

Facilitators to Leisure

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Samdahl and Jekubovich (1997) suggested that the constraints paradigm has shaped leisure research in such a way that it is now difficult to adopt alternative explanations of participation. One major problem with the constraints approach, however, is that *the absence of constraints does not necessarily lead to participation*. The purpose of this paper is to develop a basic framework for understanding what *facilitates* leisure participation. Using the term "facilitators" provides theoretical consistency with an extensive body of constraints literature. Facilitators are proposed to be separate from, but interact with, constraints on leisure to produce participation. A preliminary model of the relationship between facilitators and constraints incorporating an ecological perspective is presented.

KEYWORDS: *Facilitators and constraints to leisure, ecological perspective, leisure participation*

Introduction

Early in the 1990s I was invited to be a discussant in the psychology of leisure section of the Leisure Research Symposium at an NRPA congress. At the time I reflected on how it came to be that our field had a model that provided structure for us to understand non-participation and constraints, yet no similar model existed to provide an organizing structure for us to understand what *facilitates* participation. The purpose of this article is to propose a new approach to understanding the nature of participation.

In their recent review of current knowledge in the area of constraints to leisure, Jackson and Scott (1999) describe the stages through which research in the area of constraints progressed. Problems they identified with early research on non-participation were that the emphasis was on individual constraints and that these constraints were analyzed on an item-by-item basis using independent variables. For example, a researcher would examine how socioeconomic status (SES) related to lack of facilities. The result of this, the

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authors indicated, was that there did not appear to have been any notion of a generic concept of “constraints” to leisure.

I suggest that a similar problem has gone unnoticed in the participation literature, where participation is usually predicted based on various explanatory variables. Researchers who examine the characteristics of participants have overlooked the fact that these people may share something larger than simply those characteristics—something that facilitated their participation. Just as non-participants may share constraints, participants may share *facilitators*. I propose that in order to fully understand leisure involvement we need to understand both facilitators and constraints, and how they work together to produce participation and non-participation and their accompanying experiences.

The purpose of this paper is to develop the concept of facilitators to leisure. I will propose a framework for understanding facilitators and link it to the concepts of constraints and affordance, incorporating an ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1986, 1992) to understanding participation. I have chosen participation as a starting point for discussion because participation and non-participation are easier to identify than those internal states associated with the leisure experience. Discussing facilitators from the perspective of participation does not preclude use of the concept in relation to understanding other aspects of leisure behavior.

Constraints and Facilitators

The “constraints” approach to understanding leisure has become implicit in our explanations of both non-participation and participation in activities. Constraints are “factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to limit the formation of leisure preferences and to inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure” (Jackson, 1997, p. 461). The constraints approach assumes that the basic human condition involves a desire or need to participate. If someone doesn’t participate in an activity it must be because they can’t (i.e., non-participation = constraint), and if they do participate they must have overcome or “negotiated” constraints to achieve participation (i.e., participation = negotiated constraint).

Samdahl and Jekubovich (1997) recognize the “widespread use of leisure constraints as a premise for statements about general patterns of leisure” (p. 441), and suggest that the constraints paradigm has shaped leisure research in such a way that it is now difficult to adopt alternative explanations of participation. Lack of interest, for example, is frequently viewed as the result of intrapersonal constraints (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991) that lead to non-participation. But why should we assume that all people should be interested in all forms of leisure or that the patterns of all lives should equate to the same leisure opportunities and interests? How can our research accommodate individual differences in leisure orientations, interests, and life patterns in a way that doesn’t assume participation is indicative of negotiation, and non-participation indicative of constraint?

The most concise concern about the constraints literature was raised by Kathleen Sheldon in a 1996 Leisurenets communication. She recognized that a constraints approach to understanding participation assumes "the cup is half empty"; researchers presume people do not participate because they are lacking something. Perhaps we could advance our understanding of how people come to access and participate in leisure experiences if we incorporate the complimentary view that the cup is "half full" into our research. Acknowledging the resources that encourage or allow participation, in addition to those that may limit or prohibit, may improve our understanding of leisure and our provision of leisure opportunities. Strategies for creating accessible leisure experiences may be made more readily recognizable and people made more empowered if we focus on how we can "fill everyone's cups" rather than on whose cups are the most empty.

We need to ask individuals about the resources that they have that help them access and experience leisure (i.e., that facilitate leisure), and develop a framework for assimilating the information to garner a deeper understanding of those resources. Through this process we can begin to understand how both facilitators and constraints work together to produce participation or non-participation.

Introductory leisure studies classes often use the concepts of "freedom from" and "freedom to" to define leisure. In the context of this article, participation despite constraint may be thought of as "*freedom from*", a limited conception of leisure. Incorporating the concept of facilitators to understanding participation would recognize those resources that give people the "*freedom to*" participate.

Using a direct adaptation of Jackson's (1997) definition of constraints, I propose the following definition of this new approach: *Facilitators to leisure are factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and to encourage or enhance participation.* Simply put, facilitators to leisure promote the formation of leisure preferences and encourage participation.

The term facilitator was chosen specifically because "facilitate" is an antonym for "constrain". Facilitators are, perhaps, simply resources for leisure, but using the term "facilitators" provides theoretical consistency with an already well-developed body of constraints literature. In addition, the concept of facilitators (as in "barriers and facilitators") has been used in other fields to examine topics as diverse as career advancement (Lyness & Thompson, 2000), technology transfer (Padmanabhan & Souder, 1994), friendships in later life (Johnson & Troll, 1994), customer relations (Gilly, Stevenson, & Yale, 1991), intergenerational communication (Ryan, 1994), health promotion (Amonkar, Madhavan, Rosenbluth & Simon, 1999; Choi, Roberts, Gomez & Grinstead, 1999), economic development (Gyulai, 1996), counseling (Cook, 1995; Roberts & Morris, 1998) and mental health (Staudt, 1999).

Initially it would seem that the facilitators perspective could be used to explain both participation and non-participation: participants are such because they have facilitators, while people who are not involved in an activity

or experience could be assumed to lack facilitators to involvement (instead of facing constraints). However, in addition to replicating the criticized aspects of the constraints approach, this tactic would imply that facilitators are simply the opposite of constraints, or merely constraints stated in the positive. I argue that they are two distinct concepts that in some instances may be related but are not necessarily so.

Both constraints and facilitators act to produce participation or non-participation. The presence of a facilitator does not necessarily imply that an equivalent constraint has been overcome, as would be the case if the two concepts were polar opposites. Take, for example, the case of a parent who becomes friendly with the parents of their child's friends and does things socially with those adults. The parent's social network will have been extended and additional activity options brought into their lives because of the presence of their child. In this case we would say the child acted as a facilitator. We would not assert that the condition of being childless is a constraint—in fact, much of the research examining the impact of parenthood focuses on the constraining aspects of parenthood (see Crawford & Huston, 1993).

As additional evidence that constraints and facilitators are not always polar opposites, I propose that the absence of constraints does not necessarily facilitate participation. For example, research consistently demonstrates that negative body image is a powerful constraint to swimming among adolescent females (James, 2000), yet a young woman who has high body image (the opposite of the constraint) may still not choose to go swimming. In this case body image is not an equally powerful facilitator. If constraints and facilitators were simply opposites then body image in this instance would become a facilitator to swimming, resulting in participation in the activity.

The Concept of Affordance and Facilitators to Leisure

A concept somewhat similar to facilitators referred to as *affordance* appears in Kleiber and Dirkin (1985) and in Mannell and Kleiber's (1997) social psychological discussion of constraints on leisure. The concept of affordance originated with Gibson (1986), a proponent of using an ecological perspective to understand behavior. Greeno (1994) describes affordance as a property of something in a person's environment that supports a given activity. An affordance can only be so if it is perceived as such by the individual; therefore affordance involves an interaction between the individual and his or her environment based on the individual's perception.

Greeno's (1994) and Gibson's (1986) discussions of affordance are primarily concerned with deconstructing basic human actions (i.e., walking through doorways and driving cars) from a psychological perspective. Mannell and Kleiber (1997), who define affordance as "conditions that foster satisfying and rewarding leisure" (p. 328), extend the concept beyond the original meaning to include a qualitative or experiential dimension to affordance. The authors propose that a condition must be perceived to be potentially satisfying and rewarding for it to be perceived as a leisure opportunity.

A problem with Mannell and Kleiber's (1997) use of affordance as a concept is that the authors state that affordances "provide new opportunities that allow constraints to be managed, reduced or eliminated" (p. 330). Affordance is presented by the authors as a way of *overcoming constraint*, not foremost as a facilitator of participation or something that affords leisure involvement. Mannell and Kleiber (1997) consider constraints as central to explaining participation, rather than as those conditions that afford or facilitate participation that may be mediated by constraints.

In addition to this problem, two major limitations exist with the use of affordance as a term for resources that enable or promote participation in leisure. The first limitation is that "affordance" refers to something located external to the individual, in their environment. Greeno (1994) used a separate term for internal person characteristics—*ability*. Affordance, as used in the psychology literature, affects behavior via the interaction between affordance and ability, not through the existence of affordance alone. This interaction creates another problem with the use of the term: affordance cannot be used to understand self-initiated leisure that is not a behavioral response to something in the environment. Using the phrase "affordance" to refer to something that facilitates leisure is not adequate, since the concept overlooks solely intrapersonal influences on leisure.

The second major limitation with the concept of affordance is its obvious orientation toward psychological processes. The phrase does not lend itself to simple "real world" interpretation that can be easily operationalized into policy or practice. Linking the concept of affordance to participation in a way that is meaningful for practitioners and researchers would therefore be extremely difficult, potentially delimiting the usefulness of the concept to psychologists publishing in leisure journals.

Based on the limitations of the concept of affordance, and the use of the concept of facilitators in relation to constraints or barriers in other fields of inquiry, the term facilitators is proposed to be the a more encompassing approach to understanding conditions that enable participation in leisure activities.

While affordance as a concept may have limited application in relation to explaining leisure participation, Gibson's (1986) ecological approach to understanding behavior in general may be fundamental to understanding leisure participation. This ecological perspective will be explained further using the work of Bronfenbrenner (1986, 1992).

The Ecological Perspective, Facilitators, and Constraints to Leisure

Ecological systems theory (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1986; 1992) states that one can only understand the individual by understanding his or her environment, just as understanding the development of a leaf on a tree requires knowledge of not only the tree but the environment in which the tree exists. An ecological perspective of human development is concerned with understanding the contexts in which an individual exists, and incorporates the interactions between the individual, other individuals and the social struc-

tures of society to explain human development. Bronfenbrenner (1986) suggests that two key contexts influence both behavior and development: the microsystem and the macrosystem (Meschke & Silbereisen, 1998). The microsystem includes past and present roles, individuals and activities a person has experienced in his or her interactions, while the macrosystem is the larger context in which the individual functions. The macrosystem includes belief systems such as societal conceptions of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender as well as other structures of society and its institutions.

From an ecological perspective, individuals are viewed as being at the center of the contexts in which they live their lives. In order to understand the individual, the context in which the individual lives must also be understood. How a young woman feels about her body is dependent not only on the image she sees in the mirror but also on influences such as her peer group and the characteristics of the body beautiful in the society in which she lives. Social and societal influences interact with the individual to produce body image; therefore body image can not be understood without examining the context.

The ecological perspective will be adapted here for the purpose of understanding facilitators and constraints to leisure participation and how these concepts relate to the individual and wider society. The proposition here is that individuals exist in environments that enable participation and hinder participation at the same time. Therefore, both facilitators and constraints must be accounted for when discussing participation or non-participation from an ecological perspective.

Using the Crawford, Jackson and Godbey Model to Explain Facilitators to Leisure

An extensive body of literature related to constraints on leisure incorporates a model first proposed by Crawford and Godbey (1987) and subsequent variations and extensions of that model, particularly that of Crawford et al. (1991), to explain constraints on leisure. The model contends that three types of constraints on leisure exist: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural. Adapting the Crawford et al. (1991) model to explain the resources that enable participation would extend a currently existing framework into new directions.

Figure 1 adapts Crawford, Jackson and Godbey's (1991) three types of constraints on leisure to present an holistic approach to understanding participation, recognizing the importance of context in the decision to participate (note that this model could also be used to understand the leisure experience). The nested model demonstrates that intrapersonal facilitators and constraints can only be understood in the context of interpersonal and structural facilitators and constraints.

Using the Crawford et al. (1991) model, *intrapersonal facilitators* are proposed to be those *individual characteristics, traits and beliefs* that enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and that encourage or en-

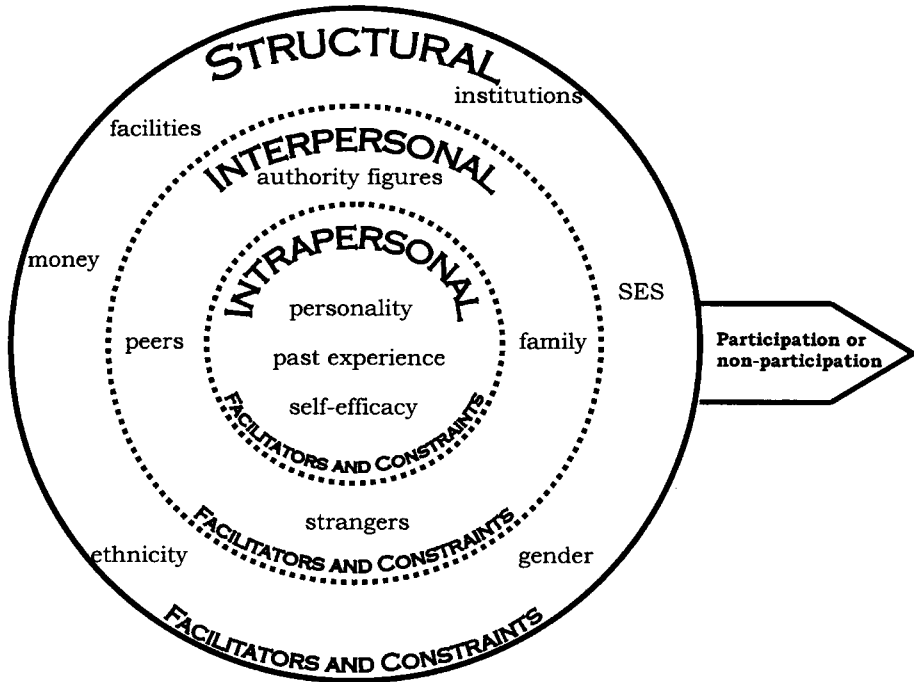


Figure 1. An ecological approach to understanding influences on participation

hance participation in leisure. *Interpersonal facilitators* are proposed to be *those individuals or groups* that enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and encourage or enhance participation in leisure. Finally, *structural facilitators* are proposed to be those *social and physical institutions, organizations, or belief systems* of a society that operate external to the individual to enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and encourage or enhance participation in leisure.

Figure 1 proposes a limited number of potential characteristics of the environment that could facilitate or constrain participation in a given activity for illustrative purposes. It is important to recognize that the relevance of various constraints and facilitators will vary with activity and the individual.

Motivation, Facilitators and Constraints

While constraints have generally been accepted as factors that may reduce or inhibit motivation to participate, some may question whether the concept of facilitators is simply another word for motivation itself. The argument presented here is that a facilitator is a *condition* that exists, whether internal to the individual, in relation to another individual, or to some societal structure, that enables participation. The facilitator is the condition itself, not the

process through which that condition energizes or motivates behavior leading to (i.e., facilitating) or limiting (i.e., constraining) participation. Figure 1 does not incorporate the concept of motivation as it is intended to be an illustration of the relationships between the individual and his or her contexts. The model could apply to any form of behavior, not just leisure.

To understand the potential relationship between facilitators, constraints and behavior, however, there must be some discussion of motivation to link the concepts together. A theory of motivation that would assist in clarifying the relationship between these ideas is the expectancy-value theory of achievement motivation (see Eccles, Adler, Futterman, Goff, Kaczala, Meece, & Midgeley, 1983; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). This approach incorporates the concept of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), along with expectancy for success and the value of the outcomes related to a given behavior.

Theories in the expectancy-value tradition suggest that an individual's "choice, persistence, and performance can be explained by their beliefs about how well they will do on the activity and the extent to which they value the activity" (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000, p.68). The expectancies and values individuals hold for an activity are influenced by their beliefs about themselves in relation to whatever task is at hand.

While the research of authors such as Eccles et al. (1983) and Wigfield and Eccles (2000) is primarily concerned with understanding academic performance, the approach is easily related to leisure involvement. Incorporating the ecological perspective contained in Figure 1, the expectancy-value approach centers understanding participation around the individual and his or her interpretation of that environment and his or her relation to it—what I have referred to here as intrapersonal influences on leisure.

An example of the expectancy-value theory of motivation can be found in the example of an adolescent female who has the opportunity to go white-water rafting (the task) with a school group (a structural facilitator). The student has dreamed of going whitewater rafting (a goal that could be referred to as interest, an intrapersonal facilitator), and is confident of her abilities to paddle and negotiate rapids (intrapersonal facilitator). However, she does not know any of the other students who are going on the trip (interpersonal constraint) and is not comfortable meeting new people (intrapersonal constraint). She has bad memories of other times she's been in a group where she didn't know anyone else (intrapersonal constraint), and knows this may make her trip less enjoyable. Using the expectancy value approach, whether or not the young woman is motivated to go on the rafting trip would depend on how much she values the opportunity to go rafting in comparison to the potential discomfort of not knowing anyone else on the trip.

This situation provides an interesting illustration of how the negotiation process fits when constraints and facilitators are combined to explain participation. In this example, the constraints the student undergoes are primarily related to whether the rafting experience will be a successful and rewarding experience. The student could develop strategies to cope with or negotiate

the discomfort of the constraints she faces. However, the actual process of negotiation (i.e., developing strategies for coping while rafting) isn't what is foremost in the decision to participate, but the student's *expectation for success* in coping with the constraints is. If the student perceives, in advance, that she will be able to successfully cope with the constraints while on the rafting trip then their impact is reduced. The decision to participate occurs prior to any actual negotiation through the actual constraints. The same process could be true for facilitators—expectations for success in accessing facilitators may mediate the weight that those facilitators carry in the decision to participate.

This illustration included examples of both facilitators and constraints. While much has been written about constraints as a concept and how the concept relates to behavior, a problem previously identified in this article was that literature on the characteristics of participants has not been drawn together in a meaningful framework for understanding participation. The following section will provide a brief illustration of how we can interpret existing literature using the framework of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural facilitators to leisure.

Linking Previous Research to the Concept of Facilitators

As proposed previously, the Crawford et al. (1991) model of constraints could provide a useful structure for understanding facilitators to leisure. Brief examples from recent participation literature from various fields of inquiry will be used here to illustrate the concept of facilitators.

Intrapersonal Facilitators

Intrapersonal facilitators were defined as those individual characteristics, traits and beliefs that enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and that encourage or enhance participation in leisure. Central to the idea of intrapersonal facilitators is the notion of personal agency (see Haworth, 1991).

Jackson and Scott (1999), in a summary of the constraints literature, indicated that intrapersonal constraints have been the most difficult for researchers to identify and measure. Literature in the field of psychology suggests that intrapersonal *facilitators*, however, may not be as difficult to identify as constraints because of the centrality of personal agency in leisure participation. Personality research will be used here to illustrate the concept of *intrapersonal facilitators*, as it has long been recognized that "choices to participate in certain leisure activities and the ability to have certain leisure experiences are dictated—to some extent—by stable individual differences" (Kleiber & Dirkin, 1985, p. 17).

Examples of intrapersonal facilitators abound in both the psychology and the leisure studies literature. Avni, Kipper and Fox (1987) found that male chess players were more likely to be unconventional thinkers and had

a higher need for orderliness than non-players. (Would non-players cite "conventionality" and a "preference for disarray" as constraints on their playing chess, as would be the case if facilitators were simply the opposite of constraints?)

According to Eysenck, Nias, and Cox (1982), "we tend to seek out those sensory environments that are conducive to optimal functioning" (p. 5). Extraverts take part in significantly more social and physical leisure activities than do introverts (Furnham, 1981), and extraverts are more likely to excel in sports because they are more adventurous and risk-taking, as are those with high psychoticism scores (Eysenck et al., 1982). Schrader and Wann (1999) found that the degree of involvement in high-risk recreation could be predicted by individuals' level of sensation seeking and the social complexity in their lives (i.e., the extent to which they are "joiners").

Personality measures have been widely used to examine participation in physical activity or exercise. Eysenck et al. (1982) illustrated how different sports attract different people based on whether they are individual or group activities; even different positions within one sport may attract different people. Neuroticism and extraversion have been positively related to participation in exercise for weight control, general appearance, and enjoyment (Davis, Fox, Brewer & Ratusny, 1995). Adherence to an exercise regimen has also been linked to neuroticism and extraversion as well as to conscientiousness (Courneya & Hellsten, 1998). Extraverts prefer to exercise with other people rather than alone; people high in conscientiousness prefer scheduled exercises and high intensity exercise (Courneya & Hellsten, 1998)

Personality traits have also been linked to activities such as alcohol consumption; people who are high on sociability and extraversion are more likely to consume alcohol than individuals low on these traits (Cook, Young, Taylor & Bedford, 1998).

In addition to participation in specific activities, personality can facilitate overall leisure participation. Lawton (1994) found that surgency (i.e., the intensity of affect) and sensation seeking were related to higher involvement in leisure activities in general during older adulthood.

While personality has been the primary example of intrapersonal facilitators to leisure provided here, numerous other personal characteristics could serve as facilitators to leisure—virtually any personal attribute that influences the way an individual views the world and the opportunities it offers.

Interpersonal Facilitators

Interpersonal facilitators were defined as those individuals or groups that enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and encourage or enhance participation in leisure. Both researchers and practitioners are well aware of the importance of other people in leisure participation. Research on the leisure activities of adolescents is provided as an illustration of *interpersonal facilitators*.

The participation of friends, encouragement from friends, and the sharing of successful physical activity experiences of others are related to partic-

ipation in physical activity among female adolescents (Bungum & Vincent, 1997). Caldwell and Darling (1999) found that adolescents who were open to peer influence reported higher levels of substance use than those less influenced by their peers who “partied” to the same extent. Note that this result provides an example of an intrapersonal characteristic (peer conformity) moderating the effect of an interpersonal facilitator (peers participating in an activity); this interaction is easily accommodated by the nested model of participation presented in Figure 1.

Parents facilitate their children’s participation in leisure in a number of ways, via parental example and being leisure educators and providers of opportunity. Fathers’ participation is related to adolescent female involvement in physical activity (Bungum & Vincent, 1997), and high parental social activity is related to high social involvement among college students (Brennan, 1985). Low parental involvement with children during adolescence can also act as a facilitator, but for less socially desirable forms of leisure. Robertson (1999) and Meschke and Silbereisen (1998) link parental indifference to adolescent involvement in what Robertson (1999) terms delinquent leisure (e.g., pranks, vandalism, and theft).

Structural Facilitators

Structural *constraints* are the most commonly identified form of constraint (Jackson & Scott, 1999), and may be the most likely facilitator type to fall into the “opposites” argument of whether facilitators are simply the opposite of constraints. A facility either exists or it doesn’t; if it does exist it may be a facilitator, if it doesn’t, it is a constraint. For example, Sallis, Hovell, Hofstetter, Hackley, Elder, Caspersen, and Powell (1990) found that the density of exercise facilities was significantly related to exercise habits—exercisers were more likely to live near pay exercise facilities than people identified as sedentary (who would therefore be experiencing a constraint, since they didn’t live near facilities). However, for a facility or opportunity to be a facilitator it must be perceived as such, and as Figure 1 illustrates that perception is dependent on the individual and the interpersonal and structural influences on his or her life.

From an ecological point of view, one of the major “structures” in our lives is society or the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) in which our lives are lived. Therefore, in order to understand structural facilitators we need to look further into the way society is structured. Our society grants certain rights and privileges to members of some groups, and also designates “appropriate” activities in which people can participate. It is on this basis that structural facilitators are proposed to be those social and physical institutions, organizations, or belief systems of a society that operate external to the individual to enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and encourage or enhance participation in leisure.

Demographic characteristics should be considered to constitute structural facilitators (and constraints) because they designate one’s place in the structure of society, and thus may dictate opportunity. Literature related to

race provides a good example of how demographic characteristics may be related to opportunity.

Findings from Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, and Noe (1994) suggest that the effect of race on leisure preferences may operate differently at different levels of social class, demonstrating the significance of additional demographic characteristics as facilitators to leisure. These authors found that the importance of race as a determinant of leisure preferences receded as social class increased. However, race was an important determinant of leisure preferences among people in lower social classes, particularly for females. Shinew, Floyd, McGuire & Noe (1996) found similarities in the leisure preferences of Black men and women of higher socioeconomic status, but not between those of lower SES.

Philipp (1998) illustrates the complexity of interactions that can occur between the different types of facilitators to leisure, and also the complexity of the relationship between constraints and facilitators. His research mixes race and gender (structural) with peer approval (interpersonal) and demonstrates how structural social beliefs impact the individual through interpersonal interactions. Philipp found that Black male and female adolescents were more likely to agree on activities "disapproved" of for adolescents, while White male and female adolescents were more likely to agree on activities that were "approved".

Race provides just one example of structural influences on participation. I propose that variables such as health or wellness should also be viewed as structural. A major assertion of the inclusive recreation literature dealing with people who are disabled or chronically ill is that *the structure of society* excludes people with these characteristics from participation because of the way opportunities are organized (Dattilo, 1994; Hutchison & McGill, 1992). Wellness enables participation in society and in leisure, thus wellness could be considered a structural facilitator; during old age, people in good health have greater access to leisure activities such as sport, travel and outdoor recreation (Lefrancios, Leclerc, & Poulin, 1998).

Facilitators and Filling Cups

This article has proposed that constraints and facilitators are not alternative explanations of participation but are complimentary approaches to understanding involvement in leisure. Returning to the cup half empty/half full metaphor, thus far leisure research has given us a great deal of information on why people's cups may be half empty. We have little droplets of knowledge about what can fill cups, which we need to combine in a meaningful way to better understand the part of the cup that is half full. But how can we fill everyone's cups? The ecological perspective to understanding leisure proposed here helps us recognize the different levels at which we can develop strategies to fill cups: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural.

As a first step we first need to recognize that different people have different contents in their cups. Intrapersonal characteristics may dictate what

those contents can be. For example, what will fill the sensation seeker's "cup" is different from that of those people who aren't sensation seekers. It may be unrealistic to expect a non-sensation seeker to be involved in high-risk recreation; is labeling such a person as "constrained" with regard to participation in high-risk recreation valid? Instead, it seems logical to look for an activity that people who are non-sensation seekers prefer—what the personality characteristic facilitates.

Proponents of leisure education have long recognized that there are things leisure practitioners, researchers, and educators can do to facilitate participation in various (and a variety of) activities. Perhaps the ecological framework proposed here will provide a starting point for models incorporating current research on participation, non-participation, and leisure education that will enable both practitioners and researchers to find the best way to help individuals fill their leisure cups.

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