

“The Fun Begins Now!”: Broadening and Building Processes in Red Hat Society® Participation

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Abstract

Fredrickson (1998, 2001, 2004) supports a compelling account of the processes that turn positive emotions into a high quality life. Her broaden-and-build theory, however, has not been explored in leisure contexts nor has it been applied to older women, an increasingly important yet under-researched population. Our study uses an interpretive thematic analysis of 250 participants' responses to an on-line survey of meaningful experiences in the Red Hat Society®, a leisure context for older women. We found evidence of opening up and self-permission to play as forms of broadening, and of social connections, close friendships, and optimism as resulting forms of building uniquely important to older women. Our findings hold promise for understanding how leisure contexts contribute to quality of life.

KEYWORDS: Aging, broaden-and-build theory, emotions, psychological resources, women's leisure

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Introduction

Ten years of positive psychology research has revealed that people experience high quality of life because they are happy, rather than being happy because they experience high quality of life (Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005). This is exemplified by the broaden-and-build theory, which focuses on the process that turns experiences of positive emotions (e.g., being happy) into enduring quality of life (e.g., resilience, psychological growth, increased longevity). The theory, supported by numerous experimental studies (summarized in Fredrickson, 2004), posits that positive emotions cause broadening, a short-term increase in thought-action repertoire. Broadening is ephemeral and cognitive. A person in a broadened state considers a wider range of thoughts and actions than usual. For example, an individual feeling the emotion of joy might think of “exploration, invention, and just plain fooling around” (Fredrickson, 1998, p. 305), which is a relatively broad array of possible actions. Such receptive states of mind help individuals build durable, valuable resources over time, which, according to Fredrickson may be intellectual, physical, psychological, or social. These resources, in turn, help individuals weather challenging events and circumstances (Tugade & Fredrickson, 2007). Building is enduring, accumulative, and may concern many aspects (e.g., mental, social, physical) of an individual’s life. Research supporting the broaden-and-build theory (summarized in Fredrickson, 2004), however, is limited in three ways. The broaden-and-build theory has not been tested with leisure activities and has only been studied in undergraduate and working adult populations. Further, researchers have not addressed broadening and building processes using participants’ own words.

Leisure researchers have taken an interest in positive emotions and the broaden-and-build theory. Early studies linking positive emotions to leisure supported the notion that leisure activities may serve as settings for high levels of positive emotions (e.g., Hills & Argyle, 1998; Lee, Dattilo, & Howard, 1994; Mannell, Zuzanek, & Larson, 1988). However, none of these studies followed up on whether positive emotions derived from leisure activities trigger broadening and building processes. More recently, Han and Patterson (2004) and Hood and Carruthers (2008) proposed models linking leisure, positive emotions, and the valuable processes that stem from positive emotions. Both models incorporated but did not test connections between leisure and broadening and building processes (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001, 2004). Given the shortcomings of the research on broaden-and-build theory and its limited application in leisure contexts, the purpose of the present study is to determine if and how older women who participate in a leisure activity show evidence of broadening and building processes (Fredrickson, 1998). We analyzed older women’s descriptions of their experiences in one leisure activity, the Red Hat Society®, to document broadening and building processes and how they occurred.

Literature Review

The Broaden-and-Build Theory

Based on the idea that emotions are adaptive, the broaden-and-build theory (Fredrickson, 1998; 2001; 2004) posits that positive emotions prompt non-specific thought and action tendencies. In other words, positive feelings suggest a variety of possibilities to an individual (i.e., broadening thoughts and behaviors). This contrasts with negative emotions, which tend to urge a single reaction as an evolved adaptation to life-threatening situations (e.g., to flee when afraid or to attack when angry). The nature of the “broadening” depends on the type of emotion. According to Fredrickson (2004), joy “creates the urge to play, push the limits and be creative; urges evident not only in social and physical behavior, but also in intellectual and artistic behavior” (p. 1369). Interest “creates the urge to explore, take in new information and experiences, and expand the self in the process” (p. 1369). Contentment “creates the urge to sit back and savor current life circumstances, and integrate these circumstances into new views of self and of the world” (p. 1369). Fredrickson states that the feeling of love is “an amalgam of distinct positive emotions (e.g., joy, interest, and contentment) experienced within contexts of safe, close relationships” that “creates recurring cycles of urges to play with, explore and savor our loved ones” (p. 1369).

Broadened states of mind trigger an indirect accumulative process of building valuable personal resources. By facilitating open, flexible, and creative thinking, broadened thought-action tendencies allow people to build consequential physical, psychological, and intellectual resources (for examples, see Hood & Carruthers, 2008).

Building resources may also take the form of expanding social relationships. According to Fredrickson (1998),

These social bonds are not only satisfying in and of themselves, but are also likely to be the locus of subsequent social support. In this sense, love and the various positive emotions experienced in love relationships (i.e., interest, joy, and contentment) build and solidify an individual’s social resources. (p. 306)

Accumulated social, physical, psychological, and intellectual resources, in turn, make it easier for individuals to handle difficult times (Fredrickson, Tugade, Waugh, & Larkin, 2003).

In a number of experimental studies, Fredrickson and colleagues have found that the processes of broadening and building occur when positive emotions are induced in participants. Fredrickson and Branigan (2005), for example, connected positive emotions to broadening. They found that positive emotions, induced in the laboratory through showing images of cute puppies or peaceful nature scenes, broaden thought-action repertoires. Broadened thought-action repertoires are subsequently measured with tests of visual attention, where participants can attend to the organization of an image (broadened) or its features (not broadened), or the

Twenty Statements Task, where participants are asked to write twenty actions they are considering in the present moment.

Fredrickson et al. (2004) connected positive emotions to building consequential personal resources. They found that positive emotions generated by the researcher's daily instruction to "find positive meaning" in life events predicted growth in the psychological resource of resilience over the course of one month. Fredrickson, Cohn, Coffey, Pek, and Finkel (2008) replicated this finding in a study of positive emotions induced by a paid interventional program of meditation classes, measuring social support as the consequential resource. Prospective field studies by Fredrickson and colleagues have further supported the link between positive emotions and consequential personal resources (Cohn, Fredrickson, Brown, Mikels, & Conway, 2009; Fredrickson et al., 2003). Taken together, these studies suggest that the broaden-and-build theory provides a valid account of beneficial processes that grow from positive emotions.

After proposing the broaden-and-build theory in 1998, Fredrickson (2000) theorized that positive emotions are reciprocally related to broadening of the mind and to the building of valuable resources in an "upward spiral" (Fredrickson, 2004). According to Fredrickson (2000),

The psychological broadening sparked by one positive emotion can increase an individual's receptiveness to subsequent pleasant or meaningful events, increasing the odds that the individual will find positive meaning in these subsequent events and experience additional positive emotions. This can in turn trigger an "upward spiral" ... with time and repeated experience, the broaden-and-build model predicts that positive emotions increment people's enduring personal resources ... these resources—gained through positive emotion experiences—can enhance health and well-being. (p. 16)

Indeed, the central finding of a large meta-analysis and synthesis of positive emotion studies (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005) confirmed that the beneficial effects of positive emotions appear to cause more positive emotions down the road. According to Fredrickson (2004), the resources built as a result of positive emotional experience may further increase the probability of deriving positive emotion from future events (Figure 1).

There are, however, several limitations to the broaden-and-build theory. First, the experimental settings that Fredrickson and colleagues used do not necessarily reflect how positive emotions come about and/or how people build resources in everyday life contexts, including leisure activities. Laboratory tasks (e.g., watching films, filling out questionnaires, tapping computer keys while reaction time is measured), even when they induce positive emotions, are imposed on the participant. In addition, studies of positive emotions that do consider leisure activities, such as Hills and Argyle (1998), use lists of activities that exclude the informal socializing characteristic of RHS participation (Yarnal, Chick, & Kerstetter, 2008).

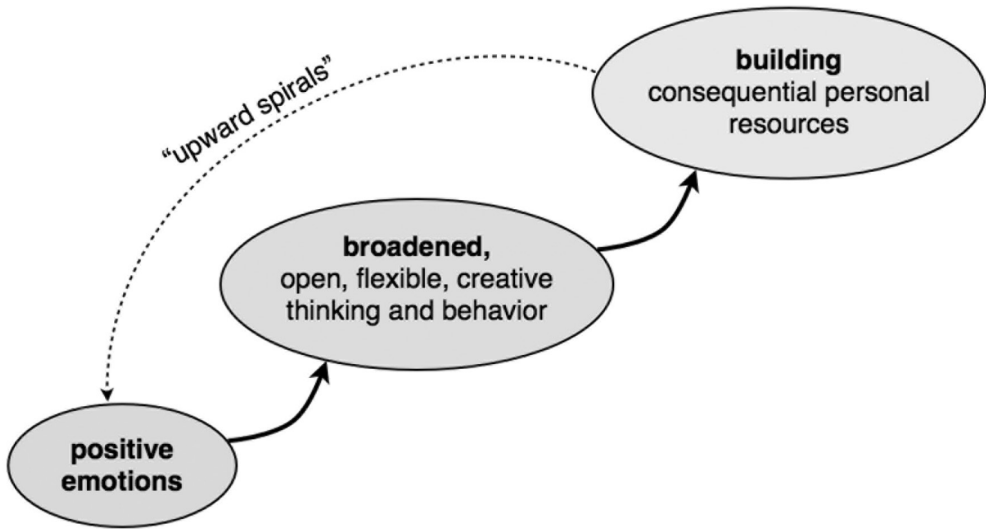


Figure 1. The broaden-and-build theory (adapted from Fredrickson, 2004)

A second limitation is sampling. Fredrickson and colleagues have only sampled undergraduate students and working adults, who differ in many life circumstances from older women and other important, yet underresearched populations (Gibson, Ashton-Shaeffer, Green, & Corbin, 2002; Green, 1998; Yarnal et al., 2008). The same limitation applies to a survey study by Tkach and Lyubomirsky (2006), which found tentative connections between positive emotions and leisure activities.

The third and final limitation is that Fredrickson and colleagues' studies of broadening and building processes (e.g., Cohn et al., 2009; Fredrickson et al., 2003) used objectivist epistemologies in which positive emotions and their outcomes are measured by quantitative self-report survey methods. Such methods exclude participants' personal interpretations of their experiences (Dupuis, 1999; Henderson, 2006), and may hinder a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of how positive emotions operate within the broaden-and-build process.

Positive Emotions in Leisure Research

Research (e.g., Hammitt, 1980; Lee et al., 1994; Mannell et al., 1988; More & Payne, 1978; Samdahl, 1988) suggests that leisure is a context for positive emotions. In the course of daily life, adolescents (Kleiber, Larson, & Csikszentmihlayi, 1986) as well as older adults (Mannell et al., 1988) feel more positive emotion, measured quantitatively using experience sampling, when at leisure than otherwise. Some older women also experience positive emotions during their leisure experiences (Mitas, Qian, & Yarnal, 2008). Han and Patterson (2004) concluded in their

comprehensive literature review that leisure is associated with positive emotions and that positive emotions are more likely to occur in leisure than non-leisure contexts. At the same time, Han and Patterson (2004) proposed a model to explain the processes that follow positive emotions during leisure, including broadening and building. More recently, Hood and Carruthers (2008) proposed a similar model explaining the benefits of leisure in therapeutic recreation. Unfortunately, empirical evidence that documents how positive emotions in a social leisure context contribute to broadening and building processes is absent.

In sum, processes that follow positive emotions in leisure are not well understood (Iwasaki, 2007), although Han and Patterson (2004) as well as Hood and Carruthers (2008) have suggested using the broaden-and-build theory to understand such processes. Therefore, there is a pressing need to address the theory with an empirical study based in a leisure context (Yarnal et al., 2008). Perhaps more importantly, to study the broaden-and-build theory in leisure contexts requires examining the processes of broadening and building, not just positive emotions, that are associated with participation in leisure activities. Our study is the first, to our knowledge, to use the broaden-and-build theory to empirically study the processes that follow from positive emotions experienced as a result of participation in a leisure activity—the Red Hat Society® (RHS).

Older Women's Leisure

Older age has long been regarded as a time of emotional negativity and isolation that corresponded with physical and cognitive decline (e.g., Carstensen, 1989; Cumming & Henry, 1961). In contrast, recent research portrays older age as a time for rich and frequent experience of positive emotions (e.g., Burnett-Wolle & Godbey, 2007; Carstensen & Mikels, 2005; Chipperfield, Perry, & Weiner 2003; Mroczek & Kolarz, 1998). Most findings in support of positive emotionality in older age are based on socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstensen & Mikels, 2005), which posits that older adults view their limited remaining time as an opportunity to narrow their relationships and activities to the most meaningful ones, eschewing opportunities to build new friendships or take up new activities.

There exist some studies of positive outcomes of leisure activity participation among older adults. However, they do not adequately address gender. For example, in a series of interviews, Nimrod (2007) found that many leisure activities positively contribute to retirees' life satisfaction. However, she did not examine the role of gender in her results. In a theoretical work, Kleiber, McGuire, Aybar-Damali, and Norman (2008) discuss five benefits of constraint negotiation among older adults, but do not differentiate them by gender. While older adults' leisure experiences vary substantially by gender (McPherson, 1991), there are few studies that focus on the positive outcomes of leisure among older women. According to McPherson, the aging of the world population is bound to affect men and women differently.

Aging is primarily a women's issue ... most older men are married and most older women are either single (never married or divorced) or widowed. Living arrangements and lifestyles of older women generally differ

from those of older men: more older women live alone; more are institutionalized; fewer drive; more live in fear of being victimized; fewer have pension benefits and economic security; and more women, because they live longer, report a lower health status. (p. 424)

Studies of women's leisure often address constraints to participation (e.g., Shaw, 1994; Siegenthaler & Vaughan, 1998) rather than positive emotions or outcomes. Three exceptions include Riddick (1985), Henderson and Ainsworth (2002), and the growing body of research on the notion of resistance as a benefit of leisure (e.g., Dionigi, 2006; Hurd, 1999). In an early study of older women's life satisfaction, Riddick found that present participation in leisure activities was an important predictor of life satisfaction for homemakers and retirees. More recently, Henderson and Ainsworth studied the role of physical activity in older American Indian women's leisure. Enjoyment emerged as a key benefit required for participants to negotiate constraints and engage in physically active leisure. This finding suggests that positive emotions play a role in developing the resources necessary to participate in leisure activities. Finally, it has been demonstrated that activities such as master sports (Dionigi, 2006) and socializing at senior centers (Hurd, 1999) help older adults to: resist ageism; feel "empowerment," (Dionigi, 2006, p. 192), which may contain positive emotions; and construct positive identities, which may be construed as durable personal resources.

The state of research on older women's leisure in particular, and the outcomes of older adults' leisure more generally, suggests that leisure can be a context for processes that create positive outcomes such as life satisfaction and empowerment. However, there is no research that explains the processes by which leisure activity participation creates valuable outcomes for older women. One way to address this gap in the literature is to explore if and how the broadening and building processes (Fredrickson, 1998) take place in the context of older women's leisure.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to determine if and how older women who participate in the RHS show evidence of broadening and building processes Fredrickson (1998, 2001, 2004). By analyzing older women's verbal descriptions of their experiences with the RHS, we examine if there is evidence of broadening and building processes. In addition, we assess how and in what contexts these processes occur.

The Red Hat Society® was founded by The Exalted Queen Mother, Sue Ellen Cooper, in 1999. With a mission to encourage women age 50 and over to play, be silly, and build relationships with other women, the Society has over one million members in 42,000 local chapters in 30 countries. Many local chapters are limited to 10 or 15 members, but others have hundreds of participants. The "disorganized" Society brags that there are no rules and no obligations except members must (a) be female and (b) adhere to the dress code. Members are strongly encouraged to "dress up" for meetings and events in purple attire and red hats, an unusual dress combination for western women age 50 and over (Yarnal, 2006). Women under 50

years of age are welcome to participate in RHS activities in pink hats and lavender attire. Many chapters meet regularly at restaurants or members' houses to share meals and socialize. A few chapters engage in tourism experiences together (Liechty, Ribeiro, & Yarnal, 2009), sometimes even traveling internationally. Participation in the RHS is voluntary and occurs in participants' discretionary time, corresponding with Godbey's (2008) and Kleiber's (1999) definitions of leisure activity. Hence, we assert that participation in RHS meetings/outings constitutes leisure activity.

Research in the leisure field on the RHS exists. Studies of RHS cruises (Liechty et al., 2009) as well as general membership have found that a variety of beneficial processes originate in RHS participation. The RHS is a context in which some participants "mask" identities to free themselves socially (Yarnal, Kerstetter, Chick, & Hutchinson, 2009) and learn to cope with challenges and losses (Hutchinson, Yarnal, Stafford-Son, & Kerstetter, 2008). Moreover, a previous study by Mitas et al. (2008) using deductive coding of the data used for the present research has shown that RHS participation engenders positive emotions. Mitas et al. found evidence of four positive emotions—joy, interest, contentment, and love—that, according to Fredrickson (1998), trigger broadening and building processes. Furthermore, one study of the RHS has demonstrated that participation facilitates play (Yarnal et al., 2008), which Fredrickson (1998) portrays as evidence of broadening. Another study of the RHS explained how participation facilitates formation and strengthening of social networks (Kerstetter, Yarnal, Son, Yen, & Baker, 2008), which Fredrickson (2001, 2004) offers as an example of building resources. In sum, there is evidence that positive emotions, broadening, and building may occur through participation in RHS activities. Therefore, we see the RHS as an optimal context for a deeper inquiry into broadening and building processes.

Methods

Data Collection and Study Sample

The methods for the present study constitute an interpretive (Henderson, 2005), post-hoc (Hutchinson et al., 2008) analysis of an extant text (Charmaz, 2006). The text analyzed for the present study originated from an online survey posted on the RHS website in February 2005. The purpose of the original study was to obtain demographic and participation information, as well as rich descriptions of experiences in the Red Hat Society®, thus forming a database suitable for qualitative research from a number of theoretical and epistemological angles. An online survey was used for a number of reasons including: potential for a higher response rate, convenience, and reduced cost (Dillman & Bowker, 2001; Salant & Dillman, 1994; Survey Bounty, 2010); the increasing prevalence of computer knowledge and Internet connectivity among older adults (Fox, 2004); elimination of interviewer bias and time constraints (Survey Bounty, 2010); and an opportunity to obtain a global perspective of older women's experiences participating in the RHS.

The survey questionnaire included a number of closed-ended items regarding respondents' participation and demographic information, as well as the following open-ended prompt: "We are interested in any stories you might like to share

about meaningful experiences you have had through your Red Hat Society® membership.” Response to the survey, including the open-ended prompt, was overwhelming. While data collection was planned to continue for a month with a target of 1,000 responses, this goal was reached within two days, a testament of the importance of the RHS in participants’ lives. After 10 days, data collection was terminated, with a total response of 4,090 participants. Of these participants, 1,693 women responded to the open-ended prompt, creating over 750 single-spaced pages of text.

For the purpose of this study, we conducted a post-hoc analysis of extant text (Charmaz, 2006) from the responses to the open-ended prompt. First, we randomly drew 50 cases (i.e., 3%) from the textual survey data to forming and refining themes. Mitas and colleagues (2006, 2008) have shown that this approach is reliable. Second, we randomly drew another 250 cases (i.e., 12%) in an effort to reach saturation (Bluff, 1997; Henderson, 2006; Hutchinson et al., 2008; Morse 1995). These 250 cases contained 16,881 words of data ranging from four words to 757 words each, forming a sufficiently substantive base of textual survey data to draw from when addressing our research questions.

Data Analysis

The research questions that guided the interpretive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) coding framework were: Do older women’s meaningful experiences with the RHS show evidence of broadening and building? If so, how, and in which contexts, do these processes occur?

After re-immersing ourselves in the current data and reviewing key constructs in broaden-and-build theory as well as the literature on older women and leisure (e.g., Fredrickson, 1998; Henderson & Ainsworth, 2002), we employed a three-phase thematic analysis coding framework.

The goal of the first phase, Initial Coding, was to isolate and code sentences and groups of sentences (units) relevant to broadening and building. We focused on these units because the purpose of our study was to address the strengths and shortcomings of broaden-and-build theory, rather than an under-theorized phenomenon, as would be the case with an open coding approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this phase, two coder pairs coded text as either broadening or building for the 250 randomly selected quotes. We found 80% agreement between the two pairs of coders. As a group, we reconciled any outstanding differences by comparing quotes to Fredrickson’s (1998, 2001, 2004) writings, as well as other discussions of the broaden-and-build theory (e.g., Han & Patterson, 2004; Lyubomirsky et al., 2005).

We carried out the second (Focused Coding) and third (Thematic Coding) phases of our coding procedure according to guidance from Charmaz (2006) and Braun and Clarke (2006). In terms of the Focused Coding, we identified themes within our 250 quotes about broadening and building. The goal was to examine if and how broadening and building processes are expressed in the context of an older women’s social leisure activity, participation in the RHS.

To organize and categorize the broadening and building experiences of participants, we tapped Fredrickson’s (1998, 2001, 2004) anecdotal accounts of

how broadening and building experiences may occur and our own understanding of these phenomena. We remained open to creating new themes or fresh variations on ideas from Fredrickson's work. We developed five initial themes under broadening and fourteen initial themes under building as well as an "other" category.

During the third phase of data analysis (i.e., Thematic Coding), we met again as a group to discuss merging some themes and eliminating others. Some of the initial themes that occurred only once or twice and were difficult to articulate were eliminated. We merged themes that seemed redundant, or had insufficient examples to illustrate an independent theme, yet carried analytic importance. The outcome was two themes of broadening and three of building. We compared these five themes to the data to pull out the most explicit, clear quotes in support of each theme (Charmaz, 2006). Finally, we proposed several relationships between the themes. With quotes to support these relationships, we documented how our findings: (a) extend the broaden-and-build theory and (b) represent the processes by which older women who participate in the RHS convert positive emotions to valuable personal resources.

Limitations

We acknowledge limitations that delineate interpretation of our findings. First, due to the biases associated with computer access and self-selection in online surveys, sample responses may not have fully captured the breadth of RHS participants' experiences. Second, because we used a survey method to collect data for interpretive analysis, we did not have the opportunity to follow up with participants for member checks or probes (Henderson, 2006), that could have yielded additional information. In particular, it was not possible to probe for additional insights on connections between broadening and building. Also, because the data were collected for the purpose of general interest in the meanings of participants' experiences in the RHS, aspects of broadening and building that participants experience may not be present in the data. Nevertheless, the wealth of evidence of broadening and building that we found testifies to the robustness of these phenomena in RHS participation.

Results

We uncovered five themes in our analysis, two within broadening and three within building. These themes illustrate and extend broadening and building as described by Fredrickson (1998, 2001, 2004) and show how these processes occur in the Red Hat Society®, a leisure context for older women. We found abundant evidence of both the short-term cognitive changes that define broadening (Fredrickson, 1998), and of the long-term accumulation of resources that defines building. Furthermore, these processes occurred in ways unique to the leisure context of the RHS. While the numbers of participants that reported experiences in each theme is a relatively small proportion of the overall sample, it is important to remember that the present study uses data that were not specifically collected to address issues of broadening, building, or other outcomes of positive emotions.

Therefore, the presence of these phenomena in a relatively small proportion of the data makes a compelling case for their importance.

Broadening

Broadening is a short-term, cognitive change in the range of thoughts and actions an individual is considering (Fredrickson, 1998; 2001). We identified two themes of broadening. Opening up depicts how women opened up socially during participation in RHS activities to make friends, try new activities, and view aging more positively. Self-permission to play reflects how participants who engaged in RHS activities freed their thoughts from obligation to engage in fun, enjoyable behaviors.

Opening up. Ten women described a breadth of broadening experiences that involved opening up socially. We classified these experiences as broadening because they involved expanding patterns of thoughts and actions and were short-term. Women talked about these experiences in the ephemeral contexts of RHS meetings, rather than in the long-term contexts of their lives in general. Some of these women discussed their interest in new acquaintances. Others became interested in new activities. Finally, some integrated new, more positive views of their age.

Six participants who “opened up” expressed the apprehension they felt going into their first RHS social gathering. Initially afraid of not fitting in, one woman wrote, “I was a little nervous because the name of this chapter is ‘Classy Ladies’ and I thought I might not be classy enough for them!” Another woman wrote, “I was apprehensive as I am very shy.” Once at a gathering, however, the comfortable and welcoming atmosphere encouraged some women to put aside their concerns and to think “outside [their] comfort zone,” considering new friendships with fellow participants. The same woman who was afraid of not being “classy” happily found that fellow RHS members “are just great, fun-loving women.” By encouraging interaction with other members, these open states of mind set the stage to subsequent forming of friendships.

Echoing these experiences, another woman stated that she was a little nervous about starting an RHS chapter, because she “has never been a big fan of CLUBS.” However, after starting her chapter, she realized that the members are “just a great group of ladies” who provided her with “an extension of friendship, where you can laugh, laugh, laugh.” The participant continued to write that she is “enjoying being a part of such a creative open-minded society. Who ever thought I’d be a society girl!”

We also found the short-term experience of opening up in two RHS participants’ growing explorations of new activities. One participant discussed the planning of these activities: “Now the enthusiasm has really begun ... everyone wants a turn hosting a special event, and there are ideas from a Luau to a Mexican Fiesta. The fun begins now!” Participation in the RHS also prompted three women to try activities they had never done before, especially activities that were held in public settings. For example, one participant said she “had never ever written a poem before.” However, she “wrote a poem ... that was published in the *Red Hat Matters* magazine.” Another woman vividly reported the changes in her thoughts

and actions after joining the RHS, from being reserved to an interest in public speaking:

I grew up under a dominant father. I was afraid of him. As a result I was afraid to talk, afraid to have fun and afraid of letting people see the real me. Today ... I don't waste time on worrying about what other people think and I am happy to report that I now do a lot of public speaking for women's groups including the RHS.

Opening up refers to expanding attitudes as well. A manifestation of expanding attitudes is how Red Hatters reconsidered the meaning of getting old after they joined the organization. Four of the participants indicated that, for older women, birthdays and other indications of advancing age can be a source of anxiety and even dread. One of them, for example, "dreaded getting old." However, the women found that their participation in the RHS made them think about getting older in a positive, enthusiastic way. One participant portrayed this change of mind as a pleasant surprise. She wrote, "I cannot believe that in our chapter, we are so excited about getting older!"

Another participant went to great length to explain the celebration of her 50th birthday with members of her RHS chapter. She described how the ceremony turned her depressing idea about getting old into a cherished memory:

For my 50th birthday, our chapter had a 'Reduation Day' for me. There was a little ceremony relinquishing my pink hat and receiving a brand new red hat from our Queen. ... I was surprised that there was a whole table full of birthday presents and cards from women I hardly know. There was so much fun and laughter that day. Here I thought turning 50 would be so depressing but this day turned out to be one of the best days of my life.

The positive emotions evidenced by "fun" and "laughter" in the above quote suggest one way that emotions link to broadening in the form of thinking positively about getting older. Opening up to positive attitudes, in turn, is closely linked with the resource of optimism, a more habitual, durable positive stance toward the future, which we discuss later.

Self-permission to play. While 10 women described how their participation in RHS has "opened them up" socially, 12 women allowed themselves to play after becoming members of the Society. This change required letting go of obligations and spending time in enjoyable ways. For example, one woman wrote, "I raised my kids, am widowed and I came back to Maryland to be my grandchildren's nanny. They are growing up[,] I'm not needed as much[,] and now it is time for ME!!!" A broadened repertoire of taking "time for ME" opened this woman's mind and nurtured her persistent belief that it is "wonderful to be [her] age," an example of the resource of dispositional optimism that we discuss in our findings of building. Another woman described herself and fellow members as:

A strong band of women who have experienced life in raising our families, working various jobs, being homemakers, and whatever has come to hand, and now it is time for us to have fun and reap our pleasures in our maturity.

Three participants reported how they have progressively stopped taking “other people” and themselves “too seriously,” and entertained more enjoyable and fun behaviors. One woman wrote:

I have wasted most of my life being ‘grown up,’ now I’m ‘growing down.’ I sit on the floor and teach my granddaughters how to play jacks, roll down a snowy hill, take them out to lunch and order dessert first.

Three women gave themselves permission to play by experimenting with new views of themselves in a playful way. One woman talked about how she created her own outfit since she could not afford the “formal Red Hat clothing,” and said, “I do not do this to impress anyone but I don’t want to look just like everyone else either. I allow myself to think outside my comfort zone. In doing so, I allow my inner child out to play.” Another woman described the playful experience of her first train ride: “The Red Hatters scheduled a ride on a railroad train. At age 66 this was a real thrill for my very first ride. Felt like a kid again.” In this woman’s case, the positive emotion of being “thrilled” allowed her to broaden her mental state to feeling “like a kid again.”

Meanwhile, self-permission to play also gave two women an enjoyable relief from domestic responsibilities. In the words of one woman who is the “sole caregiver” of her mother:

Becoming a member of the Red Hat Society® allows me to ‘escape’ and have fun with other people. I enjoy laughing and being silly. The once-a-month activities we do are ‘therapy’ for me. I get away from the mundane tasks of my everyday life at home.

This quote connects the positive emotion associated with “laughing” to a broadened array of thoughts that includes notions of “escape” and “therapy,” and to broadened array of actions that includes having fun and “being silly.”

Summary. RHS members experienced two major kinds of broadening processes. They opened themselves up to making friends, trying out new activities (especially those in public settings), and rethinking the meaning of older age. They also let go of their obligations and allowed themselves to play. How these short-term changes facilitated building (i.e., the long-term accumulation of valuable, personal resources) is discussed in the following section.

Building

Building refers to the long-term accumulation of durable personal resources that enhance an individual’s ability to deal with challenges (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001). With the broadened thoughts and actions evidenced by older women

“opening up” and giving themselves “permission to play,” members of the RHS were able to build different types of personal resources over the long term, including *building social connections, creating supportive friendships, and growing dispositional optimism.*

Building social connections. Twenty-three women discussed social connections. These women found that they had instant connections with strangers they saw dressed in the RHS outfit of purple clothes and red hats. They used RHS activities as contexts for making new friends. Women also used their RHS participation to maintain or rekindle their existing relationships, which are a long-term resource that endures beyond experiences of positive emotions. Finally, participants who found themselves socially isolated after a move used RHS participation to get to know people in the area.

The easily recognizable “regalia” of the Red Hat Society® afforded participants instant recognition of fellow RHS members and, therefore, an easy introduction. The following quote illustrates an experience three participants reported:

I have had the opportunity to meet some new and interesting women. It is so enjoyable to be able to go up and introduce yourself to any lady or group that is wearing purple and a red hat and finding an immediate connection. Kind of like a sisterhood.

Similarly, another participant wrote about how she established a quick connection with a stranger who was in Red Hat regalia:

While visiting relatives in Arizona, we went out to dinner. I mentioned I had joined the Red Hat Society®. ... A voice from the table behind me asked 'how are you enjoying your dinner?' When I turned around, I was face to face with a lady in full Red Hat regalia. ... We exchanged names ... and had a great little visit. She was from a northern state and I was from [the West] so if we hadn't been 'sisters in red hats' we would never have met.

Twenty participants talked about making new, interesting, or “wonderful” friends through the RHS. For example, one woman wrote, “I have met many wonderful ladies that are doing interesting things. I would not have met them other than through the Red Hat Society® in our town.” Another woman wrote, “Through affiliation with , I have become acquainted and cultivated beautiful friendships with [many] ladies. Without RHS, our paths would never have crossed!”

Membership in the RHS enabled eight women to stay connected with acquaintances from their past. In the words of one woman, “I started a Red Hat chapter in my town and this enabled me to re-meet many members of my community I had lost touch with over the years.” Another woman reported, “I have become good friends with many ladies that were just business acquaintances for many years.”

Four participants talked about making new friends and savoring contact with old friends simultaneously. One woman stated, “I love each and every one of these women. Many members have been my friends for years, and many are brand

new friends that I have had the pleasure of meeting BECAUSE of The Red Hat Society®." Another woman expressed the same loving sentiment: "Through RHS activities, I have gotten much closer to my old friends, made lots of new ones and expanded my support network."

Four participants enjoyed keeping in touch with family through the RHS. One woman referred to her RHS membership as "a way to keep in touch with and get together with [her] sister and sister in law at least once a month," while another reported, "Our Red Hat Society® charter is strictly a mother-daughter charter. This is a fabulous way for mothers and daughters to set aside time for them and to be with friends."

Three participants were able to establish social connections in the new areas they relocated to by being a member of the RHS. One woman wrote, "When I moved to [the South] from [the East] about six months ago, I knew no one here. Now I have friends in the Red Hat Society®, and it gives me a sense of belonging."

For three participants, RHS-based social connections endured over time and large geographic areas. One woman wrote,

We travel in our RV five months of the summer year. I have called on Red Hat groups in many states and have remained friend with most of the ladies I met along the way. E-mail has kept us together. It has been a nice feeling to meet and talk with ladies.

For the three women whose quotes were included above, building social connections was meaningful. Some of these connections, however, grew into close friendships that offered a different sort of personal resource, which we discuss in the next theme.

Creating supportive friendships. Twenty-five participants discussed close, supportive friendships that grew out of RHS participation. Women wrote of friendships that became intimate and deep. They explained how the social support stemming from these friendships has helped them through difficult times with attention, conversation, companionship, and emotional support.

Ten participants reported that their participation in the RHS fostered deep and close friendships beyond the multitude of social connections reported previously. One woman made this distinction when recounting her experience with the RHS over time, stating, "I moved to this area four yrs [sic] ago knowing only my [sister-in-law]. I now have 50-plus 'sisters' and some very close friends."

According to another woman, what set these "very close friends" apart from other relationships was trust. She asserted, "I found it very hard to make friends in [the Midwest] until I joined the Red Hat Society®. Now I have many friends and what I would consider very loyal, true friends." By referring to a time when it was "very hard to make friends," this woman suggested that a broadened state of mind arising from RHS participation may have facilitated a relationship with "loyal, true friends."

Another woman distinguished the closeness of RHS-based friendships from other relationships by the strong, long-term "bond" she developed with fellow Red Hatters:

The friendships formed with other Red Hatters seem to have a stronger bond than some others. Some ladies whom I had never met have become nearly as close as sisters, which, of course, is why we call ourselves a sisterhood.

On many occasions, close friendships provided women with various types of social support, as one woman wrote, "The most wonderful advantage of this group: true friendship between members who enjoy each other's companionship."

Leading up to this assertion, the respondent listed a variety of activities, including bus trips, gift exchanges, and a monthly tea that produce "laughter" and other signs of positive emotions, as well as the broadened perspective of social gathering "without pressure or responsibility." These quotes suggest that, for her, processes of positive emotions, broadening, and building were linked.

Beyond enjoying close friendships, RHS members found that social support from fellow Red Hatters, in the form of attention, conversation, companionship, and emotional support, helped them in difficult times. As one woman put it, "We support each other through the rough times as well as the good times." Another woman said that attention from fellow members alone was meaningful. She wrote, "We care about one another enough to send appropriate cards for sympathy, get well, thinking of you, etc."

For nine participants, the opportunity to talk about their life challenges with other RHS members was important. Participants discussed various circumstances that they or other members could not handle alone, such as partner loss, parent loss, "sorrows," and "cares." One woman wrote that the "Mad Red Hatters have been there for me through the last three years (which have been rough)." Another recalled having "laughed and cried together over many life issues" with members of her chapter.

Six participants appreciated the meaningful companionship from fellow RHS members in times of difficulty. For example, the following woman acknowledged the value of companionship from fellow members during challenging life events: "We have had family deaths, serious illnesses, retirements, etc. It has been wonderful to know that when you need someone, those e-mails start flying and before you know it, your support group is beside you." Another woman wrote about the importance of companionship when she lost her husband, "My Red Hat Society® has helped me since my husband of 38 years died. I had no one to go out with, enjoy life with and the Society has helped me through the first year of my husband passing away."

Five participants acknowledged emotional support during major life events as a valuable resource. One participant talked about the emotional support she and her sister received from fellow Red Hatters when they had to make the difficult decision to place their mother in an assisted living facility. She gratefully wrote, "Our Red Hat sisters are always there not just asking 'How's your Mom?' but supporting us emotionally when we had to make one of the hardest decisions of our lives." Another wrote about the emotional support from her chapter when she lost her mother: "2004 was an especially difficult year for me. My mother was very ill for several months, and passed away in September. The caring concern of

my chapter members was a welcome moral support during these difficult times.” Two participants also mentioned that the support they provided for each other strengthened their friendships in a recurring cycle. For example, one participant wrote:

Our group has been through several illnesses and deaths the past year. We were so much support for each other during these sad times. It shows that true ‘sisterhood’ shares sad times as well as happy times. Our bond of friendship was definitely strengthened. We learned that we can laugh together and cry together.

Growing dispositional optimism. Twelve participants indicated that Red Hat Society® participation provided them with a more optimistic disposition. Optimism, for the purposes of this study, is not an emotion or a temporary state of mind. Rather, it is a long-term, durable pattern of habitual positive assessment of the future. In other words, an optimistic person persistently looks forward to what is to come (Isaacowitz, 2005). In our data, evidence of dispositional optimism included looking forward to future activities, expecting good things to happen, and optimistic life meaning.

Thinking about upcoming activities made five participants optimistic. In the excited words of one participant, “I am now in my older years. I am having a blast. So much fun I can hardly wait till we meet each month.” While “having a blast” suggests positive emotions experienced in the course of meetings, by looking forward to meetings each month, this participant links her positive emotions to the habitual, long-term outcome of optimism. Another woman asserted, “We have been to many new places and have several very exciting outings planned for the remainder of [the year].”

More general than planned chapter activities, three women also mentioned expecting positive things from the future, especially things related to being a Red Hatter. For example, one wrote, “We’re active, our minds are going, in a good way, always thinking of what is in store for us next as a Red Hatter.” The use of the word always in this quote suggests that the participant’s positive orientation has become enduring, and therefore a resource she is building, rather than a temporarily broadened state of mind. Another woman also habitually expects positive outcomes from the future, such as “opportunities to visit new cities and experience new things. Even if I [travel] alone, I always know I will be warmly received and make new friends from all over the country.”

Three women projected their dispositional optimism onto the meaning of life by expecting positive, meaningful RHS events in the future. One woman wrote, “[RHS activities] keep us out of our rocking chairs and it gives meaning to life,” while another stated, “At my age (81), I have a new lease on life.” In the words of a third woman, “the best is yet to be.”

Two women contrasted this optimistic outlook on life to their pessimistic past. One woman stated that since becoming involved in the RHS, “I’m smiling, and I have something to look forward to. I’ve got my joy back.” Another woman elaborated on the expanding of her self:

We have two widows and a [person with a disability] that never got out of the house and was depressed before we formed our chapter. Now we feel like sisters and we act ... like little girls, so we aren't lonely or house bound or depressed any more. So to us [it] was a life saver.

The quotes in this section demonstrate a long-term change in optimism that helps RHS members to deal with life's difficulties, and that portrays the future as positive and promising. Such a long-term, durable change is characteristic of building resources.

Summary. Our study participants broadened their thought-action repertoires through participation in the RHS, which facilitated accumulation of valuable resources. These resources include social connection, such as making new friends, keeping existing relationships going, and keeping in touch with family. Some social connections blossomed into close and supportive friendships that offered attention, conversation, companionship, and emotional support in difficult times. Further, our study participants built optimistic dispositions, which allowed them to look forward to future events, expect good things to happen, and to be optimistic about life.

Discussion

We found abundant evidence of broadening and building processes in older women's participation in the Red Hat Society®. They broadened their states of mind to be more socially open and more playful. They built valuable resources including social connections, supportive friendships, and dispositional optimism. Furthermore, these processes interacted in a variety of ways described in the following discussion. Our findings extend and enrich Fredrickson's (1998, 2001, 2004) work on the broaden-and-build theory. Our results also illuminate the processes stemming from positive emotions experienced in leisure discussed by Han and Patterson (2004) as well as Hood and Carruthers (2008) and how these processes may reciprocate in the form of an "upward spiral" (Fredrickson, 2004, p. 1373).

Theoretical Model

From the two forms of broadening and three forms of building processes that we uncovered, a complex yet coherent picture emerges. Not only do women who participate in the RHS broaden and build, but particular types of broadening appear to facilitate the building of particular resources. Clearly, broadening and building processes in the context of RHS participation have a strong social component. These processes also challenge detrimental societal expectations of older women (e.g., a negative view of older age), allowing women to express and enjoy themselves. As such, participation in the RHS has parallel effects to master athletes' participation in sport (Dionigi, 2006) and older adults' participation in a variety of senior center activities (Hurd, 1999) in positively reframing aging. Ultimately, participants' supportive friendships combined with their optimistic dispositions and social connections may create further opportunities for experiences of positive emotions.

Our model, which illustrates these connections between the themes of broadening and building in the data, is shown in Figure 2.

One form of broadening, opening up, enabled participants to connect with interesting new individuals who happened to share the experience of and/or identity associated with RHS participation. Some social connections blossomed into close, safe, supportive friendships. Participants related numerous stories about how their RHS “sisters” offered meaningful support in times of difficulty.

RHS participants also experienced broadening in the form of self-permission to play, a behavior Fredrickson (1998) associates with the positive emotion of joy. This particular kind of broadening opened the door to positive, optimistic views of life and self. Opening up, especially to positive thoughts about aging (for example, with the 50th birthday), also contributed to habitual, long-term patterns of optimism and hopeful thinking. Dispositional optimism (Isaacowitz, 2005), in turn, led to greater interest in future RHS events and activities. All of these processes, then, appear to work as iterative processes of positive growth—starting with and fueled by RHS participation.

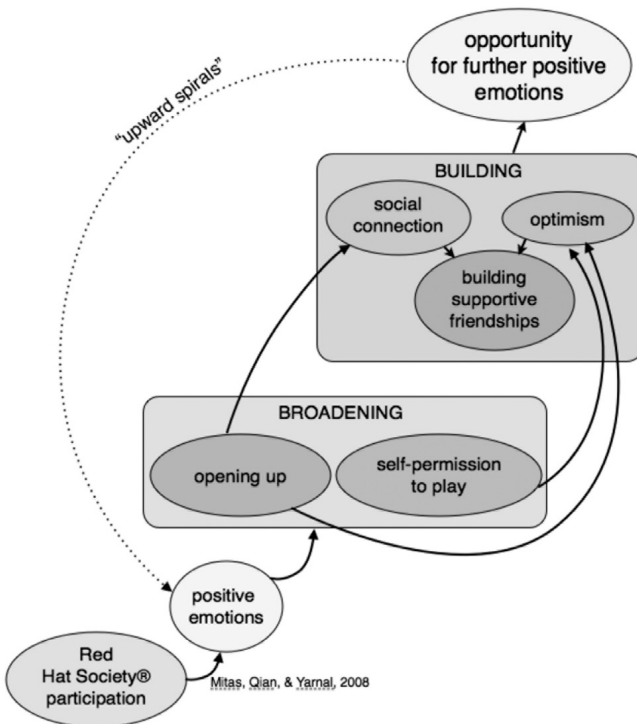


Figure 2. Theoretical model of present study results

Extending Broaden-and-Build Theory

Red Hat Society® members displayed substantial evidence of broadened thought-action repertoires (Fredrickson, 1998). They broadened their thoughts and actions to meet new people, try new activities, and to consider getting older more positively. They also granted themselves permission to play. Participants displayed substantial evidence of building durable personal resources as well. They built social connections, some of which grew into close, loving friendships based on trust. Furthermore, some social connections provided women with support when they experienced difficult life events. This finding directly echoes Fredrickson's (1998) assertion that "social relationships become enduring resources that individuals can draw on later in times of need" (p. 311). Participants also built long-term optimistic views, along the lines of dispositional optimism Isaacowitz (2005) describes, of the future and themselves. Overall, the findings confirm the broaden-and-build theory as a plausible account of processes that interact with positive emotions experienced during participation in leisure activities.

As we noted in our literature review, research that supports the broaden-and-build theory (summarized in Fredrickson, 2004) has rarely ventured outside of the laboratory. Our results provide evidence that broadening and building processes are congruent with older women's descriptions of their experiences in the RHS. However, the processes through which RHS members broaden and build does not entirely fit with the examples Fredrickson uses to discuss broadening and building. For instance, evidence of self-permission to play empirically demonstrates that play is a form of broadening. In addition, we found that participants discussed, in their own words, a particular process of building social resources that guided them through challenging life events, such as partner loss and caregiving. Finally, we found that the broadening and building processes occur in unique ways in older women. These contributions to the broaden-and-build theory are discussed in more detail below.

Empirical work by Fredrickson and colleagues (summarized in Fredrickson, 2004) has not tested whether broadening and building processes occur in leisure activity contexts. Our study demonstrates that leisure activity is a context for broadening and building processes. Not only is participation in the RHS a context for broadening and building processes, but also the broadening process in particular opens participants to the opportunity to experience play. Fredrickson (1998) suggests, but does not test, the notion that play is a broadening process that results from the emotion of joy. A previous study (Mitas et al., 2008) found an abundance of joy in RHS participants, and their descriptions of play were closely coupled with indications of joy, such as laughter, although the direction of this linkage was not clear. Despite her interest in play, Fredrickson and colleagues' experiments that tested the theory (e.g., Cohn et al., 2009; Fredrickson et al., 2004) have not afforded participants the opportunity to play nor the opportunity to engage in leisure activities. Our study illustrates play as a broadening process that occurs in the context of a leisure activity.

In our literature review, we raised Fredrickson and colleagues' (e.g., Fredrickson & Branigan, 2005; Fredrickson et al., 2003) use of quantitative self-report measurement methods as an issue. In experiments testing the broaden-

and-build theory (summarized in Fredrickson, 2004), interpersonal processes are excluded entirely, ostensibly because they would be difficult to measure with the scales utilized in these studies (e.g., Fredrickson & Branigan, 2005; Fredrickson, et al., 2003). The central role of interpersonal social interaction in our results suggests opening up to others and subsequently building fruitful relationships are important forms of broadening and building that Fredrickson (2004) has not given enough attention. The present study's use of interpretive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) of an extant text (Charmaz, 2006) allowed us to richly illustrate broadening and building processes in RHS members' own words. We found that the development and growth of social relationships was remarkably important to broadening and building. Broadening often took the form of a public, social opening up, which was fueled by feelings of interest in other members of the RHS, and offered concrete evidence of the emotion of interest. Opening up to making social connections, in particular, facilitated the development of social networks, a phenomenon previously documented in the RHS (Kerstetter et al., 2008). Some relationships within these social networks grew into supportive relationships, which are an important social resource (Hood & Carruthers, 2008) built on emotions that Fredrickson (1998) subsumes under love. Fredrickson suggested that love consists of positive emotions, such as interest and joy, felt toward another. Previous research demonstrated that the relationships RHS members formed were rich with positive feelings. Participants were excited to see each other, enjoyed each others' company, and felt content in their social position (Mitas et al., 2008). We found that these components of love facilitated opening up socially, followed by the building of numerous and sometimes supportive relationships. Our findings, then, suggest that the importance of social relationships in broadening and building processes had been under-explored in Fredrickson and colleagues' work (e.g., Cohn et al., 2009; Tugade & Fredrickson, 2007).

Our third contribution to the broaden-and-build theory is an account of these processes in a sample of older women. The broaden-and-build theory had not yet been tested in the important, under-researched (Gibson et al., 2002; Green, 1998; Yarnal et al., 2008) population of older women. Our findings suggest broadening processes, in particular, have important transformative power for older women. Because older women are often constrained in leisure (Shaw, 1994; Siegenthaler & Vaughan, 1998), the broadening associated with positive emotions is an important outcome of the RHS as a leisure activity. The RHS context, according to our participants, gives them a chance to be playful. They can "order dessert first" if they want to, because they have broadened their thought-action repertoires. The positive emotions they experience during their participation "[encourage] the individual to pursue a wider range of thoughts and actions than is typical" (Fredrickson, 1998, p. 312).

Extending Understanding of Positive Emotions and Leisure

According to Iwasaki (2007), a key shortcoming of research concerning leisure and positive emotions has been the inattention to beneficial processes that proceed from positive emotions experienced during leisure activities. Han and Patterson (2004) as well as Hood and Carruthers (2008) suggest that the broaden-

and-build theory could illuminate some of these processes. Our results confirm that broadening and building processes occur through participating in the RHS and that they produce valuable outcomes.

Broadening and building processes begin with positive emotions, which Lee et al. (1994), Mannell et al. (1988), and others have linked to leisure activities. Previous research has documented positive emotions in the context of the RHS (Mitas et al., 2008). With this study, we contribute the finding that particular broadening and building processes benefit RHS members over time. Previous studies using the present data uncovered two valuable resources associated with RHS participation: the ability to play (Yarnal et al., 2008) and the expansion of supportive social networks (Kerstetter et al., 2008). Although Hood and Carruthers (2008) propose the ability to open up socially as a resource, our data suggests that opening up is a temporary mental state limited temporally to the context of the RHS and closely coupled to ephemeral positive emotions. This short-lived state, however, facilitates more durable social resources, such as social connections, close friendships, and social support. The resources RHS participants build fit well with Hood and Carruthers' model, with social connections and supportive friendships exemplifying their Social Resources category, and optimism under their Psychological Resources category. In line with Hood and Carruthers, our participants reported that building supportive relationships was invaluable in times of adversity. Dealing with challenging life changes with the help of social resources may be an instance of the upward spiral (Fredrickson, 2001) that perpetuates broadening and building processes with positive emotions, even in the face of adversity.

Additionally, our findings demonstrate that the connection between positive emotions and these resources is explained by broadening and building processes that Hood and Carruthers (2008) as well as Han and Patterson (2004) mentioned, but did not test. Without the broadening and building processes that we uncovered, the positive emotions characteristic of RHS participation might only have been seen as fleeting moments of enjoyment, rather than foundational elements of a high quality of life in older adulthood.

Extending Understanding of Older Women's Leisure

Our study makes a novel contribution to understanding older women's leisure by showing that positive emotions seed beneficial processes in the context of leisure activity. This finding is congruent with the few existing studies of positive emotions in older women's leisure (Dionigi, 2006; Henderson & Ainsworth, 2002; Riddick, 1985). We also found that the processes of broadening and building for RHS members are often very social in nature. This finding supports the core prediction of socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstensen & Mikels, 2005) that older adults prioritize the building of relationships over other goals, such as gathering information. Importantly, the social nature of broadening and building in the RHS appears to effectively combat the isolation and dependence that can make aging especially challenging for women (McPherson, 1991).

We found that RHS members broaden their thought-action repertoires in a number of ways, which in turn are associated with building particular personal

resources. They broadened their minds by opening up to new people, participating in activities, and adopting positive attitudes toward aging. They also opened their minds beyond social and family obligations, giving themselves permission to play. They were therefore more able to form social connections, including deep, close friendships. These friendships became important in times of difficulty, offering much-needed attention, conversation, companionship, and emotional support. They also developed dispositional optimism (Isaacowitz, 2005), becoming hopeful for future activities and for themselves.

Future Directions

We have presented a rich account of broadening and building within the context of older women's leisure by using a systematic empirical method. The broaden-and-build theory is a compelling explanation of beneficial processes that stem from positive emotions in leisure contexts. Therefore, empirical investigations of broadening and building in other leisure contexts and in other age and gender groups are needed. Eventually, numerous examples of broadening and building processes in leisure could extend, complement, or complete findings from Fredrickson's (2001, 2004) promising research. Also, because positive emotions are antecedent to beneficial psychosocial processes, including building of social support, quality of life, and well-being (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005), it is imperative to include and improve measurement of positive emotions in studies of leisure experiences. Likewise, leisure practitioners may consider designing and managing experiences with a focus on positive emotions to increase the benefits that participants derive. Finally, longitudinal research of leisure contexts for broadening and building, such as the RHS, could determine if these processes are part of an upward spiral (Fredrickson, 2004) that causes further positive emotions and durably elevates quality of life over a longer time span. Positive emotions, a documented component of Red Hat Society® experience (Mitas et al., 2008), trigger the beneficial processes of broadening and building. Further understanding of these processes promises to put leisure on the map of human well-being in coming years. These processes could also become relevant to managing leisure experiences to create measurable benefits for participants.

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