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WILLIAM
LEIGHTON
WILLIAMS



COLOPHON

Text by: Maaïke Knibbe & Karina Bakx (co-director het resort)

Design: Ellen de Haan (co-director het resort)

Photo's: Iris Luimstra (p.27+28) / het resort

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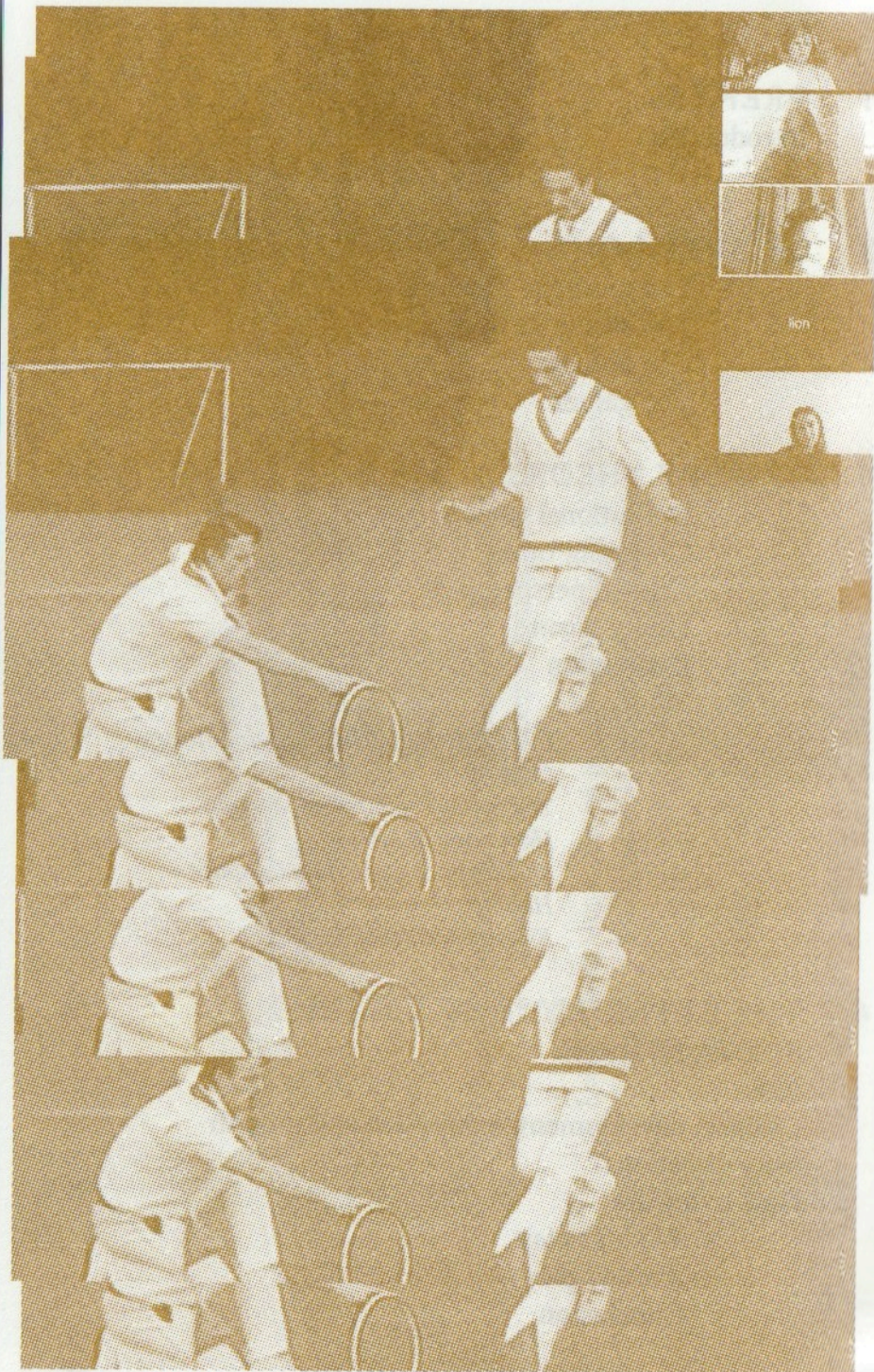
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Zoom inspiration meeting - screenshot clip 'Jiskefet: english games'

%. WHY WE LOVE LEISURE

Recreating in public space has proven to be one of the scarce activities left during a pandemic lockdown. We could find the masses mountain biking through the forest, jogging at parks and supping in our canals. Het resort sees an opportunity, this is the moment to expand the supply of outdoor activities with new varieties! We already know we can hike, tennis, surf, float and balance and have many varieties to these actions. But what other activities could humans take up to keep themselves entertained and (socially) active.

To approach this question we first wonder where the need for recreation derives from. And why do people like to identify themselves by their hobbies? How come the fact that you are a surfer/hiker/golfer becomes part of your persona? And what makes it so attractive to be part of the culture surrounding your leisure activity, in a manner where choices in other life areas are greatly influenced by them. A surfer would pick his holiday destinations on their beaches, would choose to drive a van over a small car, and is more likely to be conscious of the use of seafood in their diet. A golfer would dress in silly socks and speak a language only spoken on the golf court. They will drive a funny little electric car, used solely on the golf terrains. The more precise and over the top looks, tools and languages.

the more exclusive the leisure activity feels. When sailing a boat a next level of in- and exclusion occurs, where one can even be frowned upon for not rolling their ropes the right way after take off. A rooky mistake can disqualify you from the sailing-community. Nothing on the boat is mentioned by normal names, for every object and action a boat-version is invented. Designed to keep the other out, and secure the obtained spot inside of the community of choice. I am part of this culture, for I speak the language, dress accordingly and make appropriate choices in all other aspects of my life.

If this sense of belonging is something we crave for so much, can we maybe use this deep human desire to steer our behavior in new ways? Could we use leisure and sports, these so called 'free time' activities as a director of new behavior? We can already state that the increase of the popularity of mountain biking during the pandemic lockdown has led to the planting of more forest. In Groningen there will be an expansion of the Kardingerbos especially for creating mountain bike-paths. This means that how we spend our free time can literally change the shape of our surroundings. Golf courts now are private clubs but also nature parks, with shortly mown grass so the balls roll nicely. But wouldn't it be better to change the game so the grass can be long and biodiverse? So insects and small animals could also benefit from them? We might have to change the nature of our sports and games in order to create the much needed changes in both the physical world and our behavior in it. If sports like diving cease to exist - because coral reefs and sea life are dying and there won't be much left to look at - will we then also lose the

need to go on long-distance flights to visit them? Can the oceans heal if we stop visiting them for leisure purposes? In the long run we can influence the way we treat our surroundings - both urbanised and nature - and how we relate to each other by changing our leisure behavior. Knowing this there is no time to waste. We should start redesigning leisure right now.

Het resort sent out an open call for leisure projects. Five artists and one philosophers collective were selected who have created a game, sport or playful activity that could be executed either solo or in teams. Outfits were designed, props created and instructions printed. Ready, set, go! Let the games begin, the future of leisure is around the bend and we are eager to see where it will take us. But first we take a deep dive into leisure, its origin and the social constructs defining it. For this we invited Maaiké Knibbe who is a former artist and current sociology student. She interviewed the participating artists of the Leisure Love project and wrote an intriguing piece on the topic. With great pleasure we publish her article in this publication together with documentation of the artworks that resulted from the leisure love project. It offers a context on leisure and preserves the artistic outcomes of the exhibition that temporarily traveled through the city of Groningen.

We hope you enjoy.

Karina Bakx

Co-director of het resort

text by Maaïke Knibbe

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1. PREFACE

In the summer of 2021, I got the opportunity to meet the nine participants of the project 'Leisure Love', which would take place that summer at het resort in Groningen. It would be my job to write about leisure from a sociological point of view, and to connect this with the ideas and perspectives on leisure of the nine participating artists.

In order to do this, I needed to gain some knowledge about leisure, since what leisure is and how this might be connected with the making of art, was not yet something I could put into words. In a way both leisure and art seemed to be related but were not quite the same. For example, leisure for me, embodied a way to pass time, relaxation and 'hobby' like activities and that was about it. I deemed art to be much more than a 'hobby like activity' but at the same I suspected that leisure might be too. In any case, their relationship felt ambiguous, even more so because leisure activities seemed to provide meaning to daily life and I knew from experience that making art as well as experiencing it can have a similar effect.

In the following text, this ambiguity will be the starting point from which various questions and theories around leisure, art and labor will follow. The project, the

participants, the process and the work will be described, as well as some fragments derived from the semi structured interviews with the participants. By doing this, the text will touch upon structural sociological theories around art and leisure, as well as on the experiential aspects of both.

Now and then I will go a bit off track by writing about sociology and its history, as well as the field theory of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. I deem both to be quite important. For starters, I believe a very short elaboration on social science is necessary since during the project, I got a lot of questions from various people about what social science actually is. I can imagine more people reading this text might have similar questions. Because of this, I think this subject needs at least a bit of attention in order to get an idea of the context of the theories written about in the text. Secondly, because of the central place it holds in the field of cultural sociology, (on which much of this text is built), Pierre Bourdieu's field theory gets described in 'short' lines. Field theory has many significant 'common sense' implications for both art and leisure, which are known in the field of sociology but seem to stop there. By writing about it, I hope to give the interested reader a somewhat attainable outline to think further about.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Many people actively pursue creative activities in their daily life. Often this happens during 'free time', when people are not at work. Hence, many creative pursuits take place in what is perceived as 'leisure time'.

These efforts can take the form of a pastime activity, sometimes to be enjoyed as artworks by friends and family, but without the explicit objective to create something that can be considered a 'professional artwork'. This difference might have ramifications.

For those who identify with the position of professional artist, be it professional writer or professional visual artist, and for whom the objective of creation might be a 'professional artwork' work might spillover in leisure time. Both professions require a high level of engagement and time investment and can be characterized by a need for contemplation and reflection. An unclear boundary between living and working might therefore be an advantage as well as a nuisance. On the one hand, labor that is experienced as meaningful and as pleasurable enough to keep on going after hours seems quite utopic. On the other hand, work might feel like it's never done and work time that slips into leisure time could therefore be experienced as a stressful interference or, at least, as a nuisance. Nevertheless, from the outside, a possible blurring of the boundary between work hours and leisure time does not seem to be a major problem for many creatives. I wondered if the participants experienced a relation between leisure and their professional practice, and if so, how they felt about it. More precisely, I was curious how they would conceptualize both, how they engaged with both in their daily life, and how they would deal with a possible unclear boundary between professional work and leisure practices. Since these experiences are influenced by the place and time of their occurrence, it might be useful to look at some of the structural factors that shape leisure practices and professional artistic labor. This might be even more relevant because of an apparent resilience of creative professionals in a neoliberal society.

After several political shifts leading to (among other things), deregulation and severe social budget cuts between the late 1970's and today, the Dutch job market has seen increasing levels of flexibilization (CBS, 2015). This also goes, and perhaps even more so, for the cultural sector in which many creative professionals receive relatively low wages and hold bad job security (SER, 2016). To make a living 'and then some', while sprinting from project to project can be difficult. However the cultural

sector, more specifically its sub sector of 'creators', is more or less famous for its high levels of cooperation, engagement and motivation and mentions of experiences of meaningful work, despite mentions of relative unhappiness about work circumstances (CBS, 2021). This is special. Deregulation has contributed to a working environment that incentivizes competition between individuals, i.e. to (out)perform others (o.a. Strivers, 2004), and in many sectors this leads to an increase in individualism, loneliness, working hours, burnouts and feelings of 'general unhappiness' (Van Den Berg, 2021). A cooperative work environment, high levels of job control and the experience of work as a meaningful endeavor can perhaps counter some of the 'manic depressive' tendencies that neoliberal policies generate (Laermans, 2020). A look into the work and leisure practices as well as into the outlooks on living of a relatively engaged and cooperative group of professionals might offer some insights on counter forces to experiences of 'general unhappiness'.

First, it seems useful to try to bypass a definitional problem that might occur when we have to decide by what criteria someone can be considered a 'professional' writer and/or artist. In many domains, who belongs and who does not belong to a particular occupational group, is quite easy to define thanks to, for example, registers of certified practitioners. And, in general, people engage in work in order to generate income and, although their numbers are slinking, in many professions, work time and free time can easily be separated. An amateur/hobbyist then, is considered to be someone who pursues an activity for mere joy and fulfillment, without any interest in potential extra experiential gains, such as money, and for whom the quality of the outcome of the activity is often secondary to the experience of the activity. However, in much literature, the occupational ideology of art portrays a 'true' artist as someone who is indifferent to economic motives. Often, the profession of artist is portrayed as revolving around a kind of 'originality that evades and defies all definitions, standards and routines' (Karttunen, 1998), and a standard way of doing things or some kind of quality benchmark (such as strength or durability), is often difficult to pinpoint for someone from outside the art field.

For the purpose of this text, the term 'professional artist' will indicate writers and visual artists who Howard Becker (1984) calls 'integrated professionals'. With this he refers to people who function within the bounds of the established art worlds, and who also describe themselves as artists.

E X T R A INTRODUCTION SOCIOLOGY

Next, it might be helpful to give a small introduction into sociology since it might not be clear to many people what is meant by it. Often sociology gets associated with dry statistical analysis in which 'something' about society or inequality gets posited. And yes, indeed, many times this is the case, but, there is of course more to social science than mere statistical analysis and data reports.

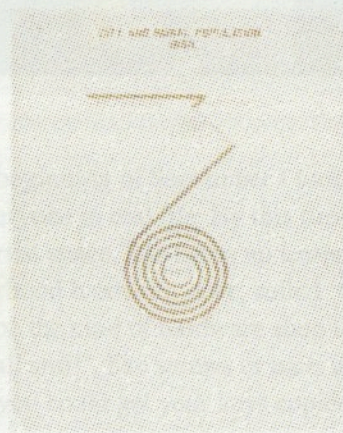
The discipline of sociology developed over a little over a century ago, as a study of relations between two or more people that looked at global differences between people and groups of people. By this time three phenomena: industrialization, urbanization and mass migration seemed to be transgressive forces that caused and increased a lot of 'social problems', such as mental health problems, poverty and criminality. For a long time biological and psychological make up had been considered as causes for these issues. The study of 'sociology', building upon methods derived from other research areas such as medicine, found however that social structures were largely responsible for these differences.

One of the earliest sociologists DuBois (*1868), for example, showed how lesser access to education and more

lucrative jobs led to higher rates of death and illness among black communities. Doing this, he effectively discredited ideas about the construct of 'different races' (black and white) and racial inferiority in a time where this was 'common sense'. DuBois was able to prove his argument with the help of extensive demographic data analysis which he converted into first of their kind, hand drawn charts.

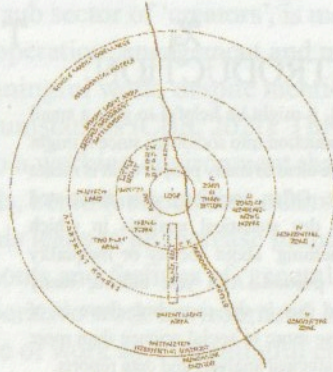
Another example is that of Faris and Dunham, (1939), who argued that the social geography of social problems (in this case mental disorders), was a reflection of the degree of disorganisation of the neighbourhood. They stated that every city consists of various concentric circles or zones, characterised by various degrees of organization. The more you move towards the outer rings, the higher the degree of social organisation and the lower the degree of social problems. Over the course of one -three generations, groups tend to move outwards because of upwards mobility, but the degree of social problems in the circles remains constant. By analyzing large amounts of geographical data, Faris and Dunham showed how social

Changes in rural and city populations & assessed value of household and kitchen furniture owned by Georgia Negroes. Part of a series of statistical charts illustrating the condition of descendants of former slaves now resident in the United States for the Paris exhibition., DuBois, (1900). Source: openaccess.library.emory.edu/



problems vary according to the position of groups in urban geography and are not manifestations of biological or cultural differences between groups.

But, what is a problem and what is not, is not always obvious. Observation is partial and framed, and not everybody experiences the same social reality, while knowledge production most often comes from a small and select group of people, with a specific background. For example, sociology has long been (and still is), building upon ideologies, codes and categories that are European American and metropolitan in nature. Much of her knowledge production originates from an implicit assumption that technology, modernity and capitalism originated out of Europe, and then naturally spread out over the world. This portrayal of linear 'progress' makes the non-west seem to be lagging behind on the west and ignores the 'kaleidoscopic' spectrum of histories, experiences and identities that are present.



From Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Richard D. McKenzie, *The City*, Chart 1, p. 40. Copyright 1939. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

The City Chart 1. Reprint 1966. Park, Burgess and McKenzie. (1939-1966). Note: The city depicted is Chicago and the wavy line represents the coastal line.

Together with the recognition that (social) knowledge production both reflects social life and as well as constitutes it, also non-human actors are considered as influential forces to societies. Examples of this are the categories and knowledges science produces, but also things like alcohol, mosquitoes or viruses (Mitchell, 2002). Next to this, the idea of universal generalizability has been problematized and by now, many new avenues are being explored for a more provincial knowledge production where the dominance of European-western categories and paradigms gets questioned. This has, among other things, led to an increase in methodological diversity, and statistics and interviews increasingly share the stage with non-traditional methodologies of which also the making and analyzing of art and cultural traditions can be a part in some cases, for example in leisure research (McSweeney and Faust, 2019).

2. LEISURE LOVE

THE GROUP AND THE PROJECT

The group participants of Leisure Love, consisted of five visual artists, Eirik Jahnsen, Hannelore van Balkom, Lee McDonald, Ottokaji Iroke and Philippe Wolthuis and four writers in the form of the 'Ent' collective.

For the project Leisure Love, they had been asked to create a leisure activity in the form of a game, complete with guidelines and rules, during the first week of September. These finished games would then be 'touring' around the city of Groningen, for about a week, where they could be played and experienced by interested passer byers. Before the physical work started, everybody had already met through two online meetings that were organized by het resort organized, with the aim to get to know each other a little bit and to elaborate on initial ideas.



THE SPACE

So, at the beginning of September I took the train to Groningen, to meet up with everyone in real life. By this time het resort, which functions as a traveling artist space, had taken up temporary residence in a former small neighbourhood hardware store, called 'the Hubo'. The Hubo franchise, used to be the kind of hardware shop that you would go to when you needed 'small stuff', like screws or nails and bags for your vacuum cleaner, and where you could get your keys copied and buy some overpriced home

'improvement' materials, such as luxaflex or shower curtains.

Although the space had been emptied out by now, apart from some tables, chairs and the improvised kitchen the resort provided for, there were still many small remnants left behind by the building's former occupants, that acted as some kind of clues of its former function. Upon entering the space, I stumbled upon a mishmash of a lot of 'stuff'. There was some yellowish foam lying around, some torn pieces of fabric spread were spread out on the floor, a couple of blueish plastic bags were drifting here and there, a lot of small thin bamboo sticks were stacked on on a pile on a table and in a bag, there were lot of smaller and larger pieces of wood scattered in a corner, some paint cans were standing on a table in the middle, on which also an incredible expensive and fancy sewing machine was placed, next to some less expensive laptops, empty cups, some thread, many sewing needles, a couple of beer cans, bottles of glue, some screwdrivers and a bucket with what looked like a thousand worn out screws that were nearly done but, perhaps, could still do their job one last time. The apparent chaos had a kind of commonsenseness about it and the room looked like, above all else, as a space filled with possibilities, tangible ingredients for new forms, shapes, ideas, thoughts and exercises.

THE PROCESS

When I met everybody for the first time in real life, in the midst of a bunch of 'things', everyone seemed some kind of busy. Some were nearly finished with their work and were now sort of tinkering around, while others were right in the middle of what looked like hard labor. Gradually over the course of the week, the bulk of materials got transformed into more or less practical exercises. During the making of the games, the work process of most of the participants left quite some room for trial and error. Many times, preconceived ideas turned out to be not working and needed to be discarded, or materials didn't give the expected feedback, and needed to be shelved or revised. At other times unexpected opportunities arose, when materials that had been laying around somewhere in a corner, got noticed and appeared to be just the right fit or connection for a purpose.

Such a working process illustrates one of the ways 'new things' can be made, and for which an apparent chaos of materiality, thoughts and ideas, can perhaps be a productive asset. It might provide the necessary space and time to develop and revise many of the material aspects of ideas and the immaterial aspects of materials. When this happens, making and

thinking can align and each new step can be determined by the previous, leaving room for new, unforeseen outcomes.

This process is, I believe, quite remarkable, but can become even more so, when the finished objects are one-of-a-kind 'things' i.e. objects, behaviors, functionalities or ideas that are recognizable only under the category of 'art' but are otherwise 'odd'. When these new structures get situated in an environment which is more or less governed by conditions of functionality and (supposed) efficiency, they can often look a bit unfitting, like strangers that need to get used to their surroundings, and a surrounding that also still needs to get used to them.

To transform 'ordinary', common and not so common objects into something new, which in function, form and value do not have a specific 'place' in the world, in the same way as, for example, a tea cup would have, is not evident. I assume that this requires a playful attitude, characterized by openness to experiment and attentiveness to 'things' in everyday life.

A playful, attentive, open attitude towards daily life and things in general, i.e. objects, shapes, forms, colors, atmospheres, ideas, and functions, gets advocated by educational philosopher John Dewey, who sees them as revolutionary ingredients for a purposeful and meaningful life (Dewey 1934). According to Dewey, leisure plays an instrumental role for the cultivation of such an attitude. However, leisure as such, seems like quite a broad concept and could use some conceptual clarity.

THE GAMES

At the opening two black wooden podiums, around one and a half meters across and about ten centimeters high, were placed outside in front of the resort. On one of the podiums, three beige- and three light blue coloured picnic bags were placed, each containing a game and the game's guidelines.

Some games did not quite fit into the picnic bags and were sticking out of them or placed next to the bags on the podium. On the other podium there stood two small, yellow-white striped folding chairs, accommodating whoever wished to take a seat. At the center of each podium, a white parasol stuck out. They had 'leisure love' written on them in swirly purple letters and were protecting both the bags with the games and whoever sat in the chairs from the sun. Whoever wished, could just pick out a game of choice, and start to play. It was this setting that would be touring around the city, which meant that, after the opening at the Hubo, the games would be offered at one of the parks (Noorderplantsoen) in Groningen.

ARE
YOU CHASING
THE BIRDS OR ARE
THEY CHASING YOU?

The blue-green kites of Ottokaji were some of the first games I noticed. The kites are quite direct in form and function and constructed from a semi-transparent blue-green plastic bag which is connected with thin light-grey rope to a yarn bobbin in the form of a small bamboo stick. When it is breezy the bag can easily catch wind and inflate.

When this happened, without much effort from the person holding the kite, (just a few pulls on the rope towards the sky), the kites lifted off from the ground into the air where it would stay hovering as long as there was wind. When there was no wind however, the person holding the kite would have to work a bit to let the kite fly. In that case, for a lift off to happen, you had to run under while holding the string up high in the air. At the opening, it wasn't for long before I saw five people running like crazy and more or less successfully pulling five blue-green shiny plastic roundish shapes through the air. In our talk, Ottokaji mentioned that he associates leisure with lightness, the sky,

feeling free, transcendence, but also with discipline, which he thinks can be a precondition for all of the previous. He tells me that, according to him, uncontrollable situations can be countered with a sense of freedom, which is exactly what he tries to create with much of his work. Important ingredients for this work are associations of 'a kind of openness' and matters of spirituality. For me, all of this can be more or less connected to the work he made for leisure love, since everything about Ottokaji's kites seemed light to me. The thin, transparent bright blue-green material of the bags contrasts immediately with the light-grey of the rope and the yellow of the bamboo, which made the three colors seem even more vivid. The kites themselves weighed nearly nothing and when you would hold one, only the pull of the air in the bag would provide a noticeable mass. Moreover, when there is little wind, you need to keep running at a certain pace, in order to activate and maintain the work, here there's some discipline involved, in order to maintain the kite's flight. But most of all, the absence of complexity in form and function corresponded quite beautifully (or so I think) with the immediacy with which it was able to provide a joyful experience that in itself might be experienced as feeling free.

MATEXERCISE

Also quite noticeable are Hannelore's objects one, two, three and four. I immediately see two blue shapes displayed on top of two pink rubber place mats that lie on the podium. The shapes are made out of stretchy blue fabric sleeves about one meter long. One half of these sleeves is filled with three ball-like objects that each have a diameter of around ten centimeters. The other half is empty and leaves space for the arms of the players. The sleeves can be attached around the arms just below the armpit with black velcro. The sleeves are around one kilo each, and the balls function as a weight that pulls at your arms with every movement, especially when swinging. Hannelore mentions that the players can intuitively use them. You can, for example, swing them around by making circular motions with your whole arm, but you can also let them dangle a bit. Another object I see is what looks like a baseball that's on both sides connected to a round, shiny, blue plastic handle of around four centimeters thick and about 40 centimeters long. When picking up this object at its handle, the ball can be swung somewhat back and forth between its connection points. The weight

of the baseball creates a bit of a backlash and requires careful and mindful movements of the player. A third object I notice is a big red stuffed glove, that looks a bit like something in between a boxing glove and a rugby glove, only bigger. The side ends of the glove are connected to each other with a white thread, (like a baseball glove), making the glove function like a basket. The glove is connected to a stick with which you can hold it. Next to this object lies a blue ball, which can be thrown and caught with the glove-basket. Next, I notice two shapes that look a bit like an upper body protector, made out of blue rubber and which can be strapped around the chest and back with blue straps. They feel very soft and a bit sticky at the same time. When wearing one of them it feels quite heavy. During a talk with Hannelore, she mentions that the recreation of a certain atmosphere with her work is important in her work and in order to do this, she combines several associations of experiences and places. In this process, she uses aesthetic elements of various sport and wellness places as tools with which she creates new combinations of connotations, such as the judo gym, a tennis court or a football venue. And indeed, Hannelore's blueish bulby body extensions remind me of

gymnastic objects, the atmosphere of swimming pools, thick gymnastic mats, earobics, boxing and catch. This family of practical un-practicalities can be put to use as mindful fitness exercises. When playing, movements need to be careful and controlled in order to not damage the objects or lose them. This requires the user to focus on the interaction during movement of the body parts to which the devices are connected and the objects themselves.



IN THE BEGINNING THERE WAS THE WORD...

Eirik's game has the form of a developing soundtrack of the environment. Each group of players is asked to record 'the sound of an area' and is aided in this quest by being given a word that is hidden in the audio player and which can be heard when played. This word can then be used in any way, for example as an associative tool in order to find a corresponding sound for the specific area or used as the basis for the recording of a song. Each new recording gets named

by each player and added to the already recorded sounds. The last recorded sound gets played in a loop as long as no one is using the recorder to play, which can lead to quite strange situations. One recording that has been named 'embarrassment' for example, is a woman's voice that squeaks a high tone. It gets played for around 60 minutes at the opening before a group of friends decide to play the game and create their own sound.

This leads to the recording of a mishmash of shouting, whispering and murmuring, which then gets played in a loop until someone decides to record cars driving and 'relieves' the visitors of the squeeks, shouts and semi screams. Over time, a lengthy soundtrack grows out of an unintentional collaboration between the players of the work. Because of the radius of the project and since most people that record do this by foot, the work gradually becomes somewhat of a soundscape of the surrounding walkable environment, spontaneous things that happen in it, as well as a mapping of the visitors who use it and record within each subsequent space. A sense of connection was most important for this work, Eirik tells me. And, because of the social aspect of the project and the accessible format - a game with guidelines and rules- the work is

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accessible to a wider public than the usual art audience. I guess the choice for a sound-work is quite suitable since in our talk, Eirik repeatedly turns back to sounds of any kind, and associations around leisure that get mentioned are very much sound related, such as the sound of waves, of birds chirping, wind blowing through leaves and the distant chatter of people. Eirik tells me, these are all sounds that are easily filtered out in daily life. According to him, we all deal with sound but, since it's quite invasive, it's often subconscious and gets blocked most of the time. By (re) focussing on sound instead of visual input, he hopes the visitors can be invited to rediscover their direct surroundings. And indeed, during the recording, I felt a bit as if I was going on a little quest, and the choosing and focussing on a sound of my liking required me to concentrate. This had put me in a separate kind of mental space for a moment which I find quite relaxing since it resembles, (for me at least), a bit of a mindfulness experience.



SKIMMERS

Lee's 'Skimmers' consists of two wooden objects that reminded me a bit of boats. They are roughly

jigsawed out of wooden scraps and around 40 centimeters in width and in height. One of them got connected to an orange plastic jerry cans and the other to an empty soda bottle. The objects should be used by two players.

They float, are balanced, and should be placed across from each other in the water of a canal nearby, one object for one player.

The goal is to throw the other one over with provided rocks. To make sure that they can be used again, a jute rope is connected to the wood, with which they can be dragged back to shore and placed back in the picnic bag, where they wait for the next player to play them. The initial idea of Lee's project is derived from the game of skimmers and is supposed to relax as well as excite it's players. It requires skill, concentration and attention but is at the same time a fun activity to do. Over the course of the exhibition, the objects slowly become covered in duckweed and algae. The subtle green and shiny round bits of duckweed contrast nicely with the rough edged and splintering wooden shapes and the algae functions a bit like a layer of green-brown-grayish paint. When I tried it out myself, the sound of rocks hitting the wooden and plastic surfaces was quite direct and echo's a bit. After my first hit I immediately felt really guilty

for throwing rocks at one of them even though it obviously was an inanimate object. I also felt a bit like a kid, doing something for the sake of doing it, especially since the objects were very clearly hand made without much esthetical consideration in the sense that there was no sign of a need for smoothed appearances. Because of this, the energy with which they were made was clearly visible. It looked like a process of quick choices, quick assembly, no clean esthetics, and exactly this made them feel like the kind of things you make for no other reason than for the fun of it, and allowing you to disappear in the activity.



MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE
- A WALKIE TALKIE GAME
- ***GODS AND MYTHS
VERSION***

A game that also requires players to move around, is Philippe's game of 'follow and deceit'. Noticeable sticking out of one of the bags, are his three thin white flag poles of one and a half meter high. At their base, they have a little foot made out of black

painted, thin panel wood in an organic, cloud-like shape. Each has a little pointy white, yellow or pink flag attached to it's top on which a life quote is embroidered.

The quotes are derived from a google search for the # with which life quotes get tagged, such as '#lifequotestolifeby'. Next to the three flags, three yellow t-shirts make up part of the game, which denote a 'God' player, a 'sheep' player and a 'disciple' player.

In short, the goal for the God player is to determine a path for the sheep and get it as far as possible by giving the direction to the disciple via a walkie talkie who in turn communicates them to the sheep. The sheep's goal is merely to follow the directions given by the disciple player and then keeps on moving in this direction until commanded otherwise.

Each player takes a turn being God, the sheep or the disciple and out of these games, the God who gets his sheep the most far is the winner. This game requires working together and can build or break a little bit of the trust bond

between the players, since the sheep is depending on the other players intentions, attentiveness and communication skills to stay 'safe'. Next to this, the game makes much use of the direct surroundings and gets influenced by many spontaneous happenings

that function like an obstacle course, such as parked cars or bikes, dogs on a leash, cats, and even trash bags left out on the street. It took a while to get the hang of it, but it was very fun to play, and at the opening but also afterwards, there always were a bunch of people walking around in yellow shirts somewhere near the project, talking or shouting in walkie talkies, carrying little coloured flags and seeming very preoccupied with the game. As far as I can compare, the game feels a bit like a military operation or as a scouts' dropping due to the commands that get communicated via the walkie talkies and the various outfits which transfer roles and ranks. Because of this, and because of the planted flags, the neighboring surroundings get the atmosphere of a real life playing field.



SHADOW CHASERS

The last game of the bunch is called Shadow Chasers, and is created by the Ent collective. The game ingredients are four sunglasses in several colors: gray, silver, black, purple-pink, four umber hats, two round wooden discs with a diameter of around

ten centimetres and which had been painted white, one scoring strip aka the fiddy shades of gray grading strip which is used as a shadow-color comparer, a piece of rope connected to four painted black small square wooden blocks which gets used to mark the playing field, two electronic lights, two square reflector cubes around ten by ten centimeters and which are made out of blocks of wood that had been covered by shiny, thin steel material, and several shadow shapes, made out of wood and yellowish foam.

Each team can throw the white disc somewhere in the playing field, after which the goal of the other team is to cast shadow on the disc of the opposite party using the shadow shapes, while using the reflector cubes to create light on their own disc. After seven tries, the amount and shade of shadow on each team's disc has to be compared with the samples of the fiddy shades of gray measuring stick. The team who has cast the most or the most dark shadow on the disc of the opposite team has victored. This game can be played in the bright sunlight in which case the artificial lights can be left in the picnic bag, or in the dark where the light of the lantern or the games own lights could be used. Near the Hubo there is a small alley which seemed perfect for playing the

game and at the opening, quickly a group of players gathered, the field lines got set out, the artificial lights got put in place and the game could begin. After throwing the reflector disc, a much used strategy seemed to be to start with casting shadow with the shadow shapes. These objects were very light and, once on the ground, they could easily be moved by throwing another object, like another shadow shape or a reflector cube, against them.

The shadow shapes however, are nearly impossible to aim with. They are made out of pieces of thin plank wood and small wooden slats, which have been sawed and connected in a wide variety of shapes, sizes and angles. Moreover, the wooden shapes are combined with yellowish, foamy shapes, which also had been carved in a wide variety of shapes, sizes and angles. This makes their landing trajectory highly unpredictable, even more so because of the bouncy effects of the foam, which

causes the shapes to suddenly jump in any kind of direction. This unpredictability was quite amusing but also frustrating at times. In order to be good at this game, you clearly needed a bit of practice. The reflector cubes however, were much more easy to aim with than the shadow shapes, and to be able to cast a bit of light with them on the white discs did give a bit of a

kick. Again, here, I found that the straightforwardness of the forms created much effect, which I think gets emphasized by precisely the rough reworking of the materials.

Moreover, the option to 'make' light as well as becoming aware of the fiddy shades of shadowy gray, I found quite surprising and it felt as if the game was able to transform these intangible things - shadow and light - into more moldable and tangible objects.

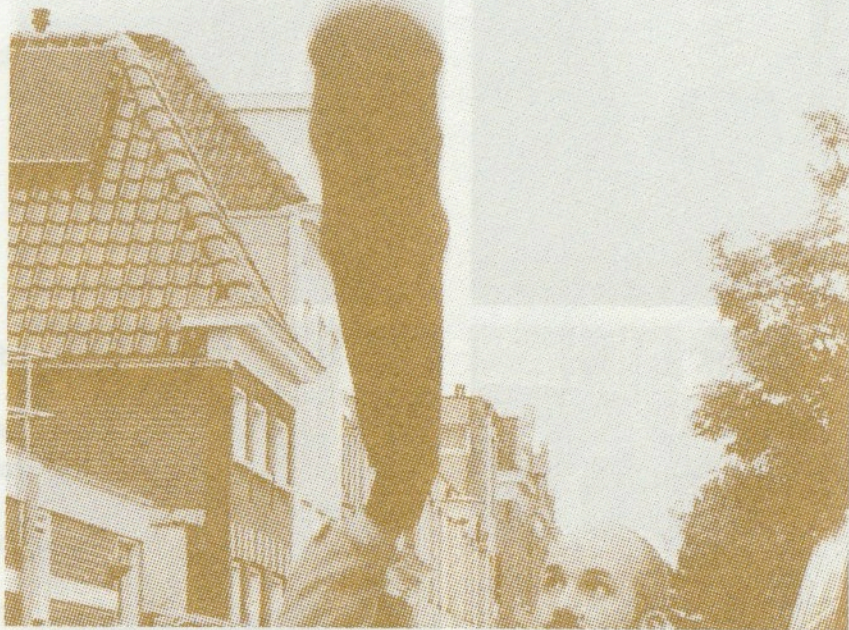


3. LEISURE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

DEFINITIONAL

For all the participants in the project, what leisure is or should be, appeared to be quite obvious. Upon asking the question, (and steering quite a bit by giving my own definition), almost everybody was quick to describe it as 'a way to pass free time' and a 'non-forced' and 'fun activities'. Other ideas associated with leisure were 'moral holiday' and 'non-ethical space', but also 'feeling free', 'extra time', and 'something I need to get better at'. Activities mentioned under the umbrella term leisure ranged from 'hanging around and relaxing', 'enjoying the moment', 'just sleeping', 'meditating', 'cooking', 'writing', 'working' (which means making art or writing), 'not working', 'daydreaming', 'reading', 'netflix and chilling', 'listening to music', 'taking long walks in nature' 'gardening' and 'biking', 'wall climbing and bouldering', 'martial arts', 'drawing', 'making music', 'traveling', 'hiking' to 'cleaning' and 'tinkering'. All these activities and concepts appear to be more or less related, yet, at the same time, many are quite different in nature and, therefore, not easy to pin down under the same hat.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, what is and isn't leisure is also not obvious within much of the literature on the subject. Ideas and perspectives on societies and about the organization of human behavior tend to vary not only between persons, but also across regions, contexts and time frames. This also goes for leisure. In contemporary western societies, leisure may for example refer to activities of spiritual or intellectual contemplation, but also to the consummation of mass spectacle, such as going to the Biennale or the movies. Leisure can be associated with relief from work



or idle hours, with 'cheap' entertainment or with 'Bildung' activities such as visiting a museum or the opera. Leisure is also described as a problem solving activity that generates environmental changes, such as the extension of parks in cities, the invention of public playgrounds or sports landscapes. It also gets associated with direct political activity, like some forms of storytelling, music or art forms, e.g. by addressing social justice issues and aiding empowerment by generating group identity formation (Russel, 2017). All these different connotations of leisure make a universal operational definition of leisure almost impossible.

A common denominator within the literature however, is that leisure often gets described as an important aspect of daily life, in which people engage to gain significant, valued meanings of life, doing so in different ways- psychologically, spiritually, socially and/or culturally (Newman et al, 2014).

Next to this, many authors make suggestions about a relation between leisure and labor. Iwasaki (2018), for example, mentions that many classical theorists conceptualize leisure as 'activity, apart from the obligations of work, family and society, to indulge in one's own 'free will' for relaxation, diversion, amusing oneself, broadening one's knowledge or improving one's skills, such as the free exercise of one's creative capacity, and one's spontaneous social or volunteer participation in the life of community. ' (Iwasaki, 2018:288). Leisure in this sense, can provide a space for 'healing' from everyday (working) life through its activities (Deschenes, 2011).

All in all more than eleven different operational definitions have been found. This definitional variety can perhaps be best summoned by the take on leisure by Rojek (2010) who argues that 'any quest for a universal theory of leisure is both illusory and idealistic - since one cannot dislocate free time or quality of experience from the social and historical context in which it occurs' p.243.

For the purpose of this text, leisure is seen as 'a way to pass free time'. This very broad definition separates leisure from labor, but also leaves room for temporal and spatial conceptual variety. Moreover, 'leisure' will primarily be viewed from a western perspective. This is the framework I myself am most familiar with and the most dominant in the setting of the project.

CHANGING TIMES

To get a bit of a feel about 'rational' i.e. Western perspectives on leisure, it might be helpful to describe some of the changes the concept has undergone throughout time. Some of the earliest known writings about

the subject, which originate from the classical Greek period (Sennet, 2008). In those times, leisure had a central place in the thinking of well known philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, according to whom leisure was an instrument for spiritual and intellectual growth. Ideal leisure practices would allow 'the right kind of individual' to achieve virtue, human fulfillment and freedom from material necessities. Leisure was deemed to provide an avenue towards the 'good life', which for the Greeks, was a privileged ideal of cultivating knowledge and fitness, in order to make 'virtuous choices' that would again lead to true leisure and benefit public life and with that democracy (Holba, 2014). Typical for that time and context was a strict division between the different classes in Greek society and only a small class of leisured aristocrats amidst ordinary citizens, enslaved individuals and women, was able and allowed to engage in this type of leisure (Elkington, 2017). This way of conceptualizing leisure has been coined as 'the leisure ideal' or as 'philosophical leisure' and still somewhat influences how we see leisure today, at least in the sense of something that has health benefits and that stands apart from (mindless) 'labor'(Holba, 2015).

In between the classical Greek period and today, Western societies went through several significant scientific, technological, political and social transformations that all influenced the meaning of leisure and how it was consumed.

One of these was the first Industrial Revolution, which gravely impacted the way we deal with work and time. Next to the technological changes in industry developed a culture of scientific management and human engineering was developed, the goal of which was to improve bodily health and labor efficiency in order to, first and foremost, increase productivity (Conrad, 2005; Clarke et al., 2003). This new culture of efficiency induced organizational and technological changes and led to a decrease in the amount of time that was needed for many tasks. Reduction of necessary labor hours accompanied by movements in labor and public concerns about safety, health and sanitation, eventually led to decreasing work time and changes in the way people allocate their 'waking hours'(Goodale and Godbey, 1998, p. 94-95, found in Holba, 2010).

In the first three quarters of the twentieth century policy changes, such as welfare movements and later the constitution of the welfare state, developments in technology, changes in the organization of work and

time availability, together with developments in healthcare (e.g. birth control), and new ways of communicating have led to, among other things, shifting group formations in (Western) society such as the (white) feminization of work and a more egalitarian distribution of wealth. This has led to more spending power and new consumption patterns, which influenced a sharp increase in leisure activities, leisure participation rates and recreational diversity. Consequently, leisure activities began to play an increasingly important role for the attainment of personal satisfaction, happiness, spiritual fulfillment, wellbeing and health, as well as for identity formation. This still goes for today's societies, despite an increase in working hours and income inequality starting around the late 70's (Gammon and Elkington, 2018).

CRITICAL

PERSPECTIVES

Contemporary perspectives on leisure are not all about fun and games. Spracklen and colleagues (2017) for example, state that leisure is '(...) a space and an activity that makes humans, human culture and social structures. Leisure can be both a defense for humanity, as well as a source for its commodification and destruction.' p.425.

The 'leisure' sociologist Chris Rojek (2002) shares this gloomy notion and argues that leisure in modern societies needs to be situated within the context of power structures of capitalist society. Many contemporary expressions of leisure are, according to him, mechanisms of social control and distinction practices (more on this later). Also Foucault (1991), who gets explicitly mentioned by one of the participants when we talk about his take on leisure, sees forms of- and connections to leisure, (e.g. mass media consumption or leisure that revolves around notions of 'healthy lifestyles') as mechanisms of repression and routinization which serve to channel our consciousness into 'mass consumer culture' (Foucault, 1991). Identities and healthy normal bodies are, for example, controlled by the 'gaze' of others in the form of advertising agencies that push certain lifestyle norms, or pharmaceutical companies that increasingly capitalize on 'health' (Conrad, 2005), e.g. the marketing of health 'needs'. According to Foucault, in neoliberal societies, which are characterized by high levels of deregulation and competition, our bodies and behaviors are transformed into commodities, which we then place in the market, i.e. in a competitive relation (instead of an exchange relation) towards one another. By forms of self governance, such as investments

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in our abilities in the form of knowledge or (health) behaviors, we can generate more (symbolic) value and outperform others on the 'market' (Vatter, 2018). In other words, we are on a constant quest to boost our own 'human capital' relative to that of others. This 'boosting' places, among other things, strain on our ability and willingness (and/or time) to cooperate (Vatter, 2018). In relation to leisure, this might translate into pressure on our (leisure) preferences, in the form of ideas about what we should do/like/or want in order to improve ourselves. Strivers (2004) also argues that hypercompetitive societies influence ways in which we portray ourselves to others, which also influences our leisure practices. According to him, competitive, rational environments and communication hinder meaningful connections, which then lead to loneliness that can induce a damaged self-concept. He describes that one way to mediate this is by decreasing our dependence on others. Another way is by artificially enhancing our self image as 'authentic' since authenticity is, according to him, seen as a valued good on the market. For example, instead of posting pictures of our holiday on the beach of costa del mar or some other tourist attraction, we profile ourselves as people who would go hiking on a melting glacier or walking with alpacas in Peru. However, this pursuit of authenticity becomes a race in and of itself which increases both competition and uniformity.

Whether it originates from implicit feelings of competitiveness or something else, a number of participants do make notion of 'a kind of' pressing influence that originates from time and leisure. One participant tells me for example, 'I'm not sure if it's me or the people I hang out with, but yes, thinking about work, and about how to organize your life and about ... thinking about ways that you should spend your time, and how to organize your time, yes, that is a big theme for us, definitely.' Another participant states 'leisure, for me, is a kind of pastime, but it also has a serious side, it can also go too far, when there is a certain power play connected to it, and it forces you to behave and look and be a certain way.'

Then I want to be like that, but also not. I don't know why'. Someone else mentions a constant pressure to 'perform' and 'behave' ethically and to scrutinize his personal 'moral behaviors' with questions such as 'am I eating healthy? Am I getting enough exercise? Am I eating ethically? Am I reading the right books? Am I seeing the right movies? Am I leaving the world a better place than I found it?' For this participant, leisure means a break from moral self governance. 'True' leisure could perhaps for him be generated by rigid external restrictions

that relieve the internal pressure he feels. Another participant also experiences this 'self-policing' but mentions that in the choosing of activities for leisure time, pleasure, as well as educational value, both motivate the activity choice.

LEAKY

All participants make a clear conceptual distinction between leisure and labor and generally associate leisure with 'free time' and labor with 'work'. All of them however mention a connection between leisure and labour. This close connection is exemplified by an expression of one participant, who states 'leisure is when I feel unconstrained, but when I feel resistance, then there's work.' For creative professions the boundaries between 'free time' and 'work time' might be blurry when the content and/or context of professional work and leisure activities are more or less connected (Karttunen, 1998). In this case, work might leak into leisure and the other way around.

This blurry boundary and a possible leaky effect is not necessarily a bad thing. Three participants mention, for example, that they don't really feel an absolute division between work and leisure and don't experience this as problematic. One participant lets me know to be always trying to do the things that are 'really' liked, in both work and free time. This person is therefore often 'more or less leisuring'. Someone else states to be living quite 'leisurely' in general, and that this is of such importance that 'when possible, deadlines get rescheduled if this allows me to have a more leisurely lifestyle'. And yet another participant tells me that, because work and leisure are so similar there is hardly any difference and it is possible to 'always do what I like'.

However, some group members could be placed on the other end of such a 'spillover spectrum'. Four of them mention that they are 'very unhappy' about leisure leaking into freetime, because it means that they are either 'always working', 'never get a good rest', or 'just very tired'. One of them even states to be 'waiting for a burnout to happen.'

This hardship could have several interacting causes. Extra stress might arise from a double burden of work that many artists face when they have to work jobs alongside their art practice. In fact, this is the case for the majority of the group members. However, this double burden of work is not experienced in a homogenous way. Some of those who are not confronted with double work hours, mention feeling pressured to be 'always working', while some of the participants who do work multiple jobs, don't experience

LEISURE

such suffering. It might of course be the case that time management and planning are problematic, but this only gets mentioned by one person. Another explanation could be difficulties with the consistency of a workload. For some, their schedule is a little bit too full but this is experienced as a necessity. These group members accept the larger amount of commissions that come their way because of a feeling of momentum, described as 'needing to do it now' in order to 'get a foot in the door'.

This is not strange. The cultural sector, or at least the art market, despite being cooperative, is also a competitive environment since there are less opportunities than eligible artists. Networking both during and 'after hours', a high work pressure and long work days, are parts of the job that are so integrated in the work culture that they are not even frowned upon (CER, 2016).

However, another extra constraint on the free time of contemporary artists might be technology. In the theory, one repeatedly resurfacing consequence of leaky leisure is pressure because of being constantly connected with both the world of work and the external world due to the use of digital communication devices. This might also be the case for many of the participants. Not only does their work leak into their leisure, but many of the instruments that guarantee their professional connectivity are also instruments for leisure activities (listening to music, writing, gaming, netflix and chilling, and so on). It could be that the pressure because of a feeling of connection is even more pertinent for the self-employed, and, even more so, when self employed productivity is dependent on time for reflection and (often irregular) surges of creative energy.

D I S T I N C T I O N

Also the sociologist Rojek (1993) mentions an increasingly blurry boundary between labor and leisure, which he attributes to changing work relations of the past decades and conspicuous consumption (Rojek, 1993). For the first three quarters of the twentieth century, western economies saw a decline in working hours. People worked less and leisured more. Then around the 1970's labor hours went up again. What happened? In many modern economies management activities got more and more segregated from labor activities. Next to this, sources of income and position shifted from possession of financial capital (e.g. money, assets or luxury goods) to human (intellectual) capital. In other words, status positioning, high incomes and wealth generation nowadays increasingly happen via highly

qualified and specialized jobs (Gershuny, 2009). Today, most well paying jobs require intellectual capital. Belezza and colleagues (2014) argue that, in cultures where paid work is a central part of identity development (for instance, in some parts in the US and Western Europe), being both time-poor and well off communicates possession of desired human capital characteristics and being sought after in the market. Work time and leisure time, in other words, display a certain status.

The sociologist Veblen (1898) is one of the first to describe the use of 'lifestyle indicators' such as leisure choices and time, as status positioning tools. In his time he saw the emergence of a wealthy and powerful leisure class (rich industrials), whose leisurely lifestyle, characterized by large amounts of free time and spending power, got associated with wealth and hence, a high social status.

Veblen argues that those belonging to the 'leisure' class, conveyed their wealth and position with their lifestyle. According to him, this led to an increasing importance of the consumption of 'things' in general, e.g. "the best food, drink, narcotics, shelter, services, ornaments, apparel, weapons, and accouterments, amusements, amulets, and idols or divinities (...)" (Veblen, 1899: 61), in order to communicate one's social status. Leisure was one of those things and Veblen hypothesized that, from then on, leisure would become desirable, not merely for health benefits, but also as a means of class emulation, or, in other words, as a way to distinctively present ourselves and communicate wealth and status, which is often referred to as 'conspicuous consumption'.

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In many sectors today it's no longer the amount of free time that signifies a high position, but the amount of 'being busy' which communicates valuable skills. Increasing accessibility of luxury goods due to growing spending powers, such as leisure activities and Rolex watches, might have sped up the importance of skill instead of luxury goods. Veblen's reversal only seems to hold up in economies where work is an important aspect of identity formation. The pattern is, for example, visible in western parts of Europe, but not so much in the southern parts where traditionally family plays a more central role in identity construction and wellbeing than work (Belezza, 2016). During the time of writing some hypothesize that Veblen's theory gets reversed once more. In sectors where the workload is sufficiently high, leisure or 'being able to leisure' appears to be fashionable again. Think for example of the banking sector, or the tech sector e.g. Silicon Valley, where to be capable of making time

for leisure despite having a very demanding schedule, you must be really 'good' at what you do.

Veblen was not the only one who saw coherence in the lifestyles of certain classes and the use of lifestyle choices for status gains. Also the sociologist Bourdieu (1979) noticed this and argued that, in the West there is a clear link between resources (by which he meant various kinds of capital), and status indicators such as cultural consumption (e.g. leisure choices).

For Bourdieu, individual preferences and consumption patterns only appear to be 'naturally given' but actually have a clear social origin. According to Bourdieu, the economical system (various kinds of capital) and the symbolic systems (what gets communicated about yourself and others according to consumption patterns and behaviors) are connected within capitalist societies. He argues that because of this connection, the generation and reproduction of different taste and consumption patterns i.e. lifestyles, is the consequence of unequal command of resources. In other words, taste (how you dress, what and how you eat, drink, see, listen, and so on), gets, according to Bourdieu, determined by objective social and material structures embodied by the context in which you find yourself. That material life conditions determine cultural practices is visible in the correspondence between patterns of consumption (what he calls practices or position takings), and the amount and composition of the capital one possesses (in the form of educational and cultural skills, material wealth, social network and honor and prestige).



Het resort souvenir for Leisure Love; white/lilac scarf. Silkscreen printed by Real Friends / design by co-director of het resort Ellen de Haan

E X T R A BOURDIEU'S FIELD THEORY

In his infamous field theory, Bourdieu sees society as a social space consisting of different overlapping fields. Examples of these fields are the economic field, which revolves more or less around everything related to finances, the educational field, which embodies matters of education, or the political field, which is all about politics. All fields are situated within the field of power and in capitalist societies, which function according to an economical logic, the field of power is situated in the field of capital.

Within these fields there is a non-stop struggle for power is taking place, which manifests itself as an ongoing quest of individuals to 'conquer' positions of (more) dominance, since those in the more dominant positions have the power to determine who and what belongs to the specific field and therefore the possibility to maintain/increase their power and maintain/increase their dominance. Positions in the social space, and therefore, in each field, are structured according to capital possession. Those individuals that occupy the dominant positions are in possession of more capital relative to others. As a consequence of the power struggle between the players in a field, the boundaries of every field are dynamic, and what constitutes a field, varies therefore over time and place. An example that clarifies this is that of experts and lay people. Positions in each field are inhabited by individuals who can be placed somewhere on a 'continuum' of experts and lay people. The 'experts' in a field are generally those individuals who possess the most capital and, hence, hold the most dominant position. Examples of shifting boundaries due to 'power struggles' are questions about the place of woman football within the field of professional football? Or whether or not autodidacts make up

professional artists? And if so then under what conditions? Or whether this or that artist might be eligible for funding. All these things get decided by 'professionals', the 'experts', who have the most capital and who therefore hold the most dominant positions in each respective field. Because of their dominance, they are the ones with the authority to 'guard' the boundaries of who and what constitutes the field and consequently also who has the power to define this.

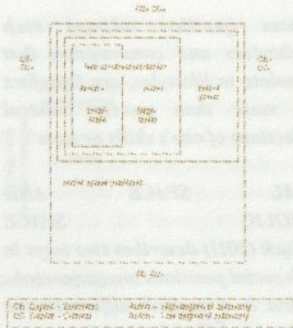
C A P I T A L
As the above examples perhaps already showed, financial capital is not the only resource by which dominance gets determined. Bourdieu uses four different kinds of capital that can be used to position oneself in each respective field. These are economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital.

1. Economic capital entails financial means such as amount of wealth, job status and income.
2. Cultural capital is more or less the amount of education and cultural resources one has accumulated. For example, knowledge and know-how of 'high arts' was (in Bourdieu's time) an indicator of much cultural capital.
3. Social capital is all about the amount and type of social networks one has.
4. Last, but not least, Bourdieu describes symbolic capital, which can be generated from the three aforementioned capital kinds. Symbolic capital means status and prestige and determines one's social position in each respective field. Someone with a lot of cultural capital, for example, is highly likely to have much symbolic capital in the field of cultural production, and

hence, a dominant position, while someone with much economic capital, is more likely to enjoy status and prestige in the field of finances.

THE FIELD OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION

Specific to Bourdieu's field theory is a distinction between cultural capital and financial capital, in the sense that those with a large amount of cultural capital, like artists and writers, do generally not have much economic capital and vice versa. He explains this in a fine grained analysis of the field of cultural production (i.e. the art world), which he calls 'the economic world reversed'. In the field of cultural production it is not the amount of economic capital that provides status and prestige, but, in fact, knowledge and know-how of the arts, and here two kinds of producers exist. On the one hand, Bourdieu describes positions held by individuals with a high degree of cultural capital who uphold an ascetic lifestyle. Think for example of producers that look for recognition from their colleagues but not so much from a larger audience. Also those within the contemporary art world embody these positions. On the other hand Bourdieu describes producers who produce for a large audience, and who seek recognition in the form of sales and the amount of income, for example mass media productions. Bourdieu argues that in the field of cultural production both kinds of cultural production can exist, because for both kinds of producers, there exists a market of consumers. Those with high degrees of cultural capital produce for a small market of 'connoisseurs', who also possess large amounts of cultural capital, while those with more economic and less cultural capital produce for the masses who generally have less cultural capital.



The field of cultural production, within the field of power and the social space. Source: The field of cultural production, or: The economic world reversed (1983).

HOMOLOGY OF TASTES

In order to go into Bourdieu's argument and its relation with leisure, it might be useful to use the term 'lifestyle' (of which leisure practices are a part) as it's explained by Koen Van Eijck (2011). Van Eijck (2011), sums up three distinct characteristics of lifestyles.

Firstly, lifestyles reflect people's entire way of life, which means, among other things, 'people's clothing, speech, choice of consumer goods, cultural preferences, food taste, opinions, attitudes, etcetera.' (Van Eijck, 2011:248). This also includes leisure practices.

Secondly, Van Eijck defines lifestyles as integrated, coherent units and argues that 'elements, such as values, styles of dress, or cultural tastes, tend to go together, to constitute meaningful wholes.' (Van Eijck, 2011: 248).

And to conclude Van Eijck states that lifestyles have a 'symbolic communicative function'. Lifestyles 'provide others with clues to, e.g., their wealth, health, intelligence, attitudes or social connections (...).'. 'to tell us, in more or less detail, who we are dealing with.' (Van Eijck, 2011:248).

It is through symbolic capital that lifestyles allow others to assign a certain amount of status to them. This status then can be strategically deployed in order to determine or reinforce one's own social position.

Practices (position takings) such as behaviors and consumption that accumulate in lifestyles, are therefore much more than merely 'neutral reflections of one's skills or taste'.

SOCIAL SPACE AND SYMBOLIC SPACE

Van Eijck (2011) describes two ways in which social positions are connected. The first is a vertical differentiation axis, also called the social space.

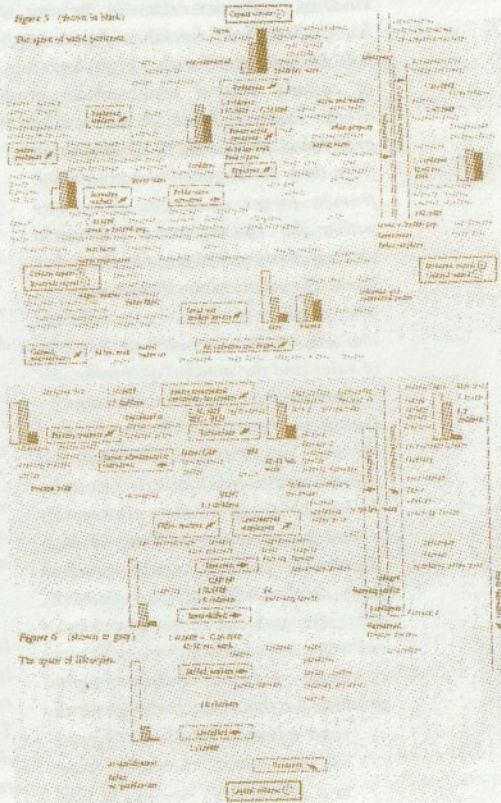
Positions on this axis get defined by the amount of resources people have, i.e. capital volume. This axis relates to the space of social positions (social hierarchy). In a capitalistic society these positions mainly get determined by economic capital, which also relates to profession and income. Position takings in the social space that structures this vertical axis happen via the consumption of things that are either rare and require a lot of capital, or that are more common and are also available for those with less capital. Those who possess much capital have the possibility to make both rare as well as common lifestyle choices, while those with less capital have less access to rare lifestyle opportunities and generally have a more common taste.

Secondly, Van Eijck mentions a horizontal differentiation axis, or the symbolic space.

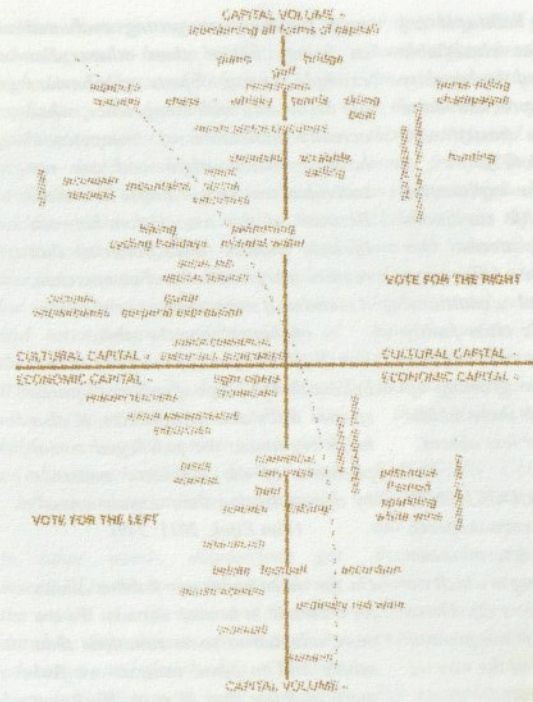
Positions in this axis get determined by general traits such as gender, age, capital composition, ethnic background, as well as by the composition of either economic or cultural capital, (e.g. more economic and less cultural capital or vice versa, or anything in between). Position takings get structured by traits, and happen furthermore via lifestyle choices that revolve around the composition of capital. This gets visualized by on the one end a hedonistic lifestyle (little cultural, much economical capital), and on the other an ascetic lifestyle (much cultural, little economical capital) and anything in between.

Examples are that older people have a less active lifestyle or that women tend to wear more skirts than men. Or, compare a conservatory student that just finished her last year, versus an amateur violinist in the neighborhood brass band. The former has more cultural capital than the latter, and holds the more dominant position in the field of cultural production, however, the latter might be the director of the conservatory, which makes her the dominant one in the field of finances.

The figure below shows Bourdieu's vertical and horizontal axis with the space of positions, and the space of lifestyles. The results in the figure are the outcomes of quantitative research by a large population in France in the 1960's and the results are not generalizable to the current Dutch situation. The figure is, however, a



Social space and symbolic space: Vertical and horizontal differentiation according to capital volume and composition (figure 5, in black); space of social positions / capital volume (social space) - figure 6, in gray; space of lifestyles (symbolic space) source: La Distinction, 1979.



Social space and symbolic space: Vertical axis: space of social positions (capital volume), Horizontal axis: the space of lifestyles (symbolic space) (capital composition). source: La Distinction, 1979

good example of how, depending on your position in the social space, you will have a different taste pattern. In other words, lifestyles and social position correlate, and could be placed over each other.

Because of the correspondence between social position and coherent taste patterns (lifestyles), the latter have a symbolic, communicative meaning. Some leisure activities, such as sailing or playing golf, are more expensive and more likely to be consumed by those with dominant positions, since they hold more (financial) capital. Consequently objects and activities get associated with a certain class that has possession of a certain volume and composition of capital. Objects and activities then become communicators of the hierarchy of different lifestyles.

H A B I T U S
In order to explain why taste patterns are structured, Bourdieu uses the concept of

'habitus', which can be described as the link between the positions we inhabit, and the way we take in these positions. The habitus is, according to Bourdieu, the unconscious and durable collection of dispositions (~ways of perceiving and evaluating the world) that structure our thinking and acting. The habitus gets 'inscribed' in our bodies by 'lived experience', i.e. socialization. We gain our most durable dispositions during socialization in our childhood, such as in our family situation and during our educational trajectory. Other important socializers are the media that we consume. Bourdieu argues that the habitus works as a 'structuring structure', which means, more precisely, that it gets influenced by the context in which we are situated, but also co-creates this context. In other words, the way we 'look' at things gets determined by our outlook. Thus, our habitus gets formed by our context as well as by the way we 'experience' and 'act' within this context.

Bourdieu writes that the habitus is '(...) the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste) (...)' (Bourdieu, 1984:405).

Here Bourdieu gives the explanation for why our material life conditions determine our taste patterns. Our lived experiences are, in a large part, determined by material conditions. Growing up in a middle class family with middle class values and habits is immensely different from growing up in a poor family, in which these middle class values are more or less absent.

VALUE JUDGEMENTS

The habitus has two core aspects, namely dispositions that determine our taste patterns (1) according to which we evaluate the tastes of others (2). These value judgements are consequential for how we treat others and the way we ourselves are treated.

Thus, even though they appear to be naturally given, but, because of their social origins, taste and taste judgements are, Bourdieu argues, not only esthetic judgements but, at the same time, ethical judgements. He writes: "The science of taste and of cultural consumption begins with a transgression that is in no way aesthetic: it has to abolish the sacred frontier which makes legitimate culture a separate universe [...]. This

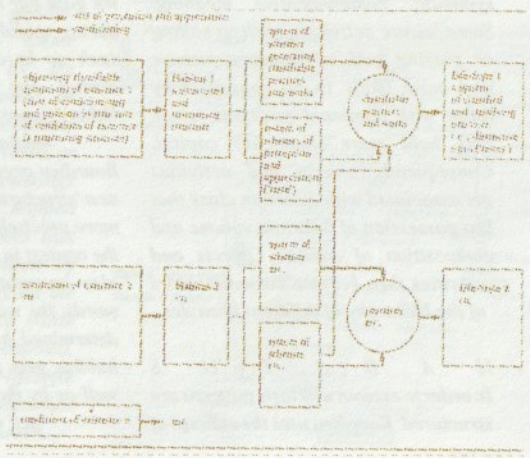
barbarous reintegration of aesthetic consumption into the world of ordinary consumption abolishes the opposition [...] between facile pleasure [...] and pure pleasure [...] which is predisposed to become a measure of moral excellence [...]." (Bourdieu, 1984: 6).

In other words, taste patterns influence life chances. The way in which this happens is two fold. On the one hand certain

taste patterns are getting evaluated as being 'better' than others. For example, certain objects or behaviors get associated with competence, when actually indicators of 'competence' have a social origin and are not individual traits according to Bourdieu. Because of the association between lifestyle choices (taste patterns) that require more capital and competence, it seems as if some tastes are reflections of 'better' than the other.

Van Eijck writes "As long as others believe that this type of culture requires special skills and sensibilities, it also helps legitimize the privileged social positions of the highbrow audience by demonstrating their exquisiteness" (Van Eijck, 2011: 249).

On the other hand, our habitus allows for a certain fit in each context. We are more adapted to some situations than others and in some contexts we feel more at home and at ease. We know how to behave, how to handle ourselves and where we stand in relation to others, while in other situations, we feel like strangers and experience discrepancies between our 'schemes of perception' and the milieu in which we find ourselves. Some of the situations we come across in daily life are so called 'gateway encounters'. Examples are the educational system or the job market. In order to fit in there, we need the 'right'



Conditions of existence, habitus, and life-style. Source: Bourdieu P., 1979, La Distinction, Paris, Minuit, p. 191.

habitus. In many western societies it is advantageous to have a middle class or high class background. Ridgeway (2013) explicates: "In institutions in which gateway encounters occur, the dominant actors—doctors, educators, managers, professionals—are overwhelmingly middle class. As a result, these institutions' workplace cultures and practices are infused with the implicit but distinctive assumptions, values, and taken-for-granted knowledge of the middle class." (Ridgeway, 2013: 11). When you know how to dress, how to act, what to expect and how to interact, this helps to secure job positions or to fulfill an educational trajectory, both of which influence material living conditions.

In other words, dispositions get inscribed in the body and mind during the course of a life span and the most durable dispositions are shaped by education and family life. Children born in families with a lot of capital (be it economic, social, symbolic or cultural), i.e. children born in the middle and upper classes, become, early on in their life, familiar with the codes of conduct that correspond with dominant positions in society. Their dispositions are a perfect match for the educational and societal environment, that both are structured according to the modus operandi of the dominant classes. In other words, speaking ABN, knowing how to carry yourself and what is expected from you by adults, as well as reading between the lines of what the teacher says, is part and parcel of their upbringing. In the best case scenario, their parents not only transpose immaterial norms and values, but are also involved, have books and computers in the house and actively incentivize their children to use them. These kids then already have a huge advantage at the start of their educational career relative to kids from family backgrounds where norms and values and/or material conditions are less advantageous (e.g. books to read

or speaking ABN), and do not fit so neatly in the educational context. Many times the advantaged children will, due to their better fit, adjust more easily to this context, and are likely to have a more 'fruitful' learning trajectory and to end up in higher social positions than children from the lower classes, who are less adapted to the implicit rules of society. The children that end up in higher social positions will, in turn, have the means (implicit or explicit), to influence dominant codes of conduct and consumption patterns and also their children will be the better fit.

EMERGING CULTURAL CAPITAL
Bourdieu's theory is several decades old but in many aspects still relevant. Because he argues that fields are dynamic, 'arena's of struggle', contemporary shifts in sources of cultural capital fit quite neatly with his field theory.

For example, research by Prieur and Savage in the United States, shows signs of emerging forms of cultural capital which can be described as "contemporary, predominantly urban forms of cultural practices that exist alongside highbrow taste. This new form of capital is considered to be the prerogative of the young and champions a screen-based, Anglo-cosmopolitan commercial culture that is appropriated with a certain ironical stance versus a Eurocentric, cerebral, ascetic and serious highbrow culture." (p. 4)

By now, it is "scientific expertise, technology, information systems, and, more generally, the capacities to handle methods of various kinds and familiarity with digital communities", that generates social advantage, especially among youngsters (Prieur and Savage, 2013).



4. THE EXPERIENCE OF LEISURE

Bourdieu would say that it doesn't matter what people say about their preferences, since everything gets determined by objective structures, i.e. material circumstances, anyway. Discourse about preferences for this or that, merely reflects positions in the social space. However, taste and with that leisure, might be more than predetermined preferences and pre-programmed bodies and minds. How something 'feels' has an effect that influences our choices. Even if it's our habitus that defines our preferences, the experiential aspect of leisure deserves attention.

For all participants for example, apart from concrete activities, leisure meant in one way or another, 'a kind of space of being free' as someone stated. Their leisure (or lack thereof) made them 'feel a certain way' and almost all of them described the sensitive experience as the a priori reason behind preferring one kind of activity over the other.

Also in the literature, the experiential aspect of leisure is described as a defining force. Generally leisure gets associated with feelings of wellbeing, and is often perceived as time free from work and experienced as a relief or as healing from work (Dechenes, 2011). Work can be experienced as a burden. For example, when work consists of activities that are not enjoyed, when work has a purpose which is not shared, when there is no or little sense of job control, or when work environments and -hours are much more restrictive than situations of 'free' time. In those cases, people might seek relief in the form of leisure activities, in part, because of the experience of leisure.

Another example in which leisure, in the form of 'time off from work', can contribute to a purposeful life, is by facilitating activities that are

experienced as meaningful, especially when work, and perhaps other facets of life, are not deemed satisfactory (Iwasaki, 2018). One participant more or less hinted at this, when this person stated 'I have many activities I do, so I don't need to go all in (as in one activity), there are more things that make up my identity and I'm less likely to burnout.'

MEANINGFUL

Ofcourse, in the best case we experience all the facets of our life as meaningful and with a purpose. And if not we shall naturally seek out meaning and purpose by 'making' it ourselves (o.a. Hicks et al., 2013). This process of meaning making is described by Iwasaki (2018) as 'the process by which a person derives meaning(s) from engagement in an activity, to find a purpose and significance in life and make sense of her/his life.' (Iwasaki, 2018: 287). According to Iwasaki, leisure can contribute to meaning making, and hence, to a meaningful life. He argues that there are five ways in which engagement in meaningful leisure might facilitate a sense of 'meaningfulness'.

Firstly, leisure activities have the potential to enhance wellbeing by contributing to a joyful life. Tranquillity, peace of mind, and positive emotions, among other things, would induce general wellbeing. Example activities are mindfulness, physical outlets or 'fun' activities.

Secondly, leisure can facilitate a connected life, which adds to a meaningful life. Here one can think of group activities, ceremonies, or traditions.

Thirdly, Iwasaki states that leisure can promote a discovered life, by which he means the '(re)creation of a personal and collective identity' (p.293).

Fourth, leisure can contribute to a composed life. Due to its 'unrestrictive' nature, leisure (or free time), relative to work, may generate a more balanced and harmonious pace of life.

Lastly, leisure may help to obtain or maintain a hopeful and empowered life. Leisure pursuits appear to be beneficial for coping with stress and healing from trauma, according to Iwasaki. According to him, a single engagement experience might lead to multiple elements. Engagement in leisure thus, may contribute to wellbeing via the promotion or maintenance of a joyful, connected, discovered, composed, hopeful and empowered life.

LEISURE

F L O W
Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi (2003) also write about meaningful living and go in on what they call a 'flow state'. They argue that "one important

way people find meaning in their lives is by becoming deeply involved in activities that afford them scope. Even apparently trivial activities become meaningful over time if done with care and concentration" (p. 83). Creative pursuits (among which are the arts, literature and forms of play) would provide a multitude of possible ways to engage and hence, generate a multitude of opportunities for meaningful lives.

Research about a flow state originated from studies that looked into 'autotelic activities', which refers to 'things people seem to do for the activities' own sake'. (Csikszentmihalyi, Abuhamdeh & Nakamura, 1990:600). When interviewing various groups of people who engaged in specific activities that did not lead to direct extrinsic benefits (such as money), Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues found that all of the participants made mention of an enjoyable 'very similar subjective experience'. It was this experience that made them repetitively pursue the activity in question and which got referred to as 'flow'. To be more precise, Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues write: 'Flow is a subjective state that people report when they are completely involved in something to the point of forgetting time, fatigue, and everything else but the activity itself. It is what we feel when we read a well-crafted novel or play a good game of squash, or take part in a stimulating conversation. The defining feature of flow is intense experiential involvement in moment-to-moment activity. Attention is fully invested in the task at hand, and the person functions at his or her fullest capacity.' (p.600).

During this flow state, often, three things happen.

Firstly, action and awareness connect, which means that during the flow state 'attentional resources' are occupied with the activity, and the outside world (among which a sense of self) gets 'forgotten'.

Secondly, people feel in control, which gets described as 'a lack of anxiety about losing control that is typical of many situations in normal life' (p.601). Control here, refers mostly to the opportunity for control within the situation. Worries about not being in control while feeling the need to be, cease to exist or get reduced.

Thirdly, time is experienced in a different way than normally, and usually time gets forgotten and experienced as passing by faster.

According to Csikszentmihalyi, almost all activities in life are able to produce a state of flow but, generally, three conditions must be met. To start, the activity usually needs to be structured in direct behavior with a clear set



Philippe Wolthuis

Ottokaji Iroke

Eirik Jahnsen

Lee McDonald



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Hannelore van Balkom

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of rules, with which 'attention can be channelled'. Next to this, there needs to be a balance between perceived challenges and perceived skills (not objective challenges and skills). Lastly, there needs to be direct feedback, that leaves the individual 'with little doubt about what to do next.'

CULTURAL ENJOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, AND GROWTH

Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues describe that flow is essential for cultural development and individual competence. When people are immersed in the activity (flow) they experience the activity as enjoyable and will continue doing it. When there is no intrinsic reward, there is a need for extrinsic rewards to uphold participation. The likelihood that 'something' i.e. idea, game, activity, product, and so on, will be remembered and 'transmitted intergenerationally' is for a large part dependent on the level of enjoyment of the activity because of the attention that enjoyable and challenging activities, ideas, products, etc. generate. The authors write 'Essentially, the likelihood that a new idea, product, or process will survive over time is a function of the attention it attracts. (...) And people will pay attention in large part because the new meme provides an enjoyable challenge.' (Csikszentmihalyi & Massimini, 1985).

And, as people master demanding activities, i.e. challenges, their competence grows (their skills increase) and there is a need for bigger challenges in order to experience the same level of enjoyment. In the first part of their conclusion, Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues write: Whenever a society is unable to provide flow experiences in productive activities, its members will find flow in activities that are either wasteful or actually disruptive. The ability to enjoy challenges and then master them is a fundamental meta-skill that is essential to individual development and to cultural evolution (...) (Csikszentmihalyi, Abuhamdeh & Nakamura, 1990:606). Apparently, societies, according to Csikszentmihalyi and co, benefit from challenging and enjoyable activities that have the potential to induce a state of flow.

'Meaningful' Leisure activities, the way Iwasaki describes them, might just be an excellent aid in inducing a state of 'flow'. They provide a clear set of goals, can be challenging (mostly several levels of difficulty), and they provide clear and immediate feedback. Moreover, they allow a sense of control and because of their relatively unrestrictive nature, they leave room for an altered sense of time and a 'merging' between action

and awareness. Leisure activities, such as games but also the making of games, combine the fun of leisure with focused attention. In this way, they maintain aspects of play, providing pleasure, self-expression, and intrinsic motivation, while also promoting 'intentional effort' towards clear defined, meaningful, goals and competencies.

Creative professions in general have much potential to induce a state of flow. They allow, just like many leisure activities, space for all the preconditions of flow and often assists in the space and time for flow to happen. It would be reaching to state that it is the possibility for a flow state that generates the relatively high levels of engagement and motivation that's typical for these professions, regardless of imperfect leisure-work balances and precarious job conditions. However, it might be worth looking into.

Leaky leisure might then mainly be a problem that happens when, for example, technology intrudes on concentration. And an imperfect leisure-work ratio, might become problematic only when there's a work overload, and an imbalance between skill and challenge emerges, which induces anxiety.

NEW DIRECTIONS ?

How can we then steer society in new, fruitful new directions? Or, perhaps: how can we free ourselves from unenjoyable (in the sense of 'unflowable') labor?

For starters, flexibilization, commodification and competition do not seem a very productive way forward. They highly rely on extrinsic rewards, e.g. financial incentives or status (which are both not bad per se), and also lead to more chances of burnouts, loneliness and a sense of 'general unhappiness'. Work/leisure that facilitates a flow state, however, might be a way to mediate these unhappy effects. Clear goals, subjective skill-challenge perception and the possibility for immediate feedback, as well as the time and space to 'let it happen', might be useful (but perhaps impractical) pre-conditions for the content of labor positions.

Furthermore, John Dewey's pragmatic take on the relation between leisure and labor might provide some inspiration. He states 'If the mass of mankind has usually found in its industrial occupations nothing but evils which had to be endured for the sake of maintaining existence, the fault is not in the occupations, but in the conditions under which they are carried on.' (Dewey, 1944, p.27)

In other words, change the context.

Dewey's starting point was the classical division between leisure and 'mindless' technical skills (matters of the mind versus matters of the body) that the ancient Greeks made and which still holds some value today.

Dewey writes:

'It was embodied in a political theory of a permanent division of human beings into those capable of a life of reason and hence having their own ends, and those capable only of desire and work, and needing to have their ends provided by others. The two distinctions, psychological and political, translated into educational terms, effected a division between a liberal education, having to do with the self-sufficing life of leisure devoted to knowing for its own sake, and a useful, practical training for mechanical occupations, devoid of intellectual and aesthetic content. (...) The problem of education in a democratic society is to do away with the dualism (between labor and leisure/ practice and culture) and to construct a course of studies which makes thought a guide of free practice for all and which makes leisure a reward of accepting responsibility for service, rather than a state of exemption from it.' (Dewey, 1944 p.740).

Leisure for Dewey, should be intentional and a means to an end, since aimless activity, for the sake of 'an experience' without purpose, might distort intellectual growth and Dewey worried that 'true' leisure might always be reachable for a mere handful of privileged individuals, while being at the same time a burden for the underclass, as long as labor and leisure remained separate (Simpson, 2011). The working class might lack 'time, energy and skills' for quality leisure, and would settle for 'idle amusement', while individuals with power and privilege might lack the 'work ethic and personal drive' that Dewey deemed necessary to 'elevate' the quality of their leisure pursuits, and would settle for 'self-indulgent activities' (Breunig, 2017). Noteworthy is that Dewey's worries more or less touch Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues' research on flow which dates from a couple of decades later. For example, in the second part of their conclusion, Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues write:

'(...) Yet many obstacles prevent individuals from experiencing flow. These range from inherited genetic malfunctions to forms of social oppression that reduce personal freedom and prevent the acquisition of skills. (...) The sterile surroundings of our living arrangements, (...) the addictive nature of passive entertainment and the reliance on material rewards, and the excessive concern of schools with testing

and with disembodied knowledge all militate against learning to enjoy mastering the challenges that life inevitably presents.' (Csikszentmihalyi, Abuhamdeh & Nakamura, 1990:606)

HOW TO LEISURE

Dewey's solution lay in revolutionizing the education system and argues for the integration of Leisure as purposeful play, i.e. teaching how to 'do' leisure. Instead of a labor-leisure distinction (matters of the mind versus matters of the body), teachers should engage students in activities that would promote manual skill, technical efficiency, socialization and fun but also provide immediate satisfaction. Breunig (2017) describes that for Dewey, leisure experience and -activity must be both purposeful and of high quality, which meant a) there is an immediate aspect of agreeableness or disagreeableness and b) there is an influence upon later experiences, which he called an experiential continuum, where experiences should be based upon previous experiences, in order to facilitate growth. Examples of 'purposeful play' that Dewey (1944) mentions are engagement in art, making music, cooking or planting and cultivating a garden. Coincidentally all of them are things that the participants mentioned to be seriously engaged in.

Leisure as an integration of purposeful play and labor, would make it possible to be playful and serious at the same time, and in fact, would define an 'ideal mental condition': the absence of prejudice and the presence of intellectual curiosity and flexibility manifest in free play.

This 'quality' leisure, as he calls it, was seen by Dewey as essential for a meaningful life. Again, this somewhat resembles the state of flow Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues write about.

WORK AS PLAY

It is not so much the leisure activity, but the leisure attitude which matters most for Dewey, and which is essential for high quality leisure and purposeful, meaningful living. This attitude manifests itself in the form of playfulness, and play or leisure, are its manifestations.

According to Dewey, a playful attitude can gradually pass into a work attitude because, in the best case, both require a mindset which promotes meaning making and value. He argues that the division between labor and leisure is no more than a social construction, which can and should be altered. In the future, as in the past, according to Dewey, 'making

a living could very well signify for most men and women doing things which are significant, freely chosen, and ennobling to those who do them and that those who are doing things which serve ends recognized by those engaged in them.'

In other words, play (leisure) and work do not need to be antithetical, since also in play, people consciously 'work' towards effects and both involve the 'continuous and conscious adaptation and selection of processes and materials' to get to these ends. Work, like play, could involve a constant regard for the consequences of the labor. Only when the consequences are outside of the activity, in the form of extrinsic rewards work becomes constrained labor (Breunige, 2017).

ART AND PLAY

In Dewey's eyes, art might be an aid in the cultivation of a playful attitude and he proposes a fundamental continuity between art and life, what he calls an 'aesthetic deepening of everyday experience'. Not surprisingly then, he opposes the marking of artworks from 'mere things' and the bringing of objects of high art to life from without. He writes: 'We see without feeling; we hear, but only a second-hand report. We touch, but the contact remains tangential because it does not fuse with qualities of sense that go below the surface' (Dewey 1934:27).

Dewey's holistic outlook makes that he has high hopes for the function of art and leisure, which could function to act as humanizers of science, technology and society, or, in his words, ' (...) seeing to it that the technical subjects which are now socially necessary acquire a humane distinction.' (Dewey, 1944: p.3)

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SOME FINAL WORDS

The practical applicability of Dewey's theory can be questioned, but his radical take on labor and leisure is perhaps encouraging. Already, he is more or less right when he states that there is no natural law that dictates the way we organize our work and leisure time. A little over 10 to 12 thousand years ago for example, when humans were roaming around in small groups on the planes of Africa, we only 'worked' for a few hours a week and lived in societies characterized by high levels of cooperation and absence of material inequality (o.a. Armelagos, Brown & Turner, 2014).

It goes beyond the scope of this text and my abilities to find a clear cut answer for ways in which leisure might solve contemporary social problems or bring about new, unexplored opportunities. However, if I had to think of something, Dewey's concept of purposeful play and 'flow' theory, seem a good place to start and artists might be just the right people to look at for examples of 'good practice'.

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