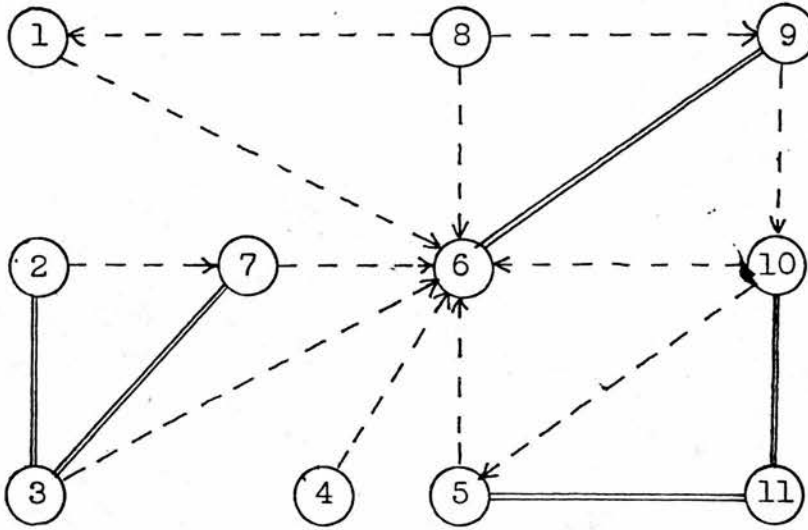
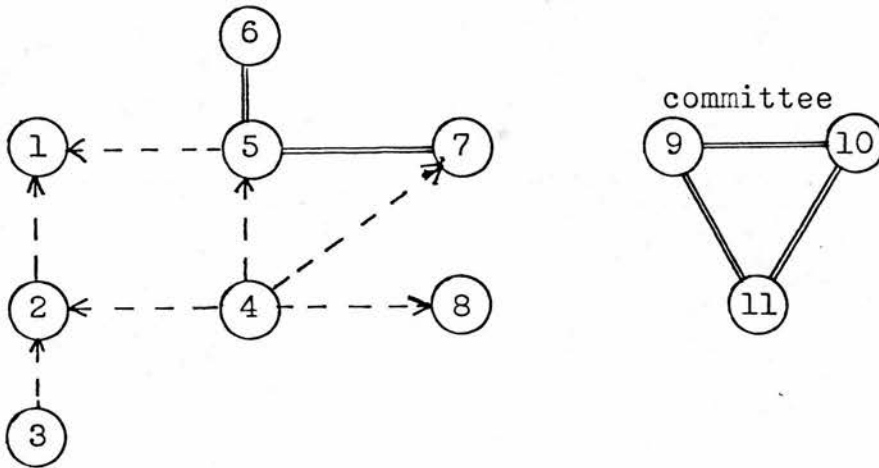


Figure 14.3

Sociogram: Amateur 1



player who was in his first year with the Pros. He was not observed to be associating with the other members of this group, and he was not acknowledged as a friend by players 14, 15 or 17, yet he mentioned them as friends. In the interview player 16 explained that he often travelled by train with players 14, 15 and 17.

Group D included player 20 who was an outgoing popular first team player. He was a younger player and was observed to be associating quite freely with many members of Groups A and B. Yet he only mentioned one member of Group D as a friend. Players 20 and 21 were often together during and after training (during the closed season they were planning a holiday together with their wives). Players 22 and 23 were also close friends both during and after training. Their after training friendship was based on the fact that they golfed together on a regular basis and similarly socialized together with their wives. Players 21 and 22 also golfed together. Player 20 did not appear to be particularly friendly with player 23. The median age of these first team players was 24 years.

Group E was made up of the four "star" players. They were the oldest players on the team (median age 31 years) and they periodically spent social evenings together with their wives. Players 24 and 27 lived in a village outside the city and commuted together by car. Player 26, who was new to the Pros, was (at the time of the interview/....

interview) planning to purchase a house in the same village as players 24 and 27.

Five players have not been included with Figure 14.1 because they were unable to specify particular teammates as friends.

Turning to Figure 14.2, we see player 6 was mentioned as a friend by eight of his teammates. This individual appeared to be the prime motivating force behind Amateur 2. He was dynamic and enthusiastic about the team's success. Player 4 was the only member of Amateur 2 who was not a university graduate, and it is interesting to note that he was not mentioned as a friend by any of his teammates.

Players 9, 10 and 11 on Figure 14.3, were committee members who did not take part in the game itself. They were ex-Amateur 1 players who were responsible for the team's organization.

Through comparing Figure 14.1 to Figures 14.2 and 3, we see two primary differences between the Pros and the two amateur teams in terms of friendship ties. First, we see that two out of eleven Amateur 2 (numbers 4 and 8), and two out of eight Amateur 1 (numbers 3 and 4, excluding committee members) players were not named as a friend by any of their teammates. Among the Pros, however, we see that only one of twenty-seven players (number 16) was not named as a friend by any of his teammates. The second point is that/....

that the proportion of reciprocal to the total number of friendship choices is greater among the Pros than among the two amateur teams. Table 14.1 outlines these proportions.

TABLE 14.1

Proportion of Reciprocal to Total  
Friendship Choices

<u>Team</u>	<u>Number of Choices</u>		<u>Proportion of Reciprocal Choices</u>
	<u>Reciprocal</u>	<u>Non-Reciprocal</u>	
Pros	34	31	52
Amateur 1	2	7	22
Amateur 2	5	12	29

These facts came as a surprise. For during the participant observation with the three football clubs, it was felt that although there was a great deal of interaction among the Pros, the amateur footballers seemed to interact more freely with one another. And prior to constructing the sociograms, it was assumed that there would be proportionally fewer reciprocal choices among the Pros than among the two amateur teams. Yet when all football subjects were asked to name their friends on the team, the opposite proved to be the case. How can we account for this surprise result? We can begin by looking at where the subjects located their close friends. That is, if they were located in situations defined as work or in situations defined as leisure.

The situations within which the Pros located their friends were determined through answers to two separate/....

separate questions. One asked each player which of his teammates he associated with after training and during the closed season. The other question simply asked: Who are your friends? In response to the first question, from thirty respondents, twelve said they did not associate with any Pros players after training (two defined football as leisure and ten defined it as work) and twenty-two said they did not associate with any during the closed season (five defined football as leisure and seventeen defined it as work). One player, when asked whom he saw after training replied:

'You've got your own friends outside football that you can go out with and you're not talking football all the time, which is important... I think it's important to have friends outside football that you go out and talk about things apart from football. You'll say the odd thing but that's about it. When you're in here or even when you go out for a drink at night you'll notice we're always talking football; it's natural. There's three classes in here. You've got the likes of A, B, C, D or E, that age group, and you've got F, myself and G, in that age group, and then you've got wee H and J and that. There's always a wee bit of a barrier between them. I don't think any players would say, right, I'll see you tonight, I'll pick you up and we'll go to a dance, and this on a Saturday'.

That 60% of the Pros mentioned that they saw other Pros players after training can be attributed (in part) to two factors. First, many of the players who had recently moved to join the Pros had no other friends in the city. For example:

'Most of my friends here at the moment are players. It's been difficult to make friends. But when I move into the house I'm sure everything will just fall into place'.

Another reason is that training finished after lunch and most/....

most players were free in the afternoon. Whereas friends outside football (if they were working) would generally not have their afternoons free. Consequently, the Pros were more or less compelled to associate with teammates after training. For example:

'It's not so much I try to keep them (non-Pros friends) apart from my football friends, but they work through the day anyway and the only time I can see them is at night times and at weekends'.

Another player when asked what he did on his day off (Monday) said:

'I just go down to the town or just sit in the house all day, nothing. Although maybe I'll just go for a round of pitch-and-put. I'll maybe just go myself, just to pass the time because all of my other pals, they're all working'.

The afternoons of so-called freedom created problems for many of the Pros. This became apparent during the field work as this researcher was asked, on eleven separate occasions, what he was intending to do in the afternoon. It seems that the purpose behind this question did not relate solely to an interest in this researcher's personal affairs or to a desire to make small talk. It was related to the more general problem of what the players themselves could do in the afternoon.

Research on the Pros included participation in a number of after-training activities. Generally speaking players would pursue these activities in small groups which tended to parallel the five sub-groups outlined on Figure 14.1. For example, members of Group E would drink coffee at the supporters club (at the stadium), members of groups A/.....

A and B would play cards in the lunch room, some went to the bookies, to a film, or to a pub. Members of Group C would generally go home after training. When the Pros were asked in the interview what they did after training (see Appendix 1, Table VIII), their replies suggested that the majority of players, more often than not, pursued activities which would not involve teammates (i.e. going home, visiting relatives, studying, part-time job). Activities which included teammates were of two types; those pursued at the stadium (i.e. playing cards, drinking coffee, training or playing football), and those pursued away from the stadium (i.e. playing golf, looking around the shops, playing pool, going to the bookies). Both types suggest that players were more or less "filling in time". Consider the following statements:

'Sometimes you go up the town and maybe go for a...no. We just go up the town and walk about the shops and that. There's usually nothing you can do. Usually I just go home and go back to the digs and... There's nothing you can do really, is there?'

'Usually I'm home at 1.00 and I sit and have a cup of tea. Sometimes I go out to the bookies and put a wee bet on. It's really quite hard to fill your time in. You've that much spare time. Sometimes I take the dog away for a walk for an hour up the hill. There's a lot of time to fill in; but I get there'.

'Well, I've got that part-time job. When I wasn't doing the job I'd just either go home and sleep, watch TV, or go into town and look at the shops. That's about it, pretty boring'.

As an aside, players' attitudes toward "filling in time" in the afternoon can be compared to research conducted elsewhere. One study by Rolf Meyersohn reported workers/....

workers' attitudes toward a change from a 5-day work routine to a new routine which gave employees a 3-day weekend every month without a reduction in the time worked. One conclusion of this study was that:

"A number of men and women reported... that they did not enjoy having Monday off because there was nothing to do. To a larger extent, the free Monday was actually used for home chores. With wives at work and children at school, the Monday seemed for a number of the men to turn into rather lonely occasions". (1)

Similar attitudes were also found in a report on workers' reactions to a 4-day, 40-hour work routine. Looking at increases in leisure activities, Riva Poor reported a 269% increase in resting, relaxing and loafing after the change to a 4-day week. And although the numbers were small, we also see a 150% increase in those who admitted to being bored with the extra day. (2)

To return to the Pros, we can conclude that activities with teammates after training were partly the result of having nothing to do and partly the result of having nobody but teammates to do it with.

When the Pros were asked whom they associated with during the closed season, 73% said they did not associate with teammates. Those who did included younger players from Group B who met at the stadium for a kick-about. For example:

'Last season we saw quite a lot of each other because we used to come in for something to do. It's better than sitting about the house and getting bored. So we just come in and get a kick-about with the ball and down to the pub'.

There/....

There were three reasons why the Pros did not tend to associate with each other during the closed season. First, players had other friends outside football and it seems when the season ended many preferred to associate with these individuals. The second reason is that some players spent the closed season in their home town and therefore were unable to associate with teammates. The third reason (mentioned by twelve players) involved players taking on part-time jobs during the closed season. These included working in a pub, an office, painting and decorating, window cleaning, labouring, farming, repairing "one armed bandits" (slot machines), and working in the despatch department of a department store. One player, who was a partner in a chartered accountancy firm, worked full-time during the closed season with his firm. Members of the ground crew, furthermore, worked at the stadium over the summer. Reasons for working during the closed season included the need for extra money, to keep fit, and to eliminate boredom. One player said:

'The last two or three seasons I've actually had a job. I don't do it for the money, I do it to stop the boredom. Although the money comes in handy. You just put it down as casual labour and you're not taxed. But I do it more to pass the time and keep the exercise up'.

In short, 60% of the Pros associated with teammates after training, and only 27% associated with teammates during the closed season. The former was the result of having nothing to do and of having only teammates to do it with, while the latter was the result of a preference for/....

for non-teammate friends, of returning home, and of taking on an extra job during the closed season.

The question which asked the Pros to identify their friends proved to be even more instructive. From twenty-eight subjects, twenty-one mentioned non-Pros friends only, five mentioned both Pros and non-Pros friends, and two mentioned Pros friends only. Of those who mentioned non-Pros friends the most frequently mentioned sources of meeting these friends included meeting through school (54%), through living in the same neighbourhood (21%), and through sporting interests such as golf or cricket. One player (a member of Group B who was involved in three reciprocal relationships) said:

'I don't have as many mates as I used to. They've sort of drifted away working and you don't see them as much. It's just the sort of two mates I've really got. I see them maybe two or three times a week. The other times I'm with my girl friend. I see the Pros players every day and my mates in the evening'.

A member of Group D said:

'It's people I was at school with. One chap I was at school with, another chap I met through my football team before I went senior. That's about it as far as close friends might go. I've certainly a lot of other friends not quite as close. Like my golfing friends. On a Wednesday X (another member of Group D) and I play golf and there's a small school of us play and we're all good friends'.

Of the five Pros who defined football as leisure (or as work and leisure), two identified Pros players as friends. And of those who did not mention other Pros as friends, two mentioned that they did not have any friends because they spent all their time with their fiancées, while/.....

while the other one (a full-time teacher who did not train with the Pros) identified friends he grew up with, friends of his wife, and one ex-Pros player whom he saw periodically.

When the amateur football subjects were asked: Who are your friends?, all but one of twenty-seven subjects said that most of their friends played amateur football. Furthermore, the nine who also mentioned friends from work said that these friends were similarly involved in amateur football or the subjects' other sporting interests. The nature and source of these friends can best be outlined through comments from the subjects themselves.

'Most of my close friends are football friends. My work to me is not important as far as out of work relationships go... They're people I don't see much after work at all. In general the friends I've made (through work) haven't necessarily had anything to do with football. But they have just been casual friends. The people I could call close friends over a period of time are definitely involved with football'.

'Mostly through football. Obviously you meet lots of people at university but the people you associate with most of all are the ones I met playing football... I socialize with other teachers but oddly enough it so happens that they play football as well. Not with this club, but with the school team'.

'Most of my friends I met through my work and so through football because in the work we had a football team and I was playing for this team and by that I got playing for X (another amateur team). So I met another friend through playing for X. Playing football in the work is just to pass an odd Sunday, it was never organised games'.

'I met a lot through university, a lot through football at university and quite a few through football with Amateur 2, and quite a few through work. The guys I'm friendly with at school tend to be footballers. They tend to help with the kids' team at school and we also have a staff football/....

football team which I organize and we play in the summer. So a lot of guys I'm friendly with at work, it's not through the work, it's through the football'.

A final example comes from an Amateur 2 player and it is presented because it sheds additional insight into the nature of friendships. This particular player lived in a small town 15 miles from the city in which Amateur 2 was located.

'I don't have any friends in X whom I did not meet through the football. Friends I have in this area I've met through my work and through my wife's work. My friends from work, the ones who I have been most friendly with have been the ones who have played on the teacher's team. A few friends I met through my wife play football, or at least are sport minded'.

This individual also played basketball in his home town. When asked if he had friends from basketball he replied:

'Not really. Basically because of their jobs. Our social backgrounds are different. Most of the blokes I play basketball with work in the engineering works. There are only three of us who do professional work. So I think it's because of our different social backgrounds'.

The amateur footballers were also asked a number of questions that pertained to friendships within their team. When they were asked why they played football, 52% said that they played because of the social aspect (see Appendix 1, Table VI). And in response to the question: Could you enjoy your football if you did not get along with your teammates?, 85% stated that they would not enjoy playing under these conditions. Examples of responses include:

'There must be a social side to it as well'.

'I wouldn't play football if I disliked my teammates'.

'If/....

'If you didn't like the boys on your team you'd be playing for yourself and you wouldn't be playing a team game. I think you've got to have a team around you to really enjoy it'.

'I've experienced (disliking teammates) and I left after three months'.

'It's a team game and football's a way of life and the enthusiasm of the people involved in it makes it a fairly close knit group. It's a built in way of meeting the kind of man that I like meeting. And I've made so many friends through the medium of football that I would never have been able to meet; to share our common interest and enjoy each other's company. Because the thing with football, with playing football, you meet with somebody twice a week to train and you go and play on the team as a group. You share some really bitter defeats. Not one of us gets beat, we all get beat together. And we enjoy the triumphs together. So a kind of relationship builds up'.

Of the three players who did not express this opinion, one said:

'I wouldn't say I wouldn't enjoy it as much. If they didn't like me and I didn't like them, they could not give you the ball and make it hard for you'.

Another said:

'I always enjoy it, no matter who I play with'.

This player, when asked about the social side of the game replied:

'It's good to have a good atmosphere on the team. You must have a certain amount of atmosphere on the team'.

The amateur subjects were also asked: If for some reason you had to look for another team to play for, what would you look for in that team? This question solicited direct responses from twenty-two players. Their answers covered six different aspects of amateur football, and/....

and are reproduced on Table 14.2.

Because seventy-seven per cent of the respondents on Table 14.2, mentioned the social aspect, this suggests that friendships with teammates is inextricably related to the amateur game itself. For example:

'I'd look for the fact that they would take me on, and the next thing I would look for is the social life; what the people are like socially. I couldn't play for a team where, for instance, they didn't have a drink together. And Amateur 2 have tours, I'm all for that'.

'As an amateur player I'd be thinking to myself, I'd like to get a game on a Saturday with a good group of boys; and we'd have a drink. I'd be looking for things like that'.

'I wouldn't play for any other team than X or Amateur 2, because of the social reasons. The only reason I would join another team is if I had a few really good friends in the team who dragged me along. But, I wouldn't just go looking for another team on spec'.

TABLE 14.2

What Amateur Players Look For in Selecting  
Another Team

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>
Social Aspect	17
High Grade of Football	8
Weekly Game	6
Players with Intelligence	3
Team near Home	3
Team that tries hard	2
Total	<u>22</u>

'Maybe because I've been used to this particular type of football; where comradeship and good times go together with it. So, if I had to look for another team it would have to be one which had some sort of extended social life'.

The/....

The three players who would look for players with intelligence were all Amateur 2 players. As mentioned, Amateur 2 consisted in the main of players who used to play for a particular university team. This being the case, three players admitted that they liked playing for Amateur 2 because the majority of its players shared educational backgrounds. One player said:

'Let's put it this way. People who have been to university tend to be more rational in general. But, so far I haven't found any great barriers in playing for other clubs'.

Another player who did not refer directly to a university education said:

'I would look for the same things that Amateur 2 have. For one thing I'd look for guys who are intelligent. I think that certainly has something to do with it. The guys who I would mix easily with, rather than those I would have to struggle to mix easily with'.

The third player explained why he preferred playing with teammates who were not "stupid":

'If you get involved with players who are stupid it's terrible because you get involved with arguments and everybody hates each other's guts'.

This player replied in the affirmative when asked if stupid meant a lack of education:

Amateur 2 included one player who did not attend university. He was asked to join when the team was having difficulty winning games. When asked how he felt playing with university graduates he replied:

'They've never made any difference to me, so I've never made any difference to them. I kid them on and that. Like X is a doctor and I kid him on. To me they're just an ordinary eleven players on the park and we still go and have our drink and we/....

we socialize the same way. It's never made any difference at all. I've never let it get me down that they're all above me. They're just another eleven players'.

In spite of treating his teammates as 'just another eleven players', this player did not go on tour with the club and did not attend a party which included most of his teammates. When asked why he did not join the tour he mentioned that he would spend his holiday with his family.

As a final way of substantiating the relationship between social life and the amateur game, the reasons why each player joined his present club can be instructive. From twenty-eight respondents three reasons emerged.

TABLE 14.3

Reasons for Joining an Amateur Football Club

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Number Mentioning</u>
Knew players on the team	20
Asked to join by a friend	18
Natural progression from university football	4
Total	<u>28</u>

Reasons for joining one's present club all relate to the social aspect of amateur football. For example:

'Well you knew everybody on the team. You all used to sit and drink with them and talk with them and they asked me to come along'.

'I knew most of the players on Amateur 1. We used to play against them and they all come from this district'.

'Amateur 2 is based in X, and I know most of the boys in other clubs but I always knew quite a few more/....

more boys on Amateur 2 than anywhere else. I was going to join (another team in the same league as Amateur 2) but it would mean breaking out in a totally new social group. And I really wasn't prepared to go through all that again. Whereas Amateur 2 was there. I knew nearly everybody that played for them; I knew the guys that run it, so it was just a natural step'.

'Me and my mates, X and Y, we all grew up together and went to school together, so we always played together. There's a boy in Y's work that told us about Amateur 1'.

'I really like playing with people I know. I find it difficult to play with people I don't know and in fact it would take me a while to get into another club'.

In addition an Amateur 1 player explained in the interview that he was unhappy with a team in the past. When asked if at that time he considered quitting football or joining another team he replied:

'I didn't know anybody on any other clubs well enough to join them so I was obviously thinking of packing up football'.

Notice he was "obviously" thinking of giving up the game simply because he did not know players on another amateur team. Although this alternative might have been obvious to this player, it is an alternative that would never be considered by a Pros player under similar conditions.

As final examples, consider the following statements from two amateur football subjects:

'An amateur player is usually friendly disposed toward his teammates. He enjoys meeting them, his team is a friendly group that he looks forward to meeting, by in large. Whereas, I would imagine on a professional team they would regard each other in a more clinical way. They might see each other as competitors. Probably there are fragmented groups of players within a team who became friendly. But probably there isn't the same unifying spirit running through the whole group that you perhaps find/....

find in an amateur team'.

'I imagine a lot of professional players just go their own way. It's just like a work situation. You go to work and then you go home to your own particular leisure pursuits. They set up their own group of friends around the 'Pros' and they probably socialize through them just as anyone else would do in their own particular work situation. I suppose it happens in an amateur team as well but it's less pronounced because in an amateur team you tend to pick the type of team that you like. Or a team sets up from a group of friends. Like Amateur 2 attracts university type people. Whereas other teams are formed because a lot of the guys live in a particular area or they all work at the same place and they happen to get in through that'.

From the above discussion, we see that the majority of football subjects tended to locate their close friends in situations defined as leisure rather than in situations defined as work. Furthermore, close friends in the latter included those with whom the subjects also shared the former situation. This suggests a qualitative difference in the way people relate to others vis-a-vis the definition of a situation. This is not to suggest that an individual will not have close friends in a situation defined as work, but that friendships in general tend to be stronger in situations defined as leisure than in situations defined as work. As an example, an Amateur 1 player in talking about his workmate said:

'I've worked with him five years now. If he left I suppose I'd miss him but I'd just get another mate'.

It must be emphasized that there is no causal relationship between a given definition and a given attitude toward others in a situation. The two simply tend to be found together as a byproduct of factors to be discussed in the next/....

next chapter.

The difference in attitudes toward others in situations defined as work or leisure is also in accord with attitudes among the gardener respondents. For we find that the majority of these subjects similarly located their close friends in situations defined as leisure rather than in situations defined as work. For example, from those who defined gardening for others as work, eight out of twelve respondents said that their friends were non-gardeners. And when these subjects were asked, how important are the people you work with?, most conveyed the attitude that it helped to get along with their workmates.

That is:

'I get on quite well with them. Well of course if you're working with pleasant people it makes it that much better. There are one or two pains in the neck, but you get one or two pains in the neck anywhere'.

'It's pretty important. The people you work with closely, you've got to be able to get on with them'.

Exceptions to these attitudes came from five landscape gardeners who were involved in a small group situation and who were relatively free from external supervision.

Their attitudes toward workmates (i.e. each other) tended to be somewhat stronger. For example:

'We're a good squad. We sort of like each other's company and that. We go for a drink and that. Socially we don't mix out of hours. But we go for a drink at dinner time and at 5 o'clock we have another drink. We're a friendly group, we're all on about the same wave length'.

One member of this group went so far as to say:

'If it wasn't for the boys, I don't think I'd be here that long. They're a good crowd like'.

This/....

This individual went on to say:

'When we finish on a Thursday night we get paid and I think I'm speaking for everybody, I like to see the rest of the boys (in other landscape crews) because I've not seen them for one or two days. And I get their story where they've been that day, and what you usually hear is a lot of kidology - did you have a good pint bevy at dinner time? You know, it could only be 2 or 3 pints, a slight exaggeration on a good bevy sort of thing. And, where did you go? I went to X. Did you go to that wee pub? Did you chat this person? Because we know we go to different places you get to know the pubs and the people in them. They're a good punch'.

Although participant observation was not included with the research on the gardener subjects, the above mentioned group was interviewed while on a job at a local hotel. The interview sessions were interrupted by the lunch break and the following statement describes what took place during that break:

Lunch was eaten in a pub. X had a set of darts which he apparently always carried in order to play during the lunch break. He played darts with Y and then asked me if I wanted to play (I lost). The lunch break appeared to be the highlight of their day's activity as the atmosphere was very friendly and relaxed away from the job. I was told that they always had lunch in a pub.

Gardening for oneself can be either a solitary or it can be a social activity. Because the non-remunerated gardener subjects were located through garden shows and through public allotments, their gardening situations included other participants. To contrast the remunerated to the non-remunerated gardeners we find a major difference in the source of friendships. We find that thirteen of the sixteen who defined home gardening as/....

as leisure said that most of their friends were amateur gardeners, and two of the three who defined it as work and leisure said they did not have friends who were gardeners.

For example:

'The friends I had who weren't gardeners have sort of taken second place to these new friends I've found in the gardening circles. I still see my old pals, we're still friends, but I don't see nearly so much of them now. I see more of the lads that I can talk about gardening and this sort of thing. That's developed quite certainly as a by-product from my hobby'.

'I have a lot of friends that's not interested in gardening; these are friends through bowling (subject's other leisure interest). I have a lot of local village friends, we're all close here. But outside I have mostly gardening friends'.

'I've met a very large percentage of my friends through gardening, and I would class them as real friends. Friends who can help you when you're in trouble and who will stand by you when you're in trouble, as opposed to social acquaintances who one might call friends but in effect are just passing acquaintances'.

The importance of the flower show and the public allotment as a source of friends is demonstrated in the following quotations:

'Most of my friends are interested in gardening because you make a lot of friends going around the local shows'.

'I garden just for the fun of it, purely for kicks. It's just sheer enjoyment and you meet some very fine people. (Showing) is certainly not rewarding in a financial sense, you're competing for coppers. But, as I say, you meet some very, very, nice people and I think this is the essence of it'.

'I've met very many friends through gardening. Apart from the allotment you meet people at flower shows where you compete.. And apart from that we have various gardening societies where there's quizzes and talks during the winter time'.

As a final example, when one respondent was asked

if/....

if he would rather garden at his house than on a public allotment he replied:

'For convenience I would rather have it at home. But for friendship sake I would rather have it here'.

This conclusion is in accord with findings of other researchers. From a study of office workers, Michel Crozier similarly concluded that:

"We can generally say that relations between colleagues lack warmth. Our interviewees are quite reserved in the matter of camaraderie; they expect cordial relations with their colleagues, but prefer that a certain distance be maintained. Eighty-five percent of them never get together with their colleagues outside of work, and the fifteen percent who do seem to apologise for it. The general order of the day seems to be "every man for himself", "we see each other enough during the week". Yet when one questions them about the character of employees, they do not fail to criticize them - as well as themselves - for their coldness, their egoism, and their distant character". (3)

And in a study of shipbuilding workers, Richard Brown, et al., suggested that:

"though work as a source of friends was valued and important, the leisure-time companions of these workers were by no means exclusively men from the same industry and occupation". (4)

In fact they found that:

"only 13% prefer the company of shipbuilding workers to that of others and the majority of their spare-time companions are not men from the same industry". (5)

To refer to the study by Robert Dubin on the Central Life Interest of industrial workers, (although Dubin did not clarify whether "friends in the community" included workmates or non-workmates) he demonstrated that:

"Only about 10% of the industrial workers perceived/....

perceived their important primary social relationships as taking place at work. The other 90% preferred primary interaction with fellow men elsewhere than on the job". (6)

X As a final example, Goldthorp, Lockwood and Bechhofer found that 45% of the "affluent workers" in their sample reported having no close friends among workmates. (7)

Before turning to a continuation of this discussion in the next chapter, we must reconcile the conclusion reached here with that suggested by Stanley Parker. Here it is suggested that social relationships in general tend to be stronger in situations defined as leisure than in ones defined as work. Parker states:

"The likelihood of having some work colleagues among one's close friends is high among those with the extension pattern and low among those with the neutrality pattern. Again, the opposition pattern is not clear in this respect. If work is hated then presumably the thought of mixing with work colleagues off the job is also hateful, and this may help to explain the feeling among some factory workers that 'mating is not palling'. But it is also possible that the damaging experience of work is made more tolerable by the feeling of solidarity with workmates whose company may well be sought off the job. An 'occupational community' does not require that all members be positively involved in the work; all may be negatively involved, provided that they are conscious of sharing this feeling". (8)

Parker's analysis of the types of work-leisure relationship and associated variables is criticized by Cheek and Burch insofar as, "the nature of Parker's variables (work colleagues being one of fifteen variables) remain at a fairly gross level; and when we begin to sort specific non work activities, much of the variation slips through". (9)

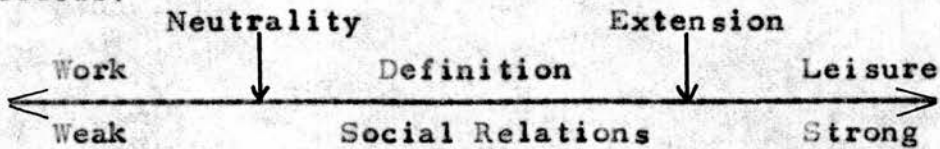
The/....

The following differences can be noted between the perspective of the present author and that of Parker. First, Parker presumably identified work and leisure activities in an a priori manner. His observations were based on occupational groups and it was probably assumed that his subjects defined their respective occupations as work (at least Parker does not indicate that he did otherwise). The present author did not make that assumption. Work or leisure situations were identified by the subjects themselves. The second point of distinction is that Parker located his subjects through their participation in eight remunerated activities (i.e. business and service workers, banking, youth employment, child care and manual workers, residential social workers, and local government councillors). Subjects for this enquiry were drawn from two remunerated and two non-remunerated activities.

The third point of distinction is that Parker was concerned with identifying types of work-leisure relationships. For this reason he dichotomized work and leisure and at the same time suggested three types of relationships. Here concern is with the process involved in defining a situation. For this reason both a definition of a situation and the relationship between situations are seen as gradations on a continuum.

To reconcile the two schemes, if Parker's typologies were assessed in terms of their position on the general orientation/definition continuum they might appear as/....

as follows:



A combination of these two schemes suggests the possibility that not all of Parker's subjects who displayed an extension pattern would define their occupation as work. Some could have defined it as leisure, others as work and leisure or whatever. Furthermore, in the present analysis we are concerned with the individual's general orientation toward others in a situation. And the conclusion reached here is that social relations in general tend to be stronger in a situation defined as leisure. It remains, therefore, that an individual can still have a few close friends in a situation defined as work regardless of the type of work-leisure relationship he may display.

CHAPTER 15

ATTITUDES TOWARD OTHER PARTICIPANTS:  
SELECT ISSUES

Having suggested that friendships in general tend to be stronger in situations defined as leisure than in ones defined as work, we must go on to ask why this should be so. And there are three factors which can account for this difference. The first is that people are "brought" together in a remunerated situation defined as work as opposed to people who "come" together in a non-remunerated situation defined as leisure. The second relates to the presence or absence of the money component, while the third is based on the fact that at a given point in time people will participate in one, or at most two remunerated situations defined as work, and in a multitude of different situations defined as leisure.

The fact that people are brought together in a remunerated situation defined as work in contrast to participants who come together in a non-remunerated situation defined as leisure is tantamount to the suggestion that other people are elements which are others-determined in the former and self-determined in the latter situation. This point was emphasized by an Amateur 2 player who said:

'My teammates definitely have loyalties outside.  
Well, it is in their spare time and voluntary.  
Whereas/.....

Whereas at work you're thrown together with people - well we're all just there for the money. Whether you have other motives as well, ach, we'll go other places for money as well'.

Needless to say when a Pros player is asked to join the team his decision to join is not based on whether or not he will be a close friend with players who are already on the team. In fact it is likely that he will not know any of the players except for a possible acquaintance. A player's teammates are established before he arrives on the scene and players are not consulted in the recruitment of new players. Although a Pros player has no choice in whom will be included among his teammates (workmates), once on the team he will choose friends with whom he is compatible from the choice given him.

When an amateur player joins a team part of his decision process includes his compatibility with those who are already on the team. Furthermore, he will probably be consulted for his opinion on a new member joining the team. As an example, we can refer to the one Amateur 2 player who was not a university graduate. As mentioned, this individual was asked to join Amateur 2 when the team needed additional strength which was not forthcoming from university graduates. The decision to have non-university graduates on the team (taken prior to this researcher's arrival) apparently involved a major discussion and vote which included all Amateur 2 players. As with the Pros, an amateur player might be more compatible with certain teammates than with/....

with others. But the important distinction lies in the fact that the amateur (as opposed to the professional) will decide to join a team based on the fact that he has or anticipates friends on that team (see Tables 14.2 and 14.3).

Further to this point, in a remunerated situation defined as work where friends must be chosen from a given set of co-participants, the individual might be friendly with a number of his workmates but at the same time he might be forced to "put up" with others. But in a non-remunerated situation defined as leisure, because co-participants tend to be chosen (as opposed to given), the individual might be very close to a number of co-participants and friendly with others. But, people tend not to put up with others in a situation defined as leisure. If forced to do so, the individual might leave or he might redefine the situation if for whatever reason he was unable to find an alternative. Cheek, Field, and Burdge stressed this same thought when they said:

"Most people do not enter into occupational settings, educational settings, or religious observances as a member of a "with" but usually as a "single". In stark contrast recreational and leisure settings are places where the normative mode of participation is a "with". (1)

The presence or absence of the money component is another factor that tends to influence criteria for friendships. In an earlier discussion it was pointed out that a number of amateur footballers mentioned that if they played for money, 'you'd be trying more to keep your own game rather than maybe play for the team'. Similarly a number/.....

number of home gardeners did not want to sell their produce because, 'there's more pleasure in seeing somebody's face if you give them it than if you sell it'. This suggests that the presence of money can mitigate social relationships within a situation. And this is particularly pronounced in a situation where different participants receive different amounts of remuneration (i.e. unequal distribution of rewards). (2)

As an example, we can look once again at "competition" for a place on the team in a football situation. This phenomenon has been discussed in the context of football as a rat-race and now we can look at the effects of competition on friendship patterns.

While discussing friends on the team a Pros player said:

'I only have one real friend in football. It's here today, gone tomorrow. Although here today can mean a year, two years. It's still you finish training and you all disappear, always to separate places. (Interviewer: Why?) You come from so many different backgrounds, different standards of life, that's partly it. Partly of course, is the fact that there's the competition aspect of it'.

This player was suggesting that social relationships tend not to be strong because players were competing for positions. He went on to say:

'In actual fact the chances are of finding two blokes playing the same position very friendly are about nil'.

This player was then asked about two goalkeepers who appeared to be on friendly terms. To this question he replied:

'Well, they're friendly, quite friendly all together. But/....

But they're not friends'.

When other players were asked if they had friends who were contenders for their position one replied:

'Not really... I think we would be friends but not good friends. I'm just trying to think if anybody that's played the same position as myself has been my friend. I don't think I've ever come across it where my closest friend has been in my same position'.

And another said:

'Funny, you hardly get two players going about together that are in the same position. I know X well and the two of us get on well. But you'll never see us together after training or out with the wives or anything like that because the chance might come that he may be on the team and I may be out... The nearest I've seen is Y and Z (two goalkeepers). They stay up beside each other, but lately Y's not been, ken you never see them together really, ken, they live close to each other but... No, I've never seen two players that are very pally at all that work; two outside-lefts, two outside-rights, never'.

A test of the influence of team position on friendship choices is complicated by the fact that in the modern game of professional football, most players are expected to be versatile. (3) This means that they could be made to play in a number of different positions. Therefore, players could be competing with a number of teammates for a number of different team positions. That is:

'Within a club like this everybody is fighting everybody else for a position. Even though he plays a different position to you, you're still fighting him for position because it all means a difference. Although he may play outside-left and you play in the back four (defence) they could switch around so they could do without a left-winger and you could play. They could play without a left-winger and put an extra man at the back. So you're fighting against everybody for a position in the team, not just people who are centre-halves, right-backs'.

The/....

The relationship in question was tested in two different ways. The first used data from Figure 14.1 and related a player's team position to that of the first friend mentioned (see Table 15.1). Because players were not asked to name their best friend on the team, it was assumed that this could act as a crude indicator. Next, a player's team position was related to those of all friends mentioned.

TABLE 15.1  
Relationship Between Best Friends  
and Team Positions

<u>Team Position</u>	<u>Friend's Position</u>	
	<u>Same</u>	<u>Different</u>
Defender/Sweeper	-	8
Mid-field	2	7
Full-back	-	3
Striker/Forward	-	6
Goalkeeper	-	3
Outside-left	-	1
Outside-right	-	1
Total	<u>2</u>	<u>29</u>

Because the data on Table 15.1 speaks for itself, and because of the limited numbers involved, a test of significance was not applied in this case. Nevertheless, we see that with the exception of two cases, 94% of the subjects were in a team position that was different from that of their best friend on the team. However, when the team positions of all friends mentioned by each subject were related to each player's position, we find that team position bears no/....

no significant relationship to friendship choices (determined by comparing observed to expected frequencies). What can we conclude from this information?

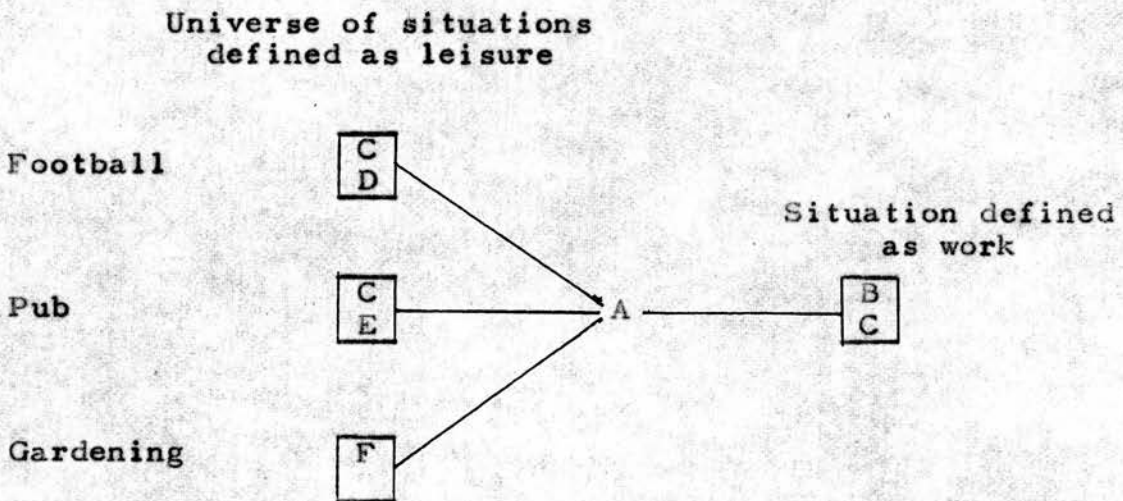
We can conclude that the closer the friendship, the greater the likelihood that the individuals concerned will not be contenders for the same team position. A situation of this nature does not take place in an amateur football situation simply because of the numbers involved. With eleven positions to be filled, an amateur team's pool rarely goes beyond thirteen or fourteen individuals. This is because a fifteenth player will not be asked to join (or on the other hand, he will not attempt to join) unless he is slotted to replace an existing player. If he does join under these conditions, the player who has been replaced will eventually, and generally on his own accord, leave to find another team where he can get a game. In a professional football situation, if a new player is brought into the pool, the player whom he has replaced will be dropped from the first team to play in the reserves (unless his contract has expired in which case he may be given a free transfer). He is unable to join another professional team on his own volition and will be forced to "fight" to get his place back. This suggests that there tends to be an optimum size reached through a natural levelling of participants vis-a-vis the number of positions (i.e. rewards) on the team in an amateur and not in a professional football situation. For this reason, competition for a place/....

place on an amateur team (although present) is not a major consideration. But it is a major consideration in a professional football situation and it is one reason why friendships in general tend to be stronger in a football situation defined as leisure.

The third reason why the criterion for friendship differs between situations is that at any point in time people generally participate in a single remunerated situation defined as work and in a multitude of situations defined as leisure. This point can be clarified through the hypothetical example in Figure 15.1.

FIGURE 15.1

Social Relations of Individual A:  
An Example



In this example, A associates with B and C in his work situation, and with C, D, E, and F, in different leisure situations. It is likely that A will acknowledge B, and especially likely that he will acknowledge C (because A also shares/.....

shares two leisure situations with C) as friends at work. It is likely, furthermore, that both B and C will reciprocate this acknowledgement because the criteria for friendships in a work situation include associates, and because A, B and C do not participate in other work situations. But in a specific leisure situation (football for example) A might not acknowledge D as a friend because he might not feel as close to D as he does to C, or E, or F. And this results from A using a different criterion to identify a friend in a leisure situation (where friendships tend to be stronger), and from A's participation in leisure situations beyond playing football.

Now it can be suggested that the reciprocal relationships among the Pros were not for the most part relationships between close friends but were between work-mates who spent a great deal of time together. Those among the amateur footballers, on the other hand, were for the most part relationships between close friends who spent relatively less time together. If we accept this suggestion the sociograms presented in Chapter 14 take on a different perspective. Now we can conclude that although the question of friends among teammates was the same for all football subjects, because the amateurs were naming friends in a situation defined as leisure and the majority of the Pros were naming friends in a situation defined as work, the meanings behind the answers given differed between the two groups. And this difference (which was not/....

not apparent at the time of the interviews) can account for the greater proportion of reciprocal to total friendship choices among the Pros as compared to the amateur subjects. The observation made earlier that social life is integrally related to an amateur and not to a professional football situation thus remains viable.

We can test this conclusion by looking at three issues. First, we shall enquire into whom footballers play for. Do they play for themselves or do they play for their teammates? Next, we will look at attitudes toward being replaced. Few footballers enjoy being left out of the team unless they are injured or feel the need to rest. We shall enquire into attitudes toward being replaced with specific reference to attitudes toward one's replacement. Finally, we shall look at ball distribution patterns during a game to see if players tended to pass to their friends.

#### PLAYING FOR SELF OR OTHERS

During the participant observation with the Pros, the team was involved in a number of important matches such as Cup Ties and a Derby. Following one particular game which resulted in a draw, the local newspaper quoted the manager as saying "they (the players) gave me everything". This statement (whether accurately reported or not) led to an investigation into whether the Pros did in fact play for the manager. The investigation was further extended to an enquiry into whom the football subjects played for; themselves/....

themselves, their teammates, the manager (or captain), the fans or the club. Responses to the question which asked all football subjects whom they played for are reproduced on Table 15.2 and separated by the subjects' definitions of their football situation.

TABLE 15.2

Whom Footballers Play for

<u>Play For</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>		
	<u>Pros</u>		<u>Amateurs</u>
	<u>Work</u>	<u>Leisure*</u>	<u>Leisure</u>
Teammates	16	2	23
Myself	22	4	10
Manager/Captain	10	2	4
Fans/Club	5	1	-
Enjoyment	-	-	6
Total	27	5	25

\*Includes subjects who defined football as work and leisure

The first point to note on Table 15.2 is that only 38% of the Pros said they played for the manager. This suggests that the manager's newspaper comment gave a false impression as to where a professional footballer's loyalties lie. No doubt both the manager and most players did not take this statement seriously for it was typical of the image that professional football clubs attempt to portray in the media. For example, one player said:

'Take for example a British Leyland factory and the foreman comes to the shop floor and he says, look/.....

look lads, we've got 100 cars to get off this line by Friday. And on Friday 98 cars have gone off the line. He's going to say the same thing to the directors. I couldn't ask any more. They worked like Trojans but we've failed. That's the same sort of statement. He is making a statement for the press to give to supporters that the players could not have worked any harder to try and bring the club success'.

To return to Table 15.2, we see that 83% of those who defined football as leisure (unless otherwise specified references to subjects who defined football as leisure include all amateur subjects plus those Pros who defined it as leisure or as work and leisure) compared to 47% of those who defined it as work mentioned that they played for the benefit of their teammates. Furthermore, 47% of the former compared to 81% of the latter mentioned they played for their own benefit. For example, from those who defined football as work:

'I've got to play well or else I'll be out of a job'.

'I play for myself and my wife and my wee boy. I don't think I owe anybody else anything. I want my wife and my wee boy to do well and I don't think I owe anybody else anything'.

'In this day and age and in this game I've got to admit you have to play for yourself, within the framework of the team. If you shine and the rest of the boys on the team play rubbish at the end of the day you're happy. It's your own individual performance that counts'.

And from those who defined football as leisure:

'I think it's a team game. There's not very much in being an individual because you put yourself out on a limb. There's another ten players on the side who are as able and equipped as you are to play football so there's no point for you to play for yourself'.

'I like to play well but I feel I'm a team player. I don't know how I can justify that except to say that I'm not the type of player who likes to beat three/....

three men. I can't do that. In fact it's the worst part of my game. I pass the ball. So I feel that essentially I've got to be a team player. I'd be hopeless on my own. So I do feel that though I like to play well and this is what I get from football, I think I probably play for the team. I don't really think there's any question of playing for the captain'.

Although the above data suggests a relationship between whom one played for and a definition of football, we encounter problems in interpreting this data. The first relates to the possibility that the subjects were appealing to a typical "vocabulary of motives" appropriate to the situation in question.<sup>(4)</sup> But even if this was the case, the fact remains that most respondents believed their responses to be true. This assumption is based on the fact that this author shared football situations with the subjects and was on friendly terms with most of the players. The interviews were conducted on a personal level and it was felt that the majority of respondents attempted to answer each question in an honest and sincere manner.

The second problem in interpreting the data relates to the fact that we find subjects who defined football as leisure and who admitted to playing for themselves, and subjects who defined it as work and who said they played for their teammates. In fact, from the five Pros who defined football as leisure four said they played both for themselves and for others. And here we encounter the problem of the subjects' interpretation of "playing for oneself" and of "playing for others".

In the game of football, playing for oneself can be/....

be interpreted in two ways. It can suggest that a player tends to keep the ball to himself in an attempt to display his own skills. In this sense, he plays for personal recognition or glory. It can also be interpreted as playing for personal satisfaction or enjoyment. The distinction is not clear between these interpretations as playing to display one's skills can be a player's source of enjoyment. The difference is one of emphasis. Where the former suggests a negative approach to a team game, the latter (at least in an amateur game) can be an accepted approach to the game.

Playing for others can be equally ambiguous. For to play for the manager can suggest either that a player is indirectly playing for himself by impressing the manager, or that a player wants his team to win because of his personal respect for the manager. Playing for teammates, because it can bring social rewards, is similarly not as clear cut as one would expect. As an example:

'You like to see (the manager) do well, the club do well, and see yourself do well. The more you give (the manager) the more it goes the other way. The more the club gets, the more you get. So the more you give the boss, the better for yourself'.

Because of the ambiguous nature of these terms, it is difficult to ascertain which interpretation or combination of interpretations each player applied when responding to the question on whom they played for. It is possible that when an amateur footballer said he played for himself he could mean that he played for enjoyment. But/....

But when a professional used this same expression, he could mean that he played for personal advancement. This suggests that a simple question asked of respondents can be interpreted differently depending upon each respondent's definition of the situation toward which the question is directed (a case that is similar to a measure of social cohesion in situations defined as work or leisure).

At the risk of imposing an interpretation on the data, we can assume that "playing for oneself" was not interpreted in the same way by the remunerated and by the non-remunerated footballers. This assumption is based on the fact that if a professional displays his skills, he has more to gain and less to lose than the amateur. The professional can receive praise from the media, recognition from the crowd, and last but not least, if we assume a blend between displaying one's own skills and playing within the framework of the team, he can secure his financial position.<sup>(5)</sup> In terms of losses, if we include the assumption that participants are oriented toward weaker social relationships in a remunerated football situation, players who retain the ball, although resented will (within limits) be tolerated by teammates. If, on the other hand, an amateur displays his skills, he has nothing to gain but personal enjoyment.<sup>(6)</sup> But because social relationships in general tend to be stronger in this football situation, his teammates will not be as willing to tolerate this type of behaviour. We can also recall that when all subjects were/....

were asked to differentiate between a professional and an amateur, the most frequently mentioned characteristics were that the former played for his livelihood and the latter played for enjoyment (see Appendix 1, Table 1).

Notwithstanding the assumption that playing for oneself could mean different things in different football situations, Table 15.2 establishes the fact that 41% of those who defined football as work and only 17% of those who defined it as leisure did not play for the benefit of their teammates. Is it logical to assume that social relations tended to be stronger in a football situation defined as work? If they were, one would expect that a greater proportion of those who defined football as work would play for the benefit of their teammates. Similarly, one would expect the opposite from those who defined it as leisure. If, attitudinal differences toward whom one played for proved to be an exception we could assume that there was no relationship between strength of friendships and the definition of a situation. To test this assumption we can compare attitudes toward playing for the benefit of teammates to attitudes toward one's replacement on the team. For if attitudes toward the latter reflect attitudes toward the former, we can conclude that friendships tend to be stronger in a football situation defined as leisure.

#### ATTITUDE TOWARD REPLACEMENT

As mentioned, unless a player is injured or believes/.....

believes within himself that he is off form, no footballer wants to be left off the team. This holds for all footballers regardless of their definition of football.

Certainly, when compared to the amateur, the professional has more to lose if left off the team. But from the amateur's point of view, being left off the team can be a serious matter and a source of extreme disappointment.

We can recall from Chapter 11 that this researcher was told by a member of Amateur 2 to watch a player's face when the team list was announced because the individual concerned would be left off the team. On this occasion:

X was obviously very unhappy about being a substitute in to-day's game. Y asked X if he scored last week (which he had) and X said 'and the week before that but it doesn't seem to matter'. He then left the dressing room. Seeing X leave in an angry state, everybody laughed and thought it quite amusing. B commented that X last scored in 1968. Again, everybody laughed.

The player's reaction to X's anger can be accounted for partly by the pre-game atmosphere of nervous banter and partly by what might be interpreted as X's childish behaviour. This incident suggests, however, that everything being equal, there is no reason to assume that attitudes toward one's replacement will differ between football situations. But, is everything equal?

In Chapter 8, it was suggested that to characterize football as a rat-race was more likely in a football situation defined as work than in one defined as leisure. This condition resulted, in part, from the presence of the money/....

money component and from competition for places on the team. As this might have an affect on players' attitudes toward teammates, all football subjects were asked how they felt about a teammate who replaced them. Responses are summarized on Table 15.3.

TABLE 15.3

Attitudes Toward Replacement

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>		
	<u>Pros</u>		<u>Amateurs</u>
	<u>Work</u>	<u>Leisure*</u>	<u>Leisure</u>
No ill feeling/not his fault	13	2	19
Hope he plays badly	17	4	6
Hope he plays well	-	-	1
Hate him/hope he is injured	1	-	1
<b>Total</b>	<u>27</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>27</u>

\* Includes subjects who defined football as work and leisure

A player can be left out of the team either because he is injured or because he is off form. To gain (or regain) one's position on the team two conditions must be met. First, the player who has been replaced must regain his form, and second, the form of the replacement must be below that of the one who has been replaced. Of these conditions, the first is necessary but not sufficient for regaining one's place in the Pros' team. Consequently, 68% of the Pros admitted that they hoped their replacement would play poorly. In amateur football, regaining one's form is likely to be a sufficient condition for regaining one's place on the team. Consequently, only 22% of the amateur subjects/.....

subjects admitted that they hoped their replacement would play poorly.

An extreme exception to this tendency includes one amateur player who said that he would be pleased if his replacement was injured. That is:

'You're wanting in so bad you're wishing somebody would break his leg. You're wanting somebody to get injured. You want the team to win but at the same time you're wanting somebody to get hurt'.

This individual could either be regarded as an exception, or he could be regarded as the only one of 61 football subjects who was being honest on this point. It is the opinion of this author, however, that a desire to see a teammate injured was definitely an exception. Incidentally, this subject mentioned elsewhere in the interview that he enjoyed football because 'you can shout at folk, you can kick folk, you can lose your temper and just get general enjoyment'.

Examples of statements on this issue by those who defined football as work include:

'In that respect it's a rat-race because you don't want him to do as well as what you do. Even when you're out and even when the team is doing well and they say all together lads, one, two, three, this happy spirit, even when you're out no matter how well the team's going you want to play. In all honesty, any chap must say he hopes the chap has a bad game because he wants back in the team. That's a professional outlook from that point of view. It's a hard one but I think it's a realistic one'.

'If you're dropped it's a rat-race. He might be your best friend. I mean X (this individual's best friend on the team) might go into my position. But obviously I'm not hoping he makes a hit of it. Because/....

Because if he makes a hit I'm lost... it's cut throat'.

'It would be a lie if you said I hope he goes out and has a great game because obviously you don't want that. A lot of the guys I know maybe would say I wish he would go and break his leg. I wouldn't go so far as to say that.

In a joking manner this player went on to say:

'You wouldn't like him to go out and break his leg; his neck or his back would be fine. I'm trying to be serious'.

The following field note entry also demonstrates this attitude. The player in question was a regular first team player who was off the team due to an injury. The entry was made while the Pros were going through a losing streak.

'Everybody was in to-day and the dressing room was very quiet (in stark contrast to the usual banter). Player A noticed the quiet and asked B why he didn't start to sing. I asked A why it was so quiet and he said he didn't know. He then said it was probably because the radio was turned off. The quiet was only broken by A who was singing quietly in the corner. Although this is conjecture, I had the feeling that A was the only player who did not seem to be unhappy about the team's current losses'.

The next example was recorded after player A (above) regained his place on the team.

Player B complained that now that A is back he and C will either be playing less on the first team or will have to play back as opposed to forward where they played in A's absence.

Examples of statements from those who defined football as leisure include:

'If I think the player's better than me then I don't mind it. If it's a social game then I don't mind him taking my place. I mean if the team is run for social reasons, just for a game like we did with the three full-backs. There was none better than the rest so we alternated them/....

them to give them each a game'.

'In his first game I wish him quite well - no, I hope he won't do much better than I did. I think if he did well in his first game and it looked like he was going to displace me I would just cut my losses, wish him well and look for another team'.

'I told (the captain) at the beginning of the season, if you don't think I'm playing well enough and there's boys that are due a game, I say put these boys in, I'll be substitute... I won't be playing for ever, he'll maybe be a younger boy than me'.

There are four reasons why the amateur footballers tended not to hope their replacement would play poorly. The first (mentioned above) stems from the relative ease of getting a game in amateur football in conjunction with the ease of finding another amateur team if one does not get a game. For example:

'I'd only expect to get back on the team if I felt I could play better than the chap that was playing. It's happened in my career quite often. In fact it's one reason I fell out with that other First Division (amateur) team I played with. I thought they were playing boys that I thought I could have played better than. That's why I left the team, it was the final crunch'.

'If somebody's playing well in my position then there's bound to be somebody playing badly in another position... If you were dropped one week, you knew you were going to be playing the next week'.

The next reason is that an amateur team is not always picked on merit. That is:

'Being an amateur team we don't always pick the best available players. There's other considerations. You're playing for pleasure, you're not playing for money and it takes more than eleven players to run Amateur 2. So somebody's got to be a sub... The team's not being picked on merit, it was just to keep everybody happy'.

That this should be so was not apparent during the participant observation/....

observation with Amateur 1. Thus, a question on the criteria used for team selection was only included in the questions asked of the Amateur 2 players.

From eleven respondents, only two said that they felt the selection committee (i.e. the captain and vice-captain) picked the best available men for the team. Seven players felt the committee tended to pick their friends, two felt certain players were included to keep harmony in the team, one committee member mentioned that he would include a loyal team man, and two mentioned that the captain and vice-captain tended to include themselves every week regardless of how they were playing. For example:

'It might be a question of they've got a pool of about 14, 15 players and they want to keep giving people a game to keep players happy, so you've got a pool all the time. I would go along with that because I certainly feel badly for somebody who was sitting out for 13 games. I think he would be daft for carrying on with the club like that. That would be one reason for not putting in the best eleven. But there are other things that come into it that shouldn't. In our club every player, the first thing they're interested in is getting a game and it's very few people who will stand down unless they're picked to stand down. On our team if you pick a captain and a vice-captain, the captain and the vice-captain are automatically picked. Whereas sometimes one of them might not be one of the best eleven. And I think there's been arguments about that this season'.

'Amateur 2 is one of the worst teams for that. It's the old school tie and pat on the back. Like X, he never comes to training and there's young guys who are really trying and X always gets a game'.

'In professional football the manager will pick the best eleven he thinks fit, those who will do the job for him. In amateur there's a little favouritism/.....

favouritism here and there. There will be the boy who maybe never kicked a ball for six weeks but he maybe went out drinking the night before with the boy, that's his pal, he'll be on the team'.

As a final example, a committee member said:

'When you talk about an amateur team you've got to consider things like who is a good team man and who isn't. He might play this week and bugger off next week. That's something that has to be considered. You've got to bear in mind who's going to stick with the team through thick and thin; as I said before, who's likely to help me wash the strip... An amateur team needs good club men as well as good players. And you won't get these good club men to stay around if they're not going to get a game now and again. You don't have the inducement of money as you have with professional football. Your only inducement is to give them a game'.

The third reason is that the consequences of being replaced in professional football can be greater than those in an amateur football situation. This has been discussed earlier so here it can simply be mentioned that in a professional football situation, if a player is replaced he may have difficulty regaining his place on the team.<sup>(7)</sup> And when this happens he will suffer a decline in income and status. For the professional player:

"has confidence in the knowledge of his fitness in his camaraderie, and his performance. He is deprived of all these when he is injured - he is deprived of his role". (8)

The amateur player, on the other hand, is not deprived of his role (used in its broader societal sense) or his income if replaced in a game.

The fourth reason, which in essence is a consequence of the other three, is that social relations between teammates/....

teammates tended to be stronger in the amateur football situation.

Attitudes toward one's replacement are thus consistent with those toward playing for the benefit of teammates. As such, both are consistent with the more general suggestion that social relations tend to be stronger in a football situation defined as leisure than in one defined as work. The relationship between these attitudes is not causal; the two simply reflect the more general attitude toward others in a situation. Therefore, in a football situation defined (by the majority) as work, where social relations tended not to be strong, participants tended to play for themselves rather than for the benefit of their teammates and tended to hope their replacement would play poorly. But in a football situation defined as leisure where social relations tended to be strong, participants tended to play for the benefit of their teammates and tended not to hope that their replacement would play poorly.

These issues demonstrate once again that a definition of a situation is based on the individual's total orientation toward a situation and that this orientation involves consistency in the internal organization of attitudes.

#### EFFECTS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS ON BALL DISTRIBUTION

In order to determine the extent of the influence of/.....

of friendships in a football situation, it was decided to test whether or not friendships had an effect on whom players passed to during a game. Based on the conclusion that friendships tended to be stronger in a football situation defined as leisure, it is conceivable that players in that situation would be more inclined to pass to their friends.

Eamon Dunphy (a professional footballer) said the following about research into the effects of friendships on passing patterns:

"Paddy was also telling us about their psychologist and his current theory that you pass more often to your friends. Of course that brought everybody diving in with cracks. "Do you hate each other at Palace, then?" "Got a lot of great friends in the opposition, then Paddy?", that kind of thing". (9)

It is apparent from the above comment that professional footballers do not have much time for academics who theorize on the relationship between friendships and passing patterns. Nevertheless (and at the risk of appearing foolish), all football subjects were asked if some players on their team tended to pass the ball to their friends. Responses are recorded on Table 15.4.

TABLE 15.4

Ball Passing to Friends or Man in Best Position

<u>Pass to</u>	<u>Number Responding</u>	
	<u>Pros</u>	<u>Amateurs</u>
Some Pass to Friends	8	12
Pass to Man in Best Position	19	12
Total	27	24

Statements/....

Statements which exemplify the above include:

Pros

'I think it's evenly distributed through the game. There's no sort of, oh, he's my friend and I'll give it to him and I'm not keen on him. You just give it to whoever's there. It doesn't matter who it is'.

'I think one or two players do tend to give it to their favourites; to their mates, players that they think will give it back. If they have a wee grudge against them... There's one or two players I think in the club that tend to play to their mates. Others don't; the biggest half of them don't'.

Amateurs

'Yes without doubt. When I was captain 2 or 3 years ago there were two people in particular, X who retired this year and Y. They played at university together before coming to Amateur 2, and they blatantly played to each other to the extent that they froze out the others. I had to speak to them about it. They denied that they done it deliberately and were not even aware of it. There was no question about it. They were also very good friends off the field'.

'I don't think friends come into it. I think it's more the way certain players play and the way they can pass the ball; they can go only this way or that way'.

We see from the above that 50% of the amateur subjects and only 30% of the Pros thought friendships had an effect on passing patterns. This suggests that, if friendships did have an effect on passing patterns, that effect is more likely to be present in amateur than in professional football. It will be of interest, therefore, to compare the subjects' impressions of the relationship between friendships and passing patterns to what actually took place in a game. Before looking at this data, we can/....

can quote a study carried out on a Hungarian First Division soccer club. This investigation concluded that:

"players who were friendly with one another passed the ball to each other significantly more often than to those with whom they either were not friendly, to those they did not like, or to those they did not know - like new signings - even though on numerous occasions it would have been better (in terms of increased likelihood of scoring a goal or a diminished probability of one being conceded) to pass to those other people. This shows that friendship ties transcend all others as far as ball distribution is concerned". (10)

The evidence cited above contradicts the opinion of the majority of the Pros. Let us examine, therefore, to whom the Pros, as compared to the amateur subjects, tended to pass the ball; to friends, to whomever was considered the best player, or to others. Data for this analysis was based on five Amateur 1, seven Amateur 2, and five Pros games. It was compiled through recording the path of distribution of the ball during regular league matches. Whenever the ball was passed (i.e. kicked, headed or thrown) from one player to another, a notation was made in terms of who sent the ball to whom. This included completed and non-completed passes based on a criterion of intent.

Analysis began through creating a matrix<sup>(11)</sup> for each match in terms of how many times each player passed the ball to a friend, to whomever that player considers to be the best players, or to others. Players' friends were ascertained through responses to the question (dealt with in Chapter 14) which asked all players to name their friends/....

friends on their team. Best players were assessed through asking each player whom he considered to be the best players on his team.

Because each player had a different number of friends, best players and others to choose from during a given match, the following ratios were computed for each player in each match.

Number of passes to best friend  
Number of best friends in a given match

Number of passes to best player  
Number of best players in a given match

Number of passes to others  
Number of others in a given match

The above three ratios recorded the average frequency of passes from each player to each category of receivers. The greatest of the three ratios tells us which category of receivers was favoured by a given ball passer during a given match, i.e. which category received the greatest proportion of passes. The next step simply involved counting the number of times each category of receivers was favoured by all ball passers on each of the three teams studied. This number is expressed on Table 15.5 as a percentage of the total.

TABLE 15.5

Percentage of Times Each Category of Receiver  
Was Favoured

	<u>Category of Receiver</u>		
	<u>Best Friend</u>	<u>Best Player</u>	<u>Others</u>
Amateur 1	24	50	26
Amateur 2	19	32	49
Pros	22	25	53

To record ball passing in each of the three categories of receivers can be somewhat problematic based on the fact that the ball generally moves from defenders through the mid-fielders to the forwards. Thus, if a forward named a defender as a best friend (or as a best player) one would assume that it would be unlikely that he will intentionally pass to that defender. When the ball passing matrices were arranged by field position (from defenders through mid-fielders to forwards), and although we find an increase in the number of passes through these field positions, passes did occur although less frequently from forwards to defenders. Furthermore, even if there was a bias in terms of the direction in which the ball moved up the field, passing to others (i.e. not best friends or best players) is similarly affected by this bias. And because best friends and best players are randomly distributed over all field positions, this bias has little effect on the data presented.

From Table 15.5 we can conclude that given the subjects of this enquiry, friendship was not a decisive criterion in ball passing. We see, for example, that Amateur 1 tended to use best player as a criterion, while both the Pros and Amateur 2 tended to pass to others; presumably the player in the best position.

That this should take place can be accounted for by the different quality of football played by each of the three teams. And this can be measured in terms of the number/....

number of passes between all players in a given game. Where Amateur 1 passed an average of 59 times, they tended to pass to the players whom they felt would do something with the ball. Amateur 2 who passed an average of 135 times, tended to rely on those who might be considered the better players and others. The Pros, on the other hand, passed an average of 190 times during their games and subsequently tended to rely on others. For at the professional level (to quote a Pros player)

'Most of the players, they're all much the same ability. That's why they're there professionally'.

As a side point, and one that applies more so to the amateur teams, it is likely that a player who is considered to be a best player is also one who is usually in the best position for a pass. For part of a footballer's skill is the ability to "read" a game, thereby placing himself in a good position for a pass. A further point which could affect passing patterns is a player's ability to "shout" for the ball. Often the loudest player will receive the most passes. An Amateur 1 player described this situation in a Sunday team:

'In the Sunday team we've got a pretty good team. We win most games but the ball goes through one boy a lot. It's only because he shouts for it more than anybody else. He's probably the worst of the three mid-field players, but he shouts a lot and a lot of the ball goes through him. They're maybe starving better players'.

Although friendships did not affect the distribution of the ball in the games analyzed, it might have an/.....

an effect in less competitive game situations such as training games, kick-about or teams in lower divisions. For example, when the Pros were asked about friendship biases in passing the ball, the majority mentioned that this was more likely to happen in a training game. A number of their reasons were as follows:

'It happens more in training. In the Saturday games there's just so much pressure and so much at stake that they'll give you the ball if you're in... a perfect example in our game on Saturday. I gave X a couple of passes and he gave me a couple of passes back. But had it been training I would never have passed him the ball... We had a wee argument on Saturday just before the half-time whistle. He turned around to me and said that I was not marking this man. And before I could turn around and say look, I'm on my way out to play an 'off side' ... he stood there and argued... We went into the second half and I found that the first chance I had I gave him the ball and he gives it back... But had that been a wee 5-a-side you would never have thought of giving it to him. Why? I don't know. It's just because they have to, the pressure's on them to give you it'.

'It's certainly more at training when there's less at stake. There's players who will only pass it to their friends. I could stand out and shout for the ball and I wouldn't get it if someone else was shouting. That goes on all the time but it's less obvious on Saturday because it's more important on a Saturday'.

'In the training games they tend to pass the ball to their pals if they are marked or not. Whereas on Saturday it matters to them because if whoever's got the ball is passing to their pal, if they're marked they know it's going to be his fault. So he looks to give it to somebody else'.

A number of amateur subjects also felt that passing to a friend was more prevalent in training games. For example:

'It happens double as much in a Tuesday (training) game. Because the (Saturday) game's a bit more important/....

important than on a Tuesday and they want to win... In a Tuesday game everybody is out to show how well they can play and you've got a tendency to pass it to your friend all the time'.

'It would happen more often (in a training game) because it's nowhere near as important'.

These findings can be compared to those from a study which investigated passes among basketball players. The subjects of that study were in groups of three and passes were recorded during training games. Two conclusions from that study are relevant here. These include:

"Interaction during the game situation (herein defined as passes) appear more often among team members who have elected themselves mutually in a sociometric inventory than among team members who have not elected themselves or have rejected themselves". (12)

"The stronger the opponent, the less distribution of passes is determined by sociometric choices". (13)

The first conclusion quoted was meant to apply to a game situation in general. As such it contradicts the data on Table 15.5. But, if applied to the less competitive training games of the football subjects (for the basketball study was conducted primarily on artificial training game situations), we find that the first conclusion reflects the behaviour in the footballers' training games. If, on the other hand, we apply the second conclusion to the football subjects' regular game situations, we find that it is compatible with the data presented on Table 15.5

The above analysis suggests that differences in attitudes toward others in a situation do not necessarily affect all forms of behaviour in that situation. For here/....

here we have a case where players, regardless of their definition of football, tended to pass the ball either to whomever was considered to be the best player, as with Amateur 1, or to others (presumably to whomever was considered to be in the best position), as with Amateur 2 and the Pros. The reason for this is that passing to a friend (assuming that a friend is not considered to be one of the better players or in the best position) as a criterion for distributing the ball is antithetical to the primary goals of all footballers in a competitive game situation. And these include playing well and being on a winning team. Friendships can affect ball passing in less competitive game situations because these are generally considered to be less important and because the "pressure" is off.

To summarize the above, it has been suggested that in a football situation defined as leisure where the individual is oriented toward realizing positive expectations, social relations in general tend to be strong. Consequently, the subjects concerned tended to play for their teammates rather than for their own benefit and most did not wish to see their replacement play poorly. But in a football situation defined by the majority as work where the individual is oriented toward complying with negative expectations, social relations in general did not tend to be strong. Consequently, the majority of these subjects would have liked to see their replacement play poorly and most played for their own benefit rather than for the benefit of their teammates. Differences in definition/.....

definition and strength of friendships did not appear to be related to whom players passed the ball during a regular non-training game.

Although these conclusions might not come as a surprise,<sup>(14)</sup> they do have ramifications for sociologists interested in inter-group dynamics. For on the one hand they suggest that the term "friendship" is ambiguously used in everyday discourse and that questions about relations between co-workers might reflect this ambiguity. On the other hand, they suggest that a measure of cohesion for a group or groups of individuals within a situation defined as work could carry a different meaning if the same measure was used in a situation defined as leisure. We see, for example, that Figure 14.1, contains a greater proportion of reciprocally acknowledged friendship choices than Figures 14.2 and 3. If one was to apply a measure of cohesion to compare the three football teams (such as that used by Festinger),<sup>(15)</sup> no doubt the Pros would appear to be more cohesive (i.e. they would end up with a higher index of cohesion) than the two amateur teams. But because the Pros were using a criterion for identifying friends on their team that differed from that used by the amateur players, the Pros would be falsely portrayed as being more cohesive than the amateur teams.

Given the above (and this is conjecture), it is conceivable that some of those individuals who were not named by teammates as friends on Figures 14.2 and 14.3, would/....

would have been named as friends if the two amateur teams studied involved football situations defined by the majority as work. For these players appeared to interact with teammates in a manner that was similar to that observed among the Pros.

As this is the last of the three attitude continua to be dealt with, it should now be apparent that the three continua represent inter-related dimensions of the more general orientation/definition continuum. This is another way of saying that each continuum only becomes relevant if seen in the context of the individual's total orientation toward a situation. The inter-relatedness of these continua will be elaborated on in the concluding chapter. But before turning to that discussion, our analysis of meanings of work and leisure can be enriched through a look at instances where situations have been redefined.

CHAPTER 16

REDEFINING SITUATIONS

It was mentioned earlier that research on the definition of the situation has for the most part been restricted to small group situations under experimental or laboratory conditions. Subjects are confronted with a 'crisis', while the researcher attempts to uncover the process involved in defining that situation.

Because social research under laboratory or contrived conditions does not always reflect conditions outside the laboratory, this chapter is concerned with outlining the process and some factors involved in redefining football situations. It will demonstrate that situational redefinitions can be monitored, and that because crises occur naturally as a change in circumstances, they need not be artificially introduced.

To begin with the Pros, the interview responses recorded an older player who mentioned that he adjusted his definition of professional football after joining its ranks. This individual, who defined football as work, when asked why he defined it this way replied: 'the older you get, the more it becomes a job'. Further on in the interview/....

interview this player said:

'Once it starts to mean bread and butter to (the younger players) it will click like that. It's still too much like a game to them. It's just fun, it's all too much fun to them. But once these young boys start to learn how much it matters to the older players... you've got to get it in your head'.

Here the suggestion is that the original image and definition held by players who were new to the professional game, might be revised when the reality of professional football took its effect. But is this suggestion accurate? Did the Pros players tend to define football as work after being in the game for some time? To assess this suggestion, and because there is a positive relationship between age and length of time playing professional football, we can relate players' ages to their definition of professional football.

Table 16.1

Relationship Between Age and Definition  
of Professional Football

<u>Age</u>	<u>Football Defined as</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Work</u>	<u>Work/Leisure</u>	<u>Leisure</u>	
17	5	-	-	5
18	-	-	-	-
19	4	-	-	4
20	1	2	-	3
21	4	1	-	5
22	1	-	1	2
23	1	-	1	2
24-34	11	-	-	11
Total	<u>27</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>32</u>

Because those Pros who defined their football situation as leisure, or as work and leisure were few in number, and because the data on Table 16.1 relates length of/....

of time in professional football to players' definitions at one point in time, we are unable to make a definitive statement on definitions changing with time. It is conceivable that those subjects who defined football as leisure, or as work and leisure, could retain that definition throughout their football career. Nevertheless, and in spite of these limitations, we see that at the time of the research, players who did not define football as work were between twenty and twenty-three years of age. Players who were less than twenty, defined football as work because most were in their first year of professional football. They knew that their first year was a trial period, and their lack of felt security may have led to a definition of work. As a further reason, the five players who were seventeen years of age were on the 'ground crew' and were subjected to clean-up chores at the stadium. One member of the ground crew said for example:

'While you're cleaning up the stands you're thinking it's rotten that you should be doing that... You know training's your work, and you know cleaning up is your work, and so you don't really differentiate between them. You know that both has got to be done, so you just go ahead and do it'.

Players between twenty and twenty-three years of age had been in professional football for a few years and most had gained a degree of security. They were no longer subjected to clean-up chores, and many were breaking into the First team. Because this meant an increase in the glory, glamour, and money of professional football, we find that this stage in a footballer's career is likely/....

likely to include those who defined football as leisure, or as work and leisure.

After twenty-three years of age, none of the Pros defined their football situation as leisure, or as work and leisure. This could follow from the fact that the initial excitement and personal satisfaction of being in the First team was dissipated somewhat by the reality of professional football: a reality which included a day-to-day routine, tensions, pressures, competition for a place on the team, increased financial responsibilities, the prospect of a short career, and so on. Therefore, as length of time in professional football involved changes in circumstances, and as these changes could include negative expectations, perhaps there is some truth in the suggestion that 'the older you get, the more it becomes a job'.

Changes in circumstances in a professional football situation can also be immediate. And these can bring about immediate redefinitions. As an example, one player who defined professional football as leisure said:

'It's only when things are going against you that you think of it as a job. When things are going with you in the First team, it's still a sport... When things start struggling and you're in the Reserves and that, it will be a job I suppose; trying to get into the First team and that. It's a sport just now though'.

This player suggested that if, for whatever reason, he lost and was having difficulty regaining his place on the/.....

the First team, he would redefine his football situation from leisure to work. With this example, we see an individual who was able to realize certain positive expectations in the First team, but felt he would have to comply with additional negative expectations if he was dropped to the Reserve team. As a result, he defined the former situation as leisure, and the latter as work. For an additional example of players redefining their football situation due to an immediate change in circumstances, we can look to the prevalence of horseplay.

During the participant observation with the Pros, the field notes recorded numerous instances of behaviour that was loosely referred to as "horseplay". The following entries were typical of this behaviour:

In the dressing room there was the usual horseplay, such as throwing cold water on those who were in the bath. One of the older players was thrown into the bath wearing his track suit.

On the bus back to the stadium, once again horseplay ensued. Wrestling, pushing, shoving, and yelling went on for the whole of the journey to the stadium.

We were told to put on our football boots. X and Y went into the closet to collect their boots and Z locked them in. After banging on the door for some time, A let them out. I have seen this happen on two occasions in the past.

Individuals were thrown fully clothed into the bath on a number of occasions. The following entry describes one such occasion:

To-day was my last day with the Pros. After training, and as I entered the dressing room, X came up to me and asked the time. I told him I wasn't wearing my watch. Upon hearing this reply, six/...

six players grabbed me and carried me to the bath. They threw me in with my clothes on (I was wearing a track suit and football boots). I was told later that when somebody was leaving the club it was a tradition to throw him in the bath with his clothes on.

Horseplay is not restricted to professional football<sup>(1)</sup>, nor is it restricted to the Pros. Alan Gowling describes his English teammates as follows:

"The light-heartedness that players find so necessary in their attitude to training is carried over into their relations with other players... Socks are sent flying across the dressing room towards someone who is not looking, shoes or underpants can go missing from someone's peg, or some player could end up being dipped in a cold bath with his kit on". (2)

Having looked at the nature of horseplay among players on two professional teams, we are now in a position to look at its function and cause. For this will give us additional insight into how, why, and when the Pros redefined their football situation.

To begin with the function of horseplay, Alan Gowling suggests that it "could be viewed as childish playing, but it helps to take the tensions away from the players for at least a little while".<sup>(3)</sup> In effect, Gowling suggests that horseplay serves a cathartic function. That is, it "has a definite function... in that it permits (the individual) to work off pent up emotions and to find imaginary relief for past frustrations".<sup>(4)</sup> This theory could be applicable to the Pros' football situation if not for the following facts.

First, if horseplay simply served to release tensions/....

tensions, it should have been at its height when players were in the bus going to a game. For that was a very tense time for the players. Instead, they passed the time by talking quietly, playing cards, or sitting and staring out the window. Although this may be an instance of pre-game nervousness, the journey to a game was an extremely tense situation for the players.

The next point to note is that horseplay among the Pros came to an abrupt end when the team entered a losing streak. The cathartic thesis suggests that when the team was losing, and when tensions increased, the amount of horseplay should also increase. But the opposite proved to be the case. So the suggestion that horseplay among the Pros served simply to relieve tensions must be revised.

One explanation as to why the horseplay subsided was offered by the team manager. The following field note entry recorded his impression:

According to the manager, the reason the horseplay began in the first place stems from the change in managers. The former manager did not allow horseplay, but when he took over (shortly before my arrival on the scene), he encouraged it. He encouraged it because he felt that a certain degree of horseplay was necessary. He also felt that after the initial increase, the amount of horseplay has since tapered off to a point where it was a benefit to the players.

This viewpoint was also expressed by a player. That is:

I asked X why the horseplay seems to have died down in the past few weeks. He said that the horseplay came mainly from the younger players (this was not observed to be the case as all players regardless of age were observed to participate). He also said the reason it has died down is because the boys are more settled in. He suggested that the horseplay of a few weeks ago/.....

ago was the result of the change in managers. He felt the present manager was better than the former manager, and consequently the players felt freer. Now that they have got that out of their systems, they have settled down to work.

The interpretation that horseplay increased when a less authoritarian manager took over, and then decreased when players "got it out of their systems", could also be acceptable if not for the fact that the horseplay picked up again (after the manager and the above quoted player were interviewed) toward the end of the season when the team was guaranteed a place in the Premier Division the following season. To explain the on and off nature of horseplay among the Pros, we can look at how the players defined and redefined their football situation, vis-a-vis the successes and losses of the First team.

Before doing this, it must be explained that all players looked upon success and its opposite at two levels. At the club level, if the First team was successful, all players benefitted through being associated with a winning club. Gate receipts, prestige and security increased with the successes of the First team, and these were shared in varying degrees by all who were associated with the club. At a more personal level, the only players who benefitted from the successes of the First team were the eleven who brought the club success. These personal benefits included win bonuses, glory, prestige, and the security that the manager would probably retain the composition of the winning team. In this discussion we are/....

are interested in attitudes toward success and failure at the club level.

Now it can be suggested that horseplay among the Pros served a dual function. It served a cathartic function in that it offset compliance to negative expectations; that is, a release of tensions, but at the same time it enabled players to realize certain positive expectations; that is, it put some fun into their football situation. Therefore, when the First team was winning games (i.e. when the new manager took over, and toward the end of the season), players felt the security of being associated with a winning club. With this security, they felt free to offset their compliance to negative expectations by realizing certain positive expectations through horseplay. But when the club entered a losing streak, and when all players felt less secure in their football situation, they did not feel free to release their tensions through horseplay. Tensions under these conditions were released through players blaming one another for the team's losses.

In other words, when the club was successful, attitudes on the general orientation/definition continuum shifted slightly to the right, as certain positive expectations were realized through horseplay. But when things were not going well, attitudes on this continuum shifted to the left. This shift involved a curtailment of the realization of positive expectations, and an increased compliance to negative expectations. A shift to a/....

a more work-like orientation thus included increased friction between players, manifested in blame between players; and a decrease in the freedom to put some fun into the situation, manifested in the curtailment of horseplay. To this researcher's knowledge, players were not told to stop their horseplay, it just seemed the appropriate thing to do given the change in circumstances.

We can also view players' behaviour on the way to a game in a similar manner. Although horseplay could serve a cathartic function in this instance, this was a time to be serious. And as seriousness necessitated a work-like orientation, the realization of positive expectations would simply be inappropriate under these circumstances. Hence, the curtailment of horseplay on the way to a game.

Although the Pros did not indulge in horseplay on the way to a game, they did indulge in horseplay both going to and coming from training. To account for this difference, we can look at the different circumstances surrounding the two types of journeys.

Travelling to a game typically involved a long journey in which players had to dress in a suit and tie, were accompanied by the club Directors, and faced the immediate prospect of having to play well and win before large crowds of spectators. Travelling to training, on the other hand, typically involved a short journey in which players dressed in track suits, were not under the scrutiny of the Directors, and faced the prospect of a day-to-day routine/....

routine, which for most players was neither acute nor demanding. Consequently, and in spite of the fact that tensions were greater on the way to a game, the circumstances of the former precluded horseplay, while the circumstances of the latter allowed for it. The appropriateness of realizing positive expectations thus accounts for the on and off nature of horseplay among the Pros.

Horseplay was not as prevalent among the amateur footballers studied. The reasons for this included the facts that the amateurs, as opposed to the majority of the Pros, were oriented toward realizing positive expectations in their football situation (which was the reason why they defined it as leisure), and spent relatively less time together. Furthermore, although the amateurs treated winning as important, winning was not as important to the amateurs as it was to the Pros. As an example of this last distinction, when an Amateur 2 player was asked if his football situation was a rat-race he replied:

'It's pleasant to win, and it can be pretty bitter losing. But it's not the end of the world... It's not going to affect the rest of your life. Your wages aren't going to depend on it. I don't feel under any great stress when we lose'.

Because of these differences, and because the amateurs did not feel compelled to comply with many negative expectations in their football situation, they did not have to indulge in/....

in horseplay.

Although horseplay was not prevalent among the amateur football subjects, players were on occasion faced with the prospect of redefining their football situation due to a change in circumstances. Two instances were recorded where members of both amateur teams attempted to impose a more work oriented definition on teammates. In both cases the attempted redefinition coincided with a time when the team in question was going through a losing streak. The following field note entry was made following a heated discussion by Amateur 2 players in a pub after a game:

A and B got into an argument over attitudes toward the club. This resulted from A criticizing C for missing last week's game. A suggested this displayed a non-caring attitude toward the club. A then criticized D for his lack of 'professional' attitude. A said that in his mind it was a matter of priorities and in his mind he held a 'professional' attitude. As such, he would put the club first before anything.

The second (mentioned earlier) example came from Amateur 1. In this instance, the Committee appealed to the players for greater effort and co-operation. Their appeal was directed to players who did not turn out for training and included the threat that the club might fold if greater effort and co-operation were not forthcoming.

Here we have two examples of amateur footballers attempting to convince their teammates that they should redefine their football situation. In both cases, the attempted/....

attempted redefinition involved a work-like orientation, and interestingly, in both cases the attempt was unsuccessful. In the case of Amateur 2, the mood of the majority of players during the above mentioned session suggested that the players were not prepared to place Amateur 2 at the top of their list of priorities. And in the case of Amateur 1, the club did in fact fold at the end of their first season in the city Amateur First Division.<sup>(5)</sup>

Two points can be noted with respect to the influence of a change of circumstances on the definition of a football situation. First, the Pros were more successful than the amateurs in establishing a work-like orientation toward their football situation. The reason for this is that the amateur footballers required a re-orientation, while the Pros simply strengthened an existing orientation. The second point follows from the first, in that the amateur footballers were asked to re-orient themselves toward a more work-like orientation, while the Pros re-established that orientation on their own accord. These can be accounted for by the fact that a work-like orientation was looked upon as a role obligation by the Pros, and was not treated as such by the amateur subjects. And because of a sense of self-determination of action in an amateur as opposed to a professional football situation, it seems that the amateur subjects were simply not prepared to redefine their football situation.

CHAPTER 17

TOWARD A THEORY OF PERSONAL EXPECTATIONS

SUMMARY

The preceding chapters have attempted to point out both the simple and complex natures of the phenomena of work and leisure. Their simplicity is expressed by the fact that they are significant symbols that evoke standard and shared meanings in the everyday world, and their complexities are demonstrated when one attempts to uncover these meanings.

The discussion began by suggesting that consensual agreement is lacking among social scientists with respect to how leisure is to be conceptualized. Drawing upon the literature, it was suggested that definitions of leisure identified the phenomenon as either a period of time, an activity, or an experience. It was further suggested that because this tripartite conceptualization is reflected in leisure research and theory, there tends to be a lack of cohesion in leisure as a field of study. This state of affairs (it was argued) was a byproduct of conceptualizing leisure as the "ideal" antithesis of an image of an alienated world of work.

With/....

With this background as a starting point, the research attempted to investigate meanings of work and leisure in the everyday world. The research design was based on the premise that it is the situation within which an activity is carried out and not the activity itself that is being defined as work or leisure. And for this reason it has been argued that the concepts of work and leisure cannot be adequately characterized in a universal manner. The research began by locating situations which shared common activities. Subjects who themselves defined a football or gardening situation as work or leisure formed the basis of analysis.

As a method of summarizing the research conclusions we can recall a statement by a gardener respondent that was presented at the end of Chapter 3. This subject suggested that, 'it's the sort of background automatically conditions you to look on (home gardening) as leisure'. In response to this statement the research set out to investigate the so-called "background" of work and leisure. It attempted to explain why tending borders, picking fruit, or doing N number of push-ups tended to be monotonous in a situation defined as work and something one could enjoy in a situation defined as leisure.

To account for these differences, the concept "personal expectations" was introduced. These include positive expectations as elements which are sought in a situation (i.e. those which bring gratification), negative expectations/....

expectations as elements the individual would prefer to avoid, and neutral expectations as elements toward which the individual is impartial. It was further suggested that meanings of work and leisure are at two levels of generality. At a more general level, people have an image of work and leisure which is based on at least one of six interrelated considerations. That is, remuneration, time, pressures, the nature of the task, notions of freedom, and to a lesser extent, personal aptitudes or inclinations. The notion of work includes negative expectations in at least one of these six considerations while the notion of leisure includes positive expectations in at least one of these same considerations.

At a more personal level, people attach meanings to specific situations defined as work or leisure. These include attitudes toward the determination of action, the determination of the environment, and other participants in a situation. Together these dimensions form the basis of the individual's general orientation toward and definition of a situation. The three attitudinal dimensions as well as the individual's general orientation dimensions are presented as continua within which the individual feels able to realize positive expectations or feels compelled to comply with negative ones. Although both positive and negative expectations can be experienced in any situation, situations defined as work include those wherein the individual is oriented toward complying with negative expectations/....

pectations while situations defined as leisure include those wherein the individual is oriented toward realizing positive expectations.

Through this perspective, the background which automatically conditions the individual to perceive of a situation as leisure or as work includes whether the individual is oriented toward realizing positive or to complying with negative expectations in that situation. And because the gardener quoted above provided his own garden, maintained that garden on his own volition, and where applicable, related to other participants at a general level which suggests close friendship ties, weeding could be enjoyable under these conditions. But where the garden was provided by others, where the nature and extent of maintenance was outwith the individual's control, and where social relationships in general tended not to be at a level which suggests close friends, weeding could be monotonous. If similar conditions were applied to doing push-ups in a football situation, similar attitudes and corresponding definitions would prevail.

### CONCLUSIONS

It should now be apparent that in order to understand meanings of work and leisure, it is crucial to view the three attitude and the general orientation/definition continua in concert. Together they give meaning to a situation and together they represent a theory (herein to be/....

be referred to as "personal expectations theory" or as "the theory of positive and negative expectations") whose value to the study of work and leisure can be demonstrated through the following functions.

#### PREDICTIVE FUNCTION

Because the personal expectations theory suggests reasons why a given situation will be defined as work or leisure, through it we should be able to infer how a situation might be defined. If we know whether the individual is oriented toward complying with negative expectations or toward realizing positive expectations, we should be able to predict with a degree of accuracy how the situation in question will be defined.

#### ELIMINATES THE NEED TO CHARACTERIZE WORK AND LEISURE

If work and leisure are to be treated as dichotomous categories, it is necessary to produce defining characteristics for these categories. Furthermore, and for the sake of completeness, these categories must be universally applicable to all individuals in every and all situations. But it has been argued earlier that defining characteristics which satisfy these conditions have yet to be found. How, for example, can we account for voluntary workers, artists, actors, writers, do-it-yourselfers, students, housewives, retirees, the unemployed, athletes, business executives, people in professions, and so on, if work and leisure are treated as distinct or mutually exclusive categories/....

categories?

The theory here being suggested can account for all individuals in any situation. For if viewed through the perspective of the personal expectations theory, the above listed individuals rather than being treated as anomalies, can be placed on the general orientation/definition continuum based on their perceptions of each of the three attitude continua.

#### INTEGRATIVE FUNCTION

As a further and perhaps more important function, a theory of personal expectations can serve to enrich and unify what might appear to be disparate research conclusions in the study of work and leisure. Take for example research into the Central Life Interests of workers. In a general sense research in this area demonstrates a positive relationship between fulfilment at work and work as a central life interest. Now if we apply the theory of personal expectations to research in this area we can suggest a positive relationship between realizing positive expectations in a situation defined as work and a perception of that situation as a central life interest. In fact, this can be generalized to suggest a positive relationship between realizing positive expectations in any situation regardless of how it is defined and a perception of that situation as a central life interest. For this reason a given individual might include more than one situation as a/.....

a central life interest.

The theory of positive and negative expectations can also be applied to research into the relationship between social class and leisure pursuits. In its present form this relationship is both problematic and limited (see Chapter 1). It is problematic when the researcher decides that a certain non-remunerated activity is an a priori leisure activity and/or when participation in that activity is held to be a measure of leisure, and it is limited because it does not necessarily tell us why people in certain class positions pursue similar non-remunerated activities.

If we apply the personal expectations theory to research in this area, we can overcome these problems and limitations. For if we relate social class to situations defined as leisure we are in fact relating social class to types of activities and to types of positive expectations pursued. For example, consider the fact that playing amateur football tends to be negatively related to social class (Amateur 2 being an exception). As it stands, this fact tells us little. But if reinterpreted it suggests that a working class background influences both the desire to realize positive expectations such as physical release, recognition, camaraderie, etc., and the fact that these tend to be realized through playing football rather than cricket. The personal expectations theory thus suggests that social class influences, both the types of positive expectations/....

expectations that bring gratification and the choice of situations through which these expectations are realized.

As a further example of the integrative function of the personal expectations theory, we can reinterpret the extension, opposition and neutrality types of work-leisure relationships as suggested by Stanley Parker.<sup>(1)</sup> An extension pattern suggests that the individual is able to realize a number of positive expectations in a situation defined as work and that these same expectations are being realized in situations defined as leisure. An opposition pattern suggests that the individual is not able to realize many positive expectations in a situation defined as work and therefore pursues different situations defined as leisure where these can be realized. A neutrality pattern which displays no relationship between work and leisure suggests that the individual neither seeks compensation for the lack nor does he seek an extension for the realization of positive expectations in his situation defined as work. In short, an extension pattern suggests that many positive expectations are being realized, a neutrality pattern suggests that some positive expectations are being realized, and the opposition pattern suggests that few positive expectations are being realized in a situation defined as work.

Similarly we can look at the suggestion by a number of leisure scholars that it is through leisure and not through work that modern industrial man seeks his identity. In a summary of sociologists who support this point/....

point of view, Kenneth Roberts believes that there is a substantial amount of truth in the view that:

"the individual's self-concept is based upon, and reinforced by, the activities he undertakes during his leisure. In other spheres of life, for example when the individual is at work, he feels relatively detached from the role that he is playing and does not identify his own personality with the qualities which his job demands that he displays... Thus leisure, as the source of man's sense of self-identity, becomes the basis of all social life". (2)

Here the suggestion is that the individual's concept of self is established through his leisure situations because he is for the most part unable to feel fulfilled through his work. An extension of this suggestion is put forth by Ralph Glasser in his "Identity Theory of Leisure",<sup>(3)</sup> and by Orin Klapp who suggests that the:

"Loss of prestige in work role - loss perhaps of even the opportunity to work - means that the identity search much find new avenues in recreation; the number of play identifies will increase, work (boring, anyway) will take more and more a back seat to hobbies". (4)

That individual self-identities are created through leisure stands in contrast to research carried out by Neulinger. For he concludes that:

"self-definition is oriented toward work rather than leisure. People feel that it is more important to be good at one's work than one's free time activities and that one's talents are better expressed by one's job than one's leisure activities". (5)

This conclusion was, however, qualified by the fact that self-definition through work was positively related to income.

Self-definition or self-identity nevertheless can/.....

can stand in contrast to how one is identified by others. For an individual can attempt to express his identity through participation in certain leisure situations but it might not follow that others will accept that identity.

In this sense identity:

"establishes what and where the person is in social terms. It is not a substitute word for 'self'. Instead when one has identity he is situated - that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgement of his participation in social relations". (6)

To reinterpret this information in view of the theory of positive and negative expectations, it will be useful to refer to a distinction employed by Richard Travisano between basic, general, and independent identities. (7)

Basic identities include fixed identities such as sex and age which are woven throughout interaction. General identities are not ascribed but extend through a variety of situations. Independent identities, on the other hand, are relatively easy to take up or put down. (8)

To relate this scheme to the subjects at hand, if we know that an individual is an amateur footballer or an amateur gardener we are unable to place that individual in the social structure vis-a-vis ourselves. We can only do this if we know that individual's general identity. If, on the other hand, we know that an individual is a professional footballer or works at the Botanic Gardens, we can make certain predictions about that individual. That these predictions may be wrong does not take away from the fact that certain predictions can be made about an/....

an individual through knowing his general identity. Consider the following extract from an interview with a Pros player:

'You go for hire purchase terms and you go to the bank manager and he says, what do you do for a living, sir? I play football. A lot of people play football. What is your profession? You say, I'm a professional football player. The pen goes down and he says, could you maybe get me a couple of tickets for the big game on Saturday? Things like that; and then they'll do you favours'.

Here we see that the bank manager's initial response was, 'a lot of people play football'. He was referring, of course, to football at the amateur level. But as soon as the bank manager redefined football from leisure to work, his attitude toward the subject changed. It changed because football as work established the subject's general identity and ability to repay the loan.

Another Pros player when asked to explain the difference between a professional and an amateur footballer explained:

'You feel that you're a professional... whereas an amateur, you're just an amateur, you're not really anything sort of thing. I think if you're a professional you tend to think that you are something'.

To this player, being an amateur is not a source of general identity; you're not really anything. It is only when you are a professional that being a football player means something to others.

From the gardener respondents, the following quotations further emphasize this point. One respondent (a/....

(a remunerated gardener who was also a qualified chef) was asked to explain the difference between gardening and cooking. He replied:

'When I'm a cook, well you're wearing a uniform. You wear the cook's hat and the gear, and the rest of them know you're a cook. So that's it, you don't have to explain anything. I mean if I was working with a big notice on my back, 'gardener' or 'X company's landscape gardener', then maybe people will say, 'there's a landscape gardener'.

This quotation adds insight into the role of a uniform<sup>(9)</sup> and suggests that a general identity taken from an occupation can be authenticated through the wearing of a uniform.

This same individual, in reference to playing music as a hobby said:

'I wouldn't call myself a professional musician. I'd like to be able to. I like to tell lies. I like to say I'm a professional musician, I'd like to say I'm a professional gardener, I'd like to say I'm... I mean if somebody asks me on the street and says, hello John, are you working now?, and I say, ay. Well that person knows that I've been at the gardening before, I'd tell him I was a landscape gardener. I mean, I'm not a landscape gardener. That's what I say. Well, I'm a chef and there's an awful lot of cooks around who call themselves chefs, and I'm quite right to call myself a chef because I have a certificate to say I'm one. Musician, I've told lies about that before, mostly to women. I'm not that kind of guy really. I used to be a long time ago but to females and things like that I'm a professional musician. That's been a packet of lies. I was in the merchant navy at the time'.

Here we have a clear example of an individual using an occupational role (in this case not his own) for the sake of establishing his general identity.

Now it can be suggested that a person's self-identity/....

identity is established through those situations wherein he is able to realize positive expectations. Thus, when positive expectations are realized through a situation defined as work, the individual's general and self-identities may be one and the same. But when positive expectations can only be realized through a situation or situations defined as leisure, his general identity might differ from his self-identity. This can be a more precise way of saying that a self-definition through work is positively related to income.

To combine the above four areas of research, we find that a situation defined as work can be a central life interest and a source of self-identity if the individual is able to realize positive expectations in that situation. Furthermore, in a very general sense, if social class tends to be positively related to the opportunity for gratification in a situation defined as work, people in higher social classes are more likely to hold work as a central life interest, are more likely to identify themselves through their work situation, and are more likely to display an extension pattern in relation to situations defined as leisure. On the other hand, people in lower social classes are more likely to hold a situation defined as leisure as a central life interest, are more likely to identify themselves through their leisure situation, and are more likely to display an opposition pattern between work and leisure situations. In this manner social class influences both the/....

the type of positive expectations sought and the type of situations defined as leisure through which they can be realized.

#### BASIS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As well as predicting the definition of a situation, eliminating the need to characterize work and leisure, and enriching and integrating existing propositions, the personal expectations theory can also serve as a basis for further research. This could be designed to either test or expand the theory.

To expand the theory, it is important that we develop our understanding of what is sought in a situation and of what people would prefer to avoid. It is logical to assume that because of differing biographies, idiosyncrasies, predispositions, interests, tastes, needs, motives, etc., research will uncover different positive and negative expectations for different actors in the same situation. We saw that one amateur footballer played football in order to get love and recognition from his father. Surely the meaning of football as a leisure situation held by this individual was different from those of his teammates. It was also different from the meaning this individual might attach to an evening in a pub. And most assuredly it was different from the meaning a retired allotment holder might attach to his leisure situation. And what about the one member of Amateur 2 who was the only/....

only non-university graduate? Or the amateur player who said, 'on the football park you can shout at folk, you can kick folk, you can lose your temper, and you can get just general enjoyment'. Each of these individuals attached different meanings to each situation. Yet each defined the situation in question as leisure.

As well as research into what is sought and what people would prefer to avoid in a situation, we must also enquire into those factors which influence a given set of personal expectations. What is the influence of a particular economic, political or religious system on the individual's personal expectations? Similarly, we must look to familial or peer group influences.

To test the personal expectations theory one need not search for situations which share a common activity. Analysis by comparison was used in this context in order to develop the theory, and future tests can be administered through concentrating on a single situation. Aided by participant observation and the administration of a questionnaire (partially to establish how the subjects defined the situation in question) the researcher can delve into meanings in different situations. It will be useful, for example, to investigate situations in different cultural settings.

#### DISCUSSION

Throughout this analysis, an attempt has been made to refrain/....

refrain from making ideological statements and from referring to work and leisure as ontological phenomena. Therefore, it would be inappropriate at this point to conclude that work should be made more meaningful or fulfilling. Statements of this nature, although defensible on ideological grounds add little to an understanding of meanings of work and leisure. What the personal expectations theory does suggest, however, is that to make a situation defined as work more meaningful it is necessary to allow the individual to realize more positive expectations in that situation. But the logical extension of this statement would do away with the distinction between work and leisure (not to mention the distinction between students of work and leisure). For if everyone was oriented toward realizing positive expectations in all situations, there would be no basis for differentiating work from leisure situations. But this is utopian thinking.

To conclude this analysis, a number of general considerations can be discussed. First, it is important that the reader is not left with the impression that work is a pejorative term. Taken in a general sense, it is not something nasty or something that everyone would prefer to avoid. Things people would prefer to avoid are labelled negative expectations and, as mentioned, these can be found in any situation regardless of how it is defined. Indeed the number of things an individual would prefer to avoid vary between individuals and between situations. Furthermore/.....

more, a situation defined as work can include any number of positive expectations. A definition of work simply suggests that the individual is prepared to put up with certain things he would prefer to avoid no matter how few in number.

It is also important to re-emphasize the fact that any difference referred to earlier between work and leisure must not be taken as hard-and-fast categorical distinctions. Attitudes toward the determination of action, the determination of elements, and the level of social relationships suggests interrelated tendencies and not separate dimensions of mutually exclusive conditions. Actions or the determination of elements can be perceived of as partially self-determined or provided, and as partially others-determined or provided. Social relationships, on the other hand, can display varying degrees of strength or weakness irrespective of the inclusion of one or two close friends. Because we are dealing with general orientations toward and perceptions of a situation, we are unable to put forth definitive or categorical statements.

Another reason why the conclusions reached must be treated with caution is the data from which these conclusions were drawn includes the perceptions of the subjects of this enquiry only. They were part of a particular geographical area, culture, heritage, economic and political system, and last but not least, they were all males. This last point requires an explanation.

For/....

For both pragmatic and methodological reasons the research included male subjects only. Pragmatically, by choosing football as a primary research focus we are dealing with a male dominated activity. There are a few female amateur teams, but there are no female professional teams. Furthermore, being that this researcher is a male, participation with a female team certainly would not have been as extensive as was the case with the three teams studied. Gardening, on the other hand, is popular with females on a non-remunerated basis, but it too is male dominated on a remunerated basis. Females are employed in nurseries but for methodological reasons they were not included as subjects because their perceptions as wage earners and their perceptions of work in general can be mediated by their perceptions of work in the home. (10)

Having said that, the research and the interpretation of the data was carried out with the intent of locating cases which would negate the general tendencies posited. A number have been pointed out, but on the whole, the tendencies referred to were consistent, given the limitations of a subjective documentation of a research situation and of a personal interpretation of what went on in the field.

APPENDIX 1

ADDITIONAL TABLES

Table 1 Differences Between Professional and Amateur Football by Remunerational and Definitional Category

CHARACTERISTIC	RESPONDENT CATEGORY			NON-REMUNERATED L
	REMUNERATED W	L	W/L	
PROFESSIONAL SITUATION				
more pressures	4	1	-	-
larger crowds/atmosphere	-	-	-	2
better facilities	4	-	-	3
limelight/glory	-	-	-	1
competition between players	-	-	-	2
PROFESSIONAL INDIVIDUAL				
plays for livelihood	13	2	3	20
fitter/more skill	10	-	-	11
must win	5	-	-	10
always working at the game	5	1	-	-
more disciplined	2	-	-	-
more dedicated/serious	6	-	-	3
must do as told	-	-	-	4
restricted social life	-	-	-	2
spends more time at it	-	-	-	1
luck	-	-	-	1
AMATEUR SITUATION				
no tactics	-	-	-	1
no pressures	-	-	-	1
AMATEUR INDIVIDUAL				
plays for enjoyment/fun	15	2	3	13
less serious	4	-	-	3
less skilled	2	-	-	-
less dedicated	-	-	-	4
plays on a voluntary basis	3	-	-	5
no opinion	1	-	-	2*
N	27	2	3	27

\*includes player who defined amateur football as not-leisure

Table 11 Differences Between Professional and Amateur Gardeners by Remunerational Category

CHARACTERISTIC	RESPONDENT CATEGORY	
	REMUNERATED	NON-REMUNERATED
PROFESSIONAL SITUATION		
must do as told	-	1
PROFESSIONAL INDIVIDUAL		
livelihood	6	10
greater knowledge	10	8
more dedicated	2	-
different attitude	-	1
served an apprentice	3	7
works at it every day	1	3
AMATEUR INDIVIDUAL		
hobby/enjoyment	3	6
not in it for the money	-	2
some amateurs are as good as professionals	2	1
N	14	20

Table 111 Reasons for Preferring First Team Football  
by Definitional Category

REASON	FOOTBALL DEFINED AS		
	WORK	WORK/ LEISURE	LEISURE
larger crowd/atmosphere	20	1	1
more money	16	2	-
harder/faster/more important game	11	2	1
improves your game	11	1	-
aim to be at the top/pride	12	1	1
glory/limelight	6	-	-
prestige/recognition	3	-	-
prefer reserve football	1	1	1
no opinion	1	-	-
N	27	3	2

Table 1V Likes and Dislikes in Work Situation: Amateur Football Subjects

LIKE IN WORK	NUMBER RESPONDING
variety	6
own boss/freedom	6
working with kids	4
money is sufficient	3
challenge/satisfaction/responsibility	4
involved with the whole article	2
good holidays	2
good workmates	1
working outside	1
close to home/meals at work	1
very little to like	3
DISLIKE IN WORK	
hours/working holidays and week-ends	10
tedious/repetitive/dirty	5
attitude of co-workers	5
outside in the cold	3
not enough money	2
too much work, not enough time	1
never sure how others value your work	1
quality bypassed for quantity	1
dislike nothing	5
N	27

Table V Dislikes in Amateur football

DISLIKE	NUMBER RESPONDING
quality of referees	6
too much professionalism	4
not taken seriously enough	3
training	3
organization/team selection	3
quality of pitches	1
players who lack skill	3
hard to get views across (as a captain)	1
travelling to training and games (15 miles)	1
dislike nothing	2
N	21

Table VI Reasons for Playing Amateur Football

REASON	NUMBER RESPONDING
enjoyment/love of the game	23
social benefits	15
grew up with it	8
challenge/competition	8
release	6
health reasons	4
something to do	3
ego trip	2
personal satisfaction	2
N	29

Table VII Reasons for Gardening for Oneself

REASON	GARDENING DEFINED AS			
	WORK	LEISURE	WORK/ LEISURE	NOT- LEISURE
enjoyment/pleasure	1	18	3	2
for the pot	1	9	2	4
like to see things grow	-	5	2	-
something to do	-	3	-	1
your own boss/for yourself	-	3	-	-
social benefits	-	2	1	-
different from work	-	2	-	-
improves the house	-	2	-	2
can use your imagination	-	1	-	-
N	2	23	3	9

Table VIII After Training Activities: The Pros

ACTIVITY	NUMBER RESPONDING
go home*	17
play golf	9
look around the shops	9
play pool	4
part-time job	3
visit relatives	3
study	3
go to bookies	3
come back to train or play football	2
clean up the stadium	1
play cards	1
have coffee with teammates	1
N	29

\*includes watching TV, sleeping, household chores, walking the dog, or going shopping.

APPENDIX 11

CATEGORIES WHICH EMERGED DURING THE FIELD WORK

1. Attitude toward playing with first and reserve teams
2. Attitude toward separating first and reserve teams for training
3. Attitude toward younger players
4. Hierarchical structure
5. Attitude toward winning, losing, scoring
6. Blame
7. General attitude toward games
8. Attitude toward specific training sessions
9. General attitude toward training
10. Cheating in races
11. Cheating in exercises
12. Other forms of cheating
13. Speculation, conjecture and mystery behind training
14. Difference between old and new manager
15. Players' attitude toward manager
16. Players' attitude toward coach
17. Attitude of manager/coach toward players
18. Coaching/training methods
19. Discipline
20. Secrets from manager
21. Secrets between players
22. Secrets from the public
23. Attitude toward the club/team
24. Attitude toward ancillary staff/directors
25. Difference between professionals and amateurs
26. Interaction on bus
27. Interaction during exercises
28. Interaction in the tea/locker/lunch room
29. Seating arrangements
30. Attitude one player to another
31. Social networks
32. Resentments
33. Attitude toward/presence of fans and crowds
34. Autograph signing
35. Attitude toward the media
36. Photographs taken/interviews

37. Social life activities
38. Activities after training
39. Questioned as to what researcher does after training
40. Smoking, drinking, eating, late hours
41. Activities resulting from association with club;  
e.g. hospital visits, benefit matches, endorsements, etc.
42. Conversation topics
43. Attitude toward self
44. Complaints
45. Horseplay
46. Duties: ground crew, captian
47. Benefits
48. Reference to money/contract
49. Future plans
50. Part-time employment
51. Attitude toward injury
52. Superstitions
53. Gambling: cards, bookies, lotteries
54. Training schedule
55. Method of choosing teams/partners
56. Biography
57. Miscellaneous

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

419  
REMUNERATED FOOTBALLERS

1. Name
2. Age
3. Team position. Why do you play that position?
4. Marital status. Wife's occupation?
5. Number and ages of children?
6. Biography since leaving school?
7. Some players call football a career, others call it a job, or work, or leisure, or a sport. What do you consider it to be? Why?
8. Some players might consider themselves to be professionals, others as entertainers, workmen, artists, sportsmen, etc. What do you consider yourself to be? Why?
9. What qualities make for a successful professional football player?
10. Do you like having Sunday and one day off each week, or would you rather be off Saturday and Sunday (assuming the game was played on a Friday)? Why?
11. When told to report to a golf club rather than to the stadium, do you consider a day golfing to be work, leisure, or something else? Why? How does this differ from golfing on Sunday with your own friends? Which do you prefer?
12. What type of work are the friends you grew up with doing now?
13. What do you think you would be doing now if you hadn't become a professional football player?
14. Are you happy playing football professionally? Is there anything else you would rather be doing? Do you have any regrets about turning professional?
15. Do you consider professional football to be a rat-race? Why?
16. Do you enjoy playing football as much now as when you were 15 years old? Why? What is the difference?
17. Do you ever play football with friends, say on a Sunday? How does a kick-about differ from playing with the Pros? Who do you play with in a kick-about?
18. Which of the Pros players are your friends. Who do you associate with during training? After training? On your day off? During the closed season?

19. What do you usually do after training? On your day off? During the closed season?
20. Who are your friends?
21. Who do you consider to be the five best players among the Pros? Why did you choose these players?
22. What is your opinion of the training schedule? How can it be improved? What do you think is more important the person who is leading the exercises or the type of exercises?
23. Do you like training at different places everyday, or would you rather not have to guess where training will be held? Why?
24. Do you train an amateur team? If so, how does their approach to the game differ from your own?
25. What do you consider to be the main qualities of a good manager? coach?
26. Do you think you are getting enough individual attention from the manager?
27. How do you rate yourself as a player? By what criteria?
28. Do you think your teammates rate you the same? What about the manager?
29. How long have you played for the first/reserve team?
30. Which would you rather play in, a first or a reserve match? Why? Is there a difference in the game itself?
31. If there was no difference in bonus money, would you rather play in a first or a reserve match? Why?
32. Do you think you play better in a first team match? Why?
33. Do you think it is a good idea to separate the first and reserve pools for training? Why?
34. I have noticed that most people start before the signal in a sprint or start ahead of the line. Do you consider this to be cheating? What do you think of this behaviour?
35. Do you choose certain people to sprint against? Why do you choose them?
36. Is there a difference between starting ahead of the line in a sprint and not completing an exercise properly or taking short-cuts such as cutting corners? What is the difference? Should the manager do something about this type of behaviour?
37. Do amateurs cheat during training?

38. What is professionalism in football? What is the difference between professionalism on and off the field?
39. What is the difference between a professional and an amateur football player? What is the difference between an amateur and a professional game?
40. If you are out because of an injury or because your playing has not been up to par, how do you feel about another player playing your position?
41. Do you think your teammates pass you the ball as often as you think they should, or do certain players tend to pass it to others? Why? What about passing during a training game? Do you think amateur players tend to pass the ball to friends?
42. Do you have any superstitions you follow before a match?
43. What is your opinion of newspaper reporting of football?
44. Do you think the public should be informed accurately as to what goes on in professional football or are there certain things that are best kept secret? What kind of things? Are secrets important to amateur clubs?
45. Are you interested in any other activities that you would call leisure activities? How much time do you spend at them? What is the difference between playing football and these activities?
46. How often do you participate in activities such as hospital visiting, award presentations, charity matches, etc.? What do you think of these activities?
47. What would you say is the difference between work and leisure?
48. Do you have any other sources of income besides football?
49. Do you have any idea of what you will do when you are finished playing football? Have you done anything about it?
50. In the newspaper the manager was quoted as saying "they game me everything" after the game against X. Who do you play for, the manager, the crowds, yourself, your teammates? What does "playing for the manager" mean?
51. What is a professional foul?
52. What does the presence of a crowd do to you? Is there a difference between an away and a home crowd? Why do teams tend to lose away and win at home?
53. What is your attitude toward being recognized, singled out as something special, fame, glamour?

54. Do you see playing football as something glamorous?  
How do you react to that?
55. Do you see playing football as something different or  
special as opposed to other ways of making a living?  
Why?
56. What type of work does your father do? What do your  
parents think about you playing professional football?
57. For which political party did you vote in the last  
election?

NON-REMUNERATED FOOTBALLERS

1. Name
2. Age
3. Team position. Why do you play that position?
4. Marital status. Wife's occupation?
5. Number and ages of children
6. Present job. Work history since leaving school?
7. What do you like about your work? What do you dislike about your work? Why did you choose your present job?
8. When and how did you first become interested in football? How much time do you spend training/playing each week? When and why did you join your present club?
9. What do you get out of playing football/why do you play/ what do you like about it? What do you dislike about it?
10. What does it take to be a good football player at the amateur level? Is skill something you are born with?
11. Are you interested in any other activities that you would call leisure? How much time do you spend at these? What is the difference between these activities and playing football?
12. How did you meet your friends, through school, playing football, work, same pub, neighbourhood, etc.?
13. Is amateur football a rat-race? Have you ever thought of quitting? Why?
14. Would you like to or have you ever wanted to be a professional player? What is there about it you like/dislike?
15. What do you consider to be the main difference between an amateur and a professional player? What is professionalism in football? What is a professional foul?
16. Which of your teammates do you associate with after training or after a game? Which teammates do you socialize with? Do you have friends on other amateur teams? How do you feel playing against them?
17. Who are the three best players on your team? Why?
18. What is your opinion of the training schedule?
19. What do you think of the trainer? Would you work as hard if you didn't like him?
20. How do you rate yourself as a player? Do your teammates rate you the same?

21. What do you consider to be the main qualities of a good Secretary?
22. I have noticed that some people start before the signal in a sprint or start ahead of the line. Do you consider this to be cheating? Should it be stopped? What about not completing an exercise properly?
23. Do you choose certain people to sprint against? If so, why do you choose them?
24. If you are out because of injury or if your playing has not been up to par, how do you feel about another player playing your position? How do you feel about being a substitute?
25. Do you think your teammates pass you the ball as often as you think they should, or do certain players tend to pass it to others? Why? What about passing during a training game or a kick-about?
26. Do you ever get involved in a kick-about? Who do you play with? What is the difference between a kick-about and a game with the club? Which do you prefer? Why?
27. Do you have any superstitions you follow before a match?
28. Do you think it's important for your club to have secrets from other clubs? If so, what kind of secrets?
29. Who would you say you played for: your teammates, the Secretary, the committee, yourself? Why?
30. Do you have a drink before a match? Would you have a drink the evening before a match?
31. Do amateur footballers criticize each other during the game? What about in the pub after a game?
32. If for some reason you were unable to play for your present team would you quit playing football or would you look for another team? What would you look for in another team?
33. Does it bother you very much if the team loses?
34. If you were having a difficult time at work could it affect your football? If you were having a difficult time at your football could it affect your work?
35. If you had more free time how would you fill it?
36. Would you enjoy your football as much if there was no referee?
37. Would you play differently in front of a crowd?
38. Do you feel under any constraints when you play football? What about at work?
39. Are you more interested in your football or your work? Why?

40. If you had to could you work harder on the pitch? What would make you work harder?
41. Would it bother you if your club was relegated to a lower division?
42. Which do you take more seriously your football or your work?
43. Do you feel you are under much pressure to win? If so, where does this pressure come from? Would the pressure be less in a lower division? Do you feel under any pressures at your work? Where do these pressures come from?
44. Under which situation would you be more inclined to cut corners, at training, playing football on a Saturday or at work? Why?
45. Could you enjoy your football if you did not like the guys on your team?
46. Do you think your attitude toward the game would change if you were paid to play? How would it change?
47. If for some reason you had a game on Tuesday afternoon and at the same time were needed for work, which would you give up? Why?
48. If your workmates made a decision that you did not agree with what would you do? What would you do if your teammates made a decision you did not agree with?
49. Are there many players on the team you dislike? If so, why? Are there many people at work you dislike?
50. What do you think you will do when you are too old to play football?
51. Do you feel you are competing with others at work? What about in your football? Do you like competition?
52. Do you find your work satisfying, is there much to it beyond the pay packet?
53. In your mind what is the difference between work and leisure?
54. Are you more concerned with your work or your football? Why?
55. Do you think most amateur committees are honest with their players?
56. Does an amateur selection committee always pick the best eleven men for the team or are there other considerations. What are those considerations?
57. Do most amateur players tend to come from the same area of the city on a given team?

58. What type of work does your father do? What do your parents think about you playing football?
59. What political party did you vote for in the last election?

REMUNERATED GARDENERS

1. Age
2. Marital status. Wife's occupation?
3. Work history since leaving school. Length of time at present job?
4. Why did you go into gardening?
5. What does your job entail? What do you get out of it?
6. Do you have a garden at home? What type? How much time do you spend on it? Does your wife help with the garden?
7. What is the difference between gardening at home and gardening for a living? Which do you enjoy more? Why?
8. How do you spend your leisure time? What is the difference between gardening at home and other activities that you call leisure?
9. Are your friends interested in gardening?
10. Would you call gardening for a living work, leisure, relaxation, a chore, a pastime, a hobby, etc.? What would you call it at home?
11. Is there any other way you would rather be earning a living?
12. Do you consider yourself to be a professional gardener? What is a professional gardener and what is the difference between a professional and an amateur gardener?
13. Do you or have you done any other type of gardening (eg. jobbing)? Which do you prefer? Why?
14. How do you feel about gardening for somebody else?
15. What does it take to be a successful gardener?
16. How much time do you spend reading garden magazines or watching garden shows on television?
17. If you did not garden for a living would you spend more time gardening at home?
18. How much time do you spend in your own garden?
19. What type of work do your friends do?
20. Do you treat gardening for a living strictly as a job? Do you get more out of it than the pay packet?
21. How important are the people you work with? Do you see any of them socially?

22. Were you interested in gardening before you started earning your living as a gardener? Has your attitude toward gardening changed?
23. Who taught you to garden?
24. Do you belong to a horticultural society? Have you or do you enter shows?
25. How do you rate yourself as a gardener?
26. What type of work did/does your father do?

NON-REMUNERATED GARDENERS

1. Age
2. Marital status. Wife's occupation?
3. Present job? Work history since leaving school?
4. What type of work did/does your father do?
5. What do you get out of your garden/why do you garden/  
what do you like about it?
6. How much time do you spend in your garden? What type  
of garden is it?
7. When and how did you develop an interest in gardening?
8. Do you participate in other activities that you would  
call leisure beside gardening? If so, how do these  
compare to gardening?
9. Are your friends interested in gardening? Where did  
you meet your friends, through gardening, your job,  
other activities?
10. Do you belong to a horticultural society? Why?
11. Do you enter garden shows? Why?
12. Has your attitude toward gardening changed since  
entering shows?
13. Would your attitude toward your own garden change if  
you earned your living through gardening?
14. Would you like to earn your living through gardening  
if you could earn the same as you are earning now?  
What about if you earned less than now? What type of  
gardening would you like to do?
15. Have you done any jobbing gardening? How does it  
compare to gardening at home?
16. What is a professional gardener? What is the  
difference between a professional and an amateur  
gardener?
17. Would you call gardening at home work, leisure, a  
chore, a hobby, a pastime, etc.? Why?
18. What does it take to be a successful home gardener?
19. How much time do you spend reading garden magazines  
or watching garden shows on television?
20. When you retire or if you didn't have to work would  
you spend more time in your garden? Would you change  
your garden if you had more time to spend in it?
21. What type of work do your friends do?

22. Do you see the people you work with socially?
23. How would you rate yourself as a gardener?
24. Who taught you to garden?
25. Do you sell any of your surplus vegetables? Why?
26. Do gardeners have secrets from each other?

APPENDIX IV

RESEARCH PROCEDURES, ADDITIONAL DETAILS AND PROBLEMS

METHODS FOR HANDLING THE DATA AND PROBLEMS  
ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELD

Through participation and observation I have attempted to develop a picture of what the research situations meant to the participants. To achieve this it was necessary to be on the lookout for both verbal and behavioural gestures ranging from the unusual to those that might be commonplace and taken for granted. In essence this meant developing a set of field notes to record everything that was observed and personally experienced while in the field. Because I was relying on memory, the field notes were immediately brought up to date whenever the day's field work was completed. I used a tape recorder and attempted to recall everything that took place no matter how insignificant it might appear. After recording observations on the tape recorder, each day's field observations were transcribed in duplicate. The process of recording and then transcribing proved a valuable aid for recalling details that might have been missed while making the recording.

In time, and as the field notes accumulated, categories of what appeared to be significant re-occurring events were developed. Further re-readings of the field notes enabled me to combine or expand the original categories in order to achieve parsimony. And once satisfactory categories had been developed, a filing system was/.....

was introduced with as many folders as categories. The process of filing involved cutting and placing the duplicate of each entry in the appropriate category file. Each entry was numbered to identify the day it was recorded and the slips of paper were then pasted on sheets in chronological order.

Once the field notes had been separated into the appropriate categories, and as the categories included elements from the research situation, the questionnaires were designed to solicit the subjects' attitudes toward these elements. The interview responses were tape recorded, transcribed, separated, identified by the respondent's number and pasted on sheets of paper. In effect, I ended up with folders containing all interview responses for each question asked, and all field note references to each category.

A number of points must be mentioned with respect to problems encountered in the field. The first has to do with the importance of the location wherein an interview is conducted. Although this is rarely referred to in discussions on interviewing techniques, personal experience has led me to look upon the location as a crucial element in the interview process. This can best be demonstrated through an example from the interviews with the Pros.

When I asked the manager's permission to conduct an interview with the players he asked me to wait until the season/....

season had ended. Consequently, and in order to interview all players before they dispersed for their holidays, players were interviewed in various locations. These included the lunch and tea rooms at the stadium, players' homes, the researcher's home, and one that was conducted in a parked car. One in particular, began in the lunch room at the stadium but was interrupted when the player in question had to leave half way through the interview. Subsequently, the interview was completed at the researcher's home when the player was on holiday. In comparing his responses from the first half of the interview to those from the second half, the former was decisively shorter and to a degree more guarded than the latter. It seems that he was able to open up more because the season was over and because he was away from the stadium. This is not to suggest that all players interviewed at the stadium were guarded. For most seemed to be quite open and honest with their replies. But it does emphasize the importance of the setting and the time within which an interview is conducted.

Another problem which is often mentioned in discussions on interviewing techniques involves personal relationships between the researcher and his subjects. During five months participant observation with the Pros I encountered situations of conflict between relationships with certain subjects and the necessity of maintaining a so-called professional attitude. The research act is both/....

both a scientific and a human undertaking and at times the line between the two can be blurred. How does a researcher respond when asked his advice on wage matters? How does he retain an objective position when participating in behaviour that would not be condoned by the manager? In order to understand the meanings of a situation as held by participants, it is necessary for the researcher to get as close to his subjects as possible. Yet, ironically, the closer he gets to his subjects, the more difficult it becomes to retain a position of objectivity.

As a case in point, on one occasion I was involved in a card game at the home of a Pros player. On this occasion I noticed one individual was cheating. I was in a position of conflict and did not know how to react. Should I ignore the incident, should I quit playing, or should I make his behaviour known? To be objective, that is, to ignore the incident could be financially problematic (the researcher at the human level), to quit playing or to make his behaviour known could interfere with the rapport that is necessary in the research situation (the researcher as a scientist). Fortunately, on this occasion, the cheat was noticed by another player and to my surprise the rest of the players were not surprised by his behaviour as he apparently always cheated in card games. As an aside, this individual was also an accepted cheat at training.

REFERENCES

INTRODUCTION

1. Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), p. 207.

CHAPTER 1

1. Herbert Blumer, "What is Wrong with Social Theory?," American Sociological Review, 19 (1954), p.6.
2. Rhona Rapoport and Robert N. Rapoport, "Four Themes in the Sociology of Leisure," British Journal of Sociology, 25, No. 2 (1974), p. 215.
3. Nels Anderson, Work and Leisure (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 1.
4. George Friedmann, "Leisure and Technological Civilization," International Social Science Journal, 12, No. 4 (1960), p. 514.
5. Edward Gross, "A Functional Approach to Leisure Analysis," in Erwin O. Smigel, ed., Work and Leisure (New Haven: College and University Press, 1963), p. 41.
6. Amelia Harris and Stanley Parker, "Leisure and the Elderly," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain (London: Allen Lane, 1973), p. 171.
7. Leo Perils, "Implications for Labor Unionism," in Max Kaplan and Phillip Bosserman, eds., Technology Human Values and Leisure (New York: Abingdon Press, 1971), p. 106.
8. Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown: a Study in American Culture (London: Constable and Co., 1929), p. 225.
9. George Soule, "The Economics of Leisure," The Annals of the American Academy, 313 (1957), p. 17.
10. Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (London: Unwin, 1970), p. 46.
11. Robert S. Weiss and D. Riesman, "Some Issues in the Future of Leisure," in Erwin O. Smigel, ed., Work and Leisure, op.cit., p. 175.

12. Joffre Dumazedier, "Leisure in Post-Industrial Society," in Max Kaplan and Phillip Bosserman, eds., Technology Human Values and Leisure, op.cit., p. 210.
13. Colin Bell and Patrick Healey, "The Family and Leisure," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain, op.cit., p. 160.
14. Bennett Berger, "The Sociology of Leisure: Some Suggestions," in Erwin O. Smigel, ed., Work and Leisure, op.cit., p. 29.
15. Emmanuel G. Mesthene, "Technology and Humanistic Values," in Max Kaplan and Phillip Bosserman, eds., op.cit., p. 52.
16. Ida Craven, "'Leisure,'" According to the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences," in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersonn, eds., Mass Leisure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1961), p. 5.
17. editors of Fortune, "\$30 Billion for Fun," in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersonn, eds., ibid., p. 162.
18. Ralph Glasser, "Leisure Policy, Identity and Work," in J.T. Haworth and M.A. Smith, eds., Work and Leisure (London: Lepus Books, 1975), p. 48.
19. James O'Toole et al., Work in America (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1973), p. 3.
20. David Jary, "Evenings at the Ivory Tower: Liberal Adult Education," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, eds., op.cit., p. 266.
21. Abraham H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper and Bros., 1954), p. 300.
22. Thomas Woody, "Leisure in the Light of History," The Annals of the American Academy, 313 (1957), p. 5.
23. John Farina, "Toward a Philosophy of Leisure," in James F. Murphy, ed., Concepts of Leisure: Philosophical Implications (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 153.
24. Barry Newman, "Holidays and Social Class," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, eds., op.cit., p. 230.
25. Sebastian de Grazia, Of Time, Work, and Leisure (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1964), p. 312.

26. Max Kaplan, "New Concepts of Leisure Today," in James F. Murphy, ed., Concepts of Leisure, op.cit., p. 232.
27. John Neulinger, The Psychology of Leisure: Research Approaches to the Study of Leisure (Springfield: Charles Thomas, 1974), p. XV.
28. Norman P. Miller and Duane M. Robertson, The Leisure Age (Belmont California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1963), p. 6.
29. Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain, op.cit., p. 7.
30. Josef Pieper, Leisure the Basis of Culture (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), p. 58.
31. C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York: Galaxy, 1956), p. 236.
32. Clyde R. White, "Social Class Differences in the Uses of Leisure," in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyerson, eds., Mass Leisure, op.cit., p. 198.
33. John Neulinger, op.cit., p. 6.
34. ibid., p. 7.
35. ibid., p. 8.
36. Joffre Dumazedier, Sociology of Leisure (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1974), p. 68.
37. ibid., p. 69.
38. ibid., p. 71.
39. Sebastian de Grazia, "The Uses of Time," in Robert W. Kleemeier, ed., Aging and Leisure (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 113-14.
40. Barry Newman, "Holidays and Social Class," op.cit., p. 230.
41. Leslie Stephen, "Vacations," in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyerson, eds., Mass Leisure, op.cit., p. 284.
42. Bennett Berger, "The Sociology of Leisure," op.cit., p. 28.
43. Pitrim A. Sorokin and R.K. Merton, "Social Time: a Methodological and Functional Analysis," American Journal of Sociology, 43 (1937), p. 622.

44. John Neulinger, The Psychology of Leisure, op. cit., p. 36.
45. Nelson N. Foote, "Methods for Study of Meaning in Use of Time," in Robert W. Kleemeier, ed., Aging and Leisure, op. cit., p. 174.
46. Robert Dubin, "Industrial Workers' Worlds: A Study of the "Central Life Interests" of Industrial Workers," in Erwin O. Smigel, ed., Work and Leisure, op. cit., p. 68.
47. Robert J. Havighurst, "The Nature and Values of Meaningful Free-Time Activity," in Robert W. Kleemeier, ed., Aging and Leisure, op. cit., p. 320.
48. John Neulinger, op. cit., p. 89.
49. *ibid.*, p. 26.
50. *ibid.*, p. 24.
51. Michael Young and Peter Willmott, The Symmetrical Family (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), p. 205.
52. *ibid.*, p. 211.
53. Rhona Rapoport and Robert N. Rapoport, Leisure and the Family Life Cycle (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), p. 23.
54. Severyn T. Bruyn, The Human Perspective in Sociology (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 38. Participant observation has been used in leisure research in the past but it has been restricted to the analysis of specific activities (generally assumed by the researcher to be leisure activities). See for example Irving Crespi, "The Social Significance of Card Playing as a Leisure Time Activity," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 717-21; David Gottlieb, "The neighborhood Tavern and the Cocktail Lounge: a Study of Class Differences," American Journal of Sociology, 62 (1957), pp. 559-62; Pradeep Bandyopadhyay, "The Holiday Camp," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain, op. cit., pp. 241-52; and Gregory P. Stone and Marvin J. Taves, "Camping in the Wilderness," in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersohn, eds., Mass Leisure, op. cit., pp. 290-305.
55. Robert L. Kahn, "The Meaning of Work: Interpretation and Proposals for Measurement," in Angus Campbell and Philip E. Converse, eds., The Human Meaning of Social Change (New York: Russell Sage, 1972), p. 159.

56. John Neulinger, op.cit., p. 131.
57. For an outline of the ways quantitative data can be handled see Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley Experimental and Quasi-experimental Designs for Research (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963).
58. Tom Burns, "Leisure in Industrial Society," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain, op.cit., p. 41.
59. John Neulinger, op.cit., p. XII.
60. Barry Newman, "Holidays and Social Class," op.cit., pp. 230-40.
61. Clyde R. White, "Social Class Differences in the Uses of Leisure," op.cit., pp. 198-205.
62. Ralph Glasser, Leisure: Penalty or Prize? (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 117.
63. Rolf Meyersohn, "Leisure," in Angus Campbell and Philip E. Converse, eds., The Human Meaning of Social Change, op.cit., p. 219.
64. Reuel Denner, "The Leisure Society: Do We Use Leisure, or Does Leisure Use Us?" Harvard Business Review, (May-June 1959), p. 51.
65. Philip H. Ennis, "Leisure in the Suburbs: Research Prolegomenon," in William M. Dobriner, ed., The Suburban Community (New York: Putman's Sons, 1958), p. 254.
66. Sebastian de Grazia, Of Time, Work, and Leisure, op.cit., p. 179.
67. John Neulinger, op.cit., pp. 92-111.

## CHAPTER 2

1. For an elaboration on these relationships see Max Kaplan, Leisure in America: a Social Inquiry (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960).
2. Clement Greenberg, "Work and Leisure Under Industrialism," in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersohn, eds., Mass Leisure, op.cit., p. 38.

3. Stephen Cotgrove and Stanley Parker, "Work and Non-work," New Society, 41 (11 July 1963), p. 19.
4. Phillip Bosserman and Louis Kutcher, "Leisure and the Coming Post-Industrial Society," Current Sociology, supplementary volume 1 (August 1974), p. lll.
5. James O'Toole, Work in America, op.cit., p. 10.
6. Nels Anderson, Work and Leisure (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 2.
7. William A. Faunce, "Automation and Leisure," in Erwin O. Smigel, ed., Work and Leisure, op.cit., pp. 90-91.
8. Ben B. Seligman, "On Work, Alienation and Leisure," The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 24, No. 4 (1965), p. 355.
9. Eric Fromm, The Fear of Freedom (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973); and The Sane Society (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).
10. John Kenneth Galbraith, The New Industrial State (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).
11. R.H. Tawney, The Acquisitive Society (London: Bell and Sons, 1921).
12. Martin Meissner, "The Long Arm of the Job: a Study of Work and Leisure," Industrial Relations, 3 (1971), p. 241.
13. Richard Brown et al., "Leisure in Work: the Occupational Culture of Shipbuilding," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain, op.cit., p. 102.
14. Stanley Parker, "Work and Non-work in Three Occupations," The Sociological Review, 13 (1965), p. 73.
15. Harold Wilensky, "Orderly Careers and Social Participation: the Impact of Work History on Social Integration in the Middle Mass," American Sociological Review, 26 (1961). p. 530.
16. Edwin Blakelock, "A New Look at the New Leisure," Administrative Science Quarterly, 4, No. 4 (1960), p. 459.

17. Edwin Blakelock, "A Durkheimian Approach to Some Temporal Problems of Leisure," Social Problems, 9 (1961), p. 9.
18. H. G. Brown, Some Effects of Shift Work on Social and Domestic Life, (Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research Occasional paper No. 2, March 1959), p. 43.
19. *ibid.*, p. 40.
20. Joffre Dumazedier, "Current Problems of the Sociology of Leisure," International Social Science Journal, 12, No. 4 (1960), p. 528.
21. James O'Toole et al., Work in America, op. cit., p. 30.
22. Charles K. Brightbill, Man and Leisure a Philosophy of Recreation (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1961), p. 31.
23. Martin H. Neumeyer and Esther S. Neumeyer, Leisure and Recreation (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), p. 14.
24. *ibid.*, p. 16.
25. William H. Whyte, The Organization Man (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), p. 22.
26. *ibid.*, p. 142.
27. Philip Bosserman and Louis Kutcher, "Leisure and the Coming Post-Industrial Society," op. cit., p. 142.
28. Stanley Parker, The Future of Work and Leisure (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1971), p. 101.
29. *ibid.*, pp. 101-2.
30. Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955).
31. David Riesman, in Ely Chinoy, *ibid.*, p. XLX.
32. Stanley Parker, "Work and Non-Work in Three Occupations," op. cit.
33. Ely Chinoy, op. cit., p. 85.
34. Norman Dennis et al., Coal is Our Life (London: Tavistock, 1969), pp. 28-31.

35. Huw Beynon, Working for Ford, (London: Allen Lane, 1973), pp. 109-19.
36. Robert L. Kahn, "The Meaning of Work: Interpretation and Proposals for Measurement," *op. cit.*, p. 165.
37. Nels Anderson, Work and Leisure, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
38. Allen V. Sabora and Elmer D. Mitchell, The Theory of Play and Recreation (New York: Ronald Press, 1961), p. 125.
39. Sebastian de Grazia, Of Time, Work, and Leisure, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
40. Martin H. Neumeier and Esther S. Neumeier, Leisure and Recreation, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
41. James O'Toole et al., *op. cit.*, p. 3.
42. Robert Dubin, "Industrial Workers' Worlds," *op. cit.*, p. 54.
43. Louis H. Orzack, "Work as a Central Life Interest of Professionals," in Erwin O. Smigel, ed., Work and Leisure, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
44. Joffre Dumazedier, Toward a Society of Leisure (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 87.
45. A. Kornhauser, Mental Health of the Industrial Worker (New York: Wiley, 1965), p. 194.
46. P. Lafitte, Social Structure and Personality in the Factory (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 180.
47. Brian Jackson, Working Class Community (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).
48. Stanley Parker, The Future of Work and Leisure, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
49. *ibid.*, p. 79.
50. John Neulinger, The Psychology of Leisure, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
51. John Child and B. Bacmillan, "Managers and their Leisure," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, Leisure and Society in Britain, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

52. Sebastian de Grazia, Of Time, Work, and Leisure, op.cit., p. 256.
53. Eric Josephson and Mary Josephson, eds., Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society (New York: Dell Publishing, 1973), p. 13.
54. ibid., pp. 12-13.
55. Richard Schacht, Alienation (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1970), p. 164.
56. ibid., p. 164.
57. James O'Toole et al., op.cit., p. 22.
58. Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).
59. See Melvin Seeman, "On the Personal Consequences of Alienation in Work," American Sociological Review, 32, No. 2 (1967), p. 283; and Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream, op.cit., pp. 130-31.
60. James O'Toole, op.cit., p. 13.
61. Richard Brown et al., "Leisure in Work," op.cit., p. 103.
62. James O'Toole, op.cit., p. 96.
63. Robert L. Kahn, op.cit., p. 181.
64. Charles R. Walker and Robert H. Guest, The Man on the Assembly Line (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 65.
65. Frederick Herzberg, Bernard Mausner, and Barbara Bloch Snyderman, The Motivation to Work (New York: John Wiley, 1959), p. 60.
66. ibid., p. 113.
67. H.L. Wilensky, "Work, Careers and Social Integration," in Tom Burns, ed., Industrial Man (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 119.
68. Nancy C. Morse and Robert S. Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," American Sociological Review, 2, No. 2 (1955), p. 193.
69. Robert L. Kahn, op.cit., p. 169.

70. Melvin Seeman, *op.cit.*, p. 285.
71. James O'Toole, *op.cit.*, p. 4.
72. Ben B. Seligman, *op.cit.*, p. 338.
73. Nancy C. Morse and Robert S. Weiss, *op.cit.*, p. 191.
74. Sebastian de Grazia, Of Time, Work, and Leisure, *op.cit.*, pp. 259-60.
75. Robert S. Weiss and D. Riesman, "Some Issues in the Future of Leisure," in Erwin O. Smigel, ed., Work and Leisure, *op.cit.*, p. 169.
76. Eugene A. Friedmann and Robert J. Havighurst, The Meaning of Work and Retirement (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1954), p. 5.
77. Josef Pieper, Leisure the Basis of Culture, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
78. *ibid.*, p. 78.
79. Martin H. Neumeyer and Esther S. Neumeyer, *op.cit.*, p. 4.
80. Ida Craven, "'Leisure,'" According to the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences," *op.cit.*, p. 9.
81. Max Kaplan and Phillip Bosserman, eds., Technology Human Values and Leisure, *op.cit.*, p. 91.
82. Bertrand Russell, "In Praise of Idleness," in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersonn, eds., Mass Leisure, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
83. Michael Smith, Stanley Parker, and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain, *op.cit.*, p. 18.
84. Ralph Glasser, Leisure: Penalty or Prize? *op.cit.*, p. 54.
85. William A. Faunce, "Automation and Leisure," *op.cit.*, p. 91.
86. Edward Gross, "A Functional Approach to Leisure Analysis," *op.cit.*, pp. 41-52.
87. Everet C. Hughes, "Tarde's Psychologie Economique: An Unknown Classic by a Forgotten Sociologist," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (1961), p. 557.

88. Sebastian de Grazia, Of Time, Work and Leisure, op. cit., p. 5.
89. Ralph Glasser, "Leisure and the Search for a Satisfying Identity," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain, op. cit., p. 65.
90. C. Wright Mills, White Collar, op. cit. p. 236.
91. Russell Lynes, "Time on Our Hands," in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersohn, eds., Mass Leisure, op. cit., p. 347.
92. Ben B. Seligman, op. cit., p. 353.
93. Clement Greenberg, "Work and Leisure Under Industrialism," op. cit., p. 39.
94. Eric Fromm, The Sane Society, op. cit., p. 201.
95. Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd (New York: Random House, 1960), pp. 235-36.

### CHAPTER 3

1. In this sense we are looking at work and leisure as "cultural definitions". That is as "the standard meaning of events embedded in the community culture as a whole or some sub-part of it (sub-culture) that we learn either through primary socialization or secondary socialization or both. A given cultural definition is consensually shared to the extent that those who are members of a particular group are aware that others in it recognize and utilize that definition in the same way that they do". Robert A. Stebbins, "Studying the Definition of the Situation: Theory and Field Research Strategies," in Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer, eds., Symbolic Interaction: A Reader in Social Psychology (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972), p. 338.
2. William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York: Dover Publications, 1958).
3. *ibid.*, p. 68.
4. *ibid.*, p. 22.
5. *ibid.*, p. 21.

6. Edmund H. Volkart, Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W.I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951), p. 291.
7. Peter McHugh, Defining the Situation: The Organization of Meaning in Social Interaction (New York: Bobbs-Merill Co., 1968), p. 9.
8. *ibid.*, p. 23.
9. Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), p. 292.
10. Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, eds., Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1976), p. 206.
11. Robert A. Stebbins, "Studying the Definition of the Situation," *op. cit.*, p. 343.
12. William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
13. Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press, 1951), p. 7. Parsons further suggests that "the actor develops a system of "expectations" relative to the various objects of the situation. These may be structured only relative to his own need-dispositions and the probabilities of gratification or deprivation contingent on various alternatives of action which he may undertake." *ibid.*, p. 5. As concepts, positive expectations are similar to what Herzberg calls "satisfiers", while negative expectations are similar to "dissatisfiers". Frederick Herzberg, Bernard Mausner, and Barbara Bloch Snyderman, The Motivation to Work, *op. cit.*
14. This is not a case of role conflict where the individual is affected by the conflict of expectations within and between his roles, but is a case of possible conflict between predispositions and certain role expectations within a single role. For an analysis of role conflict see Ralf Dahrendorf, Homo Sociologicus (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 54.
15. See for example Peter McHugh, *op. cit.*; and Harold Garfinkel, "Common Sense Knowledge of Social Structures: The Documentary Method of Interpretation," in Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer, eds., Symbolic Interaction, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-78.

16. Robert A. Stebbins, op. cit., p. 341.
17. Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1974).
18. Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *ibid.*, p. 114.
19. Robert A. Stebbins, op.cit., p. 341.
20. Robin Jackson and Rolf Meyerson, The Social Patterning of Leisure, Speech delivered to the 34th annual Institute of the Society for Social Research, 30 May 1957 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), p. 1.
21. K.K. Sillitoe, Planning for Leisure (London: H.M.S.O., 1969), p. 10, Table 4.
22. K.K. Sillitoe, *ibid.*, p. 42, Table 9.
23. Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Allotments (London: H.M.S.O., 1969), p. 45, Figure 4.
24. Inquiry into Allotments, *ibid.*, p. 256.
25. James Walvin, The People's Game: The Social History of British Football (London: Allen Lane, 1975), pp. 173-4.
26. Allan J. Patmore, Land and Leisure (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), p. 71.
27. E.T. Ashton, People and Leisure (London: Ginn and Co., 1971), p. 26.
28. Select Committee of the House of Lords on Sport and Leisure, Parliamentary Papers #37 (25 July 1973), par. 587.
29. K.K. Sillitoe, op.cit., p. 42, Table 9.
30. K.K. Sillitoe, *ibid.*, p. 236, Table A38.
31. K.K. Sillitoe, *ibid.*, p. 50, Table 13.
32. K.K. Sillitoe, *ibid.*, p. 240, Table A42.
33. K.K. Sillitoe, *ibid.*, p. 194, Table 109.

34. Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Allotments, op.cit., p. 143.
35. Office of Population Census and Survey, Classification of Occupations (London: H.M.S.O., 1970), p. x.
36. Combined categories follow the Sillitoe Report, op.cit., p. 259.
37. See Appendix E, Classification of Occupations, op.cit., pp. 118-9.

#### CHAPTER 4

1. In other words, a situation can be defined as work when the individual perceives a greater degree of discord than accord between his predispositions and the expectations of his role. Similarly, a situation can be defined as leisure when the individual perceives a greater degree of accord than discord between his predispositions and role expectations.
2. Dr. Neil Philips, quoted by the Commission on Industrial Relations, Report No. 87, Professional Football (London: H.M.S.O., 1974), par. 87.
3. Commission on Industrial Relations, *ibid.*, par. 70.

#### CHAPTER 5

1. Gifford Horticultural Society, Flower Show Schedules (23 Aug. 1975).

#### CHAPTER 7

1. Edmund H. Volkart, Social Behavior and Personality: Contributions of W.I. Thomas to Theory and Social Research (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951), p. 2.

2. Alfred Schutz and Thomas Luckman, The Structures of the Life-World (London: Heinemann, 1974), p. 3.
3. ibid., p. 5.
4. Helmut R. Wagner, ed., Alfred Schutz on Phenomenology and Social Relations (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 278.
5. William Lewis Troyer, "Mead's Social and Functional Theory of Mind," in Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer, eds., Symbolic Interaction, op.cit., p. 322.
6. The realization of positive expectations in a situation defined as work is similar to the "contribution/inducement" model of Chester Barnard. Barnard distinguishes between incentives which are specific and can be specifically offered to an individual, and those which are general, that cannot be specifically offered. For a detailed analysis of this model see Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 11.

## CHAPTER 8

1. 'Foul', a tabloid published in England, claims to be 'football's alternative paper'. It is unlike other football papers inasmuch as it attempts (under the guise of sarcastic humor) to expose readers to the 'dirtier' side of professional football.
2. See for example George W. Keeton, The Football Revolution: A Study of the Changing Pattern of Association Football (Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles, 1972); James Walvin, The People's Game: The Social History of British Football (London: Allen Lane, 1975); Percy M. Young, A History of British Football (London: Arrow Books, 1968); and John Rafferty, One Hundred Years of Scottish Football (London: Pan Books, 1973).
3. See for example Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, "Dynamics of Sport Groups with Special Reference to Football," in Eric Dunning, ed., The Sociology of Sport (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1971), pp. 66-80; Roy Payne and Robert Cooper, "Psychology of the Good Footballer," New Society (July 14 1966), pp. 49-51; and Maurice Yaffe, "Some Variables Affecting Team Success in Soccer," in H.T.A. Whiting, ed., Readings in Sports Psychology 2 (London: Lepus Books, 1975), pp. 63-71.

4. Arthur Hopcraft, The Football Man: People and Passions in Soccer (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p. 175.
5. "A coaching relationship exists if someone seeks to move someone else along a series of steps, and when the learner is not entirely clear about their sequence (although the coach is)". From Anselm L. Strauss, Mirrors and Masks (San Francisco: Sociology Press, 1969), p. 109. For an elaboration on the role of the coach see Thomas A. Tutko and Jack W. Richards, Psychology of Coaching (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971),
6. According to the Pro's physiotherapist, a footballer must run on the flat of his feet as opposed to a sprinter who runs on his toes. He also suggested that one reason why miners (or miners' sons) make good football players was because they were used to stooping in the mines, hence naturally ran on the flat of their feet. He went on to add that this was just one reason. Another and more important reason is a desire for occupational mobility.
7. Alan Gowling, "The Occupation of the Professional Footballer," Diss. University of Manchester 1974, p. 145.
8. At the end of the 1974/75 season, two of the five apprentices with the Pros were given full-time contracts. The other three were given free transfers. On a national basis, in 1970 only 54.42% of apprentices signed professional contracts after serving their apprenticeship. From T. Pawson, The Football Managers (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), p. 158.
9. Hunter Davies, The Glory Game (London: Sphere Books, 1973), p. 35.
10. Alan Gowling, op.cit., p. 189.
11. Hugh Taylor, The Scottish Football Book No. 15 (London: Stanley Paul, 1969), p. 39.
12. Revenue from football pools can be considerable. T. Pawson reports: "each year (Glasgow Rangers') pool brings in more than three hundred thousand pounds profit and pays more than half a million pounds to the Exchequer in betting duty. On a sample week in January 1973, there were 618,000 entrants at a stake of 6p with prize money of 12,238 pounds for the winners of the five separate pools". From T. Pawson, The Football Managers, op.cit., p. 178.

13. Evening News (Edinburgh), 14 January 1977.
14. Commission on Industrial Relations Report No. 87, Professional Football (London: H.M.S.O., 1974), par. 88.
15. Prior to the change from a professional/amateur distinction to a contract/non-contract distinction, the use of the terms "professional" and "amateur" were loosely defined. For example, a House of Lords report on sport and leisure considered amateur football as embracing "all football played by people who have left school other than professionals. Professional football includes any club which employs one or more professional player." From The Select Committee of the House of Lords on Sport and Leisure (London: H.M.S.O., 1973) par. 586.

## CHAPTER 9

1. It can be argued that a reserve team football situation is different from a first team situation. And for the most part this is true. But for the sake of clarity and because many players have played for both teams at different times, we are dealing with the Pros' football situation regardless of which team a player was on at the time of the research.
2. Although a number of players mentioned that they played better in the first team this resulted from the atmosphere of the crowd and not simply because the first team paid more money. At any rate, reference here is to trying harder for a larger than usual bonus and not to trying harder in the first as opposed to a reserve match. On this point Chester Barnard feels that "there is no doubt in my mind that, unaided by other motives (material incentives) constitute weak incentives beyond the level of the base physiological necessities." From Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, op.cit., p. 143.

## CHAPTER 10

1. Hunter Davies, The Glory Game, op.cit., p. 304.

CHAPTER 11

1. For examples of definitions of leadership and leader see Fred E. Fielder, A Theory of Leadership Effectiveness (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), pp. 7-8.
2. See for example C. A. Gibb, ed., Leadership (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 11.
3. See for example Richard H. Hall, Organizations: Structure and Process (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 264.
4. Alvin W. Gouldner, ed., Studies in Leadership (New York: Harper and Bros, 1950), p. 17.
5. A. Etzioni, "Dual Leadership in Complex Organizations," in C.A. Gibb, ed., op.cit., p. 391.
6. *ibid.*, p. 391.
7. Fred E. Fielder, op.cit., pp. 22-25.
8. F.E. Fielder, "Leadership- a New Model," in C.A. Gibb; ed., op.cit., p. 234.
9. Seating patterns on the bus tended to follow an arrangement that paralleled the hierarchical structure of the players. The older star players always sat at the back of the bus, younger first team players sat in the middle, while younger reserve players tended to sit toward the front.
10. Tony Pawson, The Football Managers, op.cit., p. 197.
11. An instance was recorded where a player was fined for using another player's towel.

CHAPTER 12

1. See Gresham M. Sykes and David Matza, "Techniques of Neutralization," American Sociological Review, 22 (December 1957), pp. 667-69.
2. Marvin B. Scott and Stanford Lyman, "Accounts," in Gregory P. Stone and Harvey A. Farberman, eds., Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction (Wattham Mass: Xerox College Publishing, 1970), p. 495.

3. Robin Jackson and Rolf Meyersohn, The Social Patterning of Leisure, Centre for the Study of Leisure (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), p. 9. William Dobriner emphasized this point in that "one may not like to garden, but- since gardening is a characteristic of this suburb-garden you must. A sloppy and inept garden is visible. An untidy or poorly conceived and executed garden can be seen and judged by one's neighbors." From William M. Dobriner, Class in Suburbia (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1963), p. 9.

## CHAPTER 13

1. During the 1974/75 season attendance figures for first team matches ranged from 2,000 to over 36,000 spectators. Although attendance figures are not published for reserve matches, personal observation and players' comments suggests that the average crowd size at a reserve match (excluding a Cup Tie or Derby) is less than 1,000 spectators.
2. Alan Gowling, "The Occupation of the Professional Footballer," op.cit., pp 214-15.
3. Committee on Industrial Relations Report No. 86, Professional Football, op.cit., par. 22.
4. Certain star players received letters from fans. For example the following was received from a young supporter. It is reproduced as originally written.

To X.

I hope you are not hurt bad. I was very ~~sad~~ happy with the score on Saturday. I think you should be in the Scotland team. This would be my Scotland team. (the writer then goes on to name eleven players, eight of whom played for the Pros).

Give Y my best. We will be in the top ten. Z is the best manager we have had for years. And long may he reign (rain).

Well all the best X and the Pros.

5. For an elaboration on the distinction between a "professional" and an "entertainer" see my article "Is Professional Football a Profession?" International Review of Sport Sociology, 3 No. 11 (1976), pp. 27-37.

6. Exceptions to this rule could include certain decision makers in remunerated situations. Perhaps this is one reason why the organization man "cannot distinguish between work and the rest of his life- and is happy that he cannot." From William H. Whyte, The Organization Man (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), p. 142.

#### CHAPTER 14

1. Rolf Meyersohn, "Changing Work and Leisure Routines," in Erwin O. Smigel, ed., Work and Leisure, op.cit., p. 105.
2. Riva Poor, 4 Days, 40 Hours (London: Pan Books, 1972), p. 70.
3. Micnel Crozier, The World of the Office Worker (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), p. 110.
4. Richard Brown, et. al, "Leisure in Work: The 'Occupational Culture' of Shipbuilding Workers," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain, op.cit., p. 101.
5. *ibid.*, p. 102.
6. Robert Dubin, "Industrial Workers' Worlds," in Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersohn, eds., Mass Leisure, op.cit., p. 216.
7. J.H. Goldthorp, et. al, The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 57.
8. Stanley Parker, The Future of Work and Leisure (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1971), pp. 106-7.
9. Neil H. Cheek Jr. and William R. Burch Jr., The Social Organization of Leisure in Human Society (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 56.

#### CHAPTER 15

1. Neil H. Cheek Jr., Donald R. Field, and Rabel J. Burdge, Leisure and Recreation Places (Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Science, 1976), p. 19.
2. In a more general sense, where remuneration coupled with power is unevenly distributed among participants in a situation, social relations between rather than within remuneration levels are mitigated. Hence, the conflict between workers and management.
3. Versatility in the modern game is referred to as "total football". Rather than allocating specific duties to each position, a player is expected to be flexible "relying more on initiative in any developing situation, going forward or back depending on the state of play, rather than on instructions." From Alan Wilkinson, Terrace Supporters Handbook (Nottigham: Sportsworld, 1977/78), p. 59.
4. According to C. Wright Mills, "along with rules and norms of action for various situations, we learn vocabularies of motives appropriate to them." From C. Wright Mills, "Situating Actions and Vocabularies of Motive," in Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer, eds., Symbolic Interaction, op.cit., p. 398.
5. For an elaboration on the distinction between playing for oneself and being considered an "entertainer" as opposed to playing for teammates and being considered a "professional" see my article "Is Professional Football a Profession?", op.cit.
6. Exceptions include the amateur who aspires to play at the professional level and who is playing at a level of football where he might be spotted by a scout.
7. Hunter Davies does not agree with this point. He believes that in an English First Division club "there's an unwritten rule in football that a first team player who's out injured always gets his place back afterwards. It's the sort of rule which all reserves moan about, especially when they think they've been playing well." From Hunter Davies, The Glory Game, op.cit., p. 145. Although this might be the case with a few star Pros players, it was not the case with the majority of first team players. In fact players have complained that they needed a rest and the manager kept them playing in the first team because the team was going through a winning streak.
8. Alan Gowling, "The Occupation of the Professional Footballer," op.cit., p. 122.

9. Eamon Dunphy, Only a Game? The Diary of a Professional Footballer (Harmondsworth: Kestrel Books, 1976), p. 113.
10. Study conducted by Ivan Munnich and quoted by Maurice Yaffe, "Some Variables Affecting Team Success in Soccer," in H.T.A. Whiting, ed., Readings in Sports Psychology 2, op.cit., pp. 64-65.
11. See E.D. Saunders and G.B. White, Social Investigations in Physical Education and Sport (London: Lepus Books, 1977), pp. 59-62.
12. Michael Klein and Gerd Christiansen, "Group Composition, Group Structure and Group Effectiveness of Basketball Teams," in John W. Loy Jr. and Gerald S. Kenyon, eds., Sport, Culture and Society (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 404.
13. ibid., p. 405.
14. For example, Cheek and his associates suggest that "leisure is distinguished from nonleisure by a fundamentally different social organization. One of its facets is the importance of the social group as the major vehicle by which people relate to each other in leisure and at leisure places." From Neil H. Cheek Jr., Donald R. Field, and Rabel J. Burdge, eds., Leisure and Recreation Places, op.cit., p. 56. In a different publication Cheek and Burch mention a number of studies which concluded (in part) that participants in specific leisure situations shared that situation with close friends. For example: 71 per cent of a sample of hunters mentioned that their close friends were hunters, and with reference to a different study, 44 per cent of respondents in wilderness type recreation mentioned that three or more of their five closest friends participated, at least occasionally, in wilderness type recreation. See Neil H. Cheek, Jr. and William R. Burch, Jr., The Social Organization of Leisure in Human Society, op.cit., pp. 118-19.
15. Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Black, Pressures in Informal Groups (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), p. 9b.

1. For additional examples of in this case the "joking relationship" between employees of a department store, see P. Bradney, "The Joking Relationship in Industry," in David Weir, ed., Man and Work in Modern Britain (London: Fontana, 1973), pp. 333-43.
2. Alan Gowling, "The Occupation of the Professional Footballer," op.cit., p. 208.
3. ibid., p. 208.
4. Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), p. 207.
5. Amateur 2 had been in existence for over ten years. Over the years they had worked themselves up from the Sixth to the First Division in the City Amateur League.

#### CHAPTER 17

1. Stanley Parker, The Future of Work and Leisure, op.cit., pp. 99-110.
2. Kenneth Roberts, Leisure (London: Longman, 1970), pp. 93-94.
3. See Ralph Glasser, Leisure: Penalty or Prize? (London: Macmillan, 1970); and by the same author, "Leisure and the Search for a Satisfying Identity," in Michael Smith, Stanley Parker and Cyril Smith, eds., Leisure and Society in Britain, op.cit., pp. 56-65.
4. Orrin E. Klapp, Collective Search for Identity (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1969), p. 184.
5. John Neulinger, The Psychology of Leisure, op.cit., p. 88.
6. Gregory P. Stone, "Appearance and the Self," in Gregory P. Stone and Harvey A. Farberman, eds., Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction, op.cit., p. 399.
7. This distinction was originally applied to roles by M. Banton. See Michael Banton, Roles: An Introduction to the Study of Social Relations (London: Tavistock, 1965). The suggestion to supplant roles with "identities" was put forth by Gregory Stone in

a review of Banton's book. See Gregory P. Stone, "Review of Roles by Michael Banton," American Sociological Review, 31 (Dec. 1966), p. 899.

8. Richard V. Travisano, "Alternation and Conversion as Qualitatively Different Transformations," in Gregory P. Stone and Harvey Farberman, eds., Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction, op. cit., p. 604.
9. For a discussion on the role of a uniform, see Gregory P. Stone, "Appearance and the Self," op. cit.
10. For a look at housework through a sociological perspective, see Ann Oakley, The Sociology of Housework (Bath: Martin Robertson, 1974).