

The extended leisure experiences of music scene participation

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Abstract:

Scott and Harmon coined the term extended leisure experiences (ELEs) to describe ‘activities that participants engage in following a primary leisure activity’. In this study, we set out to elucidate the ELE of fan participation in the music scene of Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons. Results were gleaned from an ethnography that focused on the meaning of participation among the band’s most dedicated fans. Our findings indicate that ELEs (e.g. listening to and discussing past concerts with other fans) provide participants a temporal venue for understanding their relationship to the band and its music, and building community with other fans. Indeed, the lived experiences of music scene participation are not ephemeral events that evaporate with the passage of time but provide a foundation from which fans embody their experiences and create opportunities to extend aspects of their identity and affiliation through music.

Scott et Harmon ont inventé le terme d’expériences de loisir étendues pour décrire des “activités auxquelles s’adonnent des participants à la suite de la pratique d’une activité de loisir principale”. Dans cette étude, nous nous efforçons d’élucider l’expérience de loisir étendue ressentie par les fervents de la scène musicale de Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons. Les résultats ont été recueillis par l’entremise d’une ethnographie réalisée auprès des admirateurs les plus dévoués du groupe, relativement à la signification accordée à leur participation à ce loisir. Nos résultats indiquent que les expériences de loisir étendues (ex.: écoute et discussions d’anciens concerts avec d’autres fans) procurent aux participants un cadre temporel pour établir leur relation au groupe et à sa musique, ainsi que pour développer une communauté avec d’autres fans. En effet, les expériences vécues lors de la participation à une scène musicale ne sont pas des événements éphémères qui s’évaporent au fil du temps: elles établissent une fondation sur laquelle les fans incarnent leurs expériences et procurent des occasions de développement des aspects identitaires et d’affiliation à travers la musique.

Keywords: Leisure | temporality | experience | music | loisirs | temporalité | expérience | musique

Articles:

Introduction

This study provides empirical data to extend Scott and Harmon’s (2016) conceptualization of extended leisure experiences (ELEs). They defined an ELE as activities that participants engage

in following a primary leisure activity. They argued that ELEs provide a context for discussing, savoring and reflecting on the primary activity; may occur without temporal or geographic connection to the primary activity; and may take place on either an individual or collective level, and with or without others who participated in the primary activity.

While numerous studies have explored the multiphase aspects of recreational phenomena with specific emphasis on participants' reflections on participation, none, to our knowledge, have examined how the primary leisure activity led to involvement in a tangential secondary activity thus extending one's initial experience and linking it to other opportunities for creating meaning in one's life through continuity in leisure. Further, by developing a better understanding of how ELEs nurture fellowship and communal bonds among participants, we are in a better position to understand how leisure fosters community.

Communities formed through music

The literature on music communities, music scenes and music subcultures is deep and not without distinction in terms of how the terminology is used and which categorization is appropriate when referring to music fans' social worlds (Bennett, 1999; Crossley & Bottero, 2014; Davis, 2006; Driver & Bennett, 2014; Frith, 1981a; Hesmondhalgh, 2005; Hunt, 2008; Taylor, 2010). Straw (1991) outlined a distinction between a 'music scene' and a 'music community', stating that scenes were microcosms of communities with clear boundaries delineating its adherents from the larger musical community, such as the distinction between subgenres of heavy metal music (Spracklen & Spracklen, 2012). Elsewhere Davis (2006) stressed that music scenes are distinct from subcultures in that the latter adheres to a 'ridged definition of authenticity' (p. 64) and does not take into account the cumulative process of identity development for the evolving fan. Still others have suggested that we move beyond each of these three categorizations into that of 'social spaces of music' to talk about the inclusive and descriptive elements that make up the realm of the fan (Crossley & Bottero, 2014). Hesmondhalgh (2005) argued that we should embrace the concept of 'genre' to understand the link between 'cultural practice and social process' of devoted music fans (p. 38). For our purposes, however, we embrace the concept of 'music scene' because of its direct correlation to temporality. Taylor (2010) stated it best that 'Music exists only in time; it is dynamic, energetic, and in a constant state of motion' (p. 897). Further, based on our methodology for understanding the ELE of music scene participation, we also embrace the 'tripartite model' of scenes in that they are local, translocal and virtual (Driver & Bennett, 2014), all the while being both personal (Davis, 2006) and communal (Spracklen & Spracklen, 2012). Acknowledging the importance of the individual in a community (or scene), and that their involvement is restricted to neither a specific geographic nor temporal plane, emphasizes the residual and extensive properties of leisure experiences.

Therefore, we set out to elucidate the ELE of fan participation in the music scene of Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons. By investigating the extensive and tangential elements of involvement for fans, we aim to learn more about how people draw from their primary leisure experiences to maintain a sense of self, cultivate and sustain friendships, and address issues of continuity in participation (Adams, Ernestes, & Lucey, 2014; Adams & Harmon, 2014). If we can accept that one's participation in a leisure activity often transcends the temporal, social and geographic boundaries of its original occurrence, we might find that the reach and scope of ELE offer significant insights into how communities are built through leisure (Lingel & Naaman,

2011). The primary research question guiding this study was: How does the temporal fragmentation of participation in a music scene extend into other areas of an individual's life? As participation and a sense of belonging in a music scene necessitate individual commitment over time (Lena, 2012), temporal fragmentation was examined through fans' lengthy tenures which comprised frequent participation in multiple locations, their interactions with and use of the music outside of the concert setting, and how they make sense of their connection to the music and fellow fans through an evolutionary process of involvement and dedication (Moberg, 2011).

Literature review

The Dixie Mattress Festival (DMF) is a concert series that focuses on the music of the rock band Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons. Named after one of their songs and orchestrated by fans, the annual event has become popular among the small, but tightknit, fan community. Most of those who attend have been to the festival more than once; many have been to all seven renditions. The official pass for entry to the festival is a colored rubber bracelet with the name and year of the festival embossed on it. It is common for those who have attended in the past to wear all of the bracelets for each year they have participated; the bracelets signify the importance they ascribe to their involvement in the music scene in general, as well as the importance of the festival in particular, to their lives. On the first day of the 2015 installment while speaking with one fan about how her past involvement has affected her life, she had this to say:

Last night I was packing and listening to [a recording of] the Saturday show from last year. I kept having these flashbacks to everything that transpired that weekend as well as who I spent my time with. For me, in some ways, it's like last year's Dixie never ended; we've just been on pause for a year and now it's time to press play again! (From the first author's field journal)

Concerts serve as a forum to become immersed in the present, to focus on what is transpiring, often free of distraction. For many, it is a chance to let loose, interact with friends and live in the moment. For some, attendance at concerts is an avenue for personal expression and meaning making (Ruud, 1997). For those who are connected passionately to a particular band and its music, the evolution of that connection unfolds over time and increases in significance (Harmon & Kyle, 2016). Participation in a music scene, then, is an ongoing process; involvement compels future interactions (Straw, 1991). Participation also typically involves tangential consumption as well. This typically takes place in the form of listening to the band's studio albums and live performances outside of concerts, wearing clothing that features the name or imagery of the band, interacting with fellow fans on message boards or through other social media platforms and planning for upcoming trips to attend more concerts (Moberg, 2011). It goes without saying that for the most passionate fans, a great deal of time is devoted to reflecting on past experiences and anticipating future experiences. Simply put, the leisure experience of attending concerts extends into much of a fan's life outside of the event.

Time is an inherent, and inseparable, component of leisure. The earliest investigations into the temporality of leisure experiences stressed the fluidity of participation as composed of indivisible links in a chain from anticipation to experience to reflection to future involvement (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966). And while the process of leisure engagement is ever-evolving, so too is the process of understanding that involvement. Because music is a social medium that aids

in bringing people together over shared interests (Boer et al., 2011), meanings are constructed through a social process (Blumer, 1969) that can be instrumental in building friendship and fellowship. When involvement in a music scene occurs over a period of years, if not decades, this passage of time, strengthening of social relationships and growing attraction to the music provide a forum for discussion of shared meanings and lay a foundation to incorporate other meaningful experiences that are derivative of the primary involvement, thus extending the potential for community building. Therefore, Mead's (1929) ideas about the importance of temporality and Blumer's (1969) concept of symbolic interactionism provide a theoretical lens for understanding the functions of the ELE.

Phases of experience

The multiple phases of a leisure experience were first investigated by Clawson and Knetsch (1966) half a century ago. In their original conceptualization, they stated that there were five phases to participation in a recreational event: anticipation, travel to the event, onsite involvement, travel from the event and reflection on participation. In some ways, ELE resemble the fifth stage, reflection on participation, in that whatever tangential activity the recreationist pursues will in many cases hearken them back to the original activity that spawned their evolving participation or consumption. But more accurately, ELE should be understood as complementary activities that are derivative of an individual's participation in a primary leisure activity (Scott & Harmon, 2016). While reflection is necessary for maintaining the connection to the primary activity, the secondary activity can often stand alone in terms of its perceived importance and ability to affect future leisure choices and does not require a specific adherence to either the temporality, geography or other social agents involved in the primary activity. Importantly, the existence of ELE allows for additional time and opportunities to build, define and/or strengthen social relationships among the primary activity's participants. Extended social engagement may be integral to community building through leisure. This will be further examined below.

Stewart (1998) stated that there was a 'dearth of research related to the nature of an evolving leisure experience' (p. 393) and that leisure experiences are both lived and emergent. The stories of participation and their subsequent ancillary activities are 'relevant' targets for understanding the multifaceted and diverse components of an experience. ELE, then, often brings new meanings or better understandings of one's involvement in the primary activity, thus adding nuance to a specific incident (Patterson, Williams, Watson, & Roggenbuck, 1998), or helping participants to 'savor' the memory of their past involvement (Filep, Cao, Jiang, & DeLacy, 2013). That these understandings and savoring of experiences often happen in a social context allows for the growth of fellowship and the desire for future interactions to increase both the relationship to the activity, as well as to those others with whom one participates (Harmon & Kyle, 2016).

The construction of time

Involvement in an ELE underscores that understanding one's relationship to, and role in, an experience is often born of emergence. Meanings are constructed through a social process, not chosen from a list of options (Samdahl, 1988). Building off of G.H. Mead's seminal work (Mead, 1929, 1934), Herbert Blumer (1969) developed the foundations of symbolic interactionism with three premises: (1) humans act toward objects based on the meanings they

associate with them, (2) these meanings are derived from social interactions with others and (3) these constructed meanings are negotiated through an interpretive process between the subject and the object. What this implies is that understanding is an emergent and negotiated process that is affected by one's continued interactions with, and relationship to, a phenomenon. This emergent process necessarily builds off of a past that is rich with experiences that have yet to be fully understood, and in many cases, yet to be connected to future endeavors, actions and meanings.

As we are always living in the present, our understanding of past events and future intents is rooted in an ephemeral and temporal 'moment'. As Maines, Sugrue and Katovich (1983) wrote, 'Experience is inherently temporal ... [It] involves a span of time and the process of reflection and self-indication, and thus it is not a mere arrangement of isolated moments' (p. 161). We reconstruct our past through a reflexive process of meaning making in order for those meanings to be functional for our present sense of self, our current understandings and our social roles (Harmon & Dunlap, 2017). And the social component is often the driving factor when we consider the development of our paradigms, perspectives and identities. Through participation in a music scene with one's peers, the social process of interacting with fellow fans and the music yields the meanings that create and build the identities, connections and camaraderie that fuel the importance of an individual's involvement in the scene. That this happens in the space of time, with a history given, and a future hoped for, speaks to Maines' et al. (1983) assertion that the past is used to inform the present and the future is envisioned to provide structure and direction for experience and interaction in real time. Flaherty and Fine (2001) similarly asserted that people do not respond 'immediately and unthinkingly to a stimulus' but rather engage with that stimulus, interpret it and then respond to it accordingly (p. 149). That response, however, is rooted in the potential for growth and evolution of thought, and therefore rarely static. When the experience of music scene participation is built upon, expanded, amended and especially shared, there exists the potential for extending the reach of its initial impact which can result in the development of a greater connection to not only the music, but with those whom we share the experience.

Community building

'Community' is a much talked about, and still somewhat enigmatic, concept in both the leisure and sociological literature. Creed (2006) said that the term is often used to refer to either a location, a group of people or the quality of a relationship. And while the ambiguity and competing uses of this terminology can cause for an equivocal starting point when attempting to apply the concept in a scholarly manner, it is perhaps useful to develop an understanding of how these three aforementioned descriptors can converge in a single phenomenon. Arai and Pedlar (2003) said that community is 'more than a mere association; it is a unity in which the individuals are members' (p. 192). To imply membership in something, such as an organization or an affiliation with a band and its music, is to imply a commitment that extends beyond a singular moment (Herrmann, 2012). When there is a history, and a future, of shared concern developed through involvement in a music scene, this establishment of cohesiveness leads to growth and strengthening of communal bonds.

Because shared participation in music scenes takes place over extended periods of time, those who make up the community develop an awareness, and an understanding, of one another through their tenures of communal participation (Perkins, 2012). Through these habitual social

interactions, fans find common ground and interests in other areas outside of their music scene participation that can lead to the desire to build on the friendship through other avenues of social engagement (Boer et al., 2011). Often, these tangential activities occur in the temporal space of the primary activities' unaccounted for hours and may include preshow meals, after-show conversations or sidetrips to nearby attractions (Scott & Harmon, 2016). While this adds nuance to the total experience, it can also reinforce the value of the primary experience of the concert due to its role as a catalyst in providing these additional forums and opportunities for community building.

Explicitly virtual music communities aside (Lysloff, 2003), most communities formed through music (leisure) take place in a set space (Henderson & Frelke, 2000), even if that involvement is ephemeral, serendipitous or occurs on an irregular cadence. Those shared experiences consist of a necessarily temporal component that evolves in geographically bound spaces which may foster the opportunity for participants to create and build connections to the music, their personal sense of identity and those likeminded others who share that time and space as well as possess the same musical interests. This congregation of time, space, music and people leads to a metaphysical and transcendent sensation of community that is more an intangible essence than a tangible property. Pedlar (1996) said that being a part of a community means that people have a 'sense of place' where the level of social interaction 'provides for a feeling of connectedness' that links people 'across time and space by a common history' and a shared purpose (p. 19). As relationships are cultivated through music scene participation, the temporal component of involvement serves as both a foundation for orientation, a conduit for the mediation of experience and an extension of what was originally envisioned, or expected, from first entry. Through building on an initial experience in the company of likeminded others, there exists the potential for growing the communal bonds and connection to the leisure activity in tandem, thus facilitating aspects of personal and social identity.

Methods

Background of study

Our focus of interest was the music scene that encapsulates fans of the rock band Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons. The band is little known outside of its niche in the jam band genre, but its musicians have played professionally for over 30 years. The singer and guitarist, Jerry Joseph, is respected in the music community (Kayce, 2012) but is best known for his work from the 1980s and early 1990s with the roots reggae band, Little Women and his writing efforts with more popular bands. The band has never charted a single and relies on a heavy touring schedule. They typically play over 150 concerts a year. While typically small in terms of total numbers in attendance at the band's concerts (250 would be a large turnout), the fanbase is composed of a number of dedicated fans who participate frequently and will travel to see the band perform all over the country and the world. The band plays four annual festivals centered on their music which tend to have the largest crowds, as well as frequently playing in international destinations. Many fans will set their vacations plans to the band's tour schedule. This study occurred over two-and-a-half years between December of 2012 and July of 2015, in five western states. The first author attended 50 concerts during the period of investigation.

Informants

Interviews were conducted with 34 informants, both male and female, with an average age of 43 years old. The majority had been seeing the band perform live for a decade, though some had been involved with the music scene of Jerry Joseph for nearly 30 years. The informants averaged attending 15 concerts of the band each year, and most had seen a minimum of 100 live performances of the band. Informants were chosen using purposive sampling (Patton, 1990) based on the first author's knowledge of those who had lengthy and frequent levels of participation. Further informants were introduced by initial interviewees, thus invoking a snowball sampling technique (Tracy, 2013). All informants were assigned pseudonyms to protect their identity.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with each informant following a preestablished set of questions to understand their historical relationship to music in general, and to the music and music scene of Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons in particular. As numerous studies have established the importance of music in aiding identity maintenance and the formation and sustainment of communities (DeNora, 1995, 1999; Frith, 1981b; Kotarba, 2002, 2005), our inquiry was guided by informants' historical relationships to music over their life course and how that led to specific and intentional actions to cultivate and sustain that sense of self and relationships made through music. Some of the questions included: How often do you listen to the music of Jerry Joseph? Do any of the band's songs have special meaning for you? Have you made significant friendships with other fans? How often do you think about your involvement in the music scene outside of concert events? And, how do you feel in the days before and after a concert? Notes were kept during the interviews to document specific points of interest, facial affect or emotional responses of informants and points of inquiry that needed to be investigated further. Interviews typically lasted about an hour, though several went for as long as 3 h.

Participant observation

The first author undertook this examination as both a participant and an observer. He engaged in concert events, travel to and from events with fans, as well as participated in informal gatherings that occurred before and after concerts as well as during the daytime when multiple days of concerts occurred in the same location. As an observer, the lead author made mental notes and jottings during participation in order to write up more expansive field notes later. In the more festival-like atmospheres where fans were in the same location for longer periods of time, particular attention was paid to how fans engaged in supplementary activities that captured the spirit of the ELEs onsite, as well as how that led to the cultivation of friendships among the fanbase.

Limiting bias

As the first author had been involved as both a participant and a researcher in the music scene of Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons for several years, the second author was critical to providing a more objective analysis and interpretation of data. The second author neither attended concerts nor conducted interviews, serving as an impartial critic and editor of data analysis and the manuscript.

Textual analysis

An unmoderated fan listserv offered through Yahoo! Groups as well as a Facebook page dedicated to the band were monitored for content related to fans' experiences at concert events as well as conversations on topics of interest to those involved in the music scene. Kozinets (2002) called the process of studying online communities 'netnography' and is an essential tool for limiting bias by observing fans in a natural and unobtrusive manner absent of scripted questions and other potentially intrusive methods. Frequently fans regale stories from their participation offer well wishes to fellow fans and dissect the anatomy of the concert on the two social media platforms. Babbie (2010) said that textual analysis involves how people affect the actions of other through conversation and generating a dialogue. Therefore, this method of data collection directly attends to how fans extend their leisure experiences by engaging in a dialogue with both those who had been involved in the same experience, as well as others who are there to learn about the experience or reciprocate through their own past or future plans to participate in the music scene.

Data analysis and interpretation

The foundation of data analysis was grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) in that understanding was reached through an inductive process that focused on the realities and experiences of those who participated. The analytical process used a primary and secondary coding technique which was derived from thorough rereadings of the interview transcripts, field notes and message board data. We assigned primary codes, when possible, using in vivo terminology (the language of the participant). We grouped primary codes into specific categories using focused coding (Tracy, 2013). The data were managed by first establishing which content spoke to the research question(s), and then developing a hierarchical list of relevance for the remaining data (Saldaña, 2012). A 'crystallization' process (Ellingson, 2009) was employed to unite the three methodologies into one coherent, but multifaceted, lens for analysis. As informants' participation in the music scene, and the residual and tangential extensions of their experiences, friendships and internalization of meaning were diverse, so too were the methods of investigation. These data provided the foundation for understanding how music scene participation extended into informants' lives beyond the concert event.

Results

The manifestation of the ELE

One of the most common ways that fans extended their experience of attending concerts was to listen to recordings of the shows they attended. It was quite common that there were 'tapers' at the shows who would post their recordings to free sites for download. By having access to the concerts they had attended, it allowed for fans to not only 'relive' their experience of participation but also to extend the experience into the future. Many fans had favorite shows from their past attendance which they returned too frequently to set a mood or indulge in nostalgia. While speaking with Catie (all names are pseudonyms), we asked her about how often she listens to the music of Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons, she replied

I lost all my music when I was [living] in Kenya, so that changed everything for a while, but these days the internet [lets you access anything], so yeah, now it's daily. It's more intentional now. I'll definitely set out to hear certain songs, and I can listen to the same song over and over again. Lately there's been this amazing version of Eat My Soul (a Jerry Joseph song), from 8/1/2009 at Gullity's Underground, it's an encore. I love it. Every time I play it I feel like I'm back there again.

Here, we see Catie hearkening back to a song played at a concert she attended 7 years ago. When we asked her what it was about this version of the song in particular, she said that it allows her to connect to herself outside of the boundaries she has to live in on a daily basis. She went on to say that while at concerts she is 'not aware of anything' other than the music. To be able to go back to this sensation that was created in the moment allows her to keep a thread of consistency from her years of passionate involvement.

Also of interest, and in a similar vein, is how fans not only reflected on their past experiences with the music, but how they drew from those experiences to envision a future that was connected to their love of the music. While speaking with Bella about her favorite songs, she mentioned the 'sandwich' of three songs *Thistle*>*Comes a Time*>*Mohawk* that was played on 3/20/2011 in Breckenridge, Colorado. She said

Not only was it special because it was in my backyard (she lives in Breckenridge), it was so sweet and so slow. I go back to it over and over again. It's one of the best Mohawks I've ever heard in my life and I go back to it over and over again. I swear to god if I ever get married (smiles) I'll have that played at my wedding!

The song Mohawk (especially when played in the 'sandwich') is one of Bella's favorites, and similar to Catie, she draws from one special version that captures the sentiment of her musical attachment. Further, because the song carries so much meaning for her, she wants it to be played at her nuptials. This forward thinking of her future is deeply connected to this one specific moment and reinforced by the many times she has heard the song played at the concerts she has attended. As illustrated for both of these informants, the importance of the 'tapers' in the fan community should be emphasized. The small portion of fans who serve in this capacity provide a great service for their fellow fans by providing opportunities for others to extend their experience, whether individually, or collectively.

In the back room of a private party at an art gallery on the day we spoke to Bella, 50 people squeezed in to witness a performance of Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons. Jerry's mood was clearly positive; you could tell by his mannerisms on stage and his interactions with fans that he was enjoying himself and appreciated those in attendance. At setbreak, he came up to a group of fans and asked them what they wanted to hear. One fan named off a few songs he wanted to hear and then said, 'She wants to hear *Thistle*>*Mohawk*'. The person he was referring to was Bella, the informant the first author had interviewed just hours before the show. When Jerry played those songs, Bella was smiling as wide as can be, glowing with elation, and fixated on this musician who she had only hours ago expressed how his music affected her 'positively in every way imaginable'. For Bella, this serendipitous occurrence signaled her love for the music, her connection to a passionate leisure career of following the band and to the future she hoped to build for herself and the importance of this music to what lies ahead. That she was able to share

this moment with her close friends foreshadowed a sensation she hoped to recreate in her romantic life in the future.

The functions of the ELE

Communion

Outside of the bigger annual festivals, fans typically attend shows that are closer to home. Oftentimes those in attendance will report on the events that transpired at the shows they attend via an email listserv dedicated to the band. After attending a show in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, one fan posted this to the group forum:

I've seen my share of Jerry shows in the last ten years but never have I seen a room of 40 people all singing along. From *Thistle* through *Comes a Time*, the crowd and Jerry were like one big locomotive! It was beautiful and powerful and loud!

The sentiment captured here speaks to the overwhelming feeling of 'communion' people often sense within this music scene. Resembling a congregation, this fan's post highlights the shared feeling of fellowship and cathartic release felt by those in attendance through an impromptu group singalong. While it can be safely assumed that each person in attendance went to enjoy the music, and most went to share the musical experience with their fellow fan-friends, unscripted moments like this one become significant markers on each fans' personal timeline of involvement, and thus anchor points for future dialog surrounding their connection to the band, its music and other fans. These ephemeral, but substantial, moments of interaction then have the power to build on the camaraderie that has been built through shared participation in the music scene.

Another fan, posting under the heading, 'Thank you for a fantastic time in VC (Virginia City)', wrote a general email to the group after an installment of VC (2013) which started, 'I'm not even going to try and thank folks by name. There were so many small moments and so many folks that have become near and dear to me that it's just not possible'. From there, she outlines some specific moments of interest for her and ends the email with 'Much love to my Jmos' (short for Jackmormons) community'. In this instance, we see a 'public' proclamation of one fan's connection to, and appreciation for, the fan community and those that comprise it. Simply through her action of putting out this general missive following a meaningful weekend of music and friends, it prompted others to chime in and retell their memories of the weekend and what was special for them, thus extending the primary experience.

Being there

For many fans, as indicated, email and social media platforms allow for the continuation of an experience by bringing together people who are all interested in the same thing: the music of Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons. Due to the simple fact that all fans cannot attend all shows, these discussion forums serve as a surrogate for 'being there' when time, distance and money do not allow otherwise. Those that were in attendance can detail their experiences from participation as well as have those experiences amended or clarified by others who also participated. Those whose only connection to a specific experience in which they were not in attendance can live

vicariously through others' accounts as well as find common ground to relay personal stories of their own past participation in the music scene. Additionally, the discussion forums also provide a space to plan for upcoming participation and act as a thread of continuity in linking multiple experiences together. Social media, then, allows for an uninterrupted stream in fan participation by having forums that are updated almost on a daily basis to sustain one's connection to the music, the fan community, and other fans. Further, those who have little face-to-face interactions at concerts due to geographic displacement or the infrequency of shared physical participation can still nurture relationships online that will provide them with a familiarity and shared history to build on when the opportunity does present itself for them to share space at an actual concert.

Beyond the temporal/geographic space of participation

ELEs can occur the day after, days after, or in some cases, years into the future. Being that the band has several annual festivals that are orchestrated by fans, it allows those in attendance to establish a historical record of participation based in time and geographic space. The 'popular' DMF has had seven installments but has occurred in five different locations. Many fans have participated in each rendition of the DMF, but even though the location changes frequently, there exists an historical context of continuity to draw from which caused many to view their participation in the event as a given and part of a continuum of connection from 1-year participation in the festival to the next. As indicated, many fans wear the rubber bracelets (which serve as payment and access to the festival) of each DMF they have attended to the current rendition. This, again, highlights their continued participation and dedication to the music scene, as well as extends their past involvement at the festival to the current year's version. It is also common for fans to purchase t-shirts or posters of the festival, thus having more recognizable tokens of their participation that can be worn in public or displayed in their homes. For the former, fans will wear their DMF shirts to other Jackmormons' concerts (as well as to other bands' concerts) and the shirt will serve as both a symbol of identity and a conduit for conversation with other fans about the band. For the latter, by having posters of the band's festivals they have attended, they can be reminded on a daily basis about their past participation and connection to the music scene. This helps to keep alive the affiliation with the band and its music and may stimulate the desire for future participation. As discussed earlier, and perhaps most importantly, having access to recordings of the concerts fans have attended provides an immediate connection to a past experience that can be savored in future moments, as well as provide a forum for learning more about the band's music and what fans look forward to hearing at future concerts.

From the first author's field notes,

As we piled into the car to depart the festival grounds the day after the Dixie Mattress Festival, Barry put a recording from the first night's concert on the stereo. We all looked to Barry to confirm that it was indeed what we all thought it was, and with his subtle nod of the head and quixotic smile, we all hushed and started off on our three-hour drive back to Portland, Oregon. As the band continued to play on the stereo, we started to talk about the events of the weekend: who we saw, what songs were played and what adventures we embarked on between performances. Then Matt chimed in to say this: 'I can't believe this weekend is over. I'm not ready for it to be.' I then asked him if he had plans to see the band anytime in the near future. He responded, 'As soon as I get back I need to plan out a

few dates [to see shows]. Then, of course, I'll start my unofficial countdown for next year's Dixie.'

While the music scene allowed for fellow fans to build rich relationships with one another, still one of the most significant aspects of involvement for fans at an individual level was the importance of the music in their lives and how they used it to self-identify, celebrate and cope with life. It was common for fans to speak of how their involvement in the music scene created a safe space to address both the positive and negative experiences they faced in their daily living. One fan said she came to concerts to 'work through issues in her life'. It was only after attending a concert that she felt she would come to a satisfactory resolution for the matter-at-hand. Several spoke of the music as a conduit to their personal sense of spirituality. By having a connection that allowed them to feel a connection to a greater purpose, the residual effects of participation were carried with them into other areas of their lives. Still other fans spoke of the pragmatic impact their involvement had on their lives. One fan, Dani, was raising her nephews and thus had fewer opportunities to travel to see the band. However, when those opportunities presented themselves, she took full advantage of them. We asked Dani if her participation affected her life outside of the music scene in a positive manner, to which she responded:

Absolutely. The boys don't understand why I'm leaving, but I try to let them get involved a bit. Let them know how it makes me feel. How it affects me in my personal life; that I need some kind of an out to let loose and recharge myself. Sometimes I think having this as an outlet affects me more positively to carry on, and the boys benefit from me having these quality experiences also.

For Dani, the effect of the experience is extended by affecting her quality of life; something she is quite conscious of and a significant reason why she wants to maintain a high level of involvement and thus extend her participation further. In effect, Dani links together multiple episodes of her participation to sustain her in the periods where she is unable to take part.

Extension of the primary experience

Every Sunday of the 3-day Bandito's music festival (which takes place in rural, southwestern Montana), the fans gather for a softball game before the final show in the concert series. What has become an annual tradition, the softball game serves as an opportunity for fans to come together in a wholesome environment to further work on building their community. Not all fans play, however. Many will find their natural spot to be in the bleachers, offering commentary and coaching to those brave enough to take the field and risk getting heckled. It is all in good fun though and provides another opportunity for extending the specialness of the weekend. This extension of tangential activities is not unique to the Bandito's weekend. In the last weekend of every June, a small, but tightknit group of fans of the band gather in rural Oregon for the DMF. On the second night of the 3-day event before the concert, there is an informal potluck hosted on the festival grounds where everyone is encouraged to come, regardless of whether they are able to bring any food to share. The intent is to provide a space to facilitate camaraderie and friendships and reflect on the experiences of the weekend that have transpired so far, as well as what is yet to come. On the 4-day New Year's Run in Portland, Oregon also features informal group gatherings before the show on New Year's Eve, and on the 'day off' on New Year's Day.

Typically, this concert series has two shows in a row on 30th and 31st December, a day off, then two more shows on 2nd and 3rd January. Having a day in between concerts on this celebratory weekend helps foster fellowship among the fanbase. It follows that this day off allows for the dissection of the past 2-day concert experiences, and through this dialog, an extension of their felt-impact.

For the fans of the band Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons, the music is of utmost importance, but the friendships formed through that music are equally so. Therefore, the fans actively seek to cultivate opportunities not only to grow those friendships but also to increase the number of fun events they participate in over the course of their weekends of involvement. While the music is the primary activity, it serves as a conduit to other experiences that are often seen to be wholly valuable in their own right. When group participation in a primary leisure activity is significantly meaningful enough to spawn complementary activities that reciprocate the collective bonds that are formed through the initial shared participation, the web of interconnected experiences extends not only the lasting, positive effects of an individual's primary involvement but also strengthens the social component resulting in a desire to engage in the activity again with the added benefit of reinforcing those communal bonds.

For the fans of the Jackmormons, whether it occurred at an individual or a collective level, there were numerous opportunities to build off, or draw from, their lengthy tenures of participation in the music scene. While some aspects of the extension of their leisure experiences were more tangible, such as potluck dinners or softball games, other embodiments of the extended experiences were more intangible in terms of how meanings were formed, questions answered or, more broadly, how participation positively affected their lives through a subjective processing and application of those primary experiences outside of the concert experience.

Discussion

As Clawson and Knetsch (1966) observed, reflection on one's leisure activities entails a consideration of the total experience as it affects one's life which includes discussing the experience with others to better understand the implications of their involvement. The absence of opportunities to extend an experience leads to a premature end and the stunting of the potential of growth through leisure. As evidenced by the study's informants, many found not only a song but also a specific version of a song that conjured up great memories and personal meanings. For one informant specifically, she connected this past experience to a vision of her future self.

ELE are central to not only understanding the primary activity but also to developing and fostering rich social relationships. This was revealed clearly by the complementary activities that occur at the annual festivals, including softball games, potlucks and pre-parties. These forums allowed fans an opportunity to get to know one another intimately without the 'distraction' of the music at concerts which impedes conversation due to noise level and the simple fact that the fans are there for the music. ELE, then, occurs through a socialization process which allows for the development and refining of one's 'investment' in the experience and an extension of the sense of self (Kelly, 1981). From a symbolic interactionist perspective, meanings are the 'product of social interaction' that 'requires active interpretation' to develop a consensus, and a connection, to a phenomenon (Dennis, 2011, p. 350). These 'active interpretations' are evidenced in the communities that are built on shared values and interests with their ultimate purpose being to foster collective development and fulfillment (Pedlar & Haworth, 2006).

The temporal component of these interpretations provides the context for which fans create meaning out of the concert experience as well as the ELE. While there is clearly processing of past experiences at an individual level in an ELE, in line with Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionism, the fullest understanding of one's participation takes place through the dialog initiated by their shared experiences and interests with fellow fans. Because the fans are spread throughout the country, this makes the existence of the Yahoo! group and Facebook page vital to the maintenance of the music scene between concerts, and in surrogate form for those who were not able to attend but still want to be involved in the 'experience'. Further, by having tokens such as concert posters, t-shirts and bracelets symbolizing attendance at concerts, these artifacts serve as a signal and conduit to engaging with fellow fans, and a stimulus for past experiences. Additionally, participation in these experiences often leads to supplemental activities that broaden one's leisure repertoire and meanings derived from their music scene participation (Fredrickson, 2001). The collective function of meaning making, which is most fully reached during an ELE, is what draws the fanbase together and lends to the preservation, growth and maintenance of the community.

Informants in this study identified multiple methods of savoring their experiences (Filep et al., 2013), including communication through various social media platforms, listening to recordings of the concerts they attended and developing an awareness of how their involvement yielded residual effects which impacted aspects of their lives disconnected from their participation (Harmon & Kyle, 2016). Because the primary leisure activity of attending Jackmormons' concerts and participating in the fan community were largely seen as positive experiences, it prompted informants to want to extend and replicate those experiences for maximum personal gain (Stewart, 1998). By extending the experience, informants were able to bolster the felt-impact of the benefits of participation as well as provide opportunities to sustain and elongate a dialogue surrounding the social– psychological and sociological implications of their involvement as it relates to their identity as a fan (Scott & Harmon, 2016). ELEs, then, are significant forums for fostering these aspirational sensations of community by extending the temporality of an individual's initial participation through the creation of additional opportunities to link together successive, related experiences.

Conclusion

Complementary activities, social media and numerous opportunities to build and maintain friendships in the temporal spaces before, between and after concerts were integral to Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons' fans' personal sense of belonging and development of camaraderie with fellow fans in the music scene. That each of these avenues leads back to a singular event, which is in reality one link on a continuous chain of interactions of those participating in this music scene, shows the significant reach of a leisure experience and how the residual effects of participation extend much further than the temporality of the initial experience.

Leisure experiences, then, are not ephemeral experiences that are stored in the recesses of our minds; they serve as the foundation for building leisure careers, the point-of-reference for building a dialog that grows friendships and the conduit for personal growth that leads to opportunities to engage in tangential activities that extend an individual's scope of awareness, involvement in a community and appreciation for the primary activity. As illustrated in the music scene surrounding Jerry Joseph & the Jackmormons, lengthy tenures as fans led to the very important development and growth of friendships and personal identities through music (Boer et

al., 2011; Davis, 2006; Taylor, 2010). Of equal importance, and added value, is the potential of fans' involvement, affiliation and the extension of experiences to serve as a mediator and reflection of personal evolution through music (DeNora, 1999). ELEs, then, as evidenced in this inquiry, are essential components of building a meaningful life through leisure (Fredrickson, 2001). Future research should be undertaken to explore the dynamic impact that complementary and tangential activities have on reinforcing identity, continuity, community development and growth through leisure in avenues such as camping and environmental ethics, community gardening and civic engagement, and inclusive recreation and social justice, to name but a few. As leisure is a state of being, we must explore the depth and breadth of leisure to understand its felt impact on the lived experience.

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